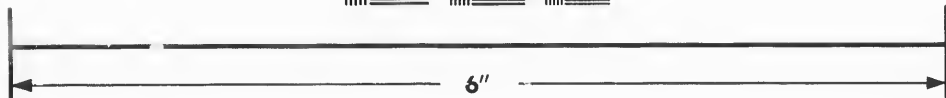
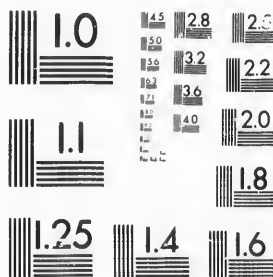
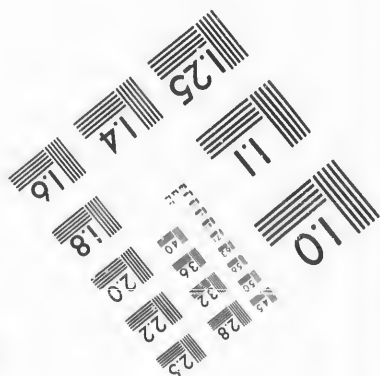
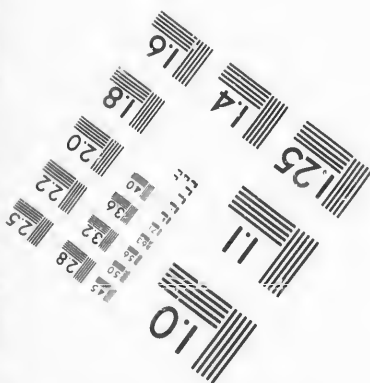


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



Canada



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

28 2.5  
22  
0

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

01

**© 1987**

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured covers/  
Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged/  
Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated/  
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing/  
Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps/  
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/  
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations/  
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material/  
Relié avec d'autres documents
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/  
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/  
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- Additional comments:/  
Commentaires supplémentaires

- Coloured pages/  
Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged/  
Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated/  
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/  
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached/  
Pages détachées
- Showthrough/  
Transparence
- Quality of print varies/  
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material/  
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Only edition available/  
Seule édition disponible
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image/  
Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/  
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
				/							

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

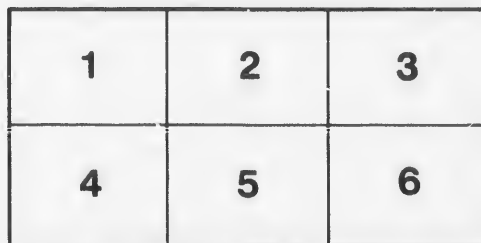
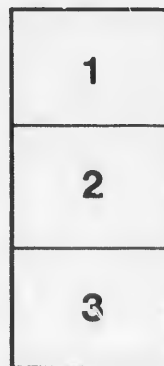
Douglas Library  
Queen's University

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last record frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol → (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Douglas Library  
Queen's University

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par la première page et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon la cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon la cas: le symbole → signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., pouvant être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



Ni  
"

20

THEIR H  
TURE,  
MAL  
AN

Niles, John Milton

VIEW  
OF  
SOUTH AMERICA

AND

MEXICO,

COMPRISING

THEIR HISTORY, THE POLITICAL CONDITION, GEOGRAPHY, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, &c. OF THE REPUBLICS OF MEXICO, GUATEMALA, COLOMBIA, PERU, THE UNITED PROVINCES OF SOUTH AMERICA AND CHILI, WITH A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION, IN EACH OF THESE

INDEPENDENT STATES.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

VOL. I.

---

MONTREAL :

A. G. & A. D. COLLINS.

.....  
1827.

LD

F1411. N7 1827

To  
South  
charac  
this w  
arrived  
ted Sta  
only a  
valuab  
The liv  
revolut  
on the  
indep  
hours—  
a gene  
aware  
merous  
certain  
more co  
pendiun  
revoluti  
of the n  
in some  
of the e  
accompa  
compiled  
correct  
In the  
oasion, o  
the subje  
Encyclop  
Sketch of  
sett's No  
in Colomb  
in Peru an  
ly Regist

## PREFACE.

---

To give some account of the revolution of the late Spanish Colonies in South America--(a revolution which has terminated so gloriously, and is characterized by so many striking and interesting events)--is the object of this work. The author, or compiler, is aware that the time has not yet arrived for composing a complete history of these events; nor is the United States the place for such a work to be written. The work is intended only as a popular sketch, or outline, presenting in one view all that is most valuable and interesting in the numerous publications on this subject. The lively interest which the citizens of the United States justly feel in a revolution, having so important an influence on the cause of freedom, and on the destinies of the new world--which has brought into existence six independent nations, on the same continent, some of them their neighbours--seemed to require a work, presenting, in a cheap and popular form, a general and connected view of these important events. We are not aware that any similar work has appeared, although there have been numerous valuable publications, affording much information, concerning certain periods of the revolution. To render a work of this description more complete and valuable, it was thought best to connect with it a compendium of the history and condition of Spanish America previous to the revolution, and a geographical and political view of the present condition of the new republics. A knowledge of the geography of the country, and in some measure its early history, is requisite to a correct understanding of the events of the revolution. To facilitate this knowledge, the book is accompanied with two maps, one of Mexico, and one of South America, compiled from the latest and best authorities, and believed to be the most correct maps ever published of these countries.

In the compilation, we have consulted and made free use, as we had occasion, of most of the approved works in the English language relating to the subject. Among the number are Robertson's *America*, the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, Morse's *Geography*, *Outline of the Revolution*, *Fane's Sketch of the Revolution in the United Provinces of South America*, *Poinsett's Notes on Mexico*, *Pazo's Letters on South America*, *Hall's Travels in Colombia*, *Cochrane's Colombia*, *Hall's Journal and History of Events in Peru and Chili*, *Bland's and Poinsett's Statistical Reports*, *Niles' Weekly Register*, and the *North American Review*. The latter part of the

304544

history of the several states we have derived from public documents transmitted to Congress, and from the public journals and periodical publications of the day.

These materials have been examined with the most laborious research; and whoever considers the intrinsic difficulties of the undertaking—the obscurity in which every thing relating to Spanish America has been involved—the passions excited by recent events, and the misrepresentations they have occasioned—the confusion of certain periods of the revolution, and the fact that most of our information is necessarily derived through a different language—will not expect perfect accuracy, or criticise with severity any errors or defects with which the work may justly be chargeable. It will also be remembered, that it is intended merely to present a popular view of the subject, making no pretensions to literary merit. Such as it is, however, it is offered to the public, with the full persuasion that no American will rise from its perusal without feeling a keener detestation of tyranny, and a more lively sense of the inestimable blessings of freedom and peace, the happy fruits of our republican institutions, in which he participates, in common with his fellow-citizens

June, 1826.

*Effect  
disc  
colo  
to p  
of C  
repa  
puci  
Dar  
of J  
na,*

T

cuous e  
has had  
Its imm  
terprise  
rection,  
cial ope  
objects  
conferre  
To thes  
dually g  
novel pr  
influence  
long per  
powers o  
rests in t  
rent stat  
ers, the l  
ten distu  
That  
times as

## SKETCH

OF THE HISTORY OF

# SPANISH AMERICA,

TO THE REVOLUTION.

## CHAPTER I.

*Effects of the discovery of America—Columbus' first voyage and discoveries—grant of the Pope—second voyage—fate of the first colony—rising of the natives—they are subdued and compelled to pay tribute—convicts transported to the colony—third voyage of Columbus, in which he discovers the continent—origin of the repartimientos—voyage of Alonzo de Ojeda and Americus Vesputius—fourth voyage of Columbus—settlement on the Gulf of Darien—Vasco Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean—voyage of Juan de Solis—conquest of Cuba—colony planted—Cumaena, Yucatan, and Mexico discovered.*

THE discovery of America forms a new and most conspicuous era in the annals of the world; and probably no other event has had greater influence on the destinies of the human race. Its immediate effects were, to excite a spirit of discovery, of enterprise, and commercial cupidity, which not only gave a new direction, but a more vigorous impulse to speculative and commercial operations; and by extending the bounds and magnifying the objects of navigation, a degree of interest and importance was conferred on that pursuit, which it had never before possessed. To these effects succeeded the planting of colonies, which gradually gave a new aspect to the commerce of Europe, engrafted novel principles into the laws of nations, and in no small degree influenced the politics of almost every state in Europe; as for a long period most of the contentions and wars among the principal powers of the old world, arose from conflicting claims and interests in the new. New relations were created between the parent state and its colonies, and between the latter and other powers, the last of which were a source of constant jealousy, and often disturbed the peace of nations.

That the discovery and colonizing of a new world, several times as large as the continent of Europe, would produce an im-

portant change in the commercial and political relations of the maritime powers of that continent, must have been foreseen at the time; but that it should have had an important *moral* influence on the character of mankind, and have been the means of securing their rights, establishing their liberties, and exalting their destinies, no one could have anticipated. On the contrary, it must have been supposed, that the establishment of distant colonies, dependent on the parent state, nursed by its care, protected by its arms, and entirely subject to its power, would have tended to colonial oppression; which by strengthening the power of the sovereign, would react upon the parent state, and thus tend to the oppression of both. Whatever may have been the case with others, this was undoubtedly true of the Spanish Colonies down to the period of the late revolution. Their degradation and oppression alienated them from the parent country, and prepared their minds to embrace the first opportunity to throw off the yoke of a distant and foreign power, which instead of conducting toward them like an affectionate mother, treated them with the jealousy, selfishness, and cruelty of an unfeeling stepdame.

The English colonists in North America, consisting of the persecuted at home, brought with them, to a considerable extent, the elements of freedom; and many of the colonies obtained charters securing the essential rights of self-government, and the enjoyment of civil liberty; so that at a very early period, many scattering rays of light were shed abroad in this western hemisphere, which served as the dawn of that brighter day of liberty which we now behold in its meridian splendour. Although the English and Spanish systems of colonial government in America were different, yet the views and policy of the two countries were essentially the same, and tended to the same result. This policy was to keep the colonies, not only dependent, but tributary states; to monopolize their commerce, to cripple their manufactures, and in all respects to render them contributory to the wealth and aggrandizement of the colonizing country. In both divisions of the American continent this policy was more rigorously pursued as the colonies became more populous and wealthy, and as a jealousy and apprehension of their independence increased. This illiberal policy necessarily led to a separation, and has resulted in the independence and freedom of the greater part of America.

Notwithstanding the vast extent of the new world, its various and happy climate, its magnificent rivers and mountains, its unrivalled fertility of soil, and capacity of sustaining a population almost surpassing conception, the beneficial influence which it has had on the cause of civil liberty and the moral character of man, is infinitely more important than all the other advantages which its discovery will confer on the world. If it had contributed to

the en  
proble  
or an  
the wr  
rica, a  
that it  
all na  
free, a  
which  
Tow  
covery  
spicuo  
of disc  
foreign  
Colon,  
time he  
proved  
and all  
contine  
ful navi  
and sti  
prevail  
had lim  
his geog  
served  
idea of  
a wester  
from In  
the trade  
cited the  
it an obj  
over sea  
the world  
Havin  
native an  
Spain.  
doms of  
eight yea  
tend not  
false kno  
second r  
leaving t  
Queen pr  
ledge of t  
been able  
Spain i

the enslavement and degradation of mankind, it might even be a problem whether its discovery ought to be regarded as a blessing or an evil; as the eastern hemisphere is sufficiently extensive for the wretched abodes of slavery. It is the glory and pride of America, and equally so now in two great divisions of this continent, that it is the land of freedom, and the asylum of the oppressed of all nations: that here the mind, as well as the body of man, is free, and ranges at large, unrestrained, except by those barriers which his Maker has established.

Toward the latter part of the fifteenth century a spirit of discovery appeared in several European nations, but was most conspicuous in Portugal. The fame of several successful voyages of discovery, made by the Portuguese, drew many enterprising foreigners into their service, and among the number, Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a subject of the republic of Genoa. At this time he possessed great experience as a navigator, which he improved by several voyages to Madeira, the Canaries, the Azores, and all other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa, so that he soon became one of the most skillful navigators in Europe. Possessing a mind bold and inquiring, and stimulated by the spirit of enterprise and discovery which prevailed, Columbus was ambitious to exceed the bounds which had limited the most daring and successful navigators. From his geographical knowledge, and various facts which he had observed during his voyages, he had for some time conceived the idea of finding a passage by sea to the East Indies, by sailing in a westerly direction. The spices and other rich commodities from India, which the Venetians had introduced into Europe, by the trade which they had monopolized with that country, had excited the attention and the envy of their neighbours, and rendered it an object of the last importance to discover a more direct route over sea to that country, then affording the richest commerce in the world.

Having submitted his plan of a voyage of discovery both to his native and adopted countries, without success, he next applied to Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella then governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. After having spent more than eight years in fruitless endeavours, during which he had to contend not only with ignorance and prejudice, but with the pride of false knowledge; and after experiencing the mortification of a second rejection of his proposals, just as he was on the eve of leaving the country, the influence of two of his friends with the Queen procured for him that encouragement which his own knowledge of the subject, and his long and unwearied exertions, had not been able to effect.

Spain is entitled to but little honour for having been the nation



under whose auspices the new world was discovered, and which, for two centuries and a half, contributed, in an eminent degree, to her aggrandizement and power.

On the third day of August, 1492, Columbus, with a fleet (for it was so called) of three small, weak vessels, scarcely fit for a voyage to the Canary Islands, with ninety men on board, sailed from Cadiz on a voyage of discovery. On the 12th of October, a little past midnight, the joyûl cry of *land! land!* was heard; the truth of which was confirmed by the dawn of light, to the unspeakable joy of all. At sunrise the boats were manned and armed, and, with colours flying, and martial music, they approached the shore, which was lined with a multitude of strange people, entirely naked, who by their attitudes and gestures, expressed the surprise and astonishment with which they viewed the novel objects before them. Columbus, in a rich dress, with a drawn sword, was the first who stepped upon the soil of the new world, and, being followed by his men, they all kneeled down and kissed the ground which had so long been the object of their almost hopeless desire. This was followed by the erection of a crucifix, before which they prostrated themselves, and returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to so happy an issue. The natives, although extremely timid, gathered around them, while these ceremonies were performing, and gazed with silent admiration, unable to comprehend what they witnessed, and much less to foresee the misery and desolation which this visit of a new race of men was to bring upon themselves and their posterity. They were filled with amazement and awe, and regarded their strange guests as superior beings, and very naturally supposed that they were the children of the sun, who had deigned to visit the earth. The fallacy of this opinion they soon realized, and had occasion to regard them rather as fiends of darkness, than as angels of light, sent on errands of love.

The land discovered was one of the Bahama Islands, and was named, by Columbus, *San Salvador*. After exploring the island, and discovering several others, Columbus set sail for Spain, leaving thirty-eight of his people on the island, which he named *Hispaniola*, for the protection of which a small fort had been erected, in a great measure by the industry of the natives, who, with much simplicity, laboured, in conjunction with their invaders, to erect the first instrument of their slavery. Before the Discoverer set sail on his second voyage, it was deemed necessary to obtain a grant from the Pope, who, as the head of the church, and vicergerent of the Almighty, claimed dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth. Accordingly, his holiness granted, with great form and solemnity, to Ferdinand and Isabella, and their successors for ever, all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had

discov  
descri  
even  
interfe  
he dir  
dred  
and all  
Portug  
tion of  
heathe  
to do.  
corape  
tives i  
Spain,  
nand  
court,  
of miss  
second  
Septem  
had bee  
was the  
Domi  
islands  
which w  
the garr  
he expe  
trymen  
fort was  
arms ar  
the first  
in the ne  
brought  
their owa  
whatever  
natives,  
and havin  
course w  
of such h  
Colum  
ation mor  
bay, whe  
united la  
short tim  
tion. Th  
new worl  
In the co  
VOL. I.

discovered, or might discover, but did not undertake to bound or describe them; as he was ignorant not only of their situation, but even of their existence. To prevent, however, this grant from interfering with one previously made to the Crown of Portugal, he directed that a line should be supposed to be drawn one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, from pole to pole, and all the unknown countries, east of this line, were given to the Portuguese, and those west to the Spaniards. The consideration of this grant was the propagation of Christianity among the heathen nations in the western regions, which Ferdinand engaged to do. Accordingly, Father Boyle, and several other friars, accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, to instruct the natives in Christianity; and those whom Columbus had carried to Spain, after some pains to instruct them, were baptised; Ferdinand himself, the prince his son, and the chief persons of his court, standing as their godfathers. These were the first fruits of missionary exertions among the natives of America. The second expedition sailed from the Bay of Cadiz on the 25th of September, 1493, and by steering a more southerly direction than had been pursued in the previous voyage, the first land discovered was the Caribbee, or Leeward Islands. Columbus discovered Dominica, Porto Rico, Guadaloupe, Antigua, and several other islands in the Gulf of Mexico. When he arrived off Navidad, which was the name he had given to the port where he had left the garrison, he was surprised that none of the men appeared, as he expected to behold them on the beach, welcoming their countrymen with transports of joy. It was soon discovered that the fort was entirely demolished, and the tattered garments and broken arms around it, removed all doubts as to the melancholy fate of the first colony, if it deserves that name, which had been planted in the new world. The rashness and licentiousness of the men brought upon them their own destruction. Alike regardless of their own security and the rights of the Indians, they seized upon whatever they could find; the provisions, gold, and women of the natives, were their prey. Roused by such insufferable wrongs, and having thrown off the fear of their invaders, by familiar intercourse with them, the natives were determined to rid themselves of such licentious intruders.

Columbus, instead of reoccupying the same spot, chose a situation more healthy and commodious, at the head of a capacious bay, where he traced out the plan of a large town, and, by the united labour of all hands, the houses and ramparts were in a short time so far advanced as to afford them shelter and protection. This, which must be considered the first settlement in the new world, the founder named Isabella, in honour of his patroness. In the commencement of it Columbus had not only to contend

with the usual difficulties connected with the planting of a colony in a distant and uncultivated country, but with the mutinous disposition of many of his followers, and the indolence of all, greatly increased by the enervating influence of a hot climate, to which they were unaccustomed. Their provisions were rapidly consuming, and what remained were corrupted by the heat and moisture of a tropical climate: the natives cultivated but little ground, and had scarcely sufficient provisions for themselves, consequently could not supply the wants of the Spaniards. The malignant diseases which prevail in the torrid zone, especially where the country is uncultivated, raged among them with great violence. Murmurs and complaints arose against Columbus and those who accompanied him in his former voyage. They were accused of having allured their countrymen to attempt a settlement in a land, which they had represented as a terrestrial paradise, but in reality barbarous and inhospitable, where they must inevitably perish by famine, or by unknown diseases. By his unwearied exertions and prudent measures, Columbus succeeded so far in restoring concord, as to be able to leave the island in pursuit of further discoveries. During a tedious voyage of five months, attended with every hardship and peril, he made no discovery of importance, except the island of Jamaica. He left the command of the infant colony to his brother, Don Diego, with the assistance of a council of officers; but no sooner had he left the harbour, than the soldiers dispersed over the island in small parties, lived upon the natives, wasted their provisions, seized their women, and treated that inoffensive race with all the insolence of military oppression. The natives silently submitted to these oppressions for a considerable time, hoping that their invaders would leave their country; but discovering that they had not come to visit the island, but to settle in it, they perceived that their oppressions would never be terminated, but by expelling their cruel invaders. Roused by a common danger, and driven almost to desperation, all the caciques, or chiefs of the island, except Guacanahari, who from the first had been the friend of the Spaniards, united, and brought into the field, according to the Spanish accounts, a force of one hundred thousand men. Their arms were clubs, sticks of wood hardened in the fire, and arrows pointed with bones or flints.

Fortunately for the Spaniards, Columbus returned just at this crisis, and his presence, and the impending danger, restored authority and produced union. But two-thirds of the original number had died, and many of those who survived were incapable of service, so that two hundred foot and twenty horses were all that could take the field. To this force was united one of a novel kind, consisting of twenty large bull-dogs, but perhaps not the least efficient against timid and naked Indians. With great sim-

licity th  
 draw  
 ins.  
 sity of  
 the nat  
 own th  
 number  
 his mo  
 quished  
 incible.  
 island, a  
 position.  
 a tribute  
 years.  
 obliged t  
 and in ot  
 demande  
 trary to l  
 was con  
 court, an  
 constant  
 tax impo  
 exaction  
 Spain eve  
 The se  
 model of  
 bus, havi  
 was adop  
 of husban  
 of digging  
 together v  
 were, for  
 the Spanis  
 tations, C  
 was the tr  
 usually be  
 derately p  
 the prison  
 ward and  
 was not o  
 and in bot  
 ogue of c  
 In the th  
 outh, and  
 on the coa  
 us having

licity the natives collected in a large plain, instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the fastnesses and defiles of the mountains. Alarmed by the noise and havock of firearms, the impetuosity of the cavalry, and the furious assaults of ferocious dogs, the natives were instantly filled with consternation, and threw down their arms and fled. Many were slain, and a much greater number taken prisoners, and reduced to a state of servitude. From this moment they abandoned themselves to despair, and relinquished all thoughts of resisting men whom they regarded as invincible. In a few days the Spaniards marched over the whole island, and subjected it to their government, without further opposition. The natives were treated as a conquered people, and a tribute imposed upon all persons above the age of fourteen years. In the districts where gold was found, each person was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as filled a hawk's bill, and in other parts of the island twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. These unjust and rigorous measures Columbus, contrary to his own inclinations and his original plan of government, was constrained to adopt, to satisfy the rapacity of the Spanish court, and counteract the machinations of his enemies, who were constantly intriguing to destroy him. This was the first regular tax imposed on the natives, and was the origin of that system of exaction of tribute, or a capitation tax, from the natives, which Spain ever after maintained with the most intolerable oppression.

The settlement in Hispaniola was the parent, and served as the model of all the other Spanish settlements in America. Columbus, having returned to Spain, a more regular plan for the colony was adopted, and a large body of settlers was sent out, consisting of husbandmen, artisans, and workmen skilled in the various arts of digging and working mines, and refining the precious metals; together with a suitable number of women. All these emigrants were, for a certain number of years, to be supported and paid by the Spanish government. With these prudent and judicious regulations, Columbus proposed one of a most pernicious nature, which was the transportation, to the colony, of certain convicts, who had usually been sent to the galleys. This fatal expedient, inconsiderately proposed, was, with as little consideration, adopted, and the prisons of Spain were drained to recruit the colony. This absurd and cruel measure of emptying their jails into their colonies, was not only continued by Spain, but imitated by Great Britain, and in both continents held no unimportant station in the catalogue of colonial grievances against the mother country.

In the third voyage made by Columbus, he sailed further to the south, and the first land he discovered was the island of Trinidad, on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the Oronoco. Columbus having become involved among those adverse currents and

tempestuous waves, produced by the body of water which this river rolls into the ocean, with difficulty escaped through a narrow strait. He, however, very justly concluded, that a river of such vast magnitude could not flow from an island, as it must require a country of great extent to supply so large a body of water, and consequently felt persuaded that he had at length discovered the continent which had so long been the supreme object of his hopes and wishes. He directed his course to the west, along the coast of the province of Cumana; landed at several places, and had some intercourse with the inhabitants, who he found resembled those of Hispaniola, although possessed of a better understanding, and more courage.

When Columbus arrived at Hispaniola he found the colony in an unprosperous and distracted state. After his departure, his brother, in pursuance of his advice, removed the colony from Isabella to a more eligible situation on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of the present town of St. Domingo, which, for a long period, remained the most considerable European settlement in America, and was the seat of the supreme courts in the Spanish dominions. A war with the natives broke out, and whilst Diego Columbus was employed against them in the field, his attention was arrested by a most alarming mutiny among the Spaniards, which threatened the ruin of the colony. Columbus, by a reasonable offer of pardon, and other judicious measures, succeeded in allaying the spirit of sedition, and induced the malecontents to return to their duty. To effect this object, however, he was obliged so far to yield to the demands of the mutineers, as to agree to grant to them allotments of land in different parts of the island, with the right to the servitude of the natives settled on the same, so far as that they were to cultivate a certain portion of ground for the use of their new masters, which was to be in lieu of the tribute that had been imposed on them. This regulation was the germ of the system of *Repartimientos*, or distribution and servitude of the natives, which was established throughout the Spanish dominions in America. This plan of domestic servitude was founded on the same principles with the feudal system, so far as that applied to villiens or serfs, who performed the most degrading services, were attached to the soil, and were transferable with it. It reduced a large proportion of the natives in all the Spanish dominions to the most humiliating servitude, and subjected them to grievous and intolerable oppressions. It is one of the sources from whence have flowed the tears of an oppressed people, in such profusion, as if collected into one channel, would almost swell to a flood the vast rivers which flow through their country.

In the year 1500, Alonzo de Ojeda, a gallant officer, who had

accom-  
dition  
merch-  
cius,  
lumbu  
and ar  
as the  
tent be  
of Hi  
Am  
discov  
dress,  
discov  
work,  
had be  
which  
pid an  
over E  
which  
suffere  
name o

Dur  
the Isl  
Gracia  
he call  
penetra  
he had  
into an  
the cou  
he dete  
brother  
pacity  
race th  
niards,  
safety b

This  
natives,  
first col

From  
years el  
part of  
for this  
mand of  
sisted of  
six vess  
to Ojeda  
Vol.



accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, sailed on an expedition to America, with four ships, which had been equipped by the merchants of Seville, and was accompanied by Americus Vesputius, a gentleman of Florence. Having obtained a chart of Columbus' last voyage, Ojeda servilely followed in the same track; and arrived on the coast of Paria. He sailed to the west as far as the Cape de Vela, and traversed the coast to a considerable extent beyond where Columbus had touched, and returned by way of Hispaniola to Spain.

Americus, on his return, wrote an account of the voyage and discoveries, and framed his narrative with so much art and address, as to secure to himself the credit and glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. The novelty of the work, being the first publication concerning the discoveries which had been made in the Western World, and the amusing history which he gave of the voyage and adventures, obtained for it a rapid and extensive circulation, and spread the fame of the author over Europe. This bold attempt to assume the merit and glory which belonged to another, by an unaccountable caprice has been suffered to succeed, and, by the universal consent of nations, the name of *America* has been bestowed on the New World.

During the fourth voyage made by Columbus he discovered the Island of Guiana, and the coast of the Continent from Cape Gracias a Dios to a harbour, which, from its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. He went ashore at various places, and penetrated into the country, but searched in vain for the strait that he had long been attempting to discover, which he supposed led into an unknown ocean. He was so charmed with the fertility of the country, and the specimens of gold found on the natives, that he determined to plant a small colony under the command of his brother, in the province of Verague. But the insolence and rapacity of his men provoked the natives, who were a more warlike race than those of the Islands, to take up arms against the Spaniards, part of whom were killed, and the rest obliged to seek safety by abandoning the station.

This was the first repulse the Spaniards had received from the natives, and deprived Columbus of the honour of planting the first colony on the continent of America.

From the first discovery of the continent by Columbus, ten years elapsed before the Spaniards had made a settlement in any part of it; but in the year 1509, two expeditions were fitted out for this purpose, by individual enterprise; one under the command of Ojeda, and the other under Nicuessa; the former consisted of three vessels and three hundred men, and the latter of six vessels and seven hundred men. A grant or patent was given to Ojeda, of the country from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Da-

zien; and to Nicuessz, from thence to Cape Gracias a Dios, with the power of planting colonies and establishing a government.

These adventurers were instructed to acquaint the natives with the primary articles of Christianity, and particularly to inform them of the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, and of the grant which he had made of their country to the king of Spain; and then to require them to embrace Christianity, and to acknowledge the authority of the Spanish sovereign; and in case the natives did not comply with these requirements, they were told it would be lawful to attack them with fire and sword, exterminate them, and reduce their wives and children to servitude, or compel them to acknowledge the authority of the Church and of the Spanish monarch. This very wise and reasonable mode of taking possession of the country, was prescribed by the most eminent lawyers and divines in Spain. Both of these attempts failed, and nearly all engaged in them, with two considerable reinforcements from St. Domingo, perished within one year. The aborigines were fierce and warlike, and manifested the most implacable enmity toward them; they used arrows dipped in poison, so noxious that almost every wound was followed by death. Seventy of the Spaniards were killed in one engagement. What few survived settled at Santa Maria, on the Gulf of Darien, under Vasco Balboa, whose extraordinary courage in the most trying emergencies, secured to him the confidence of his countrymen, and the rank of their leader. This was not the only bold adventurer afterward distinguished for daring exploits and splendid undertakings, that was engaged in this unfortunate enterprise. The celebrated Francisco Pizarro was one of Ojeda's party, and in this school of adversity and hardships qualified himself for the wonderful achievements which he subsequently performed. Fernando Cortes was at first engaged in this enterprise; but being taken sick at St. Domingo before the expedition sailed, he was left behind, and his life spared for more daring and successful undertakings.

Balboa made frequent incursions into the country, and subdued several of the caciques; and being informed by the natives that at the distance of many suns to the south there was another ocean, where gold was so common that the inhabitants made their common utensils of that metal, he concluded that this ocean was the one for which Columbus had so long searched in vain, and that it afforded a direct communication to the East Indies. With one hundred and ninety men, a part of which he had obtained from Hispaniola, he undertook the bold expedition of crossing over the Isthmus which connects North and South America, without any knowledge of the extent or nature of the country, or any guides but natives, on whose fidelity he could not safely rely.

Balboa set out on this expedition on the first of September,

1513  
ing o  
and t  
behe  
He h  
dle, v  
posse  
swor  
name  
which  
that p  
there  
more  
dent  
return  
comm  
quest  
count  
servic  
rias I  
duct l  
lously  
the ev  
ter a r  
able a  
in Am  
contin  
permi  
side o  
health  
litated  
Ocean  
In t  
most  
Ameri  
on the  
river w  
discov  
cious k  
of the  
He  
of pen  
were s  
eaten  
sioned  
discov

1513: and after twenty-five days of incredible hardships, in passing over a country abounding in mountains, rivers, and swamps, and filled with hostile tribes, from the summit of a mountain he beheld the Pacific Ocean, stretching in endless extent before him. He hurried toward it, and rushed into the briny waves to his middle, with his sword and buckler, and in a transport of joy took possession of that vast ocean in the name of his sovereign, and swore to defend it with his arms against all his enemies. He named this part of the Scuthern Ocean the Gulf of St. Michael, which it has ever since retained. Balboa learnt from the natives that pearl oysters abounded in the sea he had discovered, and that there was a very opulent country, where the inhabitants were more civilized, which lay to the south; but not thinking it prudent to go in search of it with his small and exhausted party, he returned to Santa Maria; and embraced the first opportunity to communicate his discoveries to the Spanish government, and requested a reinforcement of one thousand men, to conquer the country he had discovered. But disregarding Balboa's important services, the king sent out an expedition, and appointed Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien. By his incapacity and misconduct he nearly destroyed the colony; and from his envy and jealousy of Balboa, he caused him to be arrested, just as he was on the eve of setting out on an expedition to the South Sea, and after a mock trial, to be executed. This cruel murder of the most able and successful adventurer and commander the Spaniards had in America, not only passed without censure, but the tyrant was continued at the head of the colony. Soon after this he obtained permission, and removed the colony to Panama, on the opposite side of the Isthmus. The object of this was to obtain a more healthful situation. The new location of the colony greatly facilitated the subsequent discoveries and conquests in the Southern Ocean.

In the year 1515, Juan de Solis, who was deemed one of the most skilful navigators in Spain, commanded an expedition to America, and sailing along the coast of the Southern Continent, on the first day of January the following year, he discovered a river which he named Rio Janeiro, from the day on which it was discovered. He continued along the coast, and discovered a spacious bay, which proved to be the mouth of the Rio de Plata, one of the great rivers of the Southern Continent.

He advanced up the bay, and having landed with the intention of penetrating into the country, De Solis and several of his men were slain by the natives, their bodies cut in pieces, roasted and eaten in sight of the ships. The loss of the commander occasioned the return of the expedition without making any further discoveries.



Diego Velasques, in 1511, commanded an expedition from Hispaniola, against the Island of Cuba, and with a force of three hundred men, he conquered an Island of seven hundred miles in length, filled with inhabitants; and from his prudent administration it became one of the most flourishing of the Spanish settlements. A colony was planted in Cumana by Las Casas, an ecclesiastic, who, deeply affected with the miserable servitude to which the natives were reduced, had long exerted himself for the melioration of their unhappy condition. This colony was commenced for this laudable purpose; but the Indians having been treated with such injustice and cruelty, and being in the highest state of exasperation against the Spaniards, in a secret but ferocious manner attacked the colony, cut off a part of them, and compelled the rest to fly in consternation to the Island of Cubagua. The expulsion of this colony was in the year 1531. An expedition was fitted out from Cuba, under Francisco Cordova, and steering in a westerly direction, they discovered a peninsula projecting from the continent, which he named Yucatan, which it has ever since retained.

The natives were more civilized and warlike; they surprised and attacked the Spaniards with courage, and, in consequence of their hostile disposition, no attempt was made to effect a settlement. Proceeding to the west, and continuing in sight of the coast, in sixteen days they arrived at Campeachy. Cordova having landed with his men to procure water, the natives rushed upon them in such numbers, and with such impetuosity, that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed, and nearly every man wounded, so that it was with difficulty they regained their ships. Notwithstanding the disastrous result of this expedition, a new one was soon after fitted out from Cuba under Juan de Grijalva, who, proceeding further west than Cordova, sailed along the coast of a fertile and delightful country, and with much surprise and admiration witnessed the villages which lay scattered along the shore; they discovered stone houses, which at a distance appeared white and lofty; they even imagined they saw cities with towers and pinnacles; and one of the sailors observing that the country resembled Spain, Grijalva gave it the name of New Spain, which was received with universal applause. It is scarcely necessary to add that this extensive and interesting portion of America has retained the name ever since, or at least to the extinction of the authority of Spain over it.

Continuing his course to the west, Grijalva touched at several places, and at one Island which he called Uloa, and from thence proceeded along the coast as far as the river Tampico, and then returned to Cuba.

Exp  
C  
to  
a  
m  
fe  
lu  
so  
th  
tic  
su  
ac  
ma  
—  
dis  
M  
de  
HI  
large  
coast  
as 35  
the G  
discov  
prosp  
But  
come  
faciliti  
mainta  
and no  
tensive  
courage  
enterpr  
contine  
had ma  
temptin  
Spanish  
the disc  
new er  
credible  
Vol.

## CHAPTER II.

*Expedition against Mexico under Cortes—lands at St. Juan de Uloa—first interview with the natives—they offer rich presents to the Spaniards—Cortes establishes a council of magistrates, and commences the town of Vera Cruz—he destroys his ships—marches for Mexico—is opposed by the Tlascalans, who are defeated and sue for peace—slaughter of the inhabitants at Cholula—Spaniards approach the capital—first interview with the sovereign—Cortes gets possession of Montezuma, and governs the empire in his name—the governor of Cuba sends an expedition against Cortes—Mexicans revolt, and a dreadful contest ensues—Montezuma killed—Spaniards retire and suffer greatly—action in the valley of Otumba—Cortes receives reinforcements—marches for Mexico—commences the siege—Guatimozin taken—the city surrenders—Guatimozin tortured to compel him to discover his treasure—discoveries of Magellan—Cortes rebuilds Mexico—the natives revolt—their caciques and nobles put to death.*

**HITHERTO** the Spaniards had done little more than to enlarge their discoveries upon the continent of America; from the coast of Florida north, they had touched at different places, as far as 35° S. of the equator; they had visited most of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico, and off the coast of the main land, and had discovered the great Southern Ocean, which opened extensive prospects and unbounded expectations in that quarter.

But although the settlements at Hispaniola and Cuba had become considerably flourishing and important, and afforded great facilities for enterprises on the continent, no colony had been maintained there, except the feeble and languishing one at Darien, and nothing had been attempted toward the conquest of the extensive country which had been discovered. The ferocity and courage of the natives, with the other obstacles attending such an enterprise, had discouraged the adventurers who had explored the continent, and they returned contented with the discoveries they had made, and the taking possession of the country, without attempting to maintain any foothold in it. This was the state of Spanish affairs in America in the year 1518, twenty-six years after the discovery of the country by Columbus. But at this period a new era commenced, and the astonishing genius, and almost incredible exertions of one man, conquered a powerful and popu-

lous nation, which, compared with those tribes with which the Spaniards had hitherto been acquainted, were a civilized people, understanding the arts of life, and were settled in towns, villages, and even large and populous cities.

Intelligence of the important discoveries made by Grijalva, was no sooner communicated to Velasques, than, prompted by ambition, he conceived the plan of fitting out a large armament for the conquest and occupation of the country; and so great was his ardour, that without waiting for the authority of his sovereign, or the return of Grijalva, the expedition was prepared and ready to sail about the time the latter entered the port of St. Jago de Cuba. Velasques was ambitious of the glory which he expected would attend the expedition, yet being sensible that he had neither the courage nor capacity to command it himself, he was greatly embarrassed in selecting a person who suited his views; as he wanted a man of sufficient courage, talents, and experience to command, but who at the same time would be a passive instrument in his hands. It was with no small difficulty a man of this description could be found, as those possessing the requisite abilities had too much spirit to be the creature of a jealous and capricious master! At length two of the secretaries of Velasques recommended Fernando Cortes, as a man suitable for his purpose; and, happily for his country, but fatally for himself, he immediately fell in with the proposition. Velasques believed that Cortes possessed courage and talents for command, united with a bold and adventurous spirit, and that his humble condition would keep him dependent on his will, and prevent his aspiring at independence. Cortes was one of the adventurers who came out to Hispaniola in the year 1504, when the island was under the governorship of Ovando, who was a kinsman of his; from which circumstance he was immediately employed in several lucrative and honourable stations; but not being satisfied with these, he accompanied Velasques in his expedition to Cuba; and distinguished himself in the conquest of that island. Cortes received his commission with the warmest gratitude, and erecting his standard before his own house, he immediately assumed the ensigns of his new dignity.

His extraordinary talents and activity were at once brought into requisition, and so great and unremitting were his exertions in forwarding the expedition, that he sailed from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighteenth day of November in the year 1518, a short time after he received his commission. Cortes proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the island, where he was joined by several adventurers, and received a supply of provisions and military stores. Velasques, who had been jealous of Cortes before he sailed, was confirmed in his suspicions of his

fidelity a  
ly despa  
sion. E  
and men  
gristrate c  
place Co  
cruits an  
at the fa  
sion, des  
tory orde  
ny, instar  
a prison  
Cortes h  
before hi  
tract th  
particular  
and then  
governor  
and arres  
were equ  
vornor, a  
of a leade  
shed the  
This w  
ying to l  
would ne  
attachme  
country w  
wishes.

The fle  
three of  
There w  
hundred  
dred and  
rest cross  
and ten s  
commenc  
dominions  
the Spanis  
advanced  
taken for  
yet so str  
objects w  
the Spani  
cription:  
conquer!"

fidelity as soon as he was no longer in his power, and immediately despatched orders to Trinidad to deprive him of his commission. But he had already acquired the confidence of his officers and men in such a degree as to be able to intimidate the chief magistrate of the place, and depart without molestation. From this place Cortes sailed to the Havana, where he obtained more recruits and additional supplies. Velasques, irritated and mortified at the failure of his first attempt to deprive Cortes of his commission, despatched a confidential friend to this place, with peremptory orders to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes, and send him, under a strong guard, a prisoner to St. Jago, and to countermand the sailing of the fleet. Cortes having obtained information of the designs of Velasques, before his messenger arrived, immediately took measures to counteract them. He ordered such of his officers as he knew to be particularly attached to the governor, on some service abroad, and then acquainted the men of the unreasonable jealousy of the governor, and with his intention to deprive him of his command, and arrest the progress of the armament. The officers and men were equally astonished and indignant at the conduct of the governor, and with one voice beseeched Cortes not to deprive them of a leader in whom they all had such confidence, and offered to shed the last drop of their blood to maintain his authority.

This was the result expected by Cortes, and was highly gratifying to his ambition. In reply, he informed his men that he would never desert soldiers who had given such signal proofs of attachment, and promised instantly to conduct them to that rich country which had been so long the object of their hopes and wishes. Every thing was now ready for their departure.

The fleet consisted of eleven vessels, one of a hundred tons, three of seventy or eighty, and the residue small open barks. There were on board five hundred and eight soldiers, and one hundred and nine seamen and artificers, making in all six hundred and seventeen men. A part of the men had firearms, the rest crossbows, swords and spears. They had only sixteen horses, and ten small fieldpieces. With this force Cortes was about to commence war, with a view of conquest, upon a nation whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown, and which was filled with people considerably advanced in civilization. Although this expedition was undertaken for the purpose of aggression, and for plunder and conquest, yet so strange and blind is religious fanaticism, that with these objects were blended the propagation of Christianity; and upon the Spanish standards a large cross was displayed, with this inscription: "*Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer!*"

The expedition touched at the several places which had been visited by Crijalva, and continued its course to the westward until it arrived at St. Juan de Uloa, where a large canoe, filled with people, two of whom appeared to be persons of distinction, approached the fleet with signs of friendship, and came on board without any symptoms of fear or distrust. By means of a female Indian, who had previously been taken on board, and was afterward known by the name of Donna Marina, and who understood the Aztec, or Mexican language, Cortes ascertained that the two persons of distinction were deputies despatched by the two governors of the province, and that they acknowledged the authority of a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma, who was sovereign of the whole country; and that they were sent to inquire what his object was in visiting their shores, and to offer him any assistance he might stand in need of, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes informed them that he had visited their country with no other than the most friendly intentions, and for an object of very great importance to their king and country. The next morning, without waiting an answer, the Spaniards landed; and the natives, like the man who warmed the frozen snake, which, reviving, bit his child to death, assisted them with great alacrity, little suspecting that they were introducing into their peaceful borders the invaders and despoilers of their country. In the course of the day Teutile and Pilpatoe, the two governors of the province, entered the camp of Cortes, with a numerous retinue, and were received with much ceremony, and apparent respect. Cortes informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos, king of Castile, the most powerful monarch of the East, and that the object of his embassy was of such vast moment, that he could communicate it to no one but Montezuma himself, and therefore requested that they would conduct him into the presence of the emperor. The Mexican officers were astonished at so extraordinary a proposition, and attempted to dissuade Cortes from it; but he insisted upon a compliance with his request, in a peremptory and almost authoritative manner. In the mean time, he observed some of the natives delineating, on white cotton cloth, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, firearms, and other objects which attracted their attention; and being informed that these were to be conveyed to Montezuma, he wished to fill their emperor with the greatest possible awe of the irresistible power of his strange guests. He instantly ordered the troops formed in order of battle; various martial movements and evolutions were performed; the horse exhibited a specimen of their agility and impetuosity; and the fieldpieces were discharged into the wood, which made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on in silent amazement, until the cannon were fired when

some fle  
sternatic  
who see  
appeared  
Mes  
returned  
one hun  
tes was.  
in police  
riers wer  
and beir  
with grea  
deliver t  
which, ag  
of concili  
had been  
great cer  
with the p  
so place  
sisted of  
stuffs, so  
ar i other  
with such  
cil: but v  
avidity for  
factures o  
and trinke  
of massive  
blem of th  
try, instea  
ducing the  
fire, with  
dity for go  
ed in their  
riches. T  
great resp  
This gave  
that thoug  
a token of  
proach, wi  
longer in h  
a perempto  
I cannot re  
with the so  
king." T  
had been a



some fled, others fell on the ground, and all were filled with consternation and dismay; and were confounded at the sight of men who seemed to command the thunder of heaven, and whose power appeared so nearly to resemble that of the Great Spirit.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma, and returned in a few days, although Mexico, where he resided, was one hundred and eighty miles from St. Juan de Uloa, where Cortes was. This despatch was in consequence of an improvement in police, which had not then been introduced into Europe; couriers were stationed at given distances along the principal roads, and being trained to the business, they conveyed intelligence with great despatch. Teutile and Pilpatoc were empowered to deliver the answer of their master to Cortes; but previous to which, agreeably to their instructions, and with the mistaken hope of conciliating his favour, they offered to him the presents which had been sent by the emperor. These were introduced with great ceremony, by a train of one hundred Indians, each loaded with the presents of his sovereign: they were deposited on mats so placed as to show them to the greatest advantage, and consisted of the manufactures of the country, such as fine cotton stuffs, so splendid as to resemble rich silks; pictures of animals, and other national objects, formed of feathers of various hues, with such wonderful art and skill, as to rival the works of the pencil: but what most attracted the attention of the Spaniards, whose avidity for the precious metals knew no bounds, was the manufactures of gold and silver. Among the bracelets, collars, rings, and trinkets of gold, were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These specimens of the riches of the country, instead of conciliating the favour of the Spaniards, and inducing them to quit the country, had the effect of oil cast upon fire, with the view to extinguish it; they inflamed their cupidity for gold to such a pitch, that they could hardly be restrained in their ardour to become masters of a country affording such riches. These splendid presents were received by Cortes with great respect for the monarch whose liberality bestowed them. This gave courage to the Mexican officers, who informed Cortes, that though Montezuma wished him to accept these presents, as a token of his respect, yet he could not consent to have him approach, with an armed force, nearer to his capital, or remain any longer in his dominions. "Inform your master," said Cortes, in a peremptory tone, "that I insist on my first demand, and that I cannot return, without disgrace, until I have had an interview with the sovereign, whom I was sent to visit in the name of my king." The Mexicans were astonished at this boldness, as they had been accustomed to see the will of their monarch obeyed in

the most implicit manner. They requested time to send to the emperor once more, with which request the Spanish general complied.

The Mexican monarch and his counsellors were greatly embarrassed and alarmed, and knew not what measures to adopt to expel from their country such bold and troublesome intruders. Their fears were increased by the influence of superstition, there having long prevailed a tradition that their country would be invaded and overrun by a formidable race of men, who would come from the regions toward the rising of the sun. Montezuma, and his advisers, dreading the consequences of involving their country in war with enemies who seemed to be of a higher order of beings, and to command and direct the elements, sent to Cortes a more positive command to leave the country, and most preposterously accompanied this with a rich present, which rendered the Spaniards the more bent on becoming masters of a country that appeared to be filled with the precious metals. When Teutile delivered the ultimatum of his sovereign, together with the rich presents, and Cortes again insisted on his demand of seeing the emperor, the Mexican abruptly turned and left the camp, with looks and gestures which plainly showed that his astonishment was not greater than his indignation, at the boldness and insolence of the Spanish general. This terminated all friendly intercourse between the natives and the Spaniards, and hostilities were immediately expected. At this crisis the situation of Cortes was rendered more alarming by disaffection among his men, which had been produced by the danger of their situation, and the exertions of some of the officers, who were friendly to Velasques. Diego de Ordaz, the leader of the malecontents, presented a remonstrance to Cortes, demanding, with great boldness, to be conducted immediately back to Cuba. Cortes listened with attention to the remonstrance, and, in compliance with it, immediately gave orders for the fleet to be in readiness to sail the next day. This was no sooner known than it produced the effect Cortes had foreseen. The whole camp was in confusion, and almost in mutiny. All demanded to see their leader; and when Cortes appeared, they asked whether it was worthy Castilian courage to be daunted by the first appearance of danger, and to fly before the enemy appeared. They insisted on pursuing the enterprise, the value of which had vastly increased from what they had seen, and declared that they would follow him with alacrity through every danger, to the possession and conquest of those rich countries, of which they had seen such satisfactory evidence. Cortes, delighted with their ardour, declared that his views were the same as their own, but that he had given the order to re-embark from a belief that it was the wish of all; but being happy to learn that

they were  
plan no  
settleme  
of the co  
them in  
and estab

As the  
the princ  
of magist  
magistrat  
isted in  
ali of the  
immediat  
the most  
informed  
shown a  
upon mili  
as his cor  
since bec  
therefore  
had been  
whomsoe  
he had an  
resignatio  
chosen, b  
and chief  
the king's  
tinue in fo  
fore accep  
they unan  
with Corte  
blood in su  
iasques ex  
by a prom  
in chains s  
faction wh  
gered all hi  
he had lon  
dent of the

Having  
resolved to  
there was a  
in other res  
diately mar  
ligious fan  
conduct of

they were animated with so noble a spirit, he would resume the plan he had at first conceived, which was the establishment of a settlement on the seacoast, and then to penetrate into the heart of the country; and he had no doubt but that he could conduct them in a career of victory which would redound to their glory, and establish their fortune.

As the first step toward planting a colony, Cortes assembled the principal men of his party, who proceeded to elect a council of magistrates, in whom its government was to be vested. The magistrates chosen were called by the official names which existed in Spain, and were to exercise the same jurisdiction; and all of them were the devoted friends of Cortes. The council was immediately assembled, when Cortes appeared before them with the most profound respect, and, addressing the new tribunal, he informed them that, as the sovereign of the country had already shown a hostile disposition, the security of the colony depended upon military force, and that on subordination and discipline: and as his commission, received from the governor of Cuba, had long since been revoked, his authority might be questionable: he therefore resigned his commission, and observed, that though he had been accustomed to command, yet he should cheerfully obey whomsoever they might see fit to place at the head of affairs. As he had arranged this matter with his friends in the council, the resignation of Cortes was accepted, and immediately he was chosen, by their unanimous voice, captain-general of the army, and chief justice of the colony: his commission was made out in the king's name, with the most ample powers, and was to continue in force until the royal pleasure might be ascertained. Before accepting this appointment, the troops were consulted, and they unanimously confirmed the choice, and the air resounded with Cortes' name, and all swore to shed the last drop of their blood in support of his authority. Some of the adherents of Velasques exclaimed against these illegal proceedings, but Cortes, by a prompt exercise of authority, and by arresting and putting in chains several of the leaders of the malecontents, suppressed a faction which, had it not been timely checked, might have endangered all his hopes. Cortes was now placed in a situation which he had long desired, having rendered himself entirely independent of the governor of Cuba.

Having employed some of his officers to survey the coast, he resolved to remove about forty miles to the northward, where there was a more commodious harbour, the soil more fertile, and in other respects a more eligible spot for a settlement. He immediately marked out the ground for a town, and as avarice and religious fanaticism were the two principles which governed the conduct of all the Spanish adventurers in America, he named the



town *Villarica, de la Vera Cruz*—the rich town of the true cross. Huts were ordered to be erected, which might afford a shelter; these were to be surrounded by fortifications, and works of sufficient strength to afford security from the attacks of the natives; and by the united exertions of officers and men, Cortes himself setting an example of industry and perseverance, and with the assistance of the natives, the works were forwarded with astonishing rapidity. In proceeding to this place the Spaniards had passed through the country of *Zempoalla*, and had an interview with several of the caciques of that nation, and learnt, with much satisfaction, that they were unfriendly to *Montezuma*, and anxious to throw off his yoke; he also learnt many particulars concerning that monarch; that he was a great tyrant, and oppressed his subjects; that he had conquered some provinces, and ruined others, by excessive exactions.

Whilst employed in erecting the town, the caciques of *Zempoalla*, and of *Quiabisan*, frequently visited them, which gave Cortes an opportunity to raise their conceptions of the character and power of the Spaniards to the highest pitch, and at the same time to encourage their opposition to the government of *Montezuma*, by assuring them of his protection. He so far succeeded in this, that when some of *Montezuma's* officers came among them to collect the usual tribute, they seized them, and treated them as prisoners; and, agreeably to their barbarous superstition, were preparing to sacrifice them to their gods, when Cortes interfered, and delivered them from their impending fate. This act of open rebellion served to attach these caciques firmly to the Spaniards, as their protection alone could save them from the dreadful consequences of *Montezuma's* displeasure; and Cortes soon succeeded in persuading them to acknowledge themselves, in a formal manner, to be the vassals of the Spanish monarch. Their example was followed by several other tribes. At this period Cortes despatched a vessel to Spain, with a highly coloured description of the country he had discovered, confirmed by many of the specimens of wealth they had received from the natives, with an account of the progress he had made in establishing the Spanish authority over it: he attempted to justify his throwing off the authority of *Velasques*, and setting up for himself, and requested a confirmation of his authority from the crown.

Disaffection again appeared among the men, of a more alarming character than what had existed before, which, though promptly suppressed, filled the mind of Cortes with disquietude and concern, and led him to adopt one of the boldest measures of which history affords any account. He was satisfied that, from the appalling dangers, and magnitude of the undertaking, and from the spirit of disaffection which, although suppressed, still lurked

among  
over  
flectin  
stroyin  
that th  
artful  
quiesc  
ships  
riffin  
His in  
his m  
six hu  
shut th  
ferocid  
prison  
angry  
Cort  
conque  
Havin  
overtu  
image  
near bl  
with h  
tes had  
them, a  
He r  
five hun  
tention  
tion.  
vice, w  
Zempo  
Indians,  
and do  
most of  
the fidel  
Tlascal  
mies of  
country  
request  
Tlascal  
dors, and  
was oblig  
warlike  
numbers  
they ralli  
rance far  
VOL. I

among his troops, it would be impossible to maintain his authority over them, except by cutting off the means of return. After reflecting on the subject with deep solicitude, he resolved on destroying the fleet, which would place the Spaniards in a situation that they must conquer or perish; and, by the most plausible and artful representations, he succeeded in persuading his men to acquiesce in this desperate measure. With universal consent the ships were drawn on shore, and after being stripped of their sails, rigging, and every thing of value, they were broken to pieces. His influence must have been unbounded, to be able to persuade his men to an act which is unparalleled in the annals of man: six hundred men voluntarily cut off their means of returning, and shut themselves up in a hostile country, filled with warlike and ferocious inhabitants, whose savage mode of warfare spared their prisoners only for the torture, or to be offered in sacrifice to their angry deities.

Cortes now felt prepared to enter upon a career of victory and conquest, in some measure suited to his ambition and rapacity. Having advanced to Zempoalla, his zeal for religion led him to overturn the idols in the temples, and to place a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary in their stead; which rash step came near blasting all his hopes in the bud. The natives were filled with horror, and were excited to arms by their priests; but Cortes had such an ascendancy over them, that he finally pacified them, and restored harmony.

He marched from Zempoalla on the sixteenth of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six fieldpieces, with the intention of penetrating into the heart of a great and powerful nation. The residue of his men, most of whom were unfit for service, were left as a garrison at Vera Cruz. The cacique of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and, with two hundred Indians, called *Tamemes*, whose office it was to carry burdens, and do other menial services, together with four hundred soldiers, most of whom were persons of note, who might be hostages for the fidelity of their chiefs, he advanced near the territories of the Tlascalans; and having learned that they were implacable enemies of the Mexicans, he was in hopes to pass through their country unmolested. He despatched four of the Zempoallans to request this privilege, and explain his friendly intentions. The Tlascalans; instead of granting this request, seized the ambassadors, and were preparing to sacrifice them to their gods. Cortes was obliged to march into their territories, and being a fierce and warlike people, they attacked him with great fury, and with vast numbers; and although defeated and dispersed in every attack, they rallied and returned to the conflict, with valour and perseverance far surpassing any thing which had been witnessed in Amé-

rica. But although the Tlascalans brought into the field immense armies, and fought with courage and perseverance, they were unable to stop the progress of the Spaniards—so great is the advantage of discipline and science over barbarian force. They suffered severely in the successive conflicts, and only killed two horses, and slightly wounded several men, of the Spaniards. Believing the Spaniards to be invincible, as the last resort, they consulted their priests concerning these strange invaders, and how they could be repelled; and were informed that they were the offspring of the Sun, produced by his creative energy, in regions of the East, and that they were invincible during the day; but at night, when deprived of the sustaining influence of the Sun, they dwindled into mere mortals, and could be as easily overcome as other men. This response appeared very plausible, and immediately the Tlascalans prepared to surprise and attack the Spaniards in the night. But Cortes was too vigilant to be surprised by an Indian stratagem; his outposts observed the movements of the enemy, and gave the alarm; the troops were immediately formed, sallied out of the camp, and dispersed them with great slaughter. The last effort, the advice of their priests, having completely failed, they became desirous of ending hostilities with a race that they regarded as more than mortal, but were at a loss whether they were good or evil beings. "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present you five slaves, that you may eat their flesh and drink their blood; if you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes; if you are mere mortals, here is meat, and bread, and fruit, to nourish you." Peace was concluded, and the Tlascalans acknowledged themselves tributary to the Spanish monarch, and agreed to assist Cortes in his operations against the Mexicans, and he engaged to protect them and their country. The Tlascalans, in every adversity of fortune, remained faithful to the Spaniards, and it was to this alliance that they were indebted for success in the conquest of the Mexican empire.

Cortes reposed twenty days at Tlascala, to recruit his troops, who were exhausted with hard service, and enfeebled by the distempers of the climate. During this interval he obtained extensive information concerning the Mexican empire, and the character and political condition of its sovereign. His troops being recruited, the Spanish general commenced his march toward Mexico, with six thousand Tlascalan warriors added to his force. He directed his route to Cholula, a considerable town, fifteen miles distant, celebrated for its vast pyramid, or temple, and as being regarded as the seat of their gods. Here, although they had entered the town without opposition, and with much apparent respect, the Spaniards soon discovered a deep plot laid for their

destruction, and having obtained satisfactory proof, Cortes determined to make such an example as would inspire his enemies with terror. He drew his forces up in the centre of the town, and sent for most of the magistrates and chief citizens, under various pretences, who, at a given signal, were seized, and then the troops and the Tlascalans fell on the people, who, being deprived of their leaders, and filled with astonishment, dropped their arms, and remained motionless, without making the least effort to defend themselves. The slaughter was dreadful; the streets were filled with the dead, and covered with blood; the priests and some of the chief families took refuge in the temples: these were set on fire, and all consumed together. This scene of carnage continued for two days, during which six thousand of the natives perished, without the loss of a single individual of their destroyers.

From Cholula it was but sixty miles to Mexico, and Cortes marched directly toward the capital; through every place he passed he was received as a deliverer, and heard the grievances of the inhabitants, all of which he promised to redress. He was highly gratified on perceiving that the seeds of discontent were scattered through the empire, and not confined to the remote provinces. As the Spaniards approached the capital, the unhappy monarch was distracted with hopes and fears, and knew not what to do: one day he sent orders inviting them to advance; the next, commanding them to retire, and leave the country. As the Spaniards drew near to the city, one thousand persons of distinction came out to meet them, clad in mantles of fine cotton, and adorned with plumes: each, in his order, passed by and saluted Cortes in the manner deemed most respectful in their country. At length they announced the approach of the emperor himself: his retinue consisted of two hundred persons, dressed in uniform, with plumes and feathers, who marched two and two, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground: to these succeeded a higher rank, with more showy apparel. Montezuma followed in a litter, or chair, richly ornamented with gold and feathers, borne on the shoulders of four of his favourites; a canopy of curious workmanship was supported over his head; three officers walked before him, with gold rods, which, at given intervals, they raised up, as a signal for the people to bow their heads, and hide their faces, as unworthy to behold so august a sovereign. As he approached Cortes, the latter dismounted, and advanced in the most respectful manner; Montezuma at the same time alighted, and, leaning on two of his attendants, approached with a slow and stately pace, cotton cloth being strewed on the ground, that he might not touch the earth. Cortes saluted him with profound reverence, according to the European fashion, and Montezuma returned the salutation in the manner of his country: he touched

with his hand the ground, and then kissed it. This being the mode of salutation of an inferior to a superior, the Mexicans viewed with astonishment this act of condescension in their monarch, whom they had been accustomed to consider as exalted above all mortals, and related to the gods. Montezuma, having conducted the Spaniards to the quarters provided for them, on retiring, addressed Cortes as follows:—"You are now with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The Spaniards were lodged in an ancient palace, surrounded with a wall, with towers at proper distances, which would serve for defence; the accommodations were not only sufficient for the Spaniards, but likewise for their Indian allies.

Mexico is situated in an immense plain, or valley, surrounded by lofty mountains, and all the waters that descend from these mountains are collected in several small, and two large lakes, of about ninety miles in circumference, which communicate with each other. The city is built on the banks of one of these lakes, and several adjacent islands; the access to the city is by several causeways, of great extent; at proper distances are openings, with bridges, for the water to pass when it overflows the flat.

The houses of the inhabitants were little better than Indian huts, yet placed in regular order; but the temples and other public buildings, the houses of the monarch and persons of distinction, were of vast dimensions, and had some claims to magnificence, especially when it is considered that the inhabitants knew not the use of iron, or edged tools, and were destitute of the aid of domestic animals.

The Spaniards soon became alarmed for their safety, as it was apparent that by breaking down the bridges their retreat would be cut off, and they would be shut up in a hostile city, where all their superiority in arms could not prevent their being overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies. Reflecting, with deep concern, on his situation, Cortes resolved on a measure scarcely less bold and desperate than that of destroying his ships; this was, to seize the sovereign of a great empire, in his own capital, surrounded by his subjects, and retain him as a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. When he first proposed this measure to his officers, most of them were startled with its audacity; but he convinced them that it was the only step that could save them from destruction, and they agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes repaired to the palace, with five of his bravest officers, and as many trusty soldiers; thirty chosen men followed at some distance, and appeared to be sauntering along the street. The rest of the troops, and their allies, were prepared to sally out at the first alarm. As the Spaniards

entered  
monarch  
ed to  
made  
were l  
astonis  
warmt  
the Sp  
pretend  
his sol  
enterta  
Spanis  
served  
tion of  
happy r  
against  
ral hour  
officer,  
words o  
the hea  
fierce a  
ma, wh  
quest.  
of his d  
but mad  
quarters  
tory in v  
der the l  
which it  
Qulpo  
Cruz, hi  
Cortes,  
trial, bef  
burnt aliv  
execution  
who view  
Monte  
months, v  
officers, l  
\* It is a  
should be r  
sovereign,  
of that nat  
little differ  
their poster  
might be re  
ish advent



entered, the Mexican officers retired, and Cortes addressed the monarch in a very different tone from what he had been accustomed to do, and accused him of being the instigator of the attack made on his garrison left at Vera Cruz, in which several Spaniards were killed, and demanded reparation. The monarch, filled with astonishment and indignation, asserted his innocence with great warmth, and, as a proof of it, ordered the officer who attacked the Spaniard to be brought to Mexico as a prisoner. Cortes pretended that he was satisfied with this declaration, but said that his soldiers would never be convinced that Montezuma did not entertain hostile intentions toward them, unless he repaired to the Spanish quarters, as a mark of confidence, where he would be served and honoured as became a great monarch. The first mention of so strange and alarming a proposal, almost bereft the unhappy monarch of his senses; he remonstrated and protested against it; the altercation became warm, and continued for several hours, when Velasques de Leon, a daring and impetuous young officer, exclaimed, with great vehemence: "Why waste more words or time in vain? let us seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The audacity of this declaration, accompanied with fierce and threatening looks and gestures, intimidated Montezuma, who submitted to his fate, and agreed to comply with their request. Montezuma now called in his officers, and informed them of his determination; they heard it with astonishment and grief, but made no reply. He was, accordingly, carried to the Spanish quarters, with great parade, but bathed in tears. We consult history in vain for any parallel to this transaction, whether we consider the boldness and temerity of the measure, or the success with which it was executed.\*

Quilpopoca, the commander who attacked the garrison at Vera Cruz, his son, and six of his principal officers, were delivered to Cortes, to be punished as he deemed proper; and after a mock trial, before a Spanish court martial, they were condemned to be burnt alive, which infamous and wicked sentence was carried into execution, amidst vast multitudes of their astonished countrymen, who viewed the scene with silent horror.

Montezuma remained in the quarters of the Spaniards for six months, was treated with apparent respect, and served by his own officers, but strictly watched, and kept in "durance vile." Du-

\* It is a curious fact, that at the expiration of three centuries, an attempt should be made for the subjugation of Spain, by getting possession of its sovereign, not dissimilar to that which had been practised by the officers of that nation in America. In point of treachery and deception, there is little difference in the two cases; and if the sins of nations are visited upon their posterity, the designs of Bonaparte against Spain and its monarch, might be regarded as retributive, for the violence and treachery of the Spanish adventurers against the inoffensive inhabitants of America.

ring this period, Cortes, having possession of the sovereign, governed the empire in his name; his commissions and orders were issued as formerly, and strictly obeyed, although it was known that the monarch was a prisoner, in the hands of the invaders of the country. The Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the country, visited the remote provinces, displaced some officers, whom they suspected of unfriendly designs, and appointed others more obsequious to their will; and so completely was the spirit of Montezuma subdued, that at length Cortes induced him to acknowledge himself as tributary, and a vassal of the king of Castile. This last and most humiliating condition, to which a proud and haughty monarch, accustomed to independent and absolute power, could be reduced, overwhelmed him with the deepest distress. He called together the chief men of the empire, and informed them of his determination, but was scarcely able to speak, being frequently interrupted with tears and groans, flowing from a heart filled with anguish.

Cortes had deprived Montezuma of his liberty, of his wealth, and of his empire; he wished now to deprive him of his religion. But though the unhappy monarch had submitted to every other demand, this he would not yield to; and Cortes, enraged at his obstinacy, had the rashness to order the idols of the temples thrown down by force; but the priests taking arms in their defence, and the people rallying in crowds to support them, Cortes was obliged to desist from an act which the inhabitants viewed as the highest sacrilege. This rash step excited the bitter enmity of the priests against the Spaniards, who regarded them as the enemies of the gods, who would avenge the insult which had been offered to them. They roused the leading men, and from this moment the Mexicans began to reflect on the means of destroying or expelling such audacious and impious invaders. They held frequent consultations with one another, and with their captive prince. Being unwilling to have recourse to arms, if it could be avoided, Montezuma called Cortes into his presence, and informed him, that now all the objects of his mission were fulfilled, and it was the will, both of the gods and of his people, that the Spaniards should instantly depart from the empire, and if he did not comply with this request, inevitable destruction would overtake them. Cortes, thinking it prudent not to appear to oppose the wishes of the Mexicans, informed Montezuma that he was expecting soon to leave the country, and had begun to make preparations for his departure.

Whilst Cortes was deeply anxious as to his situation, in consequence of the evident designs of the Mexicans, a more alarming danger threatened him from another quarter. Velasques, governor of Cuba, having obtained intelligence of Cortes' proceed-

ings—  
was at  
plied to  
and re  
trayed  
with g  
to Nev  
to pros  
name.  
board  
train o  
tion wa  
and his  
country  
him wi  
what h

When  
coast,  
gers h  
But the  
when,  
formid  
ly emb  
rely on  
Mexico  
he com  
his troo  
Cruz, d  
sible th  
ed sever  
tion, bu  
insolent  
relying  
set a pr  
near ea  
Cortes  
and, mo  
He fore  
repose,  
in the n  
sure; it  
surpassi  
The ser  
prised;  
mander  
ed at dis

ings—that he had renounced all dependence on his authority—was attempting to establish an independent colony, and had applied to the king to confirm his acts—was filled with indignation, and resolved to be avenged on the man who had so basely betrayed his confidence, and usurped his authority. He engaged, with great ardour, in preparing an expedition, which was destined to New Spain, to arrest Cortes, bring him home in irons, and then to prosecute and complete the conquest of the country in his own name. The armament consisted of eighteen vessels, having on board eight hundred foot soldiers, and eighty horsemen, with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, and then complete the conquest of the country. The fatal experience of Velasques had neither inspired him with wisdom nor courage; for he still intrusted to another what he ought to have executed himself.

When Cortes first heard that several ships had appeared on the coast, he supposed that it was an expedition which his messengers had procured to be sent from Spain as a re-enforcement. But the joy which this occasioned was soon turned to sorrow, when, instead of friends, he learnt that they were new and more formidable enemies. In this appalling exigency, Cortes was greatly embarrassed how to act. He finally concluded that he could rely only on his arms: and leaving one hundred and fifty men in Mexico, to guard the royal prisoner, and maintain his authority, he commenced his march toward the coast, with the residue of his troops, which, after being re-enforced by the garrison at Vera Cruz, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. Although sensible that the dispute must be decided by the sword, he despatched several messengers to Narvaez, to offer terms of accommodation, but without success; and the demands of Narvaez were so insolent as greatly to enrage the followers of Cortes. Narvaez, relying on his superiority of numbers, and confident of victory, set a price on Cortes' head. At length the armies approached near each other, and Narvaez immediately marched out to offer Cortes battle. But the latter prudently declined an engagement, and, moving off, took a station where he was secure from attack. He foresaw that the enemy would naturally give themselves up to repose, after their fatigues, and resolved to surprise and attack them in the night. His officers and men highly approved of this measure; it was executed in a most gallant manner, and with success surpassing the most sanguine hopes he could have entertained. The sentinels were seized, and the enemy was completely surprised; and after a desperate but ineffectual struggle, their commander having been wounded and made prisoner, they surrendered at discretion. Cortes treated the vanquished not as enemies,



but as his countrymen, and offered to conduct them back to Cuba, or to receive them into his service on the same terms as his own soldiers. To the latter propositions they all acceded, with the exception of a few personal friends of Narvaez, and avowed the satisfaction they felt in following so distinguished a commander. Thus, by the good fortune and great abilities of the conqueror of Mexico, an event which threatened to annihilate all his hopes, was turned so greatly to his advantage, that it afforded him a re-enforcement exceeding in number the troops he then had, and placed him at the head of one thousand Spaniards. He immediately commenced a rapid march back to the capital, a courier having arrived just after the victory over Narvaez from the garrison left there, with intelligence that the Mexicans, immediately after the departure of Cortes, had taken arms, and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters with great fury. This was occasioned by the rapacity and violence of the Spaniards, who, at a solemn festival in honour of the gods of the country, treacherously murdered two thousand of the nobles, and stripped them of their ornaments. This outrage was committed under a pretence that they had engaged in a conspiracy against the Spaniards. Cortes found, as he passed through the Mexican territories, that the spirit of hostility to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital; the inhabitants deserted the towns through which he passed, and removed all provisions, so that he could scarcely subsist his troops. Nothing but the rapidity of his movements could have saved the garrison, as the Mexicans had destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built to secure the command of the lake, reduced their magazines to ashes, and were carrying on hostilities with such fury and perseverance, that, with all their bravery, the Spaniards must soon have been overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies.

But so ignorant were the Mexicans of the art of war, and so little had they learnt from experience, that they permitted Cortes again to enter the capital, when they could, with the greatest ease, have prevented it, by breaking down the bridges and causeways.\* The garrison received their countrymen with transports of joy; and Cortes, feeling confident in his strength, had the imprudence to throw off the disguise which had covered his actions, and to treat the captive monarch with contempt, and scarcely to conceal his intentions of subjugating the country. This indiscretion re-

\* This may have been the result of policy instead of ignorance; the Mexicans may have suffered the Spaniards to enter the city, for the purpose of involving them all in one common ruin. They are represented to have said, "that having discovered our enemies are not immortal, were determined to complete their destruction, although the death of every Spaniard should cost a thousand lives. After so great a slaughter, there will still remain a sufficient number to celebrate the victory."—HERRERA.

kindled  
which o  
Mexica  
multitud  
great in  
astonish  
time, su  
Crowde  
swept th  
the blas  
sault wi  
quer or  
the sam  
make a s  
my out  
numerou  
on by th  
of ince  
the Mex  
to their  
their ene  
effected  
loss of t  
ble that  
rated pop  
their sup  
intercess  
ple. Acc  
to the att  
disgrace  
to ascen  
his subje  
from hos  
weapons  
on the ea  
murmur  
threats fo  
ment like  
every mis  
with such  
protect M  
wounded  
which fel

\* Some a  
his people,  
would gran

kindled the flames of war; and, emboldened by their success, which convinced them that their enemies were not invincible, the Mexicans collected the next day after the arrival of Cortes, in vast multitudes, and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, with great impetuosity. The Spanish leader and his followers were astonished at the courage and spirit of men who had, for a long time, submitted so tamely to the yoke they had imposed on them. Crowded together in the narrow streets, the Spanish artillery swept them away, at every discharge, like autumnal leaves before the blast; yet they remained undaunted, and returned to the assault with the bravery and determination of men resolved to conquer or die. The contest was continued for several days, with the same spirit and perseverance. At length Cortes resolved to make a sally, with so strong a force that he hoped to drive the enemy out of the city, and end the contest. But he was met by so numerous a body of men, who, animated by their priests, and led on by their nobles, fought with such desperation, that after a day of incessant toil, during which immense slaughter was made of the Mexicans, and a part of the city burnt, the Spaniards returned to their quarters, harassed by the multitude and perseverance of their enemies, and weary with their own carnage, without having effected any thing decisive, or that compensated them for the great loss of twelve men killed and sixty wounded. Being now sensible that he could not maintain himself in the midst of an exasperated population with a handful of men, however great might be their superiority, he resolved to try what would be the effect of the intercession of Montezuma toward soothing the wrath of his people. Accordingly, the next morning, when the Mexicans advanced to the attack, the wretched prince, made the instrument of his own disgrace and of the enslavement of his subjects, was constrained to ascend the battlement, clad in his royal robes, and to address his subjects, and attempt to allay their rage, and dissuade them from hostilities.\* As he came in sight of the Mexicans their weapons dropped from their hands, and they prostrated themselves on the earth; but when he stopped speaking, a deep and sullen murmur arose, and spread through the ranks; reproaches and threats followed, and the feelings of the people swelling in a moment like a sudden rush of waters, volleys of arrows, stones, and every missile, were poured upon the ramparts, so suddenly, and with such violence, that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to protect Montezuma, could cover him with their bucklers, he was wounded by the arrows, and struck by a stone on the temple, which felled him to the ground. His fall occasioned a sudden

\* Some authorities state that Montezuma was induced to intercede with his people, by an assurance from Cortes, that if he would pacify them, he would grant him his liberty, and depart from his country.

transition in the feelings of the multitude; being horror-struck with the crime they had committed, they threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation. Montezuma was removed to his apartments by the Spaniards, but his proud spirit could not brook this last mortification, and perceiving that he was not only the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but the object of the vengeance and contempt of his subjects, he tore the bandages from his wounds in a transport of feeling, and persisted in a refusal to take any nourishment, with a firmness that neither entreaties nor threats could overcome, and thus terminated his wretched existence. He obstinately refused, to the last, all the solicitations, accompanied with all the terrors of future punishment, to embrace the Christian faith.

With the death of Montezuma ended all hopes of pacifying the Mexicans, and Cortes was sensible that his salvation depended on a successful retreat. The morning following the fall of their prince the Mexicans renewed the assault with redoubled fury, and succeeded in taking possession of a high temple, which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and greatly exposed them to the missiles of the enemy. A detachment of chosen men, ordered to dislodge them, were twice repulsed, when Cortes, taking the command himself, rushed into the thickest of the combat, with a drawn sword, and by his presence and example, after a dreadful carnage, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the tower, and set fire to it. Cortes was determined to retreat from the city, but was at a loss in what way to attempt it, when a private soldier, who from a smattering of learning sustained the character of an astrologer, advised him to undertake it in the night, and assured him of complete success. Cortes the more readily fell in with this plan, as he knew it was a superstitious principle with the Mexicans not to attack an enemy in the night. The arrangements being made, the Spaniards moved forward about midnight over the shortest causeway, and all was silence until they reached the first breach. Whilst they were preparing to place their bridge over the breach, at the moment when they supposed their retreat had not been discovered, they were astonished with a tremendous shout, accompanied with martial instruments, of an immense multitude, which covered the whole lake. A shower of arrows and stones was followed by a furious charge. The Spaniards defended themselves with their usual bravery; but being confined in a narrow causeway, and hemmed in on all sides by the multitude of their enemies, all the Mexicans being under arms, they were deprived of the advantages of their superior discipline and skill; and, from the darkness of the night, they could scarcely distinguish friends from foes. After sustaining a dreadful conflict, attended with immense slaughter, for a considerable time,

they w  
over th  
to fill u  
reduced  
with w  
and cor  
the bag  
gold.  
tributed  
cumber  
two the

The  
for six  
over m  
sometin  
near to  
rious di  
exclaim  
where y  
The Sp  
mit of a  
nished v  
plained  
vast nu  
they ha  
depicted  
shaken,  
to concu  
The M  
is the s  
force, th  
ble imp  
Althoug  
whereve  
quarter,  
constant  
own car  
the Mex  
fate of t  
his brav  
the crow  
held it, a  
cers disr  
rial stan  
stantane  
gether so

horror-struck  
own their arms,  
moved to his  
ould not brook  
ot only the pri-  
e vengeance and  
n his wounds  
l to take any  
es nor threats  
xistence. He  
accompanied  
ace the Chris-

pacifying the  
ion depended  
e fall of their  
bled fury, and  
, which over  
them to the  
men, ordered  
es, taking the  
ombat, with a  
ter a dreadful  
of the tower,  
from the city,  
a private sol-  
the character  
night, and as-  
readily fell in  
ciple with the  
The arrange-  
bout midnight  
d they reached  
e their bridge  
d their retreat  
a tremendous  
mmense mul-  
of arrows and  
Spaniards de-  
eing confined  
by the multi-  
arms, they  
discipline and  
ould scarcely  
dreadful con-  
derable time,

they were thrown into confusion. They finally forced their way over the remaining part of the causeway, the dead bodies serving to fill up the breaches. In the morning Cortes found his troops reduced to half their number, and a large portion of these covered with wounds, and all filled with grief, at the loss of their friends and companions. All the artillery was lost, the ammunition and the baggage, most of the horses, and nearly all their ill-gotten gold. The last, which was the chief object of their desires, contributed greatly to their fatal disaster, as the soldiers were so encumbered with it as greatly to impede their exertions. More than two thousand of the Tlascalans were killed.

The Spaniards now commenced their march for Tlascala, and for six days continued it without respite, through swamps and over mountains, harassed by the Mexicans at a distance, and sometimes closely attacked. On the sixth day they approached near to Otumba, and discovered numerous parties moving in various directions. Their interpreter informed them that they often exclaimed, with exultation: "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet with the fate due to your crimes." The Spaniards continued their march until they reached the summit of a mountain, when an extensive valley opened to their astonished visions, covered with an innumerable multitude, which explained the meaning of what they had just seen and heard. The vast number of their enemies, and the suddenness with which they had appeared, appalled the stoutest hearts, and despair was depicted in every countenance. But Cortes, who alone was unshaken, informed them that there remained but one alternative, to conquer or perish; and immediately led them to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with courage; but so great is the superiority of discipline and military science over brute force, that the small battalion of the Spaniards made an irresistible impression, and forced its way through the armed multitude. Although the Mexicans were dispersed, and obliged to give way wherever the Spaniards approached, yet as they retreated in one quarter, they advanced in another; so that the Spaniards were constantly surrounded, and had become nearly exhausted by their own carnage. At this crisis, Cortes, observing the standard of the Mexican empire, and recollecting to have heard that on the fate of that depended the success of a battle, assembled some of his bravest officers, and rushed, with great impetuosity, through the crowd, and by the stroke of a lance wounded the general who held it, and threw him to the ground; whereupon one of his officers dismounted, stabbed him to the heart, and secured the imperial standard. The fall of their leader and standard had an instantaneous and magical effect; every tie which held them together seemed dissolved; a universal panic prevailed; their wea-

pons dropped from their hands, and they all fled with precipitation to the mountains, leaving every thing behind them. The spoil which the Spaniards collected compensated them, in some measure, for their loss in retreating from the Mexican capital.

The next day they entered with joy the territories of Tlascala, and, notwithstanding their dreadful calamities, they were kindly received by their allies, whose fidelity was not at all shaken by the declining condition of the Spanish power. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, Cortes did not abandon his plan of conquering the Mexican empire. He obtained some ammunition and three fieldpieces from Vera Cruz, and despatched four of the vessels of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to obtain ammunition and military stores, and procure adventurers. Sensible that he could do nothing against Mexico without the command of the lake, he set about preparing the timber and other materials for twelve brigantines; which were to be carried by land to the lake in pieces, and there put together and launched. These measures, which disclosed his intentions, occasioned disaffection again to appear among his troops; which, with his usual address, but not without difficulty, he succeeded in suppressing.

Whilst anxiously waiting for the return of his ships, two vessels, which had been sent out by Velasques to re-enforce Narvaez, were decoyed into Vera Cruz, and the crews and troops induced to follow the fortunes of Cortes; and soon after several vessels put in there, and the seamen and soldiers on board were also persuaded to join the Spanish adventurer, by which means Cortes received a re-enforcement of one hundred and eighty men, and twenty horses. He now dismissed such of Narvaez's men as served with reluctance, after which he mustered five hundred and fifty foot soldiers, and forty horsemen, and possessed a train of nine fieldpieces. With this force, and ten thousand Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, he set out once more for the conquest of the Mexican empire. He began his march toward the capital on the 28th of December, 1520, six months after his disastrous retreat.

Although the Mexicans, aware of his intentions, had made preparations to obstruct his progress, he continued his march without much difficulty, and took possession of Tezcuco, the second town in the empire, situated on the lake, about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he established his headquarters, as it was the most suitable place to launch his brigantines; and during the delay which that object required, he subjugated a number of towns on the lake, and thus circumscribed the Mexican empire. At this time, when his prospects were more flattering than they had been at any other, all his hopes were exposed to be blasted, by an alarming conspiracy, which aimed at the life of Cortes himself,

and all  
have be  
privately  
leader,  
times be  
troops a  
of men,  
been fur  
warriors  
and imm  
time the  
eighty h  
and arm  
followers  
28th of  
mony—  
on the b  
performe  
Olmedo,  
tion. T  
shouts r  
first tim  
skimmed  
As the  
away be  
their Ind  
beheld th  
On the  
the thron  
the Span  
their inva  
tively eng  
attack of  
disease w  
ful calam  
ceeded by  
ma: his d  
er, secure  
alarming  
the brigan  
solved to  
titude of  
fearlessly  
quence of  
nately for  
spreading



and all his principal officers. On the very day on which it was to have been carried into execution, one of the conspirators went privately to his general, and revealed it. Villefragua, the ringleader, was seized and executed. The materials for the brigantines being completed, Cortes despatched a detachment of his troops as a convoy to eight thousand *Tamemes*, an inferior class of men, used for carrying burdens in the lieu of animals, who had been furnished by the Tlascalans. Fifteen thousand Tlascalan warriors also accompanied them for their defence. This novel and immense convoy arrived safe at Tezeuco; and about the same time the ships returned from Hispaniola, with two hundred troops, eighty horses, two battering cannon, and a supply of ammunition and arms. These events elevated the hopes of Cortes and his followers, and gave increased activity to their exertions. On the 28th of April all the brigantines were launched, with great ceremony—all the troops, and those of their allies, being drawn up on the banks of the canal, and mass and religious exercises were performed. As they fell into the lake from the canal, Father Olmedo, the chaplain, gave to each its name, and his benediction. The joy of the Spaniards was excessive, and repeated shouts resounded over the still waters of the lake, now for the first time honoured with a fleet, after being for centuries only skimmed by the light canoes of the savage.

As the vessels entered the lake, they hoisted sail, and bore away before the wind; and were viewed by the Spaniards and their Indian allies with transports of joy, whilst the Mexicans beheld them with astonishment and dismay.

On the death of Montezuma the Mexican chiefs elevated to the throne Quetzlavaca, his brother, whose bravery and hostility to the Spaniards were signalized by those fierce attacks upon their invaders, which drove them from the capital. Whilst actively engaged in preparing to defend his capital from the second attack of Cortes, he was cut off by the smallpox, which fatal disease was then ravaging the empire, and was one of the dreadful calamities brought upon it by the Europeans. He was succeeded by Guatimozin, the nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma: his distinguished reputation for courage, and as a commander, secured him the unanimous support of his countrymen at this alarming crisis. Although appeared at the formidable aspect of the brigantines, small and clumsy as they were, Guatimozin resolved to hazard an attempt to destroy them. With a vast multitude of canoes, which covered the whole lake, the Mexicans fearlessly advanced to engage the brigantines, which, in consequence of a dead calm, were scarcely able to move; but, fortunately for the Spaniards, a breeze sprung up, and the vessels, spreading sail, broke through and overset the canoes, and dispers-



ed the whole armament without scarcely an effort, and with great slaughter. This action convinced the Mexicans that the superiority of the Spaniards was greater on the water than on the land, and they made no further attempt to dispute with them the dominion of the lake. Being master of the lake, Cortes carried on the siege with great activity: he divided his forces, and attacked the city in three different quarters, the brigantines being formed into three squadrons, to cover the troops at each of the points of attack. For more than a month the siege continued, and was a succession of sharp and obstinate conflicts. During the day, the Spaniards forced their way over all the obstructions which the enemy had interposed on the causeways to stop their progress, and passed the trenches and canals where the bridges were broken down, and sometimes penetrated into the city; but at night retired to their former positions, as, from the small number of their troops, they deemed it unsafe to remain within the city, where they might be overwhelmed by the multitude of their foes. During the night the Mexicans repaired what the Spaniards had destroyed in the course of the day, and the contest was thus continued, with the desperate bravery and perseverance, on both sides, of men determined to conquer or die. At length Cortes, astonished at the obstinacy of the Mexicans, resolved to attempt, by a great and bold effort, to get possession of the city. He made a general assault at the three points of attack, with his whole force, and pushing on with irresistible impetuosity, they forced their way over one barricade after another, and penetrated into the city. But the officer ordered to fill up the trenches in the causeways, and to keep the command of the same to secure a retreat in case it should become necessary, having neglected that duty and joined in the conflict, Guatimozin, availing himself of this mistake, suffered the Spaniards to advance into the heart of the town, when the sound of the great drum of the temple, consecrated to the god of war, was heard as a signal for action; the whole population of the city rushed with frantic fury to the scene of strife, and fell on their invaders with irresistible impetuosity: the Spaniards at first retired slowly and in order; but when they arrived at the breach in the causeway, where the Mexicans had concentrated a large force to intercept their retreat, being pressed on all sides, they were thrown into confusion, and horse and foot, Spaniards and Tascalans, plunged promiscuously into the gap. The Mexicans, encouraged by success, pressed furiously upon them from all quarters; their canoes covered the lake, and the causeway, both before and behind, was blocked up with their warriors. After incredible exertions, the Spaniards forced their way through the multitude of their enemies, with the loss of more than twenty killed, and forty taken prisoners. These last unhappy victims were sacrificed the fel-

lowing  
city w  
horror  
to the  
tims v  
decla  
enemi  
be de  
of the  
magic  
in con  
Cortes  
which  
ed; a  
allies  
the Sp  
lity, an  
Alth  
rous f  
new an  
but gr  
as he  
of the  
the gr  
and gr  
multit  
of prov  
within  
Hav  
of hi  
tions w  
when a  
the gre  
fate of  
mained  
hold o  
prevail  
arouse  
gotiatio  
deceive  
canoes  
serving  
dered a  
was ab  
cars, th  
to fire,

lowing night to the god of war, as a horrid triumph; the whole city was illuminated, and the Spaniards were filled with grief and horror by the shrieks of their companions, about to be immolated to the diabolical deities of their enemies. The heads of the victims were sent to the different provinces, and exhibited, with a declaration that the god of war, appeased by the blood of their enemies, had declared that in eight days their invaders should be destroyed, and peace restored to the empire. The success of the Mexicans, together with this confident prediction, had a magic effect, and the people flocked in from all quarters, to assist in conquering a hated foe, whom the gods had decreed to destroy. Cortes stationed his troops under the protection of his ships, which kept the enemy at a distance until the eight days had expired; and such was the influence of superstition, that most of his allies deserted him; but after the fatal period had elapsed, and the Spaniards still being safe, they were ashamed of their credulity, and returned to their stations.

Although Cortes now found himself in possession of a numerous force of Indians, yet past experience taught him to adopt a new and more safe mode of carrying on the siege. He made slow but gradual advances; his Indian allies repaired the causeways as he advanced, and as the Spaniards got possession of any part of the city, their allies were employed in levelling the houses to the ground. They thus compelled the Mexicans daily to retire, and gradually circumscribed the limits of the town. The immense multitude which had assembled in the city, consumed the supplies of provisions, and they were threatened with the horrors of famine within, whilst assailed by the enemy from without.

Having the command of the lake, and from the numerous body of his Indian allies, Cortes was enabled to cut off all communications with the city. Three quarters of it were reduced to ashes, when at length the three divisions of the Spaniards penetrated into the great central square, and established a secure position. The fate of the city was now decided, as it was evident that what remained, being assailed from more advantageous stations, could hold out but a short time. At this crisis the chiefs and nobles prevailed on Guatimozin to retire to the provinces, and attempt to arouse the people; and to facilitate his escape they opened a negotiation for peace with Cortes; but the latter, too vigilant to be deceived, had given strict orders to watch the lake, and suffer no canoes to pass. The officer, to whom this duty was assigned, observing several large canoes crossing the lake with rapidity, ordered a swift-sailing brigantine in pursuit, which, as it neared them, was about firing, when all the rowers in an instant dropped their oars, threw down their arms, and, rising up, beseeched them not to fire, as the emperor was on board. Guatimozin surrendered

himself with dignity, and only requested that no insult might be offered to the empress, or his children. When brought into the presence of Cortes, he behaved with a degree of composure and dignity that would have done honour to any monarch on earth. Addressing himself to Cortes, he said, "I have done what became a monarch; I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," (laying his hand on one which Cortes wore,) "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of any use." Previous to his leaving the city, he had caused all his treasures to be thrown into the lake.

The capture of the sovereign terminated the struggle, and the city and the empire fell into the hands of the conquerors. The siege had continued seventy-five days, and was by far the most extraordinary and memorable military effort in the conquest of America. The exertions, bravery, perseverance, and astonishing exploits of Cortes and his followers, are unexampled; yet it is not to be supposed that the Mexican empire, comprising a vast population, in a considerable state of improvement, was conquered by a few hundred Spaniards: its conquest was effected by internal disaffections and divisions, and the jealousy of its neighbours, who dreaded its power, the oppression of which they had often experienced.

The excessive joy of the Spaniards was changed to murmurs, when they learnt the small amount of treasure which had fallen into their hands; and such was their rage and disappointment, that Cortes was obliged to give way to it, and suffer Guaiumozin to be put to the torture, to compel him to discover the royal treasures which they supposed he had concealed. And with such dignity and fortitude did he endure the torture, that when the anguish and pain was at its height, and his fellow-sufferer seemed to ask permission to purchase relief by revealing what he knew, the royal victim, with a look of authority and scorn, reproached him for his weakness, by asking, "Am I now reposing on a bed of roses?" After this reproof, his fellow-sufferer remained silent, and expired under the torture of men calling themselves Christians. Cortes, ashamed of what he had done, interfered, and rescued the royal victim from the hands of his persecutors.

On the 10th of August, 1519, Ferdinand Magellan sailed from Seville, with five ships and two hundred and thirty-four men, on a voyage of discovery. He discovered and entered the spacious bay forming the mouth of the River de la Plata, supposing it to be a strait, or communication leading into the Southern Ocean; and proceeding south he entered the strait that bears his name, and after sailing twenty days in that winding channel, the great Southern Ocean presented itself to his astonished vision, and

with  
cour  
ty da  
cour  
gave  
taine  
Philip  
he w  
its co  
length  
tonis  
Span  
island  
cour  
Good  
and t  
time.  
Th  
sent t  
the h  
Charl  
captai  
any le  
ed me  
sovere  
capita  
mence  
of the  
amina  
his co  
Th  
quietly  
despai  
arms,  
niards,  
again  
fell into  
the me  
and cru  
every d  
arms is  
ciques,  
time;  
relation  
to be sp  
Vol.

with tears of joy he returned thanks to Heaven. Pursuing his course toward the northwest, he sailed for three months and twenty days without discovering land; and from the uninterrupted course of fair weather, and the favourableness of the winds, he gave that ocean the name of *Pacific*, which it has ever since retained. He discovered numerous islands, and among others the Philippines. In a quarrel with the natives, at one of these islands, he was unfortunately killed. The expedition, after the death of its commander, discovered the great island of Borneo, and at length arrived at one of the Molucca isles, to the no small astonishment of the Portuguese, who could not conceive how the Spaniards, by sailing in a westerly direction, had arrived at an island which they discovered by sailing in a directly opposite course. From this place they sailed by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and returned home, after a voyage of three years and twenty-eight days, having sailed round the globe for the first time.

The accounts of Cortes' victories and conquests, which were sent to Spain, filled his countrymen with admiration, and excited the highest expectations with the people and the government. Charles V. who had succeeded to the throne, appointed Cortes captain-general of New Spain; and even before he had received any legal sanction, he assumed the power of governor, and adopted measures to secure the vast country he had conquered to his sovereign, as a colony of Spain. He determined to rebuild the capital, and there to establish the seat of his government; he commenced the work on an extended plan, and laid the foundations of the most magnificent city in the new world. He caused examinations to be made for mines, opened some, and encouraged his countrymen to settle in the remote provinces.

The Mexicans, conquered and degraded as they were, did not quietly submit to their new masters; but aroused by oppression or despair, they often, with more courage than discretion, rushed to arms, and were not only defeated in every contest, but the Spaniards, regarding these attempts to regain their liberty as rebellion against their lawful sovereign, put the caciques and nobles, who fell into their hands, to death, and reduced the common people to the most humiliating and degrading servitude. The massacres and cruelties of the Spaniards are almost incredible. "In almost every district of the Mexican empire, the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood. In the country of Panuco, sixty caciques, or leaders, and four hundred nobles, were burnt at one time; and, to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled, and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies."\* This sanguinary scene

was succeeded by another, if possible still more revolting and horrible to the natives. On suspicion, or pretence, that Guatimozin had conspired against the Spanish authority, and excited his former subjects to take up arms, the unhappy monarch, with the caciques of Tezcuco and Tacuba, the two most distinguished personages in the empire, without even the formality of a trial, were brought to a public and ignominious execution, and hanged on a gibbet, in the presence of their countrymen, who witnessed the scene with indescribable horror, as they had long been accustomed to reverence their sovereign with homage and awe, scarcely less profound than that offered to their gods.

For all his toils and sufferings, his splendid achievements, his extensive conquests, and all the cruelties and crimes he committed for his sovereign, Cortes received the reward which usually attends those who perform great services for their country: he was envied, calumniated, suspected, recalled, deprived of his authority, and of all benefit from his exertions, except the glory of being the conqueror of Mexico, and the oppressor and destroyer of a great, and once prosperous and happy nation.

*Expedi  
disco  
expe  
Peru  
the in  
gold  
to exp  
zarro  
credi  
fifty  
lantic  
de Co  
Span  
Vela  
salo I  
meast  
—Ga*

THE  
America  
addition  
was the  
quests v  
establis  
bolder e  
coast of  
venturer  
rent of n  
Ocean.  
Soon  
obscure  
vering a  
colony, v  
These in  
Spanish  
the new  
gin was  
bastard a  
clesiastic  
schoolma

## CHAPTER III.

*Expedition for the discovery of Peru—the coast of Chili and Peru discovered—Pizarro visits Spain—returns, and fits out another expedition for the conquest of the country—the first colony in Peru planted—the Incas of the country—Pizarro marches into the interior, and captures the Inca—he offers to fill a room with gold for his ransom—is put to death—the Peruvians determine to expel their invaders—they besiege Cusco—action between Pizarro and Almagro—expedition of Gonsalo Pizarro—the incredible sufferings of his men—Orellana, one of his officers, with fifty men, deserts—sails down the Amazon, and enters the Atlantic Ocean—Distress of Gonsalo—he returns to Quito—Vaca de Castro appointed governor of Peru—insurrection among the Spaniards against Pizarro—he is assassinated in his palace—Vela appointed governor—bloody action between him and Gonsalo Pizarro—Gasca sent from Spain, as governor—his pacific measures—Pizarro refuses to submit—is defeated and beheaded—Gasca returns to Spain.*

THE success of Cortes, and other Spanish adventurers in America, stimulated the ambition of their countrymen, and gave additional impulse to the spirit of enterprise and discovery, which was the prevailing passion of the day. The discoveries and conquests which had been made, and the settlements that had been established, served both as incentives and facilities to new and bolder enterprises. The settlement at Panama, on the western coast of the isthmus of Darien, greatly facilitated the plans of adventurers in that quarter, and became, in some measure, the parent of most of the early settlements on the coast of the Southern Ocean.

Soon after the conquest of Mexico, about the year 1524, three obscure individuals, residing at Panama, formed a plan for discovering and conquering the rich countries to the eastward of that colony, which had long attracted the attention of adventurers. These individuals were Francisco Pizarro, the natural son of a Spanish gentleman, a soldier, and one of the early adventurers to the new world; Diego de Almagro, also a soldier, and whose origin was equally humble with that of his associate, one being a bastard and the other a foundling; and Hermando Luque, an ecclesiastic, who was employed in the double capacity of priest and schoolmaster at Panama. The last, by some means not known,



had acquired considerable wealth, but his two associates possessed but little; each, however, was to embark his whole fortune in the enterprise, together with all his hopes. The contract between them was solemnized by religious sanctions, although its object was rapine and murder.

With all their united means and exertions they were enabled only to fit out one small vessel, with one hundred and twelve men, Pedrarias, the governor of Panama, having first authorized the expedition. This was commanded by Pizarro, and afterward Almagro sailed with seventy men more as a re-enforcement. Such were the men, and such the means, by which one of the most extensive empires on the globe was to be conquered—an empire where civilization and the arts had made great progress, and whose government was not only established on divine authority, but its sovereign claimed relationship with the gods, and was venerated by his subjects accordingly.

Their first expedition was productive of little more advantage than the discovery of the opulent country of which they were in pursuit, whose existence had become a matter of doubt, in consequence of the failure of several attempts at discovery. After having touched at various places, and suffered incredible hardships, they discovered the coast of Chili, and landed at Tacamez, south of the river Emeralds, where they beheld with pleasure a fertile and inviting country, very different from any they had discovered in the Southern Ocean. The country was cultivated, and the natives were clad in garments of white cotton stuffs, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver. Although delighted with these appearances, the adventurers did not presume to invade so populous a country with a handful of men, worn out with hardships, and wasted by disease. They stopped at the island of Gallo, and Almagro returned to Panama to obtain re-enforcements, leaving Pizarro with part of the men. Pedro de los Rios, having succeeded Pedrarias as governor of the colony, and apprehending that the settlement of Panama would be weakened, and even exposed, by sending off adventurers in a distant and uncertain enterprise, he prohibited Almagro from raising more recruits, and despatched a vessel to bring back Pizarro and his followers, who were left behind. When the vessel arrived, Pizarro, inflexibly bent on his purposes, peremptorily refused to obey the orders of the governor, and used every persuasion to induce his men to remain with him. He drew a line on the sand with his sword, and informed his followers, that those who wished to abandon their leader and the glorious enterprise, would pass over: thirteen only remained to share the fortune of their commander. This small and dauntless band removed to the island of Gorgona, as being a more safe situation, where they remained for more than five

months  
every t  
want o  
to con  
joy, su  
ers, bu  
stead o  
and had  
touchin  
three c  
cent te  
pire.  
and we  
folded  
many o  
ver whi  
did orn  
ples, an  
attract  
est drea  
land of  
their ho  
imagin  
all the  
Pizarro  
tented  
inhabita  
gold, an  
exhibite  
and exp  
pretenc  
the real  
But t  
of the c  
him, dic  
Panama  
scheme  
which, t  
ing agre  
Almagro  
of the c  
succeed  
the appo  
he had  
the coas

months, constantly tortured with hopes and fears, and suffering every thing, short of death, from an unhealthy climate, and the want of provisions. At length a vessel arrived from the governor, to convey them to Panama, which occasioned such excessive joy, such a sudden transition of feeling, that not only his followers, but the crew of the vessel, agreed to follow Pizarro, and, instead of returning to Panama, they bore away to the southeast, and had the good fortune to discover the coast of Peru. After touching at several places, they landed at Tumbez, situated about three degrees south of the equatorial line; here was a magnificent temple, and a palace of the Incas, or sovereigns of the empire. The fertility of the country, the improvements, civilization, and wealth of the inhabitants, was now, for the first time, fully unfolded to the view of the Spaniards; the rich stuffs, in which many of the inhabitants were clad, the ornaments of gold and silver which adorned their persons, and the more massy and splendid ornaments of the precious metals which enriched their temples, and even the common utensils, composed of gold and silver, attracted their enraptured vision, convinced them that their fondest dreams were realized, and that at last they had discovered the land of Ophir—the country of gold. They feasted their eyes and their hopes on these inviting objects; and gazed until they almost imagined themselves masters of the country, and possessed of all the wealth they saw and coveted. But, with his small force, Pizarro did not attempt any thing against the country, and contented himself with sailing along the coast, and trading with the inhabitants; he procured several llamas, vessels of silver and gold, and several curious specimens of their manufactures, to be exhibited as memorials of the opulent country he had discovered and explored. He also brought off two native youths, under the pretence of instructing them in the Castilian language, but with the real intention of employing them as interpreters.

But the flattering accounts which Pizarro gave of the opulence of the country, supported by the specimens he had brought with him, did not change the inflexible resolution of the governor of Panama; he still refused to authorize, or even countenance, the scheme of Pizarro and his two associates; in consequence of which, they determined to apply directly to their sovereign. Having agreed among themselves that Pizarro should be governor, Almagro adelantado, or lieutenant-governor, and Luque bishop of the country they might conquer, Pizarro set sail for Spain, and succeeded beyond the utmost extent of his hopes. He obtained the appointment of captain-general and adelantado of the country he had discovered, described to extend six hundred miles along the coast south of the river St. Jago; but his unbounded ambi-

tior. led him to grasp every thing for himself, and to disregard the rights of Almagro; yet as the views of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the expected appointment. When Pizarro arrived at Panama he found Almagro so exasperated at his conduct, that he was exerting all his influence to embarrass and frustrate his plans, and at the same time to fit out an expedition himself, on his own account. Alarmed at the consequences of an opposition from one who had been connected with him in the enterprise, Pizarro exerted himself to effect a reconciliation; and, by offering to relinquish to Almagro the office of adelantado, a reunion among the confederates was established. The confederates now exerted themselves to fit out an armament for the conquest of the country: but with all their united efforts, aided by the alluring accounts of the country, three small vessels, with one hundred and eight men, was the extent of the force which they could raise, and with this Pizarro did not hesitate to invade an extensive country, filled with people. He landed in the bay of St. Matthew, and advanced toward the south. In the province of Coaque they plundered the inhabitants of gold and silver to the amount of forty thousand dollars, a large portion of which they remitted in one of their vessels to Almagro, at Panama, to enable him to procure recruits; and despatched another vessel to Nicaragua. This display of the riches of the country, and the wealth they had already acquired, had a most happy influence on the cause, and procured several small re-enforcements. Pizarro continued his march along the coast, and met with little resistance from the inhabitants, who, surprised and terrified at the sudden appearance of such formidable invaders, either deserted their habitations and fled, or sued for peace and favour. He proceeded to Tumbez, and from thence to the river Piura, near the mouth of which, at a favourable site, he planted the first colony in Peru, which he called St. Michael.

Peru, at the time it was invaded by Pizarro, was a powerful and extensive empire, being six hundred leagues in length on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and extending east to the ridge of the Andes, stretching from one extremity of that vast chain to the other. This extensive country, like other parts of America, was originally inhabited by numerous independent tribes of savages, who were in a rude and unimproved state of nature, until, according to their own traditions, two extraordinary personages suddenly appeared on the banks of the lake Titiaca, who founded the Peruvian empire. Their names were Manco Capac, and Mama Ocollo, his consort. They were dressed in white cotton garments, were of majestic form and appearance, and claimed to be children of the Sun, and to have been sent by the Beneficent

Parent  
his cre  
ings of

The  
and the  
wonder  
tribes  
ceeded  
thus gra  
structe  
the reg  
men to  
institut  
the dut  
private  
and du  
defined  
gave th  
well re  
tended  
was enl  
it comp  
and his  
only ob  
ing to th  
nations,  
the roya  
severest

When  
Huanan  
pire and  
virtues,  
in the y  
the daug  
called A  
for in th  
Huascar  
blood.  
title of h  
and a civ  
the emp  
St. Mich  
Atahu  
had led  
rival; de  
tower at

Parent of the human race, who looked down on the miseries of his creatures with pity, to instruct, and impart to them the blessings of peace and civilization.

The dignity and sanctity of these extraordinary individuals, and their knowledge of some of the arts of life, which appeared wonderful to the simple natives, induced many of the wandering tribes to follow them, and submit to their authority.—They proceeded to Cusco, and commenced the erection of houses, and thus gradually laid the foundation of a city.—Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture and the useful arts, and introduced the regular laws of society, whilst Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and weave, and other domestic employments. The institutions and laws of Manco established private property, and the duties of the social relations, and provided for the security of private rights, and the peace of the community. The powers and duties of persons in authority were divided, graduated, and defined, and exercised with such uniformity and steadiness, as gave the community the appearance, if not the character, of a well regulated state. At first the territory of Manco Capac extended but about eight leagues around Cusco, his capital; but it was enlarged by him and his successors, from time to time, until it comprised one of the most extensive empires in the world.—He and his successors were styled *Incas*, or lords, and were not only obeyed as sovereigns, but revered as divinities; and according to the principles of legitimacy, as recognised in more civilized nations, the blood was to be kept pure, and all intermarriages with the royal and divine race of the Incas were prohibited, under the severest penalties.

When the Spaniards first visited Peru the throne was filled by Huanan Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the empire and dynasty. He was a prince equally eminent for his pacific virtues, and military talents. He conquered the kingdom of Quito in the year 1526, and annexed it to his dominions, and married the daughter of the vanquished monarch, by whom he had a son, called Atahualpa. At his death he appointed this son his successor in the kingdom of Quito, and left the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son, and whose mother was of the royal Inca blood. The latter, feeling the pride of legitimacy, disallowed the title of his half-brother, as he was not of the entire royal blood, and a civil war ensued. This war was prevailing, and had filled the empire with dissensions, when Pizarro landed in the Bay of St. Michael.

Atahualpa, having the command of the army which his father had led into Quito, took the field with great advantage over his rival; defeated and took him prisoner, and confined him in the tower at Cusco. Pizarro obtained information of these disorders

with great satisfaction, from messengers sent to him by Huascar, to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel, who had usurped the sovereignty which belonged to himself. The importance of this intelligence being perceived by Pizarro, he immediately put his troops in motion, and without waiting for a re-enforcement, marched into the interior of the country, leaving a small garrison at St. Michael. With little opposition, he penetrated to Caxamalca, the headquarters of Atahualpa, who, with astonishing simplicity, received him in the most friendly manner. Pizarro, according to the prevailing artifice of his countrymen, pretended that he had come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch beyond the waters, and that the object of his mission was to assist Atahualpa against his enemies, who wished to deprive him of his crown and dominions. Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a palace of the Incas, and on the other a temple of the Sun, which was the divinity of the country. The whole being surrounded by a wall of earth, it afforded a safe and advantageous position for his troops. Pizarro immediately despatched his brother to the camp of Atahualpa to reassure him of his amicable intentions, and to invite him to an interview. The example of Cortes, strengthened by his own experience in the country, determined him to attempt the same bold measure that had been found so successful in Mexico. The interview was conducted with great ceremony and dignity on the part of the Peruvians: the Inca sitting on a throne covered with gold, and adorned with plumes and precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of four of the principal officers of his household, and was preceded by four hundred men in uniform, and followed by the officers of government, civil and military, accompanied by an immense retinue; and his whole army, was drawn out on the plain, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the Inca arrived near the Spanish quarters, the chaplain of the expedition addressed him, and explained to him in Spanish, which was interpreted, the mysteries of Christianity, the power of the pope, and the grant made by his holiness of all the territories and countries of the new world, to the king of Spain, and concluded by requiring the Inca to acknowledge the Christian religion, the authority of the pope, and submit to the king of Castile as his lawful sovereign; and in case he should be so unreasonable and impious as to refuse to obey this demand, he denounced war against him in the name of his sovereign. Astonished and indignant at this incomprehensible and presumptuous harangue, Atahualpa replied that he was master of his own dominions, and held them as an inheritance from his ancestors, and that he could not perceive how a priest should pretend to dispose of countries which did not belong to him, and of which he must have been ignorant

even  
gion  
the in  
Spani  
be inf  
"In  
viary.  
and ra  
me no  
ner.  
claim  
insult  
zarro,  
an att  
being  
fore hi  
struck  
horse  
impetu  
famous  
of the  
the Pe  
most p  
in crow  
at the l  
vanced  
the gre  
half fri  
enemie  
sent to  
tion, an  
did not  
Peruvia  
except  
men.  
heads o  
they spe  
fortune  
The v  
a prison  
dous: h  
swallow  
appeared  
an insati  
oppresso  
try, he o  
Vol.

even of the existence; he said he would not renounce the religion of his ancestors, nor relinquish the adoration of the Sun, the immortal divinity of his country, to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death like mortals. He wished to be informed where the priest had learnt such wonderful things: "In this book," said Father Valverde, reaching to him his breviary. The Inca took it in his hand, and turning over the leaves and raising it to his ear, observed, "this book is silent; it tells me nothing," and threw it on the ground in a contemptuous manner. The monk, turning toward his countrymen in a rage, exclaimed, "To arms, Christians! to arms! the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs." Pizarro, who had previously made the necessary arrangements for an attack, waited with impatience during this long conference, being anxious to seize his victim, and the rich spoils that lay before his eyes. His orders were instantly given: the martial music struck up, the cannon roared, the musketry was discharged, the horse galloped fiercely to the charge, and the infantry pressed impetuously forward, sword in hand. Astonished at such infamous treachery, and surprised and terrified at the suddenness of the attack, and the noise and destructive effects of firearms, the Peruvians were filled with consternation, and fled with the utmost precipitation. Although the nobility flocked around the Inca in crowds, zealous to defend him, he was seized by Pizarro, who, at the head of a chosen band, selected for the purpose, had advanced directly toward him. He was dragged from his throne to the ground, and carried to the Spanish quarters. The fugitives, half frightened out of their senses, not knowing whether their enemies were of the human race, or beings of a superior nature, sent to punish them for their crimes, were pursued in every direction, and immense numbers of them slaughtered, although they did not make the least resistance. More than four thousand Peruvians were slain, and not a single Spaniard, nor one wounded, except Pizarro himself, slightly, on the hand, by one of his own men. The plunder was of immense value, and fairly turned the heads of such a band of desperate and indigent adventurers; they spent the night in that extravagant joy which a change of fortune so sudden and important was calculated to produce.

The wretched monarch, removed in an hour from a throne to a prison, almost sunk under a calamity so sudden and so tremendous: had an earthquake shaken the Andes from its base, and swallowed up half his dominions, the calamity could not have appeared more sudden or terrible. Discovering, however, that an insatiable thirst for gold was the predominant passion of his oppressors, and apparently their only object in invading his country, he offered, as a ransom for his liberty, to fill the apartment in



which he was confined, which was twenty-two feet in length, and sixteen in breadth, as high as he could reach, with gold. Pizarro did not hesitate to accept this tempting offer, and a line was drawn round the walls, to fix more definitely the stipulated height of the chamber. Transported with the idea of obtaining his liberty, Atahualpa sent to Cusco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been collected for adorning the temples and palaces of the Incas, informing his subjects of the terms of his ransom, and ordering all the gold to be conveyed to Caxamalca for that purpose.

The Peruvians, accustomed to obey implicitly the mandates of their sovereign, flocked in, from all parts of the empire, loaded with the precious metals, so that in a short period the greater part of the stipulated quantity was produced, and Atahualpa assured Pizarro that the residue would arrive as soon as there was sufficient time to convey it from the remote provinces. But such piles of gold so inflamed the avarice of a needy soldiery, that they could no longer be restrained, and Pizarro was obliged to order the whole melted down, and divided among his followers. The captive monarch, having performed his part of the contract, now demanded to be set at liberty; but the perfidious Spanish leader had no such intention; his only object being to secure the plunder; and he even meditated taking the life of his credulous captive, at the very time the latter was employed in amassing the treasures for his ransom. Atahualpa was subjected to a mock trial, and condemned to be burnt: his last moments were embittered by friar Valverde, who, although he had used his influence to procure his condemnation, and sanctioned the sentence with his own signature, attempted to console him in his awful situation, and to convert him to Christianity. The only argument that had any influence on the trembling victim was that of mitigating his punishment; and on the promise of being strangled, instead of consumed by a slow fire, he consented to be baptized, by the hand of one of his murderers, who exercised the holy functions of priest.

After the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty; Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, was also declared sovereign at Cusco, and the governors of many of the provinces assumed independent authority, so that the empire was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions.

The intelligence of the immense wealth acquired by Pizarro and his followers, which those who had returned had conveyed to Panama, Nicaragua and Guatemala, confirmed by a display of the treasures, produced such an electric effect, that it was with difficulty the governors of those places could restrain their people from abandoning their possessions and embarking for Peru, as

adventurers. Numerous re-enforcements arrived from various quarters, which enabled Pizarro to force his way into the heart of the country, and take possession of Cusco, the capital of the empire. The gold and silver found here, after all that had been removed, exceeded what had been received as the ransom of Atahualpa.

Whilst the Spanish commander was thus employed, Benalcazar, who had been left in command at St. Michael, having received some re-enforcements, left a garrison at that place, and set out with the rest of the troops under his command for the conquest of Quito. After a long and difficult march, over mountains and rivers, exposed to the fierce attacks of the natives, he entered the city of Quito. The tranquillity of the interior, and the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro, brother of the commander-in-chief, with considerable re-enforcements, induced the latter to march back to the seacoast, where, in the year 1534, he laid the foundation of the city of Lima, distinguished in after times for its wealth and earthquakes, and more recently as the seat of civil war. In the mean time, Amalro set out on an expedition for the conquest of Chili; and several parties were ordered by Pizarro into distant provinces, which had not been subdued. These various enterprises had reduced the troops at Cusco to a small number. The Peruvians, aware of this circumstance, and being now persuaded that the Spaniards would not voluntarily retire from their country, but intended to establish themselves in it, were at last aroused from their inactivity, and seemed determined to expel their rapacious invaders. Preparations, through the whole empire, were carried on with such secrecy and despatch, as to elude the utmost vigilance of the Spaniards; and Manco Capac, who was acknowledged by all as sovereign at this time, having made his escape from the Spaniards at Cusco, where he had been detained as a prisoner, the standard of war was immediately raised; troops assembled from all parts of the empire, and, according to the Spanish writers of that period, two hundred thousand men laid siege to Cusco, which was defended for nine months by one hundred and seventy Spaniards. A numerous army also invested Lima, and all communication between the two cities was cut off. The Peruvians not only displayed the utmost bravery, but, imitating the discipline of their enemies, large bodies were marshalled in regular order: some of their bravest warriors were armed with swords and spears; others appeared with muskets, obtained from the Spaniards, and a few of the boldest, at the head of whom was the Inca himself, were mounted on horses, which they had taken from their invaders, and charged like Spanish cavaliers. All the exertions of the Spanish garrison, directed by the three brothers of the commander-in-chief, and rendered desperate from their

situation, could not resist the incessant attacks of the Peruvians; they recovered possession of one half of their capital; and the Spaniards, worn out with uninterrupted service, suffering for the want of provisions, and ignorant as to their brethren in other stations, and the number of their enemies daily increasing, were ready to despair; the stoutest hearts sunk under such accumulated, such appalling difficulties and dangers.

At this hour of darkness, when the lamp of hope emitted but a glimmering ray, Almagro appeared at Cusco. But even this event the Pizarros hardly knew whether to regard as auspicious or calamitous, as they knew not whether he had come as a friend or foe. Whilst in Chili, he had received a patent from the crown, constituting him governor of Chili, and defining its limits, which, by his own construction, included the city of Cusco; and being informed of the revolt of the Peruvians, he marched back to prevent the place from falling into the possession of the natives, and also to rescue it from the hands of the Pizarros. Almagro was, therefore, the enemy of both parties, and both attempted to negotiate with him. The Inca, knowing his situation and pretensions, at first attempted to make terms with him; but soon being convinced that no faith could be had with a Spaniard, he fell suddenly upon him, with a numerous body of his bravest troops. The discipline and good fortune of the Spaniards once more prevailed, and the Peruvians were defeated with an immense slaughter, and their whole army dispersed. Almagro's attention was now directed against the garrison; and having surprised the sentinels, he entered the town by night, surrounded the house where the two Pizarros quartered, and compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. Francisco Pizarro, having defeated and driven off the Peruvians who invested Lima, sent a detachment of five hundred men to Cusco to the relief of his brothers, in case they had not already fallen into the hands of the Peruvians. On their arrival they were astonished to find an enemy in their own countrymen, which was the first knowledge they had of the events that had occurred at Cusco. After first attempting, without success, to seduce Alvarado, their commander, Almagro surprised and fell upon them in the night in their camp, took Alvarado and his principal officers prisoners, and completely routed the party.

Pizarro, alarmed for the safety of his two brothers, as well as for the security of his possessions, opened a negotiation with Almagro; and having artfully prolonged the same for several months, and by deception and perfidy procured the liberation of his brothers, threw off all disguise, abandoned the negotiation, and prepared to settle the dispute in the field; and seven hundred men, ready to march to Cusco, attested the rapidity of his preparations. The command of these troops he gave to his two brothers, who

anxic  
the d  
befor  
and a  
by se  
oblig  
ficer  
as the  
the ca  
an ad  
ciplin  
made  
were  
shed  
the m  
that m  
about  
their c  
ty, wh  
thus a  
The  
meets  
time th  
gerous  
cold b  
hands  
alitter  
a pris  
was su  
was ag  
of its  
Piza  
and pa  
and pr  
But no  
of the  
terprise  
the pro  
Jago d  
to supe  
to exar  
head of  
the def  
coid wa  
nied hi  
excessi

anxious for victory, and thirsting for revenge, penetrated through the defiles of one branch of the Andes, and appeared on the plain before Cusco. Almagro had five hundred men, veteran soldiers, and a greater number of cavalry than his enemy: being worn out by services and fatigues, too great for his advanced age, he was obliged to intrust the command to Orgognez, who, though an officer of much merit, had not the same ascendancy over the troops as their chief, whom they had long been accustomed to follow in the career of victory. Pizarro had a superiority in numbers, and an advantage from two companies armed with muskets, and disciplined to their use. Whilst countrymen and brethren, who had made common cause in plundering and massacring the natives, were drawn up in hostile array, and under the same banners, shed each other's blood, the Indians, like distant clouds, covered the mountains, and viewed with astonishment, but with pleasure, that rapacity and violence of which they had been the victims, about to recoil on the heads of their invaders, and to be inflicted by their own hands. They were prepared to fall on the victorious party, who, exhausted by the contest, might be an easy prey, and thus appropriate the victory to themselves.

The conflict was fierce and tremendous; for "when Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war;" for a considerable time the result was doubtful, but Orgognez, having received a dangerous wound, his party was completely routed, himself slain in cold blood, one hundred and forty killed, and the rest fell into the hands of the victors. Almagro, who had witnessed the action from a litter with the deepest emotions, attempted to escape, but was made a prisoner. After being detained in custody for several months, he was subjected to a mock trial, and sentenced to death. Cusco was again pillaged, but its rich spoils did not satisfy the rapacity of its conquerors.

Pizarro now considered himself master of the entire country, and parcelled it out among his favourites, with as much justice and propriety as the pope had granted the whole to his master. But not being able to satisfy all, and to prevent the consequences of the complaints and the turbulence of his men, he promoted enterprises which employed them at a distance. Valdivia resumed the project of the conquest of Chili, and founded the city of St. Jago de Santiago. His brother, Gonsalo Pizarro, he appointed to supersede Benalcazar as governor of Quito, and instructed him to examine and conquer the country east of the Andes. At the head of three hundred and fifty men, he forced his way through the defiles and over the elevated ridges of the Andes, where the cold was so excessive that four thousand Indians, who accompanied him to transport his provisions, all perished; and from their excessive fatigues, the severity of the cold, and the want of pro-

visions, the Spaniards themselves, inured to hardships as they were, could scarcely sustain such accumulated evils, such intolerable sufferings. Some of their number fell victims to them. After crossing the mountains, new and unexpected calamities from the climate awaited them, and scarcely less severe; having escaped the frosts of the mountains, they were now to be destroyed by the rains of the plains. For two months the rain fell incessantly; there was scarcely sufficient fair weather to dry their clothes. They, however, advanced until they reached the banks of one of the principal branches of the Maragnon or Amazon. Here they constructed a bark for the purpose of passing rivers, conveying provisions, and exploring the country. Fifty men were put on board, under Orellana, the officer next in authority to Pizarro, and the rapidity of the stream soon carried them ahead of their brethren, who made their way with difficulty by land.

Orellana, imitating the examples which had been furnished him, was no sooner beyond the power of Pizarro, than he considered himself independent, and determined to carry on business on his own account, as a discoverer. He formed the bold scheme of pursuing the course of the Amazon to the ocean, and exploring the vast interior regions of the southern continent. This daring attempt, as bold as it was unjustifiable, he accomplished: committing his frail bark to the guidance of the rapid stream, he penetrated four thousand miles through an unknown region, filled with hostile tribes, and where, for unknown ages, wild beasts and savages alone had roamed joint tenants of its immense domains. He found his way safely to the ocean, and finally to Spain, where he published a marvellous account of his voyage and discoveries; and, among other wonders, gave an account of a nation or community of women, which he visited, having all the heroic virtues of the ancient Amazons; and, from the propensity of mankind for the marvellous, this community of Amazons long maintained their existence, after the discoveries made, and the progress of science had dissipated the darkness which first gave credit to the narration. Orellana was ordered to wait at the junction of the Napo with the Amazon, for the arrival of Pizarro; and the astonishment and consternation of the latter, when he ascertained the infamous treachery of Orellana, who had basely deprived his brethren of their only resource, and left them to perish in the heart of an immense wilderness, can better be conceived than described. They were twelve hundred miles from Quito, to which place they turned their course: the hardships they had before encountered, now seemed comparatively but small: they were compelled to subsist on berries and roots; they even devoured their dogs, horses, the most loathsome reptiles, and the leather of their saddles. After the expiration of two years,

eighty  
as na

But  
as the  
of his  
of Al  
surpris  
procla  
head c  
ing di  
Vaca  
verno  
ances  
Havin  
adopt  
ing co  
whithe  
about  
decide  
and ch  
spirit,  
situati  
was in  
fourte  
more  
battle  
and hi  
the vi  
christ  
forty  
Alma  
events

At  
cease  
count  
and bl

But  
regula  
posses  
depriv  
Nugn  
the el  
the ga  
rashne  
ders,  
malce



eighty of the Spaniards, only, returned to Quito, and these were as naked as the savages, and emaciated to skeletons.

But Pizarro found neither repose nor consolation on his return; as the last dregs of his cup of bitterness, he learnt the awful fate of his brother, and the overthrow of his power. The adherents of Almagro and other malecontents formed a bold conspiracy, surprised and assassinated the governor in his own palace, and proclaimed young Almagro, now arrived at manhood, to be the head of the government, as successor to his father. The shocking dissensions in Peru being known at the court of Castile, Vaca de Castro received a royal commission, appointing him governor of Peru, for the purpose of quieting the existing disturbances, and establishing the authority of the Spanish government. Having landed at Quito, he immediately, and with great energy, adopted measures to suppress the insurrection, and bring the daring conspirators to punishment. He marched toward Cusco, whither Almagro had retired; the hostile parties met at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cusco, and both determined to decide the contest at once. The action was bloody and decisive, and characterized by that fierceness, impetuosity, and vindictive spirit, which the deadly animosities of both parties, and desperate situation of one, were calculated to inspire; and the slaughter was in proportion to the maddening fury of the combatants. Of fourteen hundred men, the whole number engaged on both sides, more than one thousand lay dead and wounded on the field of battle. Superiority of numbers prevailed, and young Almagro and his party, or all who escaped the sword, fell into the hands of the victors. And although they were countrymen and fellow-christians, the tender mercies of their conquerors were cruelties; forty were executed as rebels; many were banished, and young Almagro, their leader, was publicly beheaded at Cusco. These events occurred in 1542.

At length the torch of civil dissension, if not extinguished, ceased to burn; and a short period of repose was restored to a country, whose history hitherto was but a succession of carnage and bloodshed.

But tranquillity in Peru was not of long continuance; new regulations having been framed for the government of the Spanish possessions in America, which greatly alarmed the settlers, by depriving them of their oppressive power over the natives, and Nugnez Vela being sent out to Peru as governor, to enforce them, the elements of dissension were again brought into action, and the gathering clouds threatened another storm of civil war. The rashness and violence of the new governor increased the disorders, and spread the disaffection throughout the provinces. The malecontents from all quarters looked to Gonsalo Pizarro as



their leader and deliverer ; and, having taken the field, he soon found himself at the head of one thousand men, with which he moved toward Lima. But before he arrived there a revolution had taken place ; the governor and the judges of the court of Audience, had long been in contention, and finally the latter, gaining the ascendancy, seized the governor, and sent him prisoner to a desert island on the coast. Pizarro, finding things in this state of disorder, beheld the supreme authority within his reach, and compelled the judges of the royal audience to appoint him governor and captain-general of Peru. He had scarcely possessed himself of his usurped authority, before he was called to defend it, against a formidable opponent. Nugnez Veia, the governor, being set at liberty by the officer intrusted with conducting him to Spain, landed at Tumbez, raised the royal standard, and resumed his functions as viceroy of the province. Many distinguished individuals declared in his favour, and, from the violence of Pizarro's administration, he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. Pizarro immediately prepared to meet him, and to decide, by the umpirage of the sword, the validity of their respective pretensions. But Vela being inferior in the number of his forces, and unwilling to stake his power and his life on the issue of an engagement, retreated toward Quito, and was pursued with great celerity by Pizarro.

Not being able to defend Quito, the viceroy continued his march into the province of Popayan, where he received so considerable re-enforcements that he determined to march back to Quito, and decide the contest. Pizarro, confiding in the known bravery of his troops, rejoiced at an opportunity to meet him ; the conflict, as usual, was sharp, fierce, and bloody ; Pizarro was victorious, and the viceroy, who fell covered with wounds, had his head cut off and placed on a gibbet in Quito, whilst the conquerors made a triumphal entry into the city. All opposition to the authority of the victor ceased, and Pizarro now found himself supreme master of Peru, and of the South Sea, as he possessed a fleet which had captured Panama, and commanded the ocean.

These alarming dissensions gave great concern to the government of Spain, and led to the appointment of Pedro de la Gasca, with unlimited authority to suppress them, and restore tranquillity and the power of the parent country. He came without troops, and almost without attendants ; his conduct was directly the reverse of Vela, his predecessor ; he was truly the minister of peace ; it was his object to reclaim, not to subdue : and by his conciliatory conduct, and mild and judicious measures, he effected more than he could have done by the sword. Several of Pizarro's officers declared in his favour, and from the contagion of example, and the oblivion which he proclaimed to all

past off  
rents da  
usurper  
hension  
could n  
his mes  
Gasca  
and me  
Gasca,  
force, t  
from ot  
tacked  
half the  
with im  
cause o  
to refus  
to the l  
desirous  
success  
imbruin  
the head  
zarro, w  
victory,  
tal, whe  
drew up  
pected t  
loped of  
ple was  
distrust  
another  
Pizarro.  
ed to st  
they soo  
Pizarro  
several  
the sam  
who had  
on being  
a man c  
tory as k  
the feeli  
lection o  
tice, and  
the India  
sion, he  
versally  
Vol.

past offences, and a promise of redressing grievances, his adherents daily and rapidly increased. Pizarro, as is the case of all usurpers, when their power is in danger, was filled with apprehension and rage. He sent deputies to bribe Gasca, and if that could not be done, to cut him off by assassination or poison; but his messengers, instead of executing his diabolical orders, joined Gasca themselves. Irritated at the disaffection of his officers and men, he prepared to decide the dispute in the field; and Gasca, perceiving that it would become necessary to employ force, took steps to assemble troops in Peru, and collect them from other colonies. Pizarro marched rapidly to Cusco, and attacked Centeno who had joined Gasca, and although he had but half the number of men, he obtained a signal victory, attended with immense slaughter. This good fortune was probably the cause of his ruin, as it elevated his hopes so high as inclined him to refuse all terms of accommodation, although Gasca continued to the last extremely moderate in his demands, and seemed more desirous to reclaim than to conquer. Gasca having tried, without success, every means of avoiding the distressing alternative of imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, at length, at the head of sixteen hundred men, moved toward Cusco; and Pizarro, with one thousand more experienced veterans, confident of victory, suffered him to advance to within four leagues of the capital, when he marched out, eager to meet him. He chose his ground, drew up his men in line of battle, and at the very moment he expected the action to commence, some of his principal officers galloped off and surrendered themselves to the enemy: their example was followed by others, and this extraordinary conduct spread distrust and amazement from rank to rank; one company after another threw down their arms, and went over to the royalists. Pizarro, and some of his officers who remained faithful, attempted to stop them by entreaties and threats, but it was all in vain; they soon found themselves deserted of nearly their whole army. Pizarro fell into the hands of Gasca, and was beheaded the next day; several of his most distinguished and notorious followers shared the same fate; Carvajal, at the advanced age of fourscore, and who had long been accustomed to scenes of carnage and peril, on being informed of his sentence, carelessly replied:—"Well, a man can die but once." Gasca, as moderate and just after victory as before, pardoned all the rest, and exerted himself to soothe the feelings of the remaining malecontents; he simplified the collection of the revenue, re-established the administration of justice, and provided for the protection and bettering the condition of the Indians; and having accomplished every object of his mission, he returned to Spain, in 1549, as poor as he left it, but universally admired for his talents, virtues, and important services.

He intrusted the government of Peru to the Court of Audience. For several years after this the machinations and rapacity of several ambitious chiefs distracted the Peruvian states with civil contentions; but at length the authority of Spain was completely and firmly established over the whole of that extensive and valuable portion of America.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Settlement of the different provinces in America—formed into two grand divisions—vicerealty of New Spain and Peru—the Council of the Indies established—a new vicerealty called Santa Fe de Bogota—events in the provinces of Rio de la Plata—establishment of the Board of Trade of Seville—policy of Spain in relation to her colonies—difference between Great Britain and Spain, in this respect—ecclesiastical establishment in America—conduct of missionaries—inquisition established by Philip II.—oppressive conduct of the Spaniards toward the natives—their wretched condition—gold and silver mines—commercial regulations—revenue derived from the colonies.*

THAT part of the southern continent of America, stretching to the eastward of Darien, comprising the provinces of Carthagena and Santa Martha, was discovered by Roderigo de Bastigas, in the year 1520, and was subjugated by Pedro de Heredia, in the year 1532. As early as the year 1544, Carthagena had become a considerable town, and its harbour was the safest and best fortified of any in the Spanish territories in the new world. Its situation is favourable for commerce, and it was selected as the port at which the Spanish galleons should first begin to trade, on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were to return, in order to prepare for their homeward voyage. The province of Venezuela was first visited by Ojeda, in the year 1499, in his voyage of discovery, which has before been noticed. Observing an Indian village, built on piles, to raise it above the stagnant water, the Spaniards, from their propensity to discover resemblances between America and Europe, bestowed on it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice.

Charles Vth, to obtain a large loan of the Velsers of Augsburg, then the wealthiest merchants in Europe, granted to them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief, on condition that they were to subjugate the natives, and plant a colony in the territory. The proprietors sent out some German adventurers, who, instead of establishing a colony, wandered about the country in search of mines, and to plunder the natives. In a few years their avarice and rapacity desolated the province, instead of settling it, and the proprietors, despairing of succeeding in the enterprise, relinquished their grant, and the occupation of the country, when the Spaniards again took possession of it; but notwithstanding its natural advantages, it long remained one of their most unpromising settlements.

The new kingdom of Granada, as it was called, is an interior region, and was subjugated to the authority of Spain, in 1536, by Banalcazar, who invaded it from Quito, where he was in command under Pizarro and Quesada. The natives being more improved than any in America, not excepting the Peruvians and Mexicans, defended themselves with resolution, bravery, and perseverance; but here, as every where else, discipline and science prevailed over barbarian force. The Indians in New Granada, not having been subjected to the same services of working in mines, which in other parts of America have wasted that miserable race, continued more populous in this colony than in any other. Gold was found here, not by digging into the bowels of the earth, but mixed with the soil near the surface, on the more elevated tracts. One of the governors of Santa Fe carried to Spain a lump of pure gold, found in one of the provinces of New Granada, valued at more than three thousand dollars.

The kingdom of New Granada was first established in 1547, and was under the government of a captain-general and royal audience: the seat of government was fixed at Santa Fe de Bogota. In 1718 it was erected into a viceroyalty, together with several other provinces; but this government was annulled in 1724, and restored in 1740, and continued an independent government until the breaking out of the revolution, when it was incorporated into the republic of Colombia.

The provinces of Caraccas and Cumana lie to the eastward of Venezuela, and, together with Carthagena and Santa Martha, formed what was anciently called the kingdom of Terra Firma, and all are now included in the republic of Colombia. These two provinces were, for a long period, principally known and distinguished for the cultivation and commerce in the nuts of the cocoa-tree, which, next to those produced in Guatemala, on the South Sea, are the best in America. A paste, formed from the nut or almond of the cocoa-tree, compounded with certain ingre-

dients, constitutes chocolate, the manufacture and use of which the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans ; and being a palatable and wholesome beverage, it was soon introduced into use in Europe, and became an important article of commerce.

From the contiguity of the settlements of the Dutch to the coast of Caraccas, on the island of Curracoa, and their superior enterprise in traffic, they engrossed most of the cocoa trade from Caraccas, and Spain itself was obliged to receive the article from foreigners, at an exorbitant price, although the product of their own colonies. To remedy an evil, not more detrimental to the interests than disgraceful to the enterprise of Spain, in the year 1728 Philip the Vth granted to a company of merchants an entire and exclusive monopoly of the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana. This association, sometimes called the Company of Caraccas, restored to Spain this branch of the commerce of America, greatly extended it, as the consumption of the article increased, and being subjected to proper regulations, to counteract the effects of the monopoly, advanced the growth and progress of the settlement.

Mexico, or New Spain, and Peru, were at first regarded by the Spaniards as the most important and valuable portions of America ; not so much on account of their fertility, or any geographical superiority, as from the consideration of their being inhabited by people in a higher state of improvement, and consequently affording more gratifying objects for the rapacity of the first adventurers. The numbers of adventurers which these objects, and the civil contentions which they occasioned, originally drew to these countries, tended to commence their settlement under more favourable auspices than any other colonies enjoyed. The rich mines, afterward discovered, had a powerful operation to attract enterprise and allure adventurers ; and the complete subjugation of the natives, both in Mexico and Peru, and reducing them to a condition of domestic servitude, and apportioning them, together with the lands, among the first adventurers, (whilst in other districts the natives, more wild and ferocious, without fixed habitations, subsisting by hunting, could no otherwise be overcome than by being exterminated or expelled,) were among the causes which continued, for a long period, to promote the growth of Mexico and Peru, and to render them the principal of the Spanish colonies ; and the same causes occasioned the other settlements to be regarded only as appendages of one or the other of these, or of little importance. Hence, after the Spanish conquests in America had been so far completed as to justify the establishment, on the part of Spain, of regular colonial governments, their whole American dominions were divided into two immense governments, one called the Viceroyalty of New Spain, the other

the  
and  
Spai  
latte  
rica.  
N  
tensi  
Mon  
Nav  
Cina  
Calif  
side  
tendi  
Dios  
did n  
most  
part  
disco  
that  
or a p  
explo  
progr  
blish  
tives  
of the  
and J  
gave  
on the  
valua  
Ho  
princi  
logwo  
any of  
the pr  
by som  
wood  
then in  
duras.  
endeav  
force ;  
war, an  
Spain  
reign  
ever, a  
quence  
of Yuc  
VOL.

the Viceroyalty of Peru; the seats of government were Mexico and Lima. The former comprehended all the possessions of Spain in the northern division of the American continent, and the latter comprised all her settlements and territories in South America.

New Spain embraced, under the Spaniards, a much more extensive region than the empire of Mexico, or the dominions of Montezuma and his predecessors: the vast territory called New Navarre, extending to the north and west, and the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora, stretching along the east side of the gulf of California, and also the peninsula of California, on the opposite side of the gulf, and the provinces of Yucatan and Honduras, extending from the bay of Campeachy to beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, were comprised within the territories of New Spain, which did not belong to the Mexican empire. These countries were mostly visited and subjugated by Spanish adventurers, in the early part of the sixteenth century. The peninsula of California was discovered by Cortes, in 1536, and was so entirely neglected, that for a long period it was not known whether it was an island or a peninsula. Toward the close of the 17th century the Jesuits explored it, established it as an important mission, made great progress in civilizing the rude and ferocious natives, and established the same dominion over them that they did over the natives in Paraguay. At length the government, growing jealous of the Jesuits, they were expelled from the Spanish dominions, and Joseph Galvez was sent out to examine the province, who gave a favourable account of the country, and of the pearl-fishery on the coast. He also discovered several mines, apparently valuable.

Honduras, and the peninsula of Yucatan, attracted attention principally from the valuable dye-woods which they afforded, the logwood tree being produced in greater abundance there than in any other part of America. After having long exclusively enjoyed the profitable logwood trade, the Spaniards were disturbed in it by some adventurers from Jamaica, who commenced cutting logwood at the cape forming the southeast promontory of Yucatan; then in the Bay of Campeachy, and afterward in the Bay of Honduras. These encroachments alarmed the Spaniards, and they endeavoured to stop them, by remonstrance, negotiation, and by force; but after a contention for half a century, the fortune of war, and naval superiority of Britain enabled her to extort from Spain a reluctant consent to the existence of a settlement of foreigners in the heart of her own possessions. Mortified, however, at this concession, she attempted to counteract its consequences by encouraging the cutting of logwood on the west coast of Yucatan, where the wood was of superior quality. To pro-



mote this object, she permitted the importation of logwood into Spain, without the payment of any duty, by which means this commerce became very flourishing, and that of the English, in the bay of Honduras, declined. East of Honduras were the provinces of Costa Rica, and Veragua, which were much neglected by the Spaniards, as of little value.

The Viceroyalty of Peru, in addition to the Peruvian territories, comprehended Chili, the conquest of which, as we have seen, was first attempted by Almagro, and afterward by Valdivia, both of whom met with a most fierce opposition from the natives, and the latter was defeated and slain; but Villagra, his successor in command, restored victory to the Spanish standard; and finally the district on the seacoast was subdued, the natives continuing masters of the mountainous regions; and for more than two centuries they kept up hostilities with their Spanish neighbours, almost without interruption, and their hostile incursions greatly retarded the settlement of the most fertile country in America, possessing the most delicious climate in the new or old world; for, though bordering on the torrid zone, it is exempt both from the extremes of heat and cold, lying, as it were, under the shade of the Andes, which protects it on the east, and being constantly refreshed by the cooling seabreezes from the west. It also possesses many valuable mines; yet with all these advantages, at the end of more than two centuries from its conquest, its whole white population did not exceed eighty thousand; but since the establishment of a direct intercourse with the mother country round Cape Horn, it has realized its natural advantages, and advanced in importance accordingly.

Attached to the Viceroyalty of Peru, were all the vast regions claimed by Spain east of the Andes, watered by the Rio de la Plata, its branches, the Coloardo, and other streams emptying into the Atlantic. The River de la Plata and the country bordering on it, was first discovered by Magellan, in the year 1520. The Spanish territories east of the La Plata, comprehending the province of Paraguay, and some other districts, were, for centuries, in a great degree undefined, and a subject of dispute with Portugal. Paraguay has been rendered celebrated for the extraordinary missions of the Jesuits, and the authority of Spain over it was never more than nominal. The territory west of the La Plata was divided into the provinces of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman.

The first attempts to subjugate and settle the country bordering on the La Plata, were attended with unusual difficulties and disasters: after the lapse of more than two centuries, there was no settlement of any importance, except that of Buenos Ayres. The province of Tucuman, and most of the country to the south

of the  
yond  
ports  
to go  
of m  
affor  
mest  
hides  
T  
that  
Ayre  
Men  
remo  
befor  
and c  
doza  
Ayol  
was s  
with  
pean  
at As  
rocity  
expos  
The  
but t  
comm  
the p  
thous  
few y  
provi  
habita  
dales  
provi  
by civ  
In  
in 16  
the g  
towns  
only a  
power  
years  
dustry  
tacked  
thous  
ments  
imbod

of the La Plata, is a prairie, or plain of vast extent, and rich beyond conception : being constantly covered with verdure, it supports an immense number of horses and cattle, which are suffered to go at large, and breed, subsisting without the care or oversight of man. This wonderful facility of raising horses and cattle has afforded a profitable trade with Peru, by supplying them with domestic animals, and likewise a lucrative foreign commerce in hides.

The province of Rio de la Plata was established distinct from that of Paraguay, in 1620, and was afterward called Buenos Ayres. The town of Buenos Ayres was founded by Pedro de Mendoza, in 1535, but was abandoned in 1538, and its inhabitants removed to Assumption, where a fort had been built two years before, by Ayolas, and named from the day on which he fought and defeated the natives on the spot where it was erected. Mendoza returned to Spain, and was succeeded as governor by Ayolas, and on his death Irala was chosen to succeed him ; but was soon deprived of his authority by Don Alvarez, who arrived with a commission from Spain. Of the three thousand Europeans who had entered the La Plata, six hundred only remained at Assumption : the rest had fallen victims to the climate, the ferocity of the savages, and the hardships to which they had been exposed. Alvarez was seized by Irala, and sent to Spain in 1544. The city of Assumption was erected into a bishopric in 1547 ; but the bishop did not arrive until 1554, when Irala received a commission as governor. In 1557, Cuidad Real was founded in the province of Guayra, as an encomienda, within which forty thousand Indians were brought into habits of industry ; and a few years after the encomienda of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the province of Chiquitos, which comprised sixty thousand native inhabitants, was established. Irala died in 1557, and named Gonzales de Mendoza lieutenant-general and commander of the province. His death, which was in one year after, was followed by civil dissensions.

In the year 1586 the Jesuits first appeared in Paraguay, and in 1609, father Torrez, their provincial, obtained authority from the governor of the province to form the converted Indians into townships, to be independent of the Spanish settlements. They only acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Spain : this power was confirmed by Philip III. of Spain. During twenty years a great number of the natives were reduced to habits of industry, by the labours of the Jesuits ; but in 1630 they were attacked by the Paulists, or Mamechukes, and in two years sixty thousand were destroyed or carried off. To defend their settlements, in 1639, the Jesuits obtained authority from Spain to imbue and arm their Indian converts in the manner of Euro-

peans. The Jesuits employed their converts in other pursuits : in 1668 they rebuilt the city of Santa Fe, and the following year five hundred of them worked on the fortifications and the cathedral of Buenos Ayres.

In 1580 Buenos Ayres was rebuilt by the governor of Paraguay, from which time it gradually emerged from obscurity into an important town, and became the seat of the viceroyalty. The Portuguese attempted a settlement on the north bank of the La Plata in 1679, when Garro, governor of the province of Rio de la Plata, by order of the viceroy of Peru, expelled the Portuguese, and levelled their fort to the ground. This settlement was for a long time a subject of dispute between the two nations, but in 1778 it was ceded to Spain. Civil dissensions arose at Assumption : Don Diego, the governor, was obliged to flee ; but was reinstated in 1722, yet soon after seized by Antequera, and confined as a prisoner. Antequera had been sent from Lima as a commissioner, to inquire into the condition of Paraguay, and finding the administration corrupt, he undertook to reform it, and to introduce a representative government. He met with resistance not only from the governor, but his patriotic exertions and liberal principles roused the jealousy, and brought upon him the hostility, of the viceroy, who sent a body of troops from Peru to oppose him, and check his innovations. These troops were defeated by Antequera, who entered the city in triumph.

But the governor of Buenos Ayres, having marched against him, and being deserted by his adherents, he fled to a convent, and was afterward seized and sent a prisoner to Lima. In 1725 tranquillity was re-established, but was of short continuance ; a new governor being appointed, a faction refused to admit him into the city ; Mompo, the leader of the malecontents, was seized and sent to Buenos Ayres.

Antequera having been condemned for treason, was executed in 1731, at Lima, which occasioned great excitement at Assumption, as his popularity was so great that he was canonized as a martyr to liberty. The dissensions continued until 1735, when Zabala, governor of Buenos Ayres, succeeded in re-establishing tranquillity, and correcting the abuses which had crept into the government.

The increasing prosperity of the Jesuits began to excite prejudices and jealousies ; various accusations were made against them ; but on examination most of them were found groundless, and they were confirmed in their rights, in 1745, by a royal decree. Their prosperity and power, however, soon after began to decline, and the expulsion of their order from Spain, in 1767, was followed by the subversion of their dominion in America. Their possessions were annexed to the government of Paraguay, at

which  
hundred  
eight  
hundred

The  
established  
the p  
and  
equa  
remov  
with  
period  
which  
merc  
creas  
note  
meat  
free

At  
tribun  
called  
delle  
over  
the l  
appoi  
cers.  
Cour  
ways  
were  
fairs,  
the  
nals  
to the

The  
was f  
in the  
autho  
Ferd  
ver w  
Amer  
The  
verno  
the J  
count  
grant  
from

Vo

which time they had seven hundred sixty-nine thousand three hundred fifty-three horn cattle, ninety-four thousand nine hundred eighty-three horses, and two hundred twenty-one thousand five hundred thirty-seven sheep.

The erection of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata led to the establishment of a government at Buenos Ayres, and promoted the prosperity of that city, and all the provinces on the La Plata, and west of the Andes. This measure was followed by one equally liberal and enlightened in 1778, which in a great degree removed the restrictions on commerce, and opened a free trade with the northern country and the interior of Peru. From this period Buenos Ayres began to acquire that importance and rank which it is entitled to maintain, from its valuable position for commerce, and its rich interior country. Its trade has rapidly increased, and the general commerce of the La Plata. It was promoted by a royal ordinance, adopted in 1794, permitting salted meat and tallow to be exported to Spain, and the other colonies, free of duty.

At so early a period as the year 1511 Ferdinand established a tribunal for conducting the affairs of his American settlements, called the Council of the Indies; and in 1524 it was new modelled and improved by Charles V. It possessed jurisdiction over every department of government in Spanish America; framed the laws and regulations respecting the colonies; made all the appointments for America reserved to the crown; and all officers, from the viceroys to the lowest, were accountable to the Council of the Indies for their official conduct. The king was always supposed to be present in this council, and its meetings were held where he resided. No law, relative to American affairs, could be adopted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the council. All appeals from the decisions of the highest tribunals in America, the Audiencia, or Court of Audience, were made to the Council of the Indies.

The colonial system of Spain over her American dominions was founded on the principle that these dominions were vested in the crown, not in the nation; which was assumed on no better authority than the bull of Pope Alexander VI., bestowing on Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries which they might discover west of a given latitude. Hence the Spanish possessions in America were regarded as the personal property of the sovereign. The authority of the original adventurers, commanders, and governors, by whom the country was discovered and subjected to the dominion of Spain, was constituted by, and they were accountable to, the king, and removable by him at pleasure. All grants of lands were made by the sovereign, and if they failed from any cause, they reverted to the crown again. All political

and civil power centered in the king, and was executed by such persons, and in such manner, as the will of the sovereign might suggest, wholly independent, not only of the colonies, but of the Spanish nation. The only civil privilege allowed to the colonists was strictly municipal, and confined to the regulation of their interior police, and commerce in the cities and towns, for which purpose they made their own local regulations or laws, and appointed town and city magistrates. But this single ray of liberty must of necessity be tolerated, and has never been extinct in the most despotic states. The Spanish American governments were not merely despotic like those of Russia or Turkey, but they were a more dangerous kind of despotism, as the absolute power of the sovereign was not exercised by himself, but by deputy.

At first, as has been stated, the dominions of the Spanish crown in the new world were divided, for the purpose of government, into two great divisions or viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. Afterward, as the country became more settled, the viceroyalty of Santa Fe de Bogota was created, composed of the kingdoms of New Granada, Terra Firma, and the province of Quito, and still later that of Rio de la Plata. A deputy or viceroy was appointed to preside over each of these governments, who was the representative of his sovereign, and possessed all his prerogatives within his jurisdiction. His authority was as supreme as that of his sovereign over every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. He appointed most of the important officers of his government, and supplied the vacancies occasioned by death of those appointed by the crown. His court was formed on the model of that of Madrid, and displayed an equal and often superior degree of magnificence and state. He maintained horse and foot guards, a regular household establishment, and all the ensigns and trappings of royalty. His government was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and the tribunals that assisted in its administration were similar to those of the parent country; the appointments to which were sometimes made by the viceroy, and at others by the king, but all were subject to the deputy's authority, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice was intrusted to tribunals called *Audiences*, formed on the model of the Spanish court of chancery. One of these courts was established in every province, and consisted of a number of judges, proportioned to its extent, and the business to be done; they had jurisdiction over both civil and criminal causes. The viceroy was prohibited from interfering with the decisions of these judicial tribunals, and in some instances they could bring his regulations under their review, and present remonstrances, or carry the matter before the king and the Council of the Indies, which was the only particular

in which  
people  
supreme  
judge,  
the vac  
which v  
tical, m  
tablishe  
*Casa de*  
to the c  
and imp  
and the  
all matt  
cial tran  
The do  
Council  
The  
were di  
Americ  
examina  
tions of  
garded  
belongin  
and pat  
parliam  
propriet  
charter  
the rig  
gatives  
reign.  
over the  
ed, and  
allowed  
this aut  
and its  
govern  
civil pri  
were no  
ference  
them by  
least as  
The Sp  
their on  
crown v  
more so  
been ex



in which there was any intermediate power between him and the people subject to his authority. On the death of a viceroy the supreme power vested in the court of audience, and the senior judge, assisted by his associates, exercised all the functions of the vacant office. In addition to the Council of the Indies, in which was reposed the supreme power, as to the civil, ecclesiastical, military, and commercial affairs of America, there was established, as early as 1501, a board of trade at Seville, called *Casa de la Contraction*. It took cognizance of whatever related to the commercial intercourse with America, regulated the export and import cargoes and the inspection, the freights of the ships, and the time of the sailing of the fleets, and decided judicially on all matters, both civil and criminal, growing out of the commercial transactions between Spain and her American possessions. The doings and decisions of this board might be reviewed by the Council of the Indie

The fundamental principles of the Spanish colonial system were different from those of Great Britain, as it respected its American dominions; although this difference will be found on examination to depend almost entirely on the different constitutions of the two countries. Great Britain, as well as Spain, regarded the countries in America, discovered by her subjects, as belonging to the crown, rather than to the nation, and all grants and patents were made by the king, without the concurrence of parliament; and the rights and powers of the grantees in the proprietary governments, were also created by the crown. The charter governments were likewise established by the crown, and the rights and privileges allowed to the colonists, and the prerogatives reserved to the king, were dictated by the will of the sovereign. The authority of parliament, as the organ of the nation, over the colonies, does not at first appear to have been exercised, and although this was afterward attempted, it was never fully allowed or acquiesced in by the colonies. It was the exercise of this authority that led to the difficulties between the parent state and its colonies, which resulted in a separation. In the colonial governments established by Britain in America, very important civil privileges were allowed to the colonists, but their rights were not equal to those of English subjects at home, and the difference was to the same extent as the authority exercised over them by parliament; the prerogatives of the sovereign being at least as great, as respected his colonial subjects, as at home. The Spanish American colonies possessed no political privileges; their only civil rights were purely municipal; the authority of the crown was absolute in the colonial governments, but scarcely more so than it was in the parent state, and it could hardly have been expected that subjects in distant colonies would have been



allowed privileges which were not enjoyed by those at home. As it respects constitutional or political rights, the Spanish colonists enjoyed essentially the same as the subjects of Old Spain, yet the exercise of the power of the sovereign being by deputy, and at a great distance, it was much more oppressive, and exposed to greater abuses. As it respects the equality of privileges, between the inhabitants of the colonies and those of the parent country, the Spanish colonists stood on a better footing than the English. If the colonies were absolutely and entirely subject to the government of the parent state, it was not, perhaps, material to them, whether this governing power resided in the crown, or jointly in the crown and the nation. In either case *they were slaves*.

But the different constitutions of the two nations occasioned a corresponding difference in the government of their colonies. The power of the sovereign in Spain being absolute, the same authority was exercised over his dominions in America; but the authority of the king of England being limited, and the government a mixed one, in which the people by their representatives participated, similar systems were established in the British dominions in the new world. In all their colonies the representative principle was introduced, and local legislatures were established, which exercised the ordinary powers of legislation, the executive power remaining in the sovereign, which he exercised in some of the colonies by deputy, in others granted it to proprietors; and in some of the minor colonies the executive power was exercised by governors chosen by the people, and the judicial power by judges appointed by the governors, or colonial assemblies. Still, however, the king, and ultimately the nation, or parliament, claimed an undefined and undefinable sovereignty over the colonies, where he did not exercise the executive power; also over those where proprietary governments were established. The fundamental principle of the British colonial system was, that the colonies were subordinate states, and that the parent country possessed the right of sovereignty over them; but whether this sovereign power resided in the king, or in parliament, representing the nation, or how it was to be exercised, does not appear to have been determined. Legislation, when unrestrained, constitutes the sovereign power in every state. But while Britain claimed this power over her colonies, she did not, until a late period, presume to legislate for them, further than to regulate their foreign commerce, and a few prohibitory acts respecting manufactures. The sovereignty of Great Britain, whether considered as residing in the king or the nation, was rather negative than positive, as it was never pretended, by the most ardent advocates for the prerogatives of the mother country, that she should exercise for the colonies the general powers of legislation. Nei-

ther th  
ner of  
the pr  
compl  
ply to  
parent  
or the  
world,

The  
there  
people  
the so  
cerned  
king i  
origina  
ted to  
of one  
conqu  
to the  
severa  
the kin  
have c  
parts o  
tile, th  
unders  
teenth

But  
differ  
ciples.  
gration  
the nor  
not exp  
attempt  
nexion  
mon or  
ments,  
tion, in  
tained  
The di  
Good  
of whic  
rent na

Wha  
which

ther the nature nor extent of this negative authority, nor the manner of its exercise, was ever defined, either conventionally or by the practice of the government. The British colonial system was complex, vague, and inconsistent with itself, and tended inevitably to one of two results: the establishment of the power of the parent state to legislate for its colonies "in all cases whatsoever," or their entire independence; happily for the Americans and the world, the latter occurred.

The Spanish colonial system was altogether more simple; as there was no intermediate powers between the sovereign and the people at home, there was no necessity for any in the colonies; the sovereign power, so far as the theory of government was concerned, was the same in America as in Spain; it resided in the king in both, and in both was absolute. Spanish America was originally considered as a kingdom independent in itself, and united to Spain only by both countries being under the government of one king. By the laws of the Indies, all acts relating to the conquest of America were expunged, and it was formally united to the crown of Castile by Charles V. in 1519, and confirmed by several of his successors. It is said by Baron Humboldt that the kings of Spain, by assuming the title of king of the Indies, have considered their possessions in America rather as integral parts of the Spanish monarchy, dependent on the crown of Castile, than as colonies, in the sense in which that word has been understood by the commercial nations of Europe since the sixteenth century.\*

But the colonies, both of Britain and Spain, were essentially different from those of the ancients, and established on new principles. The distant settlements of the Greeks were rather migrations than colonies, similar to the swarms of barbarians from the north which settled in the south of Europe. The parent state not expecting to derive any advantage from its colonies, did not attempt to maintain any authority over them; and the only connexion between them was that arising from their having a common origin. The colonies of the Romans were military detachments, stationed in conquered provinces to keep them in subjection, in which case the authority of the mother country was maintained over them, and the province, which continued dependent. The discovery of America, and the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, gave rise to a new system of colonizing, the object of which was to promote the commerce and prosperity of the parent nation.

Whatever difference there may have been in the *principles* on which the colonies of Spain and those of Great Britain were

\* Political Essay on New Spain.

planted and governed, there was little in the policy of the two nations relative to their colonial possessions in America.

Both regarded their colonies as subordinate to the parent state, and attempted to render them contributory to its interest and prosperity. This policy seems to grow out of the relations which subsist between colonies and their mother country; as the original object of planting them, since the sixteenth century, has been to benefit the colonizing country, to drain off a surplus or dangerous population, to draw a direct tribute from them under some form of taxation, or for the interests of commerce.

It was the policy of the Spanish sovereigns, or government, as to their American colonies, to render them, in every way that could be done, *contributory* to the power and prosperity of Spain. In the grants of the country, made to the first adventurers, the Spanish monarchs reserved one-fifth of the gold and silver that might be obtained, and for a considerable period the precious metals were the only objects that attracted attention, either in the colonies or Old Spain. The right of the sovereign to a share of the products of the mines was ever after maintained, and it was the intention of Spain to confine the industry of the colonies to mining, for two reasons: one, the revenue derived to the crown from this source, and the other, to prevent such branches of agriculture as might interfere with the products of Spain. The cultivation of the vine and olive were at first prohibited in America, and afterward allowed in Peru and Chili, in consequence of the difficulty of conveying such bulky articles as wine and oil across the isthmus to Panama; and these colonies were not permitted to export the products of the vine or olive to those parts of Spanish America which could obtain them from Spain; and, with this privilege, that of cultivating tobacco, which was raised in other parts of Spanish America, but under regulations of a royal monopoly. The same jealousy crippled the industry of the colonies in other departments; several kinds of manufactures were prohibited, which it was thought might prove detrimental to the mother country. The commercial restrictions imposed on the colonies were still more rigid and intolerable. In pursuance of the maxim that the colonies were, in every possible way, to be rendered contributory to the interests of Spain, without regarding their own, they were denied all commerce with every other portion of the world; their own productions must all be carried to Spain, in the first instance, wherever might be the place of their consumption, and all their own wants must be supplied by the parent state; and even this direct commerce they were not permitted to carry on themselves; no vessel, owned in the colonies, was ever allowed to carry to Europe the produce of the country to which it belong-

ed. All bottoms, inconvenient America, and confined the temper enter the merce of melled w

Thus in its gro minority feeling n fection a founded hardships ed the sp from the all their s

An ecnica, as a del to tha and grow payment exactions produce, turing ind legal burc nists, and which ma wealth fro and moun his succes nefices in head of th nues, a pr of the Ro until they Council o Spain, an bishops, a ecclesiast lower ord priests, th as were in nish gove

ed. All the trade with the colonies was carried on in Spanish bottoms, and under such regulations as subjected them to great inconvenience. Not only was every species of commerce with America, by foreigners, prohibited under the severest penalties, and confiscation and death inflicted on the inhabitants who had the temerity to trade with them, but no foreigner was suffered to enter the colonies without express permission. Even the commerce of one colony with another was either prohibited, or trammelled with intolerable restrictions.

Thus was Spanish America shut up from the world, crippled in its growth, kept in leading-strings, and in a perpetual state of minority; and whilst chastised with the lash of a jealous and unfeeling master, was insulted by being reminded of his parental affection and relationship. These impolitic and unjust measures, founded in a spirit of selfishness and jealousy, together with the hardships which attend the planting of new settlements, so checked the spirit of emigration, that at the expiration of sixty years from the first discovery of America, the number of Spaniards, in all their settlements, did not exceed fifteen thousand.

An ecclesiastical establishment was instituted in Spanish America, as an auxiliary branch of the government, on a similar model to that in Spain, and was extremely burdensome to a young and growing state. At so early a period as the year 1501, the payment of tithes was required, and laws made to enforce it. The exactions of the clergy were extended not only to every article of produce, but also to those which comprised a portion of manufacturing industry, such as sugar, indigo, and cochineal; and these legal burdens were greatly increased by the bigotry of the colonists, and their fondness for external parade and pomp in religion, which made them easy dupes of the clergy, who drained their wealth from productive branches of industry, to endow churches and monasteries. Pope Julian II. conferred on Ferdinand and his successors the patronage and disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices in America, so that the Spanish sovereign became the head of the church in America, and the administrator of its revenues, a prerogative which he did not possess at home. The bulls of the Roman pontiff could not be admitted into Spanish America until they had been examined and approved by the king and the Council of the Indies. The hierarchy was as imposing as in Spain, and its dominion and influence greater; the archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries, enjoyed large revenues, and the ecclesiastical establishment was splendid and magnificent. The lower orders of the clergy consisted of the curate, or parish priests, the *Doctrineros*, who had the charge of such districts as were inhabited by the Indians, who were subject to the Spanish government, and the *Missioneras*, or missionaries, who

were employed in converting the *Indios Bravos*, or fierce tribes. An inconsiderate zeal for the establishment of monasteries was disclosed at an early period, and, from the influence of the regular ecclesiastics, these institutions were multiplied to a pernicious extent, in a new country, where every encouragement ought to have been afforded to the increase of population.

Most of the clergy in America were regular, and many of the highest honours and most lucrative preferments were in their possession. Great numbers came out as missionaries, and most of them in quest of liberty, wealth, or distinction. To certain orders of missionaries the pope allowed the privileges of accepting parochial charges, and receiving the emoluments, without depending on the bishop of the diocess, or being amenable to him. Some of them, in violation of their monastic vows, openly engaged in commercial pursuits; others amassed wealth by oppressing the natives, whom they pretended to instruct and Christianize; and notwithstanding their vow of continency, many of them were dissolute and licentious, in a degree almost exceeding belief.

The success of the missionaries, in converting the natives, was almost entirely deceptive: they made use of the same unjustifiable means that have been resorted to by the Jesuits in other parts of the world, and with like success. To render the new religion more palatable, and to introduce it with greater facility, they pretended that there was a similarity between the doctrines and mysteries of Christianity and the crude notions of their own barbarous superstitions. Being, in many instances, overawed by the power of their conquerors, and excited by the example of their chiefs, multitudes expressed a reluctant consent to embrace a religion of which they were entirely ignorant, and were instantly baptized by the missionaries. By such means as these, by fraud and force, in the course of a few years after the reduction of the Mexican empire, more than four millions of the natives were baptized; but they remained the same, or at least no better, for such spurious conversion; they were not entirely ignorant of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, but retained all their veneration for their ancient superstitions. This mixture of Christianity with their own superstitious rites, was transmitted to their posterity, and has never been eradicated. One ecclesiastic baptized, in one day, five thousand Mexicans, and stopped only when he had become so exhausted as to be unable to lift up his hands. Other missionaries, less successful, declared that the natives were too little removed above the brutes to become Christians; and a council was held at Lima, which decreed that they had not sufficient understanding to be admitted to the Sacrament of the Eucharist. This decree was abrogated by Paul III., who, in 1537, promulgated a decree declaring them *rational creatures*,

and cr  
of hier  
by the  
from t  
horrid

If th  
attemp  
respec

The  
entirel  
nies.

to ced  
tinent,

termin  
the na

retired  
by wa

they n  
fore th

leaving  
former

rous tr

"not  
ture,"

did no  
and in

defeat  
fierce

queror  
ing, ha

tle tha  
their m

not of  
Spanis

and as

lages a  
vate p

if not  
vilized

tablish  
and tr

The  
subjug

extend  
natives

lumbu  
Vo



and entitled to the privileges of Christians. That infernal engine of hierarchical power, the Inquisition, was established in America by the pious zeal of Philip II. in the year 1570. The natives, from their incapacity, were exempted from the jurisdiction of this horrid tribunal.

If the Spaniards rendered little benefit to the natives by their attempts to Christianize them, their conduct toward them, in other respects, was severe and oppressive in the extreme.

The views of the Spaniards, with respect to the natives, were entirely different from those of the English, in the American colonies. In the latter, the natives were either induced peaceably to cede their lands, and retire farther into the interior of the continent, or, from the successive hostilities which arose, were exterminated or dispersed. As the European settlements extended, the natives, who had for ages been "lords of the soil," gradually retired, disposed of their lands, or had them wrested from them by war, and sought new abodes, where, depending on the chase, they might obtain an easier subsistence. They melted away before the sun of civilization like the dew of the morning, without leaving any of their number behind, or scarcely a trace of their former existence. Not only thousands of individuals, but numerous tribes or nations, might say with Logan, the Mingo chief, "not a drop of our blood flows in the veins of any living creature," inhabiting the land of our fathers. The English colonists did not originally claim the country on the ground of conquest; and in the subsequent wars that arose, although the natives were defeated and scattered, they were not subjugated; they were too fierce and warlike to submit their necks to the yoke of the conquerors; and become their vassals. As they subsisted by hunting, had no towns, nor any interest in the soil, there was little that attached them to their country, and less that obstructed their migration. The conquests made were only of the country, not of its inhabitants. But the discoverers and conquerors of Spanish America claimed the country on the ground of conquest; and as the natives, particularly in Mexico and Peru, lived in villages and towns, subsisted by agriculture, and had acquired private property in the soil, and were very populous, it was difficult if not impossible for them to migrate; and from the modes of civilized life, and of living in fixed habitations, which had been established, they could not at once revert back to the savage state, and trust to the precarious subsistence of the chase.

The Spanish adventurers not only conquered the country, but subjugated its inhabitants, particularly in Mexico and Peru, and extending the same right of conquest to both, they reduced the natives to a state of servitude. As early as the year 1499, Columbus, to avoid the consequences of a disaffection among his



followers, granted lands, and distributed a certain number of Indians among them, who were required to cultivate a certain quantity of ground each, for their masters. This was the origin of the *repartimientos*, or distribution of Indians, which was afterward introduced into all the Spanish settlements, and was the fruitful source of innumerable calamities, which wasted that unhappy and injured people. Every where they were seized upon, and compelled to follow the armies, to carry their baggage, to work in the mines, to cultivate the earth, to carry burdens, for the want of domestic animals, and to perform all menial and laborious services. Whether employed in the mines, in agriculture, or other situations, they were required to perform stated tasks much beyond their abilities, and being unaccustomed to regular labour, thousands sunk under the accumulated burdens and hardships to which they were subjected by their unfeeling and rapacious masters. Their native spirit was broken, they became humbled and degraded, and the race was rapidly wasting away. Their oppressions and sufferings at length excited the sympathies of many humane persons, particularly among the clergy, who exerted themselves with much zeal and perseverance to meliorate the condition of the Indians. These efforts at length prevailed, and in the year 1542 Charles V. abolished the *repartimientos*, and all the rights which the Spanish colonists claimed in the natives as domestic slaves, and restored them to the privileges of freemen and subjects. These just regulations filled the colonies with consternation, and in Peru they were resisted by force. But the rights of the natives were more apparent than real; for their condition was only changed from that of slaves of individuals to that of vassals of the crown. It was claimed that, as members of the state, they must contribute something toward its support; and accordingly a tax was imposed on every male from eighteen to fifty, consisting of personal service, and the extent and time of performing the same were accurately defined. This capitation tax, or tribute, has varied in different provinces, and at different periods; but in the eighteenth century was usually four shillings sterling per annum; and, previous to the late political revolution, it was ten francs. They paid, besides, certain fees to the clergy for baptism, certificates of marriage, interments, masses, &c. Among the regulations adopted for the benefit of the Indians, was what was called the *encomiendas*, by which they were granted to certain great landholders, as their proprietors and protectors, not as slaves according to the *repartimientos*, but on such principles as recognised certain rights in the Indians. This measure, like most others in America, was so abused, that though intended for the protection of the natives, it became a fertile cause of increasing their miseries. After the adoption of this system, every

Indian  
vassal  
the en  
The  
ploym  
try, an  
called  
and s  
tracti  
conve  
fining  
and h  
The o  
cight  
encom  
not be  
Cha  
of the  
them  
them  
establ  
vez, i  
tectio  
for me  
energ  
to this  
try, fo  
pelled  
were s  
sidere  
make  
prohib  
any c  
ments  
sans.  
Spani  
shut u  
magis  
or lord  
case,  
and ba  
rant th  
provin  
In o  
in Spa  
evils v

Indian under the dominion of Spain, was either the immediate vassal of the crown, or of some subject who was the owner of the *encomienda*, or the district in which he resided.

The services required of the Indians were of two kinds, employment in agriculture and other branches of necessary industry, and labour in the mines. They were divided into classes called *mitas*, and called into service by turns at regular periods, and served a definite time. The employment in the mines, extracting ore from the bowels of the earth at a vast depth, and conveying it to the surface, and the successive processes of refining it, are not only extremely laborious, but very unhealthy, and have wasted thousands of this degraded and wretched race. The condition of the Indians became worse and worse until the eighteenth century, when many of the original proprietors of the *encomiendas*, and their descendants, being extinct, and the grants not being renewed, relieved them from this species of bondage.

Charles III. was their benefactor, and annulled what remained of the *encomiendas*, and suppressed the *corregidores* who supplied them with various articles at exorbitant prices, and thus reduced them nearly to slavery, by making them their debtors. But the establishment of *intendancies*, during the ministry of Count Galvez, in the eighteenth century, for the superintendence and protection of the Indians, was the most efficacious measure adopted for meliorating the condition of the natives; and by an active and energetic administration, the most happy results were produced to this much injured race, who, after being robbed of their country, for three centuries, like the Israelites in Egypt, had been compelled to groan under the burdens of hard task-masters. They were still deprived of all the important rights of citizens, and considered as minors, under the tutelage of their superiors, and could make no contract beyond the value of ten pounds. They were prohibited from intermarrying with the whites, from engaging in any commercial transactions, and no other situations or employments were open to them but those of common labourers or artisans. Those who lived in the large towns were governed by Spanish laws and magistrates, but the greater part of them were shut up in villages of their own, and governed by petty Indian magistrates, who were either descendants of the ancient *caciques*, or lords, or appointed by the Spanish authorities; and, in either case, they found it for their interest to perpetuate the ignorance and barbarism of their countrymen; or were too stupid and ignorant themselves to perceive the advantages of civilizing and improving them.

In considering the condition and wretchedness of the Indians in Spanish America, we have not noticed all the consequences or evils which followed the subjugation of the aboriginal inhabitants

of the country, and which were avoided in the English colonies in the new world. The existence of various casts, or mixed races, which now constitute so large a portion of the whole population of the country, is a consequence of the subjugation of the natives. The whole population of the Spanish colonies is divided into classes; the natives of Old Spain, settled in America, were denominated *Chapelones*, or *gachupines*; they claimed the first rank, and engrossed most of the places of power and profit, merely on account of their birth; the descendants of European Spaniards in the colonies were called *Creoles*, and, although they legally enjoyed the same civil rights as the natives of Old Spain, they were treated as a distinct and subordinate class, and entirely excluded from all situations of any importance. Of the mixtures, the *Mestizos* are the descendants of a white and an Indian; the descendants of an Indian and negro are called *Zombos*, and these casts produce other mixtures, of different shades of colour, and degrees of blood, too various to be divided into distinct classes.

Notwithstanding the avidity for gold of the first adventurers, and the ardour with which they pursued their researches for the hidden treasures, their exertions were attended with little success for a great number of years. It was not until 1545, that the rich mines of Potosi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered by an Indian, in clambering up the mountain; and this event was soon followed by the discovery of the mines of Zacatecas, in Mexico. Numerous mines of gold and silver were afterward discovered at different times, in most of the provinces. For a long period the working of the various mines formed the principal employment of the American Spaniards; all other pursuits being subordinate, if not contributory to this. And such was the exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the new world poured forth their treasures, that, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, according to calculations deemed moderate, a quantity of the precious metals had been carried to Spain, equal to four millions sterling, annually, from the first discovery of the country. This product, great as it was, is small, compared with the quantity which the more extensive operations of the present century have afforded. The products of the mines have been constantly increasing for more than a century; and in Mexico, within that period, have increased more than sixfold. During ten years, from 1690 to 1699, the gold and silver coined at the Mexican mint was of the value of nearly forty-three millions of dollars; and the amount coined for ten years, from 1790 to 1799, one century after, exceeded two hundred and thirty-one millions. The mines were not worked by the crown, but, although attended with immense expense, were carried on by individual enterprise. To encourage adventurers in mining, the person discovering a mine

was entitled to the property in it, provided he would work it within a given period. The discoverer presented his claim to the governor of the province, and if allowed, a grant of land was made to him round the mine, and a number of Indians allotted him for working the mine; but he must prosecute the business within the time specified, and pay the customary proportion to the crown.

The direct pursuit of the precious metals is the most fascinating of all employments, stimulated by avarice; and so irresistible and bewitching is its influence, that, like the charm of the rattlesnake, it seemed to turn the heads and change the natural disposition of those who became the victims of its power. Like the passion for deep gambling, it took such entire possession of the mind, that when a person once engaged in this seducing pursuit, visions of imaginary wealth were constantly before his eyes; whether sleeping or awake, he dreams of mountains of gold; and having once entered the enchanting path, he cannot return, but is led along, as if by an ignis-fatuus, to the realization of his dreams, or to ruin. The prevalence of such a spirit as this produced a vortex in the public mind, which swallowed up every other interest or pursuit, diverted industry from its natural channels, and occasioned the neglect of agriculture and manufactures, except so far as they were dependent on, and auxiliary to, this prevailing pursuit.

But notwithstanding the engrossing influence of mining, other interests, entirely disconnected therewith, were not wholly neglected, but afforded, in the different provinces, various important articles of exportation. Cochineal, a valuable drug, and an important article of commerce, composed of a curious insect, was attended with profit in New Spain. Quina, or Jesuits' bark, the most valuable restorative the three kingdoms of nature produce, afforded a lucrative branch of commerce in Peru, and indigo and cocoa were produced in large quantities, and were important articles of exportation, in Guatemala. In Buenos Ayres hides formed an important staple, and afforded a profitable branch of commerce. Horses and neat cattle, introduced from Europe, increased with astonishing rapidity, and ranging over the vast prairies, lying between the La Plata and the Andes, covered at all times with the richest verdure, they multiplied to an extent almost incredible. They are often seen in droves of thirty or forty thousand, covering the boundless plain further than the eye can reach.

During the reign of Charles V. when the power of Spain was at its height, her manufactures and commerce were extensive and flourishing; and both received a great and favourable impulse in consequence of the new market which was opened in America.

Her manufactures were sufficient to supply the growing demand of her colonies, in addition to satisfying that at home. Her commerce was equally flourishing; at the beginning of the sixteenth century Spain had more than one thousand merchant vessels, a number far exceeding that possessed by any nation in Europe. From the destructive foreign wars of Philip II. and the stupid bigotry of his successor, Philip III., who expelled the Moors from his kingdom, amounting to a million of the most industrious of his subjects, Spain became drained of its inhabitants, so that early in the seventeenth century her manufactures and commerce began to decay; men could not be recruited to keep up her fleets and armies; her extensive foreign commerce was lost, and even agriculture began to be neglected. The great emigration to the colonies still further drained off the population, and the immense wealth which the colonies poured into the parent state intoxicated the inhabitants, as well as the sovereign, and led them to desert the paths of industry to which they had been accustomed. Thus, at a time when the population and wants of the colonies were daily augmenting, the means of Spain to supply them had decreased in a much greater ratio. She was obliged to have recourse to her neighbours, and to supply her colonies with the manufactures of Holland, England, France, and Italy. She was still, however, as firmly bent on maintaining the entire monopoly of the colonial trade, although it was apparent that foreigners now derived the principal benefit from it. Nineteen-twentieths of the commodities exported to her colonies were foreign fabrics, which were paid for by the products of the mines, received in return, so that the precious metals no sooner entered Spain, than they passed away into the hands of foreigners, and the country was left without sufficient for a circulating medium.

Although wholly unable to supply the wants of her colonies, Spain did not relax in the smallest degree the rigour of her colonial system; the principle of which was, that the whole commerce with the colonies should be in the hands and under the direction of the crown, a monopoly similar to that of an exclusive company. The regulation of this commerce was intrusted to the Casa de la Contraction, or board of trade, established at Seville. This board granted a license to any vessel bound to America, and inspected its cargo. From these regulations the entire commerce with the colonies centered in Seville, and continued there until 1720. It was carried on in a uniform manner for more than two centuries. The system was, that a fleet, with a strong convoy, sailed annually to America; this consisted of two squadrons, or divisions, one called the *Galleons*, the other the *Flota*. They sailed from Seville until the year 1720, and after that principally from Cadiz, until 1778, when fourteen other ports

were  
tined  
thagen  
Sants  
Cartha  
mart o  
the tim  
and su  
tation,  
thence  
mules,  
fleet of  
vinces,  
of neg  
appear  
its stre  
provinc  
ring wh  
and the  
specie  
ried ba  
course  
vinces  
mines,  
and on  
the ex  
Bello.  
rendez  
compar  
Such  
subsist  
turies  
bound t  
to retar  
dence a  
selves i  
wear su  
rental a  
temptib  
than to  
Dutch  
her col  
of the n  
trade.  
the rig  
open a



were opened to the trade with the colonies. The galleons destined to Terra Firme, Peru, and Chili, first touched at Carthagena, where not only that province, but also those of Caraccas, Santa Martha, and others in New Granada, were supplied. From Carthagena the fleet proceeded to Porto Bello, which was the mart of all the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. Previous to the time the galleons were expected, the products of the mines and such articles of produce as Peru and Chili afforded for exportation, were annually conveyed by sea to Panama, and from thence across the isthmus, to Porto Bello, part of the way on mules, and part down the river Chagres. After the arrival of the fleet of galleons, and the merchants from Peru and the other provinces, Porto Bello, a paltry and unwholesome village, consisting of negro huts, and a small garrison, immediately assumed a new appearance; its storehouses were filled with merchandise, and its streets crowded with opulent merchants, drawn from distant provinces. A fair was opened that continued for forty days, during which the most extensive commercial transactions took place, and the rich cargoes of the galleons were all marketed, and the specie and staples of the colonies received in payment, and carried back to Spain. The flota, or other squadron, directed its course to Vera Cruz, and supplied New Spain, and all the provinces that belonged to that vicerealty. The treasures of the mines, and products of the country, were first deposited at Puebla, and on the arrival of the flota were carried to Vera Cruz, where the exchange was conducted in the same manner as at Porto Bello. Both squadrons having taken in their return cargoes, rendezvoused at Havanna, and sailed from thence to Europe in company.

Such was the stinted, fettered, and restricted commerce which subsisted between Spain and her colonies for more than two centuries and a half; and such were the swaddling clothes which bound the youthful and vigorous limbs of the colonies, calculated to retard their growth, and keep them always in a state of dependence and minority. They were not permitted to act for themselves in the most common and necessary concerns; but must wear such apparel, and consume such meats and drinks as parental authority saw fit to allow them. This restricted and contemptible commercial system was scarcely less injurious to Spain than to her colonies. The naval superiority of the English and Dutch enabled them to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, which exposed the colonies to suffer for the want of the necessaries of life, and introduced an extensive smuggling trade. It also compelled the Spanish monarch so far to relax the rigour of his system as to permit France, then his ally, to open a trade with Peru: the French carried such quantities of



goods there, that they found their way into all the Spanish provinces. This trade being carried on directly, threatened the destruction of the trade with Spain, and it was therefore prohibited.

By the treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain obtained a concession which secured to her a foothold for commercial purposes in the Spanish colonies in America. Philip V. transferred to Britain, with the consent of France, the privilege or contract which the latter had enjoyed, of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and the more dangerous right of sending annually one ship of five hundred tons to the fair at Porto Bello. This led to the establishment of British factories at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other places. The residence of the agents and merchants of a rival power in the most important towns, drew aside the veil which had hitherto concealed from the world the interior condition of the Spanish colonies, and excited a spirit of commercial cupidity, which led to an extensive contraband trade. This, at first, was carried on principally from Jamaica, and other British colonies. As might have been foreseen, the privilege granted to the British was at once abused, and greatly extended. Instead of a ship of five, one of nine hundred tons was sent to Porto Bello; and this was accompanied with several smaller vessels, which moored in some neighbouring creek, and clandestinely conveyed their cargoes to the principal ship. The inspectors of the fair, blinded by presents, remained ignorant of these frauds. From the intrinsic defects of the Spanish colonial system, and the weakness of granting the privileges spoken of to the most enterprising commercial nation in the world, the commerce carried on in the galleons, so long the pride of Spain, and even the envy of other nations, was almost annihilated before the middle of the eighteenth century.

Alarmed at the extent and pernicious consequences of the contraband trade, Spain stationed ships of war along the coast most exposed to this illicit traffic, to suppress it. These were called *Guarda Costas*; they checked the smuggling trade to a considerable degree, which led to complain's on the part of Great Britain, and finally to war, on the claim of some outrages committed by the *Guarda Costas*. Spain, however, obtained a release from the *Assiento*, or privilege granted to England, and was once more at liberty to manage her commerce with her colonies in her own way, without restraint. The contraband trade, however, continued; the Dutch and French engaged in it, as well as the English; and to such an extent was it carried, that sometimes when the galleons arrived the markets were glutted, and their cargoes could scarcely be disposed of. The galleons were prevented from sailing by wars, and often retarded by various accidents, and this occasioned a new regulation, by which commerce

with  
ring  
this  
ons  
was  
ship  
part  
T  
to C  
trade  
merc  
Cum  
bene  
F  
her c  
curre  
befor  
civil,  
ed on  
ters  
throu  
ed, o  
ments  
selves  
derab  
carg  
Th  
1765,  
ba, an  
subjec  
ticular  
Spain  
laws,  
another  
and th  
ville fo  
in four  
portan  
nue of  
The  
of the  
nicious  
Spain.  
under t  
the So  
Guaten  
Vol

with the colonies was carried on by *register ships*, fitted out during the intervals of the sailing of the fleets. The advantages of this commerce were so apparent, that in the year 1748 the galleons were no longer employed, and the trade with Peru and Chili was prosecuted in a direct route, round Cape Horn, in single ships. Still the register ships were all obliged to take their departure from Cadiz, and to return to that port.

The Dutch, from the vicinity of their settlement at Curacao to Caraccas, having engrossed a considerable part of the cocoa trade of that province, Spain, in 1728, granted to a company of merchants an exclusive monopoly of the trade with Caraccas and Cumana; and both the parent state and the colonies derived great benefit from the commercial enterprise of this company.

From the want of more frequent intercourse between Spain and her colonies, it often happened that important events, which occurred in the latter, were known for some time by foreign nations before intelligence of them had reached Spain. To remedy this evil, in 1764 a system of packets was established, to be despatched on the first day of every month, to Havana; from whence letters were sent to Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and so transmitted throughout the Spanish settlements. The packet-boats also sailed, once a month, to Buenos Ayres, to accommodate the settlements east of the Andes. Objects of commerce connected themselves with this arrangement; the packets were vessels of considerable burden, and carried out goods, and brought back a return cargo in the productions of the colonies.

The way being in some degree prepared, the following year, 1765, Charles III. abrogated the restrictions on the trade to Cuba, and other islands to the windward, leaving it open to all his subjects, with no other restrictions but that of their sailing to particular ports in each island. The beneficial effects, both to Old Spain and the colonies, resulting from a relaxation of the ancient laws, being sensibly felt, one relaxation proved the necessity of another, and in 1778 the monopoly was still further done away; and the colonial trade, which had been confined to Cadiz and Seville for two and a half centuries, was permitted to be carried on in fourteen other Spanish seaports, which produced a most important and favourable change, both to the colonies and the revenue of Spain.

The restrictions upon the internal intercourse and commerce of the Spanish colonies were, if possible, more grievous and pernicious in their consequences than those on the intercourse with Spain. From their first settlement all intercourse was prohibited, under the severest penalties, between the different provinces in the South Sea. Peru, Chili, New Spain, New Granada, and Guatemala, were cruelly inhibited from all commerce, and from

all intercourse whatsoever with each other, which would so obviously have promoted their mutual comfort, prosperity, and advancement. At length, in 1774, Charles III. removed this severe and infamous restriction, and opened a free trade between these provinces.

In noticing the commerce of the Spanish colonies, that from Manilla requires our attention. Philip II. established a colony on the Philippine islands. The armament was fitted out from New Spain, and the station selected for a town was called Manilla, on the island of Luconia. This settlement soon engaged in active commercial intercourse with China, which occasioned a number of the Chinese to emigrate to the colony, for the purposes of commerce, and the prospects of gain. They not only supplied the colony with the manufactures of the East, but introduced such quantities as enabled it to open a trade with America. At first this trade, which was attended by the longest course of navigation of any in the world, was confined to Callao, on the coast of Peru, but subsequently it was transferred to Acapulco, on the western coast of New Spain. It finally acquired regularity and system, and became an important branch of the commerce of the Spanish colonies. It supplied them with the merchandise of China and the East Indies, in exchange for their precious metals, and the produce of America. A single galleon, of from twelve to fifteen hundred tons, sailed from Manilla about the first of July, with the southwest monsoon, and generally arrived at Acapulco in three months, with a cargo that often amounted to two millions of dollars, although by law it was limited to half a million. In February or March she returned, and, taking advantage of the trade winds, accomplished the voyage in fifty or sixty days. And, at a later period, a galleon has also been despatched from Manilla to Lima, a longer and more difficult voyage, as it must first discover the coast of Mexico, and then steer southward to Peru, a navigation extremely difficult and tedious. What is most remarkable, this commerce was suffered to be carried on, in direct contravention of the fundamental principle of the colonial system of Spain, which held the colonies entirely dependent on the mother country. It seems to have grown up gradually, until it became so important, and so great a part of the population became interested in it, that it could not be suppressed.

Spain received a considerable revenue from her colonies, notwithstanding the extensive contraband trade which, at some periods, even in time of peace, amounted to one-third of the whole commerce of the colonies, and other frauds practised on the revenue. The revenue consisted of three branches; the first, that which was paid to the king, as lord-paramount, or sovereign of the country; the second, what accrued to him as head of the

church  
first  
of the  
tribut  
head  
ceive  
receip  
promu  
lution  
as ear  
emplo  
all tha  
which  
were l  
on it b  
tax wa  
The m  
ment,  
a mes  
were  
every  
the per  
the dut  
duction  
century  
at a mi  
rect rev  
levied i  
other b  
If the  
ment w  
The Sp  
ment, b  
establis  
ment of  
in each  
number  
occasion  
in its m  
also inc  
tained.  
ing were  
the gov  
ways wh  
as their  
guards, a

church; and the third, imposts, or duties on commerce. The first comprised the customary, or share, received by the crown, of the product of the mines, called the right of seignior, and the tribute paid by the Indians, called the duty of vassalage. As head of the church, and administrator of its funds, the king received various spiritual revenues, the first fruits, spoils, and the receipts from the sale of the bull of Crusado. This bull was promulgated by the pope every second year, containing an absolution from past offences, and granting certain immunities, such as eating prohibited food during lent, and the like. The monks, employed in distributing these bulls, extolled their virtues with all that zeal and eloquence which interest usually inspires, and which was always found wonderfully efficacious. The ignorant were led to regard it as essential to their salvation at the rate set on it by government, and by such fraudulent means a universal tax was levied on the credulity and bigotry of a whole nation. The morals of the people were thus bartered away by the government, which ought to have been their guardian and protector, for a mess of pottage, a paltry tax. The duties on merchandise were numerous and oppressive, and clogged and embarrassed every commercial transaction, from the wholesale merchant to the petty retail vender. Great discrimination was made between the duties on the manufactures of Spain, and those on the productions of foreign countries. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the revenue raised by Spain in America was estimated at a million and a half sterling. This, however, was only the *direct* revenue, raised in the colonies, and did not include the duties levied in Old Spain, on all the exports to her colonies, and some other branches of revenue.

If the revenue was great, the expenses of the colonial government were equally so, and were wholly defrayed by the crown. The Spanish colonial system was not confined to civil government, but embraced commerce, religion, finance, and a military establishment; all of which were under the authority and management of the crown. It was also complex, in an extreme degree, in each department; consequently was encumbered with such a number and variety of offices, tribunals, and boards, as not only occasioned an enormous expense, but rendered it unwieldy, tarry in its movements, and almost unmanageable. Its weight was also increased by the external parade and pomp which it maintained. Every thing was on a large scale; the expenses of living were great, all salaries were high, and most of the officers of the government received, by perquisites, and in the various ways which human ingenuity could devise, several times as much as their salaries. The viceroys maintained horse and foot guards, a train of household attendants, and all the pomp and dig-

nity of a regal establishment. They enjoyed a salary of thirty thousand dollars in the latter part of the eighteenth century; but this was a small part of their income;—by monopolizing certain branches of commerce, the disposal of all the lucrative offices, by present, and by innumerable frauds and abuses of power, they usually, after continuing in office a few years, returned to Spain with a princely fortune. It is asserted that a viceroy, at one festival, the anniversary of his *birth-day*, received fifty thousand dollars in presents.

## CHAPTER V.

*Administration of Don Joseph Galvez—Buenos Ayres—fourth viceroyalty created—establishment of Intendancies—civil divisions of the country—Gen. Beresford and Sir Home Popham—attack on Buenos Ayres—view of the government—its different offices—its corruption and oppression—conspiracy of Leon—frauds practised upon the Indians—Tupac Amaru heads an insurrection—is defeated—civil commotion in New Granada—first attempts to revolutionize the province—Miranda's expedition—loyalty of the Spanish creoles.*

THE more enlarged views of policy, which led to the relaxation of the ancient laws, and the adoption of more equitable and just commercial regulations, called attention to the internal condition of the Spanish colonies, and occasioned various salutary reformations and improvements. The colonial system, founded on false and inequitable principles, defective and oppressive in itself, was rendered more insupportable from the abuses and corruption which every where had crept into the administration. Not only a correction of abuses, but a reformation of the system, was successfully attempted in the latter part of the eighteenth century, during the enlightened administration of Don Joseph Galvez. Having spent seven years in America, as inspector-general of New Spain, and visited most of the remote provinces, he was elevated, on his return to Spain, to the head of the department for Indian, or, more properly, American affairs. He commenced his administration, which forms a memorable epoch

in the history of Spanish America, by a general reformation of the whole system. The increase of population and wealth in the colonies had so multiplied the business of the courts of Audience, that the number of judges were wholly inadequate to a faithful discharge of the duties of the office. He increased the number of judges, raised their salaries, and enlarged their powers of appointment.

From the extension of the settlements great inconvenience was experienced, notwithstanding the establishment of the third viceroyalty of New Granada, in consequence of the remoteness of many of the provinces from the seat of government; and the further the administration was removed from the seat of authority, the greater were the abuses which attended it. There were provinces subject to the government of New Spain, more than two thousand miles from Mexico, and some appertaining to the viceroyalty of Peru, were still further from Lima. To remedy this evil a fourth viceroyalty was created in the year 1776, comprising the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, St. Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. The seat of government was established at Buenos Ayres, and Don Pedro Zavallos raised to this new dignity, who was well acquainted with the countries over which he had to preside, having long resided in them, in a subordinate station. This division, together with what was taken off at the erection of the viceroyalty of New Granada, reduced the territory of the viceroyalty of Peru to one-third its original extent. The remote provinces of Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, which belonged to the jurisdiction of New Spain, were likewise formed into a separate government, which was conferred on the Chevalier de Croix, who, although not possessed of the title and dignity of viceroy, was wholly independent of the viceroyalty of New Spain. Several of these provinces contained some of the richest mines of gold in America, recently discovered, and this was among the reasons that urged the erection of a new government, which, from its vicinity, might afford the protection and facilities that the mining operations required. Another, and perhaps the most patriotic measure of the Count de Galvez, was the establishment of Intendancies, for the superintendence and protection of the Indians. This measure had a happy effect on the natives; under the active superintendence of the intendants, whose duty it was to watch over their rights, as guardians and protectors, this miserable race enjoyed securities and advantages of which they were deprived under the tyranny of the subaltern Spanish and Indian magistrates, to whom they had been subjected.

At a subsequent period some alterations took place in the political divisions of Spanish America, so that at the commencement



ment of the political revolution, which has restored all the Spanish dominions on the American continent to independence and liberty, its civil divisions consisted of the four viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, Buenós Ayres, and New Granada, and the territories called captain-generalcies of Chili, Venezuela, and Guatemala. These seven distinct governments were independent of each other; a viceroy presided over the four first, and an officer, called a captain-general, over the three last, all of which were appointed by the king; were independent of each other, and directly dependent on the crown. These governments were subdivided into provinces, over which presided a governor, or *corregidore*, and also into intendancies, which formed the jurisdiction of an officer called an intendant. This latter division was principally for that part of government which related to the Indians. The governors and intendants were appointed by the king, but accountable to the viceroy, or captain-general, to whose jurisdiction the province belonged. The provinces were again divided into departments, over which presided a delegate of the governor or officer at the head of the government of the province, and likewise subordinate magistrates, called *alcades*, appointed by the municipalities, denominated *cabildos*. The viceroys and captain-generals possessed both civil and military power, and generally the governors possessed the same; but in some instances they enjoyed only civil authority, in which cases there was a military chief, or officer in the province, called *commandante*, who held the military command. The supreme judicial power was vested in the court of Audience, of which there was one or more in each of the viceroyalties and captain-generalcies; the separate judges of this tribunal were called *oidores*, and their number varied according to the population and business of their jurisdictions. A subordinate judicial authority was vested in the governors, *corregidores*, and their delegates; and the *alcades* also possessed a limited jurisdiction, but could not act unless they were law-professors, without the advice of an *asesor*, or lawyer. The decisions of all these inferior tribunals might be reviewed by the Royal Audience, whose decrees were final, except in some important cases an appeal was allowed to the Council of the Indies.

There were also in some of the seaports tribunals called *consulados*, having cognizance of commercial affairs only, from whose decisions an appeal might be made to the viceroy. In addition to these authorities there were spiritual tribunals, with jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs. At the head of these was the holy Inquisition, whose jurisdiction was undefined, and its proceedings secret, tyrannical, and cruel. Its punishments were inflicted by fine, imprisonment, torture, the gallows, and the stake. In each diocess there was a spiritual court, composed of the

bishop  
eccles  
contro  
the an

T  
the go  
be exp  
ble to  
There  
for p  
scarce  
it was  
cabild  
cities  
cordin  
of pop  
govern  
and co  
ring li  
was ab  
comm  
called  
ted St  
a great  
gistrate  
rupt in  
The vi  
of Aud  
king, a  
civil an  
Spain.  
and fi  
and pr  
rica, of  
obtaini  
their ec  
govern  
rest the

The  
and the  
enjoyed  
toms of  
appeare  
general  
country  
Spanish

bishop, the fiscal proctor, or lawyer, and the provisor. The ecclesiastical courts, as well as all others, were subject to the control of the viceroy, and consequently were used to advance the ambitious views of the state, as well as the church.

There was nothing like popular influence in either branch of the government; no mode in which the voice of the people could be expressed; nor was there a tribunal or officer who was amenable to, or whose authority emanated directly from, the people. There were no meetings of the inhabitants, except at church, and for public worship on religious festivals, and the press could scarcely be said to exert any influence; so far as it did, however, it was only an instrument of tyranny and oppression. Even the *cabildos*, or corporations which regulated the internal police of cities and towns, consisting of from six to twelve members, according to their population or business, were entirely independent of popular influence. These officers were called *regidores*, the governor of the province being *ex officio* president of the *cabildo*, and controlled all its acts. The office of *regidore* was held during life, having a fixed price, which, in Buenos Ayres and Chili, was about five hundred dollars, and was purchased like any other commodity in market. The executive officers of the *cabildos*, called *alquazils*, answering to sheriffs and constables in the United States, were sold at given prices, the same being the case in a great measure with the *alcades*, who were a kind of petty magistrates, or justices of the peace. The administration was corrupt in all departments, beyond any example in modern times. The viceroys, captain-generals, intendants, members of the court of Audience, archbishops and bishops who were appointed by the king, almost without exception were Spaniards; and most of the civil and military appointments were conferred on natives of Old Spain. Down to the year 1810 one hundred and sixty viceroys, and five hundred and eighty-eight captain-generals, governors, and presidents of the royal audience, had been appointed in America, of whom only eighteen were natives of the country, these obtaining their appointments in consequence of having received their education in Spain. Thus, for ages, was Spanish America governed by swarms of foreign officers, who had no other interest than to gratify their employers, and enrich themselves.

The influence of the political revolution in the British colonies, and the effects of commercial freedom which Spanish America enjoyed after the regulations of 1778, gave rise to the first symptoms of a spirit of reformation and political improvement which appeared in the Spanish colonies. Down to this period, and in general, until the breaking out of the revolution in the parent country, and the overthrow of the monarchy by Bonaparte, the Spanish ecclesies in America, notwithstanding the political oppres-

sion which they suffered, and their personal degradation as a class, were distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to their king and country. About the middle of the eighteenth century a conspiracy was formed in Caraccas, headed by a man named Leon, the object of which, however, was not so much political as commercial, it being the design of the conspirators to break up the company of Guipuscoa, sometimes called the company of Caraccas, who had long enjoyed a monopoly of all the trade of that and several other provinces. The plot did not succeed, and Leon was condemned to death, his house razed to the ground, and a column placed on the spot as a memorial of the horror of his offence, and the fate that awaited all traitors. In 1780 an alarming revolution broke out in Peru, among the natives, seconded by some of the creole inhabitants. Previous to the reformation and correction of abuses which took place during the administration of Count de Galvez, the corregidores practised such intolerable extortions and frauds on the Indians, compelling them to receive their necessary supplies on their own terms, as finally drove them into measures of open resistance. Tupac Amaru, a native Peruvian, of the royal Inca blood, became the leader of the malecontents; and several individuals of influence joining him, the flame of resistance was spread for three hundred leagues into the interior of the country; and so numerous and formidable did the party become, that Tupac Amaru was proclaimed Inca of Peru. The Spanish authorities adopted energetic and vindictive measures to suppress the insurgents; the contest lasted three years, and exhibited many bloody scenes. The malecontents were often successful; but Tupac Amaru did not conduct in his new dignity so as to maintain the attachment of his adherents; their zeal consequently began to abate, and their efforts to relax; and being attacked by the troops of Buenos Ayres, as well as by those of Lima, and most of the Spanish inhabitants declaring in favour of the government, the insurgents were overpowered, and compelled to submit. Tupac Amaru, and most of the principal leaders, were put to death, in a manner cruel and abhorrent to the feelings of humanity in the extreme. The loyalty of the creoles led them to take part with the government, notwithstanding the oppression which they suffered, on an occasion when it was in their power, by joining with the Indians, to have effected a political revolution.

Before this insurrection was suppressed, the Spanish government was alarmed by civil commotions in New Granada. In 1781, some new regulations and additional taxes, adopted by Regente Pineres, the viceroy, were opposed by almost the whole population of the province of Socorro. An armed multitude, amounting to seventeen thousand, marched toward Santa Fe,

cryin  
vicer  
super  
36 m  
army  
cal r  
surpr  
awe a  
mom  
leade  
of the  
hered  
the c  
court  
sures  
ing p  
sand  
proscr  
person  
signs,  
distru  
tende  
was d  
which  
formir  
Power  
the rac  
the bo  
greate  
will of  
The  
to 177  
contine  
in Am  
and sh  
race.  
the his  
lutions  
more l  
Spanis  
relying  
from th

\* The  
cial pap  
from the  
jesty for

VOL

crying, "Long live the king—death to our bad governors." The viceroy not being able to oppose them in arms, had recourse to superstition: they advanced without opposition to within about 36 miles of the capital, where, instead of being confronted by an army, they were met by Gongora the archbishop, in his pontifical robes, holding the host in his hands. The suddenness and surprise of this appeal to their religious feelings, filled them with awe and timidity. The archbishop, availing himself of the happy moment, proposed a conference to Don Salvador Plata, their leader, which resulted in an accommodation, and the dispersion of the malecontents. But the terms of capitulation were not adhered to. These indications of a spirit of reform and freedom in the colonies occasioned the greatest jealousy and alarm in the court of Madrid, and the adoption of such severe and harsh measures to suppress it, as rather tended to increase the evil. Printing presses were prohibited, even in towns of forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, and books of almost every description were proscribed, as dangerous and seditious. In New Granada, several persons, merely on suspicion of entertaining revolutionary designs, were subjected to the torture; and similar measures, of a distrustful policy, were pursued in other provinces, all of which tended to increase the discontents of the colonists. Nothing was done to conciliate their feelings, or redress the grievances of which they complained, or which even had the appearance of reforming any of the glaring abuses that every where prevailed. Power and coercion were the only means made use of; the sword, the rack, and the inquisition, were to control the minds as well as the bodies of the colonists, and convince them that they had no greater liberties, no other rights, than those of *submission* to the will of an arbitrary tyranny.

The political events which occurred in Europe, subsequently to 1778, produced a spirit of political inquiry that spread over that continent, and even reached the shores of the Spanish dominions in America, where light and liberty had so long been proscribed and shut out, as the greatest evils that could afflict the human race. Many of the Spanish creoles informed themselves with the history and the principles of the American and French revolutions; and the more they became acquainted with liberty the more lovely it appeared, and the more odious the tyranny of the Spanish colonial government. Elevated by such sentiments, and relying on the assurances of assistance from the British, derived from the proclamation\* of the governor of Trinidad, a number of

\* The following is the proclamation referred to:—"By virtue of an official paper, which I, the governor of this island of Trinidad, have received from the right honourable Henry Dundas, minister of his Britannic Majesty for foreign affairs, dated 7th April, 1797, which I here publish in obe-

creoles at Caraccas, in 1797, formed a plan to revolutionize that province. When on the eve of making the attempt to carry their plans into execution, the conspiracy was discovered, and Don M. Gual, and J. M. Espana, the apparent leaders, escaped to a neighbouring island. Two years after, the latter, having the presumption to return to La Guayra, was seized, condemned, and executed, and thus became one of the first martyrs of Colombian liberty.

It had long been a favourite project of Mr. Pitt to aid the emancipation of South America, and to open a trade with that country. He had frequent conferences with the ex-Jesuit, Juan Pablo Viscardi Gusman, a native of Peru, and an enthusiast in favour of the independence of America, who represented the country to be impatient under the Spanish yoke, and ripe for revolt. He also published in London an appeal to his countrymen, using all the powers of his eloquence in attempting to bring them to a sense of their degraded condition. The British ministry encouraged general Miranda in his designs to revolutionize Venezuela, and aided the premature expedition which he fitted out in 1801; and furnished the funds for that which he afterward fitted out from the United States in 1806, though it was done without

dience to orders, and for the use which your Excellencies may draw from its publication, in order that you may communicate its tenor, which is literally as follows:—The object which at present I desire most particularly to recommend to your attention, is the means which might be best adapted to liberate the people of the continent near to the island of Trinidad, from the oppressive and tyrannic system which supports, with so much rigour, the monopoly of commerce, under the title of exclusive registers, which their government licenses demand; also to draw the greatest advantages possible, and which the local situation of the island presents, by opening a direct and free communication with the other parts of the world, without prejudice to the commerce of the British nation. In order to fulfil this intention with greater facility, it will be prudent for your Excellency to animate the inhabitants of Trinidad in keeping up the communication which they had with those of Terra Firma, previous to the reduction of that island; under the assurance, that they will find there an *entrepot*, or general magazine, of every sort of goods whatever. To this end, his Britannic Majesty has determined, in council, to grant freedom to the ports of Trinidad, with a direct trade to great Britain.

“With regard to the hopes you entertain of raising the spirits of those persons, with whom you are in correspondence, toward encouraging the inhabitants to resist the oppressive authority of their government, I have little more to say, than that they may be certain that, whenever they are in that disposition, they may receive, at your hands, all the succours to be expected from his Britannic Majesty, be it with force, or with arms and ammunition, to any extent; with the assurance, that the views of his Britannic Majesty go no further than to secure to them their independence, without pretending to any sovereignty over their country, nor even to interfere in the privileges of the people, nor in their political, civil, or religious rights.”

THOMAS PICTON, &c. &c.

Puerto de Espana, 26th June, 1797.

the ass  
without  
from th  
becam  
cal pov  
the Bri  
in the e  
a favour

The  
tish go  
France  
squadro  
on the  
Buenos

The  
conster  
Chueto  
capital,  
don, aft  
the only  
English  
enemies  
to Mon  
the Spa  
exciting  
sand reg  
commar  
niers im  
ing arou  
with gre  
loss, to  
event, re  
which en

This  
ham, wa  
was so f  
ed up by  
each wi  
Whitlocl  
capture  
had rece  
Valparai  
to estab  
Ayres to  
changed  
tablishing

the assistance or sanction of congress. This expedition failed without accomplishing any thing, and a number of young men from the United States, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, became victims of their own credulity, and the cruelty of tyrannical power. It is said, that during Mr. Adams' administration, the British ministry made proposals to our government to assist in the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, which did not meet a favourable reception.

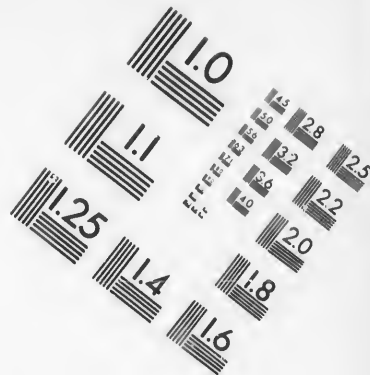
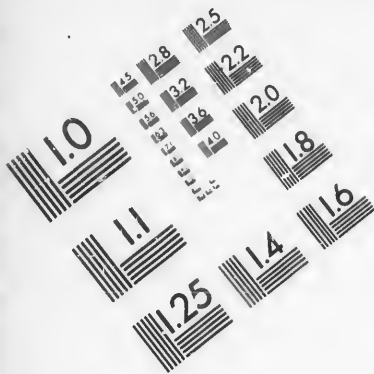
The failure of Miranda's expedition did not discourage the British government; for in 1806, Spain then being in alliance with France in the war which prevailed in Europe, they fitted out a squadron under Sir Home Popham, which entered the La Plata on the 25th of June, and anchored about twelve miles below Buenos Ayres, where the troops disembarked without opposition.

The inhabitants, and the viceroy Solimente, were filled with consternation. After experiencing a feeble opposition at Rio Chucto, three miles from the city, general Beresford entered the capital, and took possession of the citadel. Don J. M. Pueyredon, afterward director, at the head of a company of hussars, was the only officer who did any thing to oppose the advance of the English. The Spaniards, on learning the small number of their enemies, determined to expel them. The viceroy had escaped to Montevideo, and Liniers, a French emigrant, but an officer in the Spanish service, passed over to the eastern shore of the river, exciting the people to arms. The viceroy collected one thousand regulars, which he joined with those of Liniers, to whom the command of the united forces was given. With these troops, Liniers immediately recrossed the river, when the inhabitants flocking around his standard, soon enabled him to attack the British with great effect, compelling them, after they had sustained a heavy loss, to surrender, on the 12th of August, 1806. Soon after this event, re-enforcements arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, which enabled Sir Home Popham to reduce Montevideo by storm.

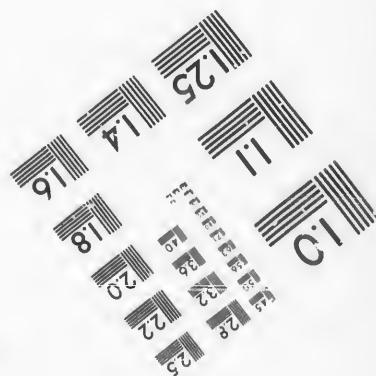
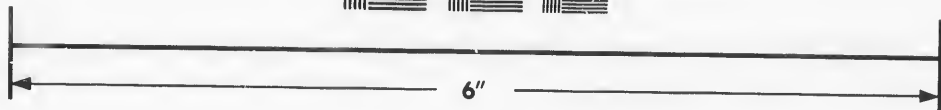
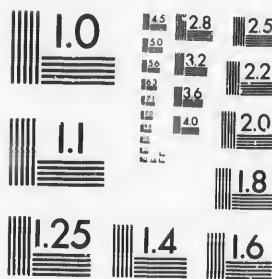
This expedition, as appeared from the trial of Sir Home Popham, was not expressly authorized by the British ministry, but was so far from being disapproved of by them, that it was followed up by a bold and extensive plan of conquest. Two squadrons, each with a large body of troops, one commanded by general Whitlock, the other by general Crawford, were fitted out for the capture of Buenos Ayres; after accomplishing this, Crawford had received orders to proceed around Cape Horn, and capture Valparaiso; and, for the more effectually securing their conquest, to establish military posts across the continent, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso. The object of the ministry was entirely changed since 1797; now it was not to aid the inhabitants in establishing their independence, but to subjugate the country. The







**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

1.5 2.8 2.5  
1.8 3.2  
2.2  
2.0  
1.8

CI

commanders, in their instructions from Mr. Windham, secretary of war, were directed to discourage all hopes of any other change in the condition of these countries than that of their being annexed to the crown of Great Britain.\*

On the 10th of May, 1807, the expedition under general Whitlock arrived at Montevideo, and on the 15th of June following that under general Crawford arrived. General Whitlock, who assumed the chief command, had now under his control about ten thousand of the best troops in the British service, and made immediate preparations for attacking the capital. The viceroy, arriving at Buenos Ayres, was opposed by the inhabitants, and finally deposed by the cabildo. Liniers, being raised to the chief command, was assisted by the inhabitants in making great exertions to defend the capital. Every avenue to the city was obstructed by breastworks of hides, from fifteen to twenty feet thick; small pieces of artillery were planted on the houses, which were barricaded and formed into fortresses, and all the citizens were under arms. The British having landed on the 28th of June, traversed a swampy country of about thirty miles, and presented themselves on the morning of the 5th of July in front of Buenos Ayres. The British general having formed his troops in a line along the suburbs, commenced the attack—and never were men more surprised with their reception. The cannon, planted on the trenches which intersected the streets, poured a destructive fire of grape on the advancing columns, while from the roofs and windows of the houses they were assailed, with appalling effect, by an incessant shower of musketry, bombs, and hand-grenades. As the English advanced further into the city, they exposed themselves to a hotter and more destructive fire; and while thus exposed to be mowed down, the enemy were out of their reach, and in a great measure secure from their fire. The column under general Auchmuty, which entered the upper part of the town, after a sanguinary conflict took possession of a large building where bull-fights were held; and that which entered the south part, led by general Crawford, after losing one half its number, took shelter in a large church; here they defended themselves for some time, but finally were obliged to surrender. The British in this engagement lost one-third of their whole army. The next day an armistice was concluded, by which they agreed to evacuate the La Plata in two months.

Never was there a more complete failure of an expedition, or perhaps a plan of conquest founded on more erroneous conceptions. The British ministry expected that the inhabitants of the country were so uneasy under the Spanish yoke that they would flock to their standards, and instructions were given general Whit-

\* Documents annexed to report of Whitlock's trial.

lock  
of th  
arms  
They  
of th  
ing fo  
the in  
the in  
habili  
her p  
No  
expec  
ject,  
of the  
the co  
adopt  
ports  
been  
new r  
and to  
port e  
sion o  
sure th  
rica, a  
rear it  
prospe  
phere,  
another

lock for organizing a military force in the country. But instead of this, they found not a single friend; all the inhabitants took arms, and manifested a most violent animosity toward them. They refused after the armistice to purchase even a single article of their merchandise, although at the very time they were suffering for the want of them. Had the English come to the aid of the inhabitants in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and establishing the independence of the country, the expedition would in all probability have proved successful, and thus have secured to Britain her primary object—the trade of the country.

Notwithstanding the fatal termination of this enterprise, another expedition still more formidable was prepared for the same object, the destination of which was changed by the breaking out of the revolution of Spain. These, and other attempts made on the coast of the Spanish colonies, induced the government to adopt measures for providing a larger military force in the sea-ports; and the indications of a revolutionary spirit which had been disclosed so alarmed the court of Madrid, as to occasion new military regulations for the greater security of the capital, and to enable the viceroys and generals of the provinces to support each other in case of civil commotions. It is to the subversion of the monarchy of Spain, by Bonaparte, that in a great measure the world is indebted for the independence of Spanish America, and all the hopes inspired by the successful and patriotic career it has hitherto pursued, for its present condition and glorious prospects. Thus an act of tyranny and usurpation in one hemisphere, was rendered conducive to the establishment of liberty in another, and the emancipation of a large portion of the globe.

HISTORY  
AND PRESENT STATE OF  
MEXICO.

CHAPTER VI.

*Geographical description of the country—its mountains, rivers, bays, harbours—climate, soil, productions, mines—the mining districts—annual produce of the mines—increase since the revolution—manner of working them—commerce—articles of exportation—duties on importations—manufactories.*

THE Mexican nation, or republic, is composed of the provinces of the ancient viceroyalty of New Spain, the captain-generalcy of Yucatan, the commandancies-general of the eastern and western internal provinces, and the province of Chiapa, which formerly belonged to the captain-generalcy of Guatemala. This territory extends from lat. 15 to lat. 42, north, or about 1875 miles from north to south. On the northern boundary it extends from the Red River to the Pacific, a distance of more than 1000 miles; its least breadth, on its southern boundary, is narrow, not being more than about 200 miles. It is bounded on the north by the territory of the United States; on the east by the United States and the Gulf of Mexico; on the south by the states of the republic of Guatemala; and on the west and southwest by the Pacific Ocean. Mexico, like the countries in South America, is traversed by extensive ranges of mountains, which much resemble the Andes in their general character, but from latitude 18° near the Pacific, to latitude 40° north, these ranges present some peculiar characteristics, which distinguish them from most other mountains in the world. A broad elevated plain, or tract, called table-land, prevails through this vast region, at the elevation of from 6 to 5000 feet above the level of the sea. There are many

inter  
tract  
natin  
north  
group  
city  
mour  
Moun  
tains  
Colin  
quake  
In  
feet,  
the re  
some  
than  
frequ  
from  
const  
desce  
carria  
Cruz,  
mules  
if the  
of the  
On  
moun  
versifi  
level  
border  
rivers  
large  
on the  
The  
affordi  
the we  
for mo  
rivalle  
of lati  
magn  
ders e  
the A  
another  
and fo  
two oc  
rivers



intervening valleys, watered by rivers or lakes, that intersect this tract of table-land, extending more than 1500 miles, and terminating at about latitude 40°, where it imperceptibly declines to the north. Many lofty elevations on these ranges, particularly the group in the central plain, or table-land, between Mexico and the city of Cordova, one of which, called the Popocatepetl, or smoke mountain, is 17716 feet in height; and another, called the Star Mountain, is 17371 feet. There are five burning volcanic mountains in Mexico; the Ouzaba, Popocatepetl, Tustla, Jorullo, and Colinia; but they are not often subject to eruptions, and earthquakes seldom occur.

In the 20th degree of north latitude, at an elevation of 15000 feet, is a region of perpetual snow; and in the month of January the region of snow descends to the elevation of 12000 feet, and sometimes snow falls at Mexico and Valladolid, which are more than 300 feet lower. On the declivities of the Cordillera there frequently occur fogs and humid winds. The western descent from the table-lands, toward Acapulco, is gradual, and affords a constant and regular change, from a cold to a hot climate. This descent is so gradual and regular that a road might be made fit for carriages; but the descent on the eastern declivity, toward Vera Cruz, is rapid and steep, and hitherto has been passable only by mules; this descent, however, would be passable for carriages, if the superb causeway, which was commenced about the middle of the last century, should ever be completed.

On the maritime coast of the Gulf of Mexico, between the mountains and the sea, the surface of the country is low, and diversified with hills. The peninsula of Yucatan is principally a level tract of country; in the northeast section of the republic, bordering on the United States, and in the valleys of the great rivers are extensive plains, and level tracts. There are also many large expansions of level land on the borders of the Pacific, both on the coast and in the valleys of the rivers.

The maritime waters of Mexico are extensive and valuable, affording the greatest facilities for commerce and navigation. On the west and southwest the country borders on the great Pacific for more than 2000 miles, and from this coast projects the unrivalled peninsula of California, to the extent of nearly 10 degrees of latitude, in a direction parallel with the coast, forming a most magnificent gulf of that name. On the east, the country borders extensively on the Gulf of Mexico, the great inland sea of the American continent. From this coast, likewise, projects another peninsula, called Yucatan, which is also of great extent, and forms the bay of Campeachy. In addition to the waters of two oceans, the Mexican territories are watered by numerous rivers and lakes; but few of the rivers are valuable for navigation.

mountains, rivers,  
es—the mining  
e since the revo-  
articles of expor-

d of the provin-  
e captain-gene-  
the eastern and  
Chiapa, which  
atemala. This  
or about 1875  
adary it extends  
more than 1000  
, is narrow, not  
on the north by  
by the United  
the states of the  
southwest by the  
uth America, is  
h much resem-  
om latitude 18°  
es present some  
rom most other  
or tract, called  
the elevation of  
There are many

The largest is the Rio del Norte, which rises near the head waters of the Arkansas, and, after a course of nearly 1800 miles in a southeasterly direction, discharges its waters into the Gulf of Mexico. In its course this noble river waters an extensive valley, and, like the Mississippi, has its annual freshets.

To the east of the Rio del Norte are the Colorado of the Gulf of Mexico, and the Brassos, which take their rise in the highlands, near the border of the United States, and after a course of 700 miles, discharge their waters into the Mexican Gulf. Further east are the Red River and the Sabine, each of which forms a part of the eastern boundary of the republic.

To the south of the Rio del Norte, the most considerable river is the Tanipico, formed by the junction of the two large streams, called the Panuco and Montezuma, which water a great extent of country. The united waters of these two rivers are discharged into the bay or lake of Tampico. The Tula, one of the head branches of the Montezuma, has its source in the mountains, near the valley of Mexico. South of the river Tampico, is lake Tamgaiua, which communicates with the Gulf of Mexico by the Rio Tuspa. The next most considerable river is the Rio de Xamapa, which discharges its waters a short distance below Vera Cruz. There are numerous other smaller rivers, which intersect the extensive maritime border of the eastern coast; the most important of these is the Guascalco, which falls into the Gulf of Mexico in latitude  $18^{\circ} 30'$ . There is an excellent harbour at the mouth of this river, and there is said also to be a practicable route for a canal by the head waters of this stream, to the bay of Tehuantepec, on the Pacific Ocean, in lat.  $16^{\circ} 30'$ . The isthmus of Tehuantepec is about 125 miles wide; and from the summit of a mountain on the isthmus both oceans may be seen in a clear day. Further east, are the Tabasco, Ocozingo, and the Rio Chiatlan, all considerable streams, which empty into the bay of Campeachy.

The greatest river that discharges its waters into the Pacific in the Mexican republic, is the Colorado of the west, which rises in the Rocky Mountains, in latitude  $40^{\circ}$  N., near the head waters of the Rio del Norte, and is formed by two branches, of which the eastern is called the Nabojoa, and the western, Zaguanaas, and in its course it receives another large branch, called the Gila. The waters of the Colorado, after running a course of nearly 1000 miles, are discharged into the Gulf of California, in latitude  $33^{\circ}$  N. and are said to be navigable for sea vessels 300 miles. The next most considerable river is the Santiago, which unites with the Pacific in latitude  $21^{\circ} 30'$  N. The principal head branch of this river is Rio Larma, which has its source within 20 miles of the valley of Mexico, and passes through lake Chapala,

ts ent  
the Pa  
rivers,  
The O  
its uni  
largest  
and co  
this lak  
co, at  
miles;  
long n  
four an  
former  
and co  
not mo  
much l  
cucos, i  
three m  
10 squa  
Montez  
vent in  
co suffe  
to obvie  
of the l  
valley,  
was cor  
miles an  
but nar  
is from  
to 200  
since be  
other la  
lid, and  
The p  
ancient  
Mexico.  
formerly  
To the r  
pico, sit  
miles no  
of the ri  
co, the M  
easterly  
many na  
the south  
Vol. I

the head wa-  
800 miles in a  
to the Gulf of  
extensive val-  
s.

do of the Gulf  
e in the high-  
er a course of  
Gulf. Fur-  
f which forms

considerable river  
large streams,  
great extent of  
are discharged  
e of the head  
ountains, near  
is lake Tam-  
co by the Rio  
Rio de Xama-  
e below Vera  
which intersect  
the most im-  
o the Gulf of  
nt harbour at  
e a practicable  
to the bay of  
/'. The isth-  
from the sum-  
y be seen in a  
ingo, and the  
y into the bay

to the Pacific  
st, which rises  
e head waters  
hes, of which  
Zaguananas,  
alled the Gila.  
urse of nearly  
nia, in latitude  
els 300 miles.  
which unites  
principal head  
urce within 20  
lake Chapala,

is entire course being nearly 600 miles. The whole coast of the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico is intersected with rivers, some of which are navigable, and afford good harbours. The Chimalapa is the most important, from the circumstance of its uniting with the bay Tehuantepec, already mentioned. The largest lake in Mexico is the Chapala, situated in latitude 20 N., and covers 1225 square miles. The river Santiago pours out of this lake. There are five lakes in the valley of Mexico; Chalco, at the southern extremity of the valley, covers 50 square miles; this lake has no outlet, and is separated by a dike from a long narrow lake, called Xochimilco, which approaches within four and a half miles of the capital. Lake Tezcuco, which was formerly much larger than it is at present, lies north of Chalco, and contains 77 square miles; the waters are shallow, generally not more than from nine to sixteen feet deep, and at some places much less. Lake San Christobal lies less than a mile from Tezcuco, in a northwest direction, and covers 27 square miles; and three miles further northwest, is Lake Zumpango, which covers 10 square miles. The river Quantitlan, the present source of the Montezuma, formerly emptied itself into this lake; but to prevent inundations its course was diverted out of the valley. Mexico suffered severely from inundations during its early history, and to obviate this evil it was proposed, in 1607, to turn the waters of the Rio Quantitlan and those of Lake Zumpango out of the valley, and, after several unsuccessful attempts, this great work was completed in 1783. The whole length of the drain is twelve miles and four-fifths; at the top it is from 280 to 360 feet wide, but narrow at the bottom; and the depth for more than two miles is from 100 to 300 feet; and for more than half a mile from 150 to 200 feet; this canal is called the drain of Huehuetoca, and has since been extended to lakes San Christobal and Tezcuco. The other lakes are Pascuaro, a beautiful sheet of water near Valladolid, and Panas and Mextillan, in Durango.

The principal port on the Mexican coast of the Atlantic, is the ancient one of Vera Cruz, the nearest Atlantic port to the city of Mexico. The harbour of Vera Cruz is very insecure, although formerly the port where the Spanish galleons or flota entered. To the north of Vera Cruz is the much frequented port of Tampico, situated on the south side of the river of that name, 312 miles northeast of the city of Mexico; and on the opposite side of the river, or bay, is the port of Altamira. From Rio Tampico, the Mexican coast, which extends nearly 800 miles in a northeasterly direction to the mouth of the river Sabine, is indented by many natural harbours, but there are only a few settlements. To the south of Vera Cruz are the ports of Alvarado and Guascual-

go at the isthmus of Tehuantepec and Campeachy, on the peninsula of Yucatan.

The principal ports on the Pacific, are the bays of Tehuantepec and Acapulco, in north latitude  $19^{\circ} 12'$ , and San Blas, in north latitude  $21^{\circ} 32'$ , situated on a bay of the same name, which receives the waters of the great river Santiago. Above San Blas, in the Gulf of California, there are many good harbours, but few considerable settlements.

*Climate.*—The climate of that part of Mexico which is included within the tropical regions, has but two seasons, the wet and the dry; the rainy season commences the beginning of June, and lasts for four or five months; the remainder of the year is dry and pleasant. The first rains are accompanied with violent electrical explosions, and on their approach the inhabitants of the seaports on the Pacific coast usually retreat to the highlands, where the climate is known to be the most humid. The lowlands of the coast within the tropics possess a hot climate, and are the most unhealthy to strangers from northern latitudes. The coast of the Pacific is warmer than that of the Gulf of Mexico in the same degree of latitude, with the exception of the peninsula of Yucatan, which is warm, dry, and very healthy. The highlands at the elevation of four or five thousand feet above the level of the sea, enjoy perpetually a soft spring-like temperature, which never varies more than eight or nine degrees. The climate of this region is very salubrious, but it is often enveloped in thick fogs. At the elevation of seven thousand feet, another climate commences, the mean temperature of which is about 60 degrees. The city of Mexico is in this region, which is healthy, and yields abundantly the productions of both tropical and temperate regions.

The mean temperature of the table-lands, within the tropics, at an elevation of about one thousand feet above the level of the sea, is 77 of Fahrenheit. From the peculiar geographical character of this country, it possesses, in the same parallel of latitude, all the varieties of climate, from the regions of perpetual frost, to the continual and intense heat of a tropical sun. This is an advantage enjoyed by few countries in the world, and would have appeared strange and incredible to the ancients, who supposed the tropical regions to be uninhabitable, in consequence of their intense heat. The climate in the tropical regions of Mexico possesses almost perfect uniformity as to heat and cold.

On the coasts, particularly on the Pacific, the tropical heat prevails, and, near Acapulco, the climate is the hottest and most unhealthy in the world; on the table-land, at an elevation of from about 4000 to 5000 feet, there prevails perpetual spring; the temperature being uniformly soft and spring-like, and seldom va-

ric  
thro  
of E  
who  
vere  
of t  
are  
The  
clim  
cour  
nor  
muc  
and  
is ric  
P  
it is  
north  
vatic  
try,  
tions  
both  
being  
and  
Mex  
rye a  
rigat  
of th  
cultiv  
profu  
of A  
lowe  
C  
the l  
exter  
ducti  
entri  
strict  
the h  
low;  
dantl  
cept  
banar  
and i  
tion t  
1. 7  
use in

ries more than nine degrees. Here the mean temperature, throughout the whole year, is from 60° to 70°, and the extremes of heat and cold, and the pleasing varieties of the seasons, are wholly unknown. Many sections of the table-lands suffer severely from drought, and this is particularly the case with much of the country bordering on the Gulf of California, where there are extensive arid districts, condemned to perpetual desolation. The northern and northern sections of the federation enjoy a climate similar to the United States, healthy and productive. The country bordering on the Pacific, extending to the 42d degree of north latitude, belongs to the Mexican Union. This region is much milder than in the same degree of latitude on the Atlantic, and enjoys a delightful and salubrious climate, a fertile soil, and is rich in natural, agricultural, and metallic productions.

*Productions.*—The table-land is generally good; and, when it is not too arid, very productive; all the fruits and grains of the northern parts of America and Europe are produced at the elevation of 8000 feet above the level of the sea, whilst the low country, bordering on the coast, yields in proportion all the productions of the tropics. Maize, a sort of Indian corn, is common to both, and is extensively cultivated in the low country, two crops being raised annually. It is the principal staple of the country, and when the crop fails, Humboldt says "there is a famine in Mexico." Wheat is cultivated with success on the table-land, rye and barley yield abundantly, and where it is practicable to irrigate the soil, it affords almost incredible burdens. The quality of the wheat is excellent. The sugar-cane is also successfully cultivated on the table-land, which likewise produces, in great profusion, all the vegetables and fruits of the temperate climates of America and Europe, and at the same time are growing, in the lower sections, all the fruits of the tropics, in equal abundance.

Cotton is cultivated with success on the high lands, as well as the low. The olive and the vine both succeed well, but are not extensively cultivated; and the country is favourable to the production of tobacco, indigo, and silk; but the two last articles are entirely neglected, and the first has suffered much from the restrictions of the Spanish government. The potato is raised in the high country, and the yam and sweet potato in both high and low; rice, the banana plant, and manioc root, are produced abundantly in the low country, and are important articles of food, except with the natives, who subsist principally on Indian corn. The banana is cultivated by cuttings, or shoots, set into the ground, and is estimated to yield a quantity of nutritive food, in proportion to that of wheat, as 133 is to 1, and of potatoes, as 44 is to 1. The fruit ripens the 10th or 11th month, and is prepared for use in various ways; it is dressed like the potato, dried and pound-



ed into flour, or preserved like figs, by exposure to the sun, which gives it the appearance and odour of smoked ham. The vanilla, a species of pimento, forms another very essential article of Mexican agriculture; it abounds on the eastern declivities of the table-lands, in the intendancies of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca. It is generally cultivated by the Indians. The medicinal root, jalap, which derives its name from the district of Jalapa, is found in shady valleys, near the mountains, and delights in a temperate climate. The cochineal insect, one of the richest articles of Mexican commerce, is also reared extensively in Oaxaca. A large proportion of the country between San Luis and Tampico is laid out as grazing farms, where are raised great numbers of horses, mules, cattle, and sheep. The great valley of the Rio del Norte, is also said to be very favourable for grazing, and the agricultural productions of temperate climates. There are many other sections of the Mexican federation equally favourable for grazing, and the country is well supplied with domestic animals, such as horses, cattle, mules, sheep, goats, and swine.

The table-lands of Mexico are intersected by many rich and fertile valleys, affording inexhaustible resources for agriculture. Among the most important, is that of Mexico, in which is situated the great city of the same name; being 230 miles in circumference, and having an elevation of 7400 feet above the level of the sea. This valley encloses five lakes, which communicate by a drain, or canal, with the river Montezuma. There are many other fertile valleys interspersed among the table-lands, among which the great valley, watered by the river Santiago, and its branches, is represented to be one of the richest, most fertile, and highly cultivated districts in Mexico.

*Mines.*—The metallic treasures of Mexico surpass those of any other country for their abundance and excellence. Baron Humboldt says, that “there are three thousand mines of the precious metals already discovered in Mexico;” and he supposes that in the northern sections of the country great mineral wealth will yet be discovered in the rocks of secondary formation.

The following are the thirteen most considerable mining districts in Mexico:—

1. Guanaxuato, near a city of the same name.
2. Catorce, in the intendancy of San Luis Potosi.
3. Zazatecas, near a city of the same name.
4. Real del Monte, in Mexico.
5. Bolanos, in Guadalaxara.
6. Guarisamey, in Durango.
7. Sombrete, in Zacatecas.
8. Tasco, in Mexico.
9. Balopilas, in Durango.

10  
11  
12  
13  
T  
est q  
240  
riches  
about  
ciana  
and h  
dollar  
The a  
fore t  
times  
Guan  
years  
duced  
one m  
maxim  
ty-four  
washin  
veins  
tained  
of the  
found,  
or four  
mence  
and sil  
annual  
creasin  
ed to si  
mining  
comme  
Humbo  
land, th  
dom of  
curing  
the fall  
lenciana  
Mineria  
The m  
person o  
tablishe  
of land  
merly gu



10. Zimapan, in Mexico.
11. Fresnillo, in Zacatecas.
12. Ramos, in San Luis Potosi.
13. Parral, in Durango.

The tract of mountains in Mexico, which produces the greatest quantity of silver, is situated between the parallels of 21° and 24° 30' north latitude; and it is remarkable that the metallic riches of Mexico and Peru are placed in both hemispheres at about the same distance from the equator. The mine of Valenciana, at Guanajuato, is supposed to be the richest in Mexico, and has furnished, in a common year, from four to six millions of dollars in silver, and from two to three millions of dollars in gold. The annual produce of the mines of Mexico was estimated, before the revolution, at twenty-two millions of dollars, (about ten times more than is afforded by all the mines in Europe,) of which Guanajuato, Catorce, and Zacatecas, yield eleven millions. In years of their greatest prosperity, the mines of Mexico have produced annually twenty-two millions of dollars in silver, and about one million in gold, and in 1796 the silver mines attained their maximum, and yielded twenty-five millions six hundred and forty-four thousand dollars. The gold is produced principally by washing the earth and sand. Some native gold is found in veins in the province of Oaxaca; but the greater part is obtained in veins of silver ore. The silver ore is not rich in any of the Mexican mines; masses of native silver have been found, but very rarely; the average proportion of silver is three or four ounces in sixteen hundred ounces of ore. At the commencement of the eighteenth century the entire coinage of gold and silver, in Mexico, was only about five millions of dollars annually; since which period the product has been constantly increasing, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, amounted to six times that quantity. The increase and extension of the mining operations were astonishingly great from 1790 to the commencement of the late revolution. The cause of this increase Humboldt attributes "to the increase of population on the table-land, the progress of knowledge and national industry, the freedom of trade conceded to America in 1778, the facility of procuring at a cheap rate the iron and steel necessary for the mines, the fall of the price of mercury, the discovery of the mines of Valenciana and Catorce, and the establishment of the Tribunal de Minería."

The mining operations are carried on by individuals. When a person discovered a mine, and his claim to the discovery was established by the proper tribunal, the king granted him a district of land around the mine, in the direction of the vein; and formerly granted to him also a certain number of Indians to work

the mine. The proprietors were obliged to pay one-tenth of the product to the king, and one and a half per cent. besides, together with the coinage and seigniorage. The working of a mine is a most extensive concern, and attended with immense expense, and consequently requires a vast capital. In the mine of Valenciana there were, before the revolution, eighteen hundred workmen in the interior of the mine; an administrator, with a salary of twelve thousand dollars; an overseer, a number of under-overseers, and nine miners. The expense of powder alone, for this mine, has amounted to about eighty thousand dollars, and the steel, for the implements, to twenty-seven thousand. When Humboldt visited this mine in 1803, a new draught-pit was opening, which was to be sunk to the astonishing depth of one thousand six hundred and eighty-five feet into the bowels of the earth; it was eighty-seven feet in circumference, and estimated to cost one million of dollars. At this time it was sunk six hundred and three feet, and it was calculated to take twelve years to complete it. The mines are sometimes obliged to be abandoned, in consequence of the influx of water, and pumps, of a vast size and breadth, are used to raise the water from the shafts, of immense depth. A pump was lately cast at Cincinnati, in the United States, for a mine in Mexico, of one thousand feet in length, consisting of pieces of ten feet each. The profits of the mines are very great; there have been individuals whose income from them has been one hundred and ninety thousand dollars annually, and some of the great proprietors have enjoyed a revenue of nearly three hundred thousand dollars.

The war, which deranged all kinds of industry, was particularly fatal to the mining interests; the machinery in most of the mines having been destroyed, and the business wholly abandoned. It is said that in 1821 the entire coinage in Mexico did not exceed six millions of dollars. Since the establishment of the present government great exertions have been made to revive the mining operations, for which the republic is indebted in an eminent degree to Mr. Alman, the Secretary of State, and one of the most enlightened statesmen in Mexico. He very justly considers the business of mining as one of the most important interests of Mexico, regarding it, however, only in the light of an extensive manufacture, which could supply the most important staple of the nation: at the same time, by the employment of a large population, open a market for the products of the soil, and thus promote the interests of agriculture. Alman was one of the deputies sent from Mexico to the Cortes of Spain in 1820. Whilst in Europe, he visited Paris and London, for the purpose of forming companies for working the mines. In the latter place he succeeded in establishing a company called the "United Mexican Mining

Assoc  
three  
in Ge  
of Gu  
and C  
The r  
by tier  
the la  
power  
for at  
in Cat  
many  
and an  
comp  
scribe  
valley  
have b  
who g  
comp  
to wor  
chiner  
New-Y

Dur  
paid o  
duced  
ican co  
that th  
higher  
of the  
commi  
ly subm  
in their  
opinion  
retentic  
on the  
dient.  
tainin  
renderin  
world;  
mines,  
manufa  
only to  
manufa  
country  
of this r

Association.\* By the last report of the secretary it appears that three of these companies have been formed in England, and one in Germany, for mining purposes in Mexico, and that the mines of Guanajuato, Valenciana, Del Monte, Rayas, Cata, Sirena, and Catorce, are now in operation, and large capitals invested.\* The mines of Concepcion and Temascaltepec have been drained by tiers of lifting pumps, operated by steam. The machinery for the latter mine was made in New-York, and is of thirty horse power; and three hundred yards of cast-iron pipe was contracted for at the foundry in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1825, for the mine in Catorce. Its cost is 10,000 dollars. The want of wood near many of the mines is an objection to the use of steam-engines, and animal power has to be employed. During the year past a company was formed in Baltimore, and an adequate capital subscribed for purchasing and working some valuable mines in the valley of Temascaltepec, about 100 miles from Mexico. They have been examined by several persons from the United States, who give them a preference over those purchased by the British companies, on account of the water power which can be applied to work the various machines. They have engaged their machinery at West Point, which is to be finished and shipped from New-York in April, 1826.

During the colonial system, a duty of 11 1-2 per cent. was paid on the products of the mines, which, in 1822, was reduced to 3 per cent. Some of the members of the present Mexican congress doubted the expediency of this measure, thinking that the duty on the exportation of specie should even be raised higher than its former rate, to prevent the country being drained of the precious metals. This occasioned the appointment of a committee to examine into this important subject, who have lately submitted to the congress a very able report. They accord in their views with those of the secretary, and express a decided opinion, that, considered in reference either to the revenue, or the retention of the precious metals in the country, to raise the duty on the exportation of gold and silver is a measure highly inexpedient. To prevent specie from having a free circulation, by retaining it in the country by heavy duties, would have the effect of rendering it less valuable in Mexico than in other parts of the world;—this would not only prove detrimental to working the mines, but have a very pernicious influence on the commerce and manufactures of the country. Gold and silver in Mexico ought only to be regarded as the products of a valuable and extensive manufactory; consequently, not only its interest, but that of the country, should induce the government to open, for the products of this manufactory, the market of the world.

\* North American Review for October, 1825.

The just and enlightened views of the Mexican congress on this subject, is an honourable testimony to their wisdom, and affords the strongest evidence of the rapidly increasing prosperity of the nation. Under the auspices of a free government, possessing such sound and liberal principles, the mining operations in Mexico will in a few years become as extensive and productive as at the most favourable periods during the colonial government; and at no distant period the products of the mines will undoubtedly exceed what has ever yet been realized. Whilst this will ensure the prosperity of Mexico, it will promote an extensive commerce with the United States. The revival of the mining operations has given activity to the districts in which the mines are situated, and restored to the almost desolated towns a part of that population of which the war, and the suspension of the mining interests, had deprived them. At the celebrated mine of Valenciana, the Anglo Mexican company, in the summer of 1825, were employing fifteen hundred Indians, and the number was constantly increasing. The shaft was drained to the depth of 270 yards, and almost 1200 cargoes of ore, 300lbs. weight each, were obtained weekly. The city of Guanajuato, in the vicinity of this mine, containing previous to the revolution, 80,000 inhabitants, had been reduced to 15 or 20,000; but its population, since the commencement of the present mining company, has doubled, and is still rapidly increasing. The mineral treasures of Mexico are literally inexhaustible, and the powerful impetus which will be given to industry and enterprise, by a free and enlightened government, a free ingress of foreigners, and freedom of commerce, must in a few years produce astonishing results in the mining interests of Mexico. The career of prosperity which is opening to the Mexican nation is highly gratifying to the citizens of the United States, and cannot fail of having an important and beneficial influence on our commerce and manufactures. Mines of iron, lead, copper, and quicksilver, abound in Mexico, but have always been neglected, so that iron and quicksilver, of which great quantities are used in the mines, have been imported. During the late war, such was the scarcity of iron, that it sold for forty dollars per hundred, and steel as high as two hundred and sixty dollars.

*Commerce.*—The commerce of Mexico is now free to all nations in amity with the republic. The external commerce is principally carried on from the ports of Tampico, Vera Cruz, Alvarado, and Campeachy, on the Gulf of Mexico; and Acapulco and San Blas, on the Pacific. The foreign commerce of Mexico is carried on chiefly in foreign vessels, principally in those of the United States and Great Britain. On the western coast, in addition to the Manilla commerce, a coasting trade is carried on

with G  
with G  
Pacific  
siderabl

It is  
want of  
the Brit  
of the g  
waters,  
Secretar  
Congres  
propriet  
coast, th  
encoura  
contraba  
even in  
was carr  
Cruz.  
Mexico,  
twenty  
specie,  
twenty-t  
lions or  
the balan

The p  
rage, sev

Gold s  
Cochin  
Sugar,  
Flour  
Indigo  
Provisi  
Tanne  
Sarsap  
Vanilla  
Jalap,  
Soap,  
Campe  
Piment

The impo

Paper,  
Limens,  
Brandie  
Cocoa,  
Vol. I.

with Guatemala, principally from San Blas, and a small trade with Guayaquil, Lima, and Chili; and although the ports on the Pacific coast are extremely good, the coasting trade is inconsiderable.

It is a singular fact, which is strongly demonstrative of the want of commercial enterprise among the Mexicans, that whilst the British and the citizens of the United States traverse one half of the globe to pursue a profitable whale fishery, in their own waters, the Mexicans have never engaged in this pursuit. The Secretary of State of the present government, in a report to Congress, in Nov. 1823, adverts to this subject, and suggests the propriety of granting to foreign vessels, fitted out on the Mexican coast, the same privileges as are granted to native citizens, as an encouragement to the trade. Under the colonial system, the contraband trade with Mexico was extensive, often amounting, even in time of peace, to one-third of the regular commerce. It was carried on principally with the ports of Campeachy and Vera Cruz. Early in the nineteenth century the importation into Mexico, including the contraband trade, was to the amount of twenty millions of dollars, and the exportations, exclusive of specie, amounted to six millions. The mines produced about twenty-three millions, which, after deducting eight or nine millions on the account of the government, was sufficient to liquidate the balance of trade, and leave one million in the country.

The principal articles of exportation at Vera Cruz, on an average, several years before the revolution, were as follows:—

Gold and silver coined and wrought,	\$17,000,000
Cochineal,	2,400,000
Sugar,	1,300,000
Flour of different sorts,	300,000
Indigo,	280,000
Provisions,	100,000
Tanned Leather,	80,000
Sarsaparilla,	90,000
Vanilla,	60,000
Jalap,	60,000
Soap,	50,000
Campeachy Wood,	40,000
Pimento of Tobasco,	30,000

The imports embraced the following articles:—

Paper, (three hundred thousand reams,)	\$1,000,000
Linens, Cottons, Woolens and Silks,	9,200,000
Brandies,	1,000,000
Cocoa,	1,000,000

VOL. I.

Quicksilver, - - - - -	\$650,000
Iron, - - - - -	600,000
Steel, - - - - -	200,000
Wine, - - - - -	700,000
Wax, - - - - -	300,000
The importations of Vera Cruz, estimated at	15,000,000
The exportations by that port, estimated at	22,000 000

The official statement of the Consulado of Vera Cruz made the exportations of 1802 amount, in precious metals, to - - -		\$48,800,000
In agricultural products, - - -		9,147,000
Total		\$57,947,000

The importations of that year amounted to	\$24,100,000	
In 1803 the exports were, in precious metals,	15,554,000	
In agricultural products, - - -	5,368,000	
Total		\$20,922,000
The imports amounted to - - -	22,975,000	

The duties on merchandise, imported into America under the colonial system, were heavy; and consisted of 9 1-2 per cent. on what was called free effects, or articles of the produce or manufacture of Spain; and 7 per cent. on goods and produce of foreign countries on its landing in America, having first paid 15 per cent. in Spain. The present government established a tariff of 25 per cent. on goods imported, and the minister of finance, in his report to the Congress in 1823, complains that the articles of merchandise are not correctly classed, and also proposes to reduce the duty on imports to 22 or 23 per cent. including the consulate duty. The present duty is on the estimated or supposed value, and often amounts to 80 per cent. on the first cost of the article. In Mexico there is an additional duty of 10 1-2 per cent. on goods sent to that city; in other towns there is an internal duty, which is not uniform; in some it does not exceed 4 per cent. on the amount of actual sales. The expense of transportation of goods from Tampico to Mexico is from one dollar and twenty-five cents to two dollars and fifty cents per twenty-five pounds; and from Vera Cruz to Mexico, from one to two dollars per twenty-five pounds. A mule carries from three to four hundred pounds, according to the state of the roads.

Next to the enjoyment of liberty, and free institutions, one of the most important advantages which Mexico will derive from her independence will be the freedom and activity given to her

com  
A fre  
gorat  
made  
tages  
soon  
tiona  
impo  
Mexi  
ducti  
the o  
spirit  
favou  
of su  
merc  
day b  
veins  
circu  
Spain  
centu  
lars."

Th  
said t  
linen  
paper  
quicks  
ships,

In  
tensiv  
of the  
intern  
capab  
sourc  
count  
passe  
Missc  
their  
conse  
made  
ment  
great  
tions  
by thi  
templ  
There  
opene



\$650,000  
 - 600,000  
 200,000  
 - 700,000  
 300,000  
 15,000,000  
 22,000 000

\$48,800,000  
 9,147,000

\$57,947,000

\$24,100,000  
 15,554,00  
 5,368,000

\$20,922,000  
 22,975,000

erica under the  
 -2 per cent. on  
 duce or manu  
 produce of fo-  
 first paid 15 per  
 ished a tariff of  
 r of finance, in  
 the articles of  
 proposes to re-  
 luding the con-  
 d or supposed  
 first cost of the  
 of 10 1-2 per  
 ere is an inter-  
 not exceed 4  
 pense of trans-  
 om one dollar  
 ats per twenty-  
 om one to two  
 from three to  
 e roads.  
 utions, one of  
 ill derive from  
 y given to her

commerce, which will greatly promote the national prosperity. A free government, free press, and free trade, cannot fail of invigorating every department of national industry. The remarks made by Humboldt, when the enjoyment of these primary advantages was not foreseen, will now appear more just, and be likely soon to be realized: "But by allowing a free course to the national industry, by encouraging agriculture and manufactures, the importation will diminish of itself, and it will then be easy for the Mexicans to pay the value of foreign commodities with the productions of their own soil. The free cultivation of the vine and the olive on the table-land of New Spain; the free distillation of spirits from sugar, rice, and the grape; the exportation of flour, favoured by the making of new roads; the increase of plantations of sugar-cane, cotton, and tobacco; the working of the iron and mercury mines, and the manufacture of steel, will perhaps one day become more inexhaustible sources of wealth than all the veins of gold and silver united. Under more favourable external circumstances, the balance of trade may be favourable to New Spain, without paying the account, which has been opened for centuries between the two continents, entirely with Mexican dollars."

The imports that are best adapted to the Mexican market are said to consist of European, American, and Indian cotton and linen goods; French, Spanish, Italian, Indian, and Canton silks; paper, some military goods, French and Spanish wine and brandy; quicksilver, cocoa, and cinnamon. To this list may be added snips, both for the public service, and for commercial purposes.

In addition to the maritime commerce, a very valuable and extensive internal trade has lately been opened between the citizens of the western borders of the United States, and those of the internal provinces of Mexico. It is supposed that this trade is capable of great extension, and that it might hereafter become a source of great profit and convenience to the inhabitants of both countries. In the year 1825 the congress of the United States passed an act authorizing the survey of a road from the state of Missouri to Mexico, and for treating with the Indian tribes for their consent to have the road pass through their country. This consent has been in some cases obtained, and the survey partially made during the past year. An agent of the Mexican government has recently arrived in the United States to promote this great object, equally important to both countries. No propositions have been submitted to the government of the United States by this agent, nor is it known whether the Mexican republic contemplates continuing the road from the line of the United States. There can be no doubt that within a few years a road will be opened from the territories of the Union into the internal provin-

cas of Mexico ; and that this will strengthen the bonds of friendship, and promote an extensive inland trade between the two republics, is equally certain. This trade, at present, consists in the exchange of such manufactured articles of the United States as are adapted to the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants of those internal regions, for the precious metals, and some of the staple productions of the country.

*Manufactures.*—The situation of the towns on the table-land of Mexico, so far removed from the coast, and the difficulty of transporting merchandise over rugged mountains, greatly encourages the establishment of manufactories, and even renders them absolutely necessary to the comfort of the inhabitants in those elevated regions. The value of the manufacturing industry of Mexico, previous to the revolution, was estimated at from seven to eight millions of dollars ; but this, with every other branch of industry, has suffered during the struggles of that protracted contest. The intendency of Guadalaxara produces cotton and wool in great abundance, and is one of the principal seats of the manufacture of cotton and woollen cloths. This branch is also carried on to a considerable extent in Puebla and Queretaro. The manufacture of powder was, under the colonial government, a royal monopoly ; but nearly three-fourths of the quantity consumed in the country was made and sold in a contraband manner. This manufacture is important, and must increase, as the consumption of the mines is very great. Hard soap is manufactured in Mexico, Puebla, and Guadalaxara, and in the former city plate is a most important manufacture. Services of plate are made in Mexico to the value of thirty-seven thousand dollars, and which, in style and elegance of workmanship, would rival the finest in Europe. The coinage of money, in the mint of Mexico, is really an important manufacturing interest ; and, at its different branches, employs four hundred workmen. It was established in 1535, and in 1733 was placed entirely under the direction of the government. It is estimated by Humboldt, that, since its establishment, it has coined four hundred and eight millions of pounds sterling.

The most profitable manufacture in Mexico is that of tobacco, which is pursued extensively in some towns, and was formerly a royal right ; at one segar manufactory in Queretaro three thousand persons are employed, and the establishment in Mexico employs twice that number. Hats, shoes, and saddlery, are important branches of manufacture in the city of Mexico, and in all the principal towns ; most of the towns are also supplied with potteries and silversmiths, and the demand for silver plate is very great, both for the use of churches and families. This arises, in some measure, from the difficulty of transporting China and glass

ware from the coast, over a mountainous country, with rough roads. Cabinet work, of inferior quality, is manufactured from cedar and pine; coachmaking is also carried on to a considerable extent. For the want of streams the mills in Mexico are for the most part worked by animal power, and are in every respect inferior to the flour mills of the United States. From this circumstance, the manufacture of flour can never be carried on to any great extent, for exportation, if wheat should be ever so abundantly raised. Mexico is plentifully supplied with domestic liquors, called pulque and *vinomezcal*, which are produced from the maguey plant, extensively cultivated in Mexico for this purpose. The pulque is the sap of the maguey, and is obtained by cutting the central leaves during the time of efflorescence. One hundred and fifty bottles of juice are obtained from an ordinary plant in one season. After undergoing fermentation it receives an agreeable sour taste, resembling cider; but its savour is fetid, like putrid meat, and very offensive to those not accustomed to its use; the consumption, however, is very great, and even foreigners in a short time become attached to it, and prefer it to any other drink. The *vinomezcal* is the brandy of the maguey; it was prohibited during the colonial government, as being prejudicial to the Spanish brandy trade. Glass and paper manufactories have been established with great success at San Luis Potosi, and at the capital. Cotton machinery has been successfully set in operation, on the same plan of that used in the United States.\*

\* North American Review for October, 1825.

VOL. I.

10

## CHAPTER VII.

*Intiendancies—Mexican States—Texas—principal towns—Mexico, Guadalajara, Puebla, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Queretaro, Oaxaca, San Luis Potosi—roads and canals—government—religion—Iturbids—military and naval resources—finance and expenditure—population and character of the inhabitants—education, and institutions of learning.*

PREVIOUS to the late revolution, the viceroyalty of Mexico was divided into the following intenciencies: Mexico, Puebla, Guanajuato, Valladolid, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Oaxaca, Meridia, Vera Cruz, San Luis Potosi, Durango, La Sonora, New Mexico, Old California, and New California. Since the revolution the province of Chiapa, which formerly belonged to the captain-generalcy of Guatemala, has been attached to the Mexican territory, and now constitutes one of the states of the federation.

The Mexican union now comprises seventeen states, and the population, together with the chief towns in each, will be found exhibited at one view in the following table:—

<i>States.</i>	<i>No. of Inhabitants.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>
Mexico,	1,508,900	Mexico.
Puebla,	1,212,495	Puebla.
Guanajuato	813,150	Guanajuato.
Michoacan,	563,874	Valladolid.
Xalisco,	944,867	
Zacatecas,	230,298	Zacatecas.
Oaxaca,	801,076	Oaxaca.
Yucatan,	695,732	Meridia.
Tabasca,	78,056	Hermosa.
Chiapa,	93,750	Chiapa.
Vera Cruz,	156,740	Vera Cruz.
Queretaro,	754,992	Queretaro.
San Luis Potosi,	174,957	San Luis Potosi.
Interior of the east,	180,000	
Interior of the north,	299,828	Chihuahua.
Interior of the west, including } Old and New } California, }	227,455	Cinaloa.
Tamaulipas,	166,824	New Santander.

Most of the territory comprised within the limits of the above-mentioned states, consists of the table-lands and the maritime

borders, with the exception of the province of Texas, and that part of the interior of the west which is situated beyond the Colorado of the Gulf of California. Those two extensive districts of the Mexican territory differ so much in their general geographical character from the table-land of Mexico, that they demand a separate and particular description.

The province of Texas comprises that vast extent of country between the Rio del Norte and the western boundary of the United States. This extensive region was claimed by the United States as part of Louisiana, but this claim was relinquished to Spain by the Florida treaty. According to a computation which some have made, this vast territory comprises an area of 240,000 square miles; it embraces an extensive maritime border, and is well watered by a number of large and valuable rivers, the principal of which are the Colorado, the Brassos, and the Red river, which forms part of its eastern boundary. It possesses an excellent climate, and a soil equal to any part of western America. The policy of relinquishing our claim, which many competent judges considered well founded, to a country of such great extent and fertility, so favourably located for settlement—a country capable of supporting millions of republican citizens in affluence, and which can be of no great value to any other nation,—(as from its situation, if it is ever settled, its population must come chiefly from the United States,)—was justly questioned by many enlightened and patriotic citizens at the time of the ratification of the Florida treaty; nor have the subsequent events in Mexico, nor our own experience, removed the doubts, nor proved the wisdom of the measure. This territory is now receiving some few settlers from the United States; but were it annexed to our confederacy, it would soon be divided into two or three states, and filled with an enterprising and industrious population.

The country beyond the Colorado of the west, which belongs to the Mexican republic, is likewise of great extent and fertility, enjoying a fine climate, equal to the countries on the borders of the Mediterranean, in Europe; it is probably destined, at no distant period, to be adorned with beautiful villages and magnificent cities, surrounded with highly cultivated and fertile fields, the abodes of an enlightened, industrious, and enterprising population.

*Principal Towns.*—The city of Mexico, the capital of the federation, is situated in the great valley of the same name, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 25' 45''$  N. The centre of the city is nearly three miles west of the salt lake Tezcucoc. The extent of the town is computed to be a square of between four and five miles. The site is almost a uniform level. The city is built on piles, is very compact, and surrounded with a wall. The streets are sufficiently

wide, and run nearly north and south, and east and west, intersecting each other at right angles; they are well paved, having flagged side-walks, formed of flat stone. The public squares are spacious, and surrounded by buildings of hewn stone, and of very good architecture. The public edifices and churches are vast and splendid, and the private buildings are generally built of solid materials, having a magnificent appearance, and being usually three or four stories high, with flat terrace roofs, and many of them ornamented with iron balconies. The public buildings are numerous, and there is said to be not less than one hundred and five cupolas, spires, and domes, within the limits of the city. There are fifty-six churches, besides the cathedral, which is a stately stone edifice, occupying one side of the great square, and stands on the ruins of an ancient Mexican temple. It has a front of five hundred feet by four hundred and twenty. From the towers of the cathedral the whole basin of Mexico may be seen, surrounded by hills and mountains; the lakes and the rich meadows that border on them, the churches and spires of the neighbouring villages, the cultivated fields, fine gardens, and, nearly lost in the distance, the snowy summits of the volcanic mountains of Puebla, afford one of the most delightful, variegated, and grand prospects in the world. In addition to the cathedral, many of the churches are neat and handsome buildings, and splendidly ornamented; many of them are attached to convents, which are very numerous, amounting, it is said, to no less than twenty-three monasteries, and fifteen nunneries. The other public buildings and institutions consist of the viceroyal palace, situated on the principal square; it is built on the spot occupied by Cortes, after the conquest of the city, directly opposite the palace of Montezuma. It is a building of great extent, and is composed of a number of squares and inner courts, with separate staircases and suits of apartments. There is a botanic garden attached to this building.

The mint is a spacious stone edifice, three hundred and sixty feet in front, by two hundred and sixty deep; there are not less than thirty persons employed in the offices of the different branches; there are fifteen engravers, five essayers, and two hundred labourers, and about one hundred mules in the stables. There is a university and a mineria, or school of mines; the former is accommodated with a spacious building, and is a well-endowed institution, and founded as early as 1551. The mineria is provided with a building, in which is a collection of minerals, and a good philosophical apparatus. This institution was designed to educate young men, and qualify them to become useful superintendents of mines. There is also in Mexico an academy of the fine arts; several inferior colleges and large schools, and many

valuable  
is the  
emplo  
pied n  
is well  
pical a  
dear an

The  
two gr  
the sp  
rates t  
is 33,4  
plaster  
Chapo  
spacio  
planted  
with w  
accom  
nicates  
there a  
which  
Mexico  
spersed  
of the  
Chalco  
tivated  
of vege  
floating  
the con  
and pre  
mated,  
69,500  
at betw  
Cruz is  
miles;  
founded  
Guad  
republic  
west of  
the Bar  
Of th  
19° N.  
on the  
The pla  
producti  
of hills,  
VOL.



valuable private libraries. The principal manufactory in Mexico is the one for making segars, in which 5 or 6000 persons are employed at this branch of business, and a large building is occupied near the suburbs of the city. The market place of Mexico is well supplied with meats, fruits, and vegetables of both the tropical and temperate climates, at a moderate price; fish only are dear and scarce.

The city of Mexico is abundantly supplied with water, from two great aqueducts, the longest of which brings the water from the springs of Santa Fe, near the chain of mountains that separates the valley of Mexico from that of Lima. This aqueduct is 33,464 feet in length, supported on arches of stone and brick, plastered over. The other aqueduct conducts the water from Chapoltepec to the city, and is 10,830 feet in length. There is a spacious public walk in Mexico, called the Alameda, which is planted with rows of trees, with a fountain in the centre, supplied with water from one of the great aqueducts; the capital is also accommodated with a well-regulated theatre. Mexico communicates with the lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, by a canal; and there are five great causeways, or avenues, leading to the city, which are lined with rows of large trees. The country around Mexico abounds with small towns, and well-built villages, interspersed with fertile fields, gardens, and orchards. A great part of the land that intervenes between the two lakes, Tezcucó and Chalco, is surrounded by ditches, laid out into gardens, and cultivated by the Indians, and on which are raised a great quantity of vegetables and flowers, suited to the Mexican market. The floating gardens, so often described, have been discontinued since the construction of the canal Huehuetoca, which drains the valley and prevents inundations. The population of Mexico was estimated, in 1801, to be 137,000; of which 67,500 are whites, and 69,500 were people of colour; the population is now estimated at between 150 and 160,000. The distance from Mexico to Vera Cruz is 207 miles; to Acapulco, 198 miles; to Oaxaca, 237 miles; to Santa Fe, in New Mexico, 1,320 miles. The city was founded in 1325, according to Humboldt.

Guadalaxara is now considered the second city in the Mexican republic. It is situated in latitude  $21^{\circ} 9'$  north, 450 miles north-west of the city of Mexico, on a delightful and fertile plain, near the Bararya river. Its present population is estimated at 70,000.

Of the other considerable cities is Puebla, situated in latitude  $19^{\circ}$  N. at an elevation of 7308 feet above the level of the sea; on the south side of a hill, covered with wood to its summit. The plain that surrounds the town is well cultivated, and highly productive in grains and fruits. This plain is bounded by a chain of hills, presenting, alternately, cultivated fields and luxuriant

forests ; and the view is terminated by the volcanoes of Puebla, clothed in eternal snows. The city is compactly built, and the houses are all of stone, large and commodious. The public buildings consist of a cathedral, a town-house, and numerous churches and convents, it being said that there are more than one hundred spires and domes in the city. The population is stated to be 60,000. The Popocatepetl, the loftiest mountain in North America, is not far from this city, the height of which is 17,760 feet above the ocean. Puebla lies 90 miles east by south of the city of Mexico.

Guanaxuato is situated among the ravines of the mountains, about 180 miles northwest of Mexico, was founded in 1554, is well built, with spacious houses of hewn stone, but the streets are narrow and crooked. The population of the city and the neighbouring mines, is computed to be 35,733. The inhabitants of Guanaxuato are represented to be very intelligent, hospitable, and industrious. This town is celebrated for the rich mines in its vicinity, which are undoubtedly the most productive of any in North America. The extent of this rich vein of ore is more than 15 miles, in a direction from southeast to northwest ; and within this distance there are upwards of 100 shafts opened. These mines formerly supplied with ore, and kept at work, 2000 amalgamating mills, and have produced silver to the amount of 7,727,500 dollars annually. The most productive of these mines was that of Valenciana, which raised a town about it of 22,000 inhabitants ; now, however, reduced to 4000, in consequence of the vast excavation of the mines being filled with water.

Zacatecas, situated in a mining district, 300 miles north by northwest of Mexico, contains, according to Humboldt, 33,000 inhabitants. Queretaro is a large and well-built manufacturing town, situated in a fertile valley, near the rich tract of country called Baxio, with a population of 30,000 inhabitants. Oaxaca, lies near the east bank of Rio Verd, 237 miles south by southeast of Mexico, and contains 24,000 inhabitants. San Luis Potosi, a neat well-built town on the head of the Rio Panuco, contains about 15,000 inhabitants. Among the remaining interior towns, are Valladolid, containing 18,000 inhabitants ; Durango, situated in a mining district, at the elevation of 6,560 feet above the level of the sea, is the capital of a province of the same name, and contains a population of 12,000 inhabitants.

Chihuahua, the capital of the province of Chihuahua, a large city, is represented by late travellers to contain 30,000 inhabitants, and to be about 400 miles north of Durango. Santa Fe is situated in latitude 36° 30' north, on the east bank of the Rio del Norte, about 1000 miles northwest of the city of Mexico, with a population of 9000, according to late travellers. The

chief town  
Tepec, a  
San Blas  
ing on th  
an arid  
some, re  
inhabitan  
near the  
establish  
than a ha  
canes du

Acapu  
is one of  
unhealth  
merly wa  
ble fortre  
house wa  
tion to th  
recent in  
oceans, i  
Tampico  
lant's cor  
cific.

*Roads*  
very bad.  
of Acapu  
undertak  
the diffic  
and from  
tween Pu  
not only  
bridges w  
vent the  
have was  
partially  
the Pinal  
bla.

The in  
of ruins,  
the revol  
mules ;  
bridges,  
mules.  
have ad  
future tin  
The fa

chief town in Yucatan is Meridia, with a population of 10,000. Tepec, a large and beautiful town, is situated a few miles from San Blas, a seaport on the Pacific. Vera Cruz is a seaport, lying on the gulf of Mexico, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 12' N.$ , is built on an arid plain, and is destitute of running water; but is a handsome, regular built city, and contains a population of about 16,000 inhabitants. The fortress of San Juan de Uloa, is on an island near the town. The maritime custom-house of Vera Cruz was established in 1530. Vera Cruz has rather a bad anchorage, than a harbour; and all the eastern coast is exposed to hurricanes during the winter.

Acapulco is on the Pacific, in latitude  $16^{\circ} 50' N.$ ; its harbour is one of the best on the Pacific coast, but the situation is very unhealthy, and the population is much reduced from what it formerly was. The town is protected by an extensive and formidable fortress, called the castle of San Carlos. A maritime custom-house was established at Acapulco, as early as 1562. In addition to the two seaports which we have mentioned, it appears by recent information that there are nine other places, on both oceans, invested with port privileges. Alvarado, Campeachy, Tampico, Altamira, Sotto La Marina, and Refugio, on the Atlantic coast; and Mazatlan, Guaimas, and San Blas, on the Pacific.

*Roads and Canals.*—The roads in Mexico are deficient, and very bad. There are three principal roads—that of Vera Cruz, of Acapulco, and of the interior. The superb road, or causeway, undertaken by the consulado of Vera Cruz, was finished in all the difficult passes of the mountains, from that place to Perote, and from Puebla to the capital; the intermediate distance between Puebla and Perote, being tolerably good. This road was not only neglected in consequence of the war, but many of the bridges were broken down, and the pavement taken up, to prevent the march of armies; and the torrents from the mountains have washed the road into gulleys. These injuries have been partially repaired, and money raised to complete the road over the Pinal, the most difficult part of the route from Perote to Puebla.

The important road from the capital to Acapulco is in a state of ruins, having received no repairs since the commencement of the revolutionary war. In many places it is impassable, even for mules; deep and rapid rivers are to be forded for the want of bridges, when fatal accidents often happen to travellers and mules. The government, sensible of the importance of this road, have adopted measures for repairing it; but it is expected, at a future time, to give it a more commodious direction.

The famous canal of Huehuetoca is the only one in Mexico. It

was designed to afford an outlet to the waters of the river Guatitlan, to prevent their flowing into the lake Zumpango, which discharged its waters into lake Christobal, and the latter into Tezcuco, which inundated the capital. Subsequently a canal has been partially opened to convey the waters of the Zumpango to the great Canal of Huehuetoca, and another to convey the waters of lakes Tezcuco and Christobal to the same canal; but to effect this object it is necessary that the great drain of Huehuetoca should be deepened so as to reduce its level to that of the lake Tezcuco.

Since 1814, the Cortes of Spain decreed the opening a canal by means of the rivers Guasacualco and Chimalapa, to connect the waters of the two great oceans, which would give a new direction to the commerce of a large portion of the world. They charged the execution of this great enterprise to the consulado of Guadalajara; and afterward believing that that corporation could not accomplish this great work, it was proposed to invite foreigners to invest their capital in it. Since the establishment of the present government in Mexico, proposals have been made by foreign houses, to execute this vast work, which have been submitted to the congress. As the government is disposed to favour this object there are grounds to believe that this great enterprise, calculated to work a greater revolution in commerce than was immediately occasioned by the discovery of America, will be commenced under circumstances insuring it final success.\*

*Government.*—The Spanish colonial system was in its theory, or principles, a most absolute and despotic government, and rendered more oppressive by the corruptions and abuses of power, which had been introduced into every department of the administration. Some account of this system is given in the sketch of the history of Spanish America, previous to the revolution, which we will not repeat here. The colonists were deprived of all political rights, scarcely excepting what was strictly municipal; they were denied all the advantages of commerce and manufactures, and even agriculture was subjected to discouraging and onerous restrictions. The colonial system was founded on the principle that the colonies were in a state of minority and tutelage, and were to be governed, not for their own benefit, but for the advantage of their parent, who, without regard for the future wellbeing of her offspring, in the exercise of parental authority, thought only of rendering it most conducive to her own immediate interest. Among the abuses of the system was the practice, which had long prevailed, of conferring all offices on European Spaniards, to the entire exclusion of the creoles, or Americans, notwithstanding it

\* Report of Mexican Secretary of State, in 1823.

was declared, in the original compact between the king and the first settlers, that after the first discoverers and conquerors, the settlers, and those born in the provinces, were to be preferred in all appointments and public employments.\* This practice seems to have resulted from the consideration that the colonies were not governed for their own advantage, but for the benefit of the parent state. But whatever may have been the cause of this unjust and inpolitic practice, it was the fertile source of the division of the white population into two parties: the natives of Spain and those born in America, and of the long-established and inveterate animosities existing between them. All the officers of government being sent from Spain, the inhabitants could view them in no other light than as their oppressors, and as having been imported for that express purpose. The possession of power, and the favour of the government, rendered the Europeans haughty and insolent, as is always the case with a privileged class, and this tended still more to exasperate the feelings of the creoles. Hence the long, bitter, and sanguinary war of the late revolution.

If there ever was a people in a state of political bondage, of oppressive and degrading servitude, it was the Spanish colonies. Fortunately for them, for the cause of liberty, and the honour of America, circumstances favoured their emancipation, and *they are now free*. The struggle has been long, arduous, and bloody, characterized by a spirit of bitterness and animosity, which spread desolation over the fairest portions of America, and in some districts almost swept away the entire population. The independence and liberty of Spanish America has been dearly purchased; it has been bought with the best blood of the country; and this has flowed freely. In Mexico, after a destructive war for twelve years, the royal government was finally overthrown. But this only established a new and ephemeral tyranny, in the person of Iturbide, who had been the instrument of crushing the Spanish despotism. Whilst he was at the head of affairs, the government acquired no stability, and only presented a constant struggle for power on his part, and resistance on the part of the congress. Aided by numerous partisans, and having the army at his command, he finally succeeded, and established himself a despotic ruler. But his reign was as short as it was inglorious. The people were not satisfied with a change of masters; they wished for freedom, and the right of self-government, and had they failed in this, the vast sacrifices of the revolution would have been lost. The capricious tyranny of Iturbide soon occasioned general disaffection; and being disgusted with the retrograde movement in the revolution, the people resolved that it should go forward to its consummation. Iturbide was overthrown, the old congress was

\* Laws of the Indies.



convened, and soon a new congress was elected, composed exclusively of the friends, not only of the independence of Mexico, but of a republican government—of a government of the people.

Soon after the congress was convened, in November 1823, a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution, and on the 19th of the same month, they reported a "constitutive act of the Mexican nation," which, after undergoing some slight alteration, was adopted in February following. This act contains the principles of the government of the Mexican nation; but seems to suppose that these principles are to be promulgated in a different form. The government thus established, is a confederative republic, and not only in its general outline, but in its subordinate divisions of power, and minute features, has a striking similarity to the constitution of the United States. The most essential difference in principle between the Mexican constitution, and that of the United States, is in the third article, which establishes the catholic Roman apostolic religion, and declares that the nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other. This is very different from our constitution, which declares that "congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and certainly inconsistent with the liberal and enlightened principles of the constitution in which it is embodied. It is supposed, however, that the condition of the population, and the influence of the clergy was such in Mexico, as not to admit of a more liberal provision on the subject of religion. There is one other particular in which the constitution differs from that of the United States, which we will notice. The congress is authorized in times of national danger, to create a dictator, for a limited time, or in other words, "to grant extraordinary powers to the executive, for a limited time, upon a full knowledge of the cause."\* There is, probably, no actual danger in this provision; yet at the same time it may be safely asserted, that no such principle would be sanctioned by the people of the United States.

Since the establishment of the present system, the government has been organized, has acquired stability, and been gradually completing the great objects and reforms of the revolution, and repairing, as fast as time and the condition of the country would admit, the dreadful evils of the revolutionary struggle. The system, like the United States, comprises a general or national government, and separate state governments; and the latter have generally been organized since its adoption. It does not appear, from the constitutive act, whether the senators of the general congress are to be chosen by the legislatures of the states, or by the

\* Art. 13. Constitutional Act.



citizens ; but the number is fixed at two from each state, and it is presumable that they are to be chosen by the states in their corporative capacity.

*Military and Naval Resources.*—In 1822 the military force consisted of 10,764 troops of the line, and 30,000 militia ; the militia has been greatly increased, and has undergone a new organization since the establishment of the republican government, and is now supposed to be very numerous. The army has likewise been increased, and placed on a better footing. The estimated expense of the war department for 1825, to sustain the army on the footing ordained by congress, was twelve millions of dollars.

The attention of the present Mexican government was early directed to the establishment of a navy, and a considerable naval force has, by its efforts, already been acquired. The expenses of the naval department were officially estimated for 1825, at three millions of dollars. In June of that year, the Spanish ships of war, the *Asia* of 74 guns, and the brig *Constante*, which sailed from Callao, entered the port of Acapulco, and voluntarily surrendered themselves to the Mexican government. The *Asia* has since been conducted round to the Atlantic side. One 74, and several frigates and ships of war arrived at Mexico from England, the latter part of the year 1821, and several vessels for their service have been built in the United States, so that at this time the Mexican navy has become fully adequate to meet any naval forces Spain can send into the American seas. It is stated as a fact, that the Mexican government offered the command of their navy to our distinguished naval officer, commodore Porter.

The naval forces of Mexico and Colombia are concentrating at Carthagena, and it is supposed that an expedition of their united forces will be sent against Cuba, or some other of the Spanish dominions.

*Finances and Expenditure.*—Previous to the revolution, the revenue of New Spain from the beginning of the nineteenth century, amounted to about 20,000,000 of dollars ; of which 5,500,000 arose from the duties on the produce of the mines ; 4,000,000 from the government monopoly of tobacco ; 3,000,000 from the customs and alcabalas ; 1,500,000 from the tribute, or capitation tax, paid by the Indians ; and the remainder from an excise on the domestic liquor called pulque, the sale of powder, stamps, cards, and papal indulgencies ; from the post-office, the farming of cock-fighting, and some other small sources of revenue. At least one-fourth of this large revenue was expended in the military establishment for the defence of the country, which consisted of 10,000 regular troops, and 20,000 provincial militia. Of the regulars, 4000 were cavalry ; who, together with the infantry, were

stationed at the military posts to check the incursions of the Indians, and, for some years before the revolution, to keep down the spirit of the people. The geographical features of the country are such as to render it easily defensible against an external enemy. That part of the establishment which consisted of the militia was little more than nominal.

The revolutionary struggle not only greatly increased the expenditure, but greatly impaired the revenue, and destroyed public credit. Whilst Iturbide was at the head of the government the treasury was exhausted, and he was constantly harassing the congress to provide ways and means to pay the army, and relieve the exigencies of the treasury; and when the present government was established, it found the treasury empty, and the revenue in the most deplorable condition. According to the report of the financial minister in March, 1823, the only resource of the treasury was the sale of 300,000 dollars worth of tobacco, to satisfy the numerous demands against the government. The present administration, at the head of which is the distinguished patriot Guadeloupe Victoria, are making the most noble and patriotic exertions to retrieve the condition of the revenue, by introducing a most rigid system of economy on the one hand, and by improving and increasing it on the other; by which means they hope to extricate the government from its pecuniary embarrassments, and place its finances on a safe foundation. In a report of the present minister of finance, made in November 1823, after unfolding the deplorable condition of the treasury and finances, he says:

"This melancholy and alarming picture induced the minister to represent the state of the finances in the manner he did in his memoir of the second of June. The present executive has used every means to redeem the nation from this critical and deplorable state. They adopted a totally different system—they suspended entirely the forced loans, and heavy contributions, about to be enacted—stopped the emission of paper money, and adopted the most rigid economy in every branch of the administration; giving themselves an example of simplicity and frugality. The most beneficial consequences have resulted from this conduct: but the prosperity of the country is retarded by the dissensions that exist in the provinces. It cannot be said that for the last six months any one has been compelled to loan money; nor have any heavy burdens been laid upon the people. If the merchants have generously and gratuitously furnished the government with funds, they have been compensated by receiving a tenth of the product of the customs; and of 52,357 dollars, received in the months of April and June, they have been paid 26,143 dollars; and the debt will be entirely discharged this month. The paper money has been in part reduced by receiving a sixth part in pay-

ment of duties ; so that the dollar, which was not worth more than twenty-five cents, is now worth seventy-five—a certain sign of the state of public credit.”

From the first of April to the end of last September, the receipts of the Treasury were, - - - \$1,213,513 04  
Disbursements in the same period, - - - 1,200,681 17

	12,831 87
Due on the civil and military lists, - - -	305,927 05
	293,095 18
Debts, - - -	
Payments made to redeem the paper medium within the same epoch, were - - -	732,168 10
	88,009 05
Moneys received from Mr. B. Vigors Richards on account of a loan, - - -	
	351,061 03
Debt contracted in the preceding twenty-five months, - - -	\$5,936,549 08

The minister proposes, as sources of revenue, to retain the monopoly on tobacco, which formerly has produced 4,000,000 of dollars ; the duty on stamps, estimated at 300,000 dollars ; the excise on pulque and other liquors, which has produced nearly 700,000 dollars, but in 1822, yielded only 203,939 dollars ; and the duties on gold and silver. The revenue from this last source, formerly the principal one, is greatly diminished, from the depressed state of the mines ; the tenth, formerly exacted, was reduced, in 1822, to three per cent. He proposes a duty of 50 cents upon each head of black cattle that is slaughtered ; 25 for each sheep, and 50 for each hog ; he also proposes to increase the duty on domestic liquors ; to abolish the alcabalas, or duty on the sale of produce and merchandise, as being oppressive, and yielding but little to the revenue ; to dispose of the property of the inquisition, and that formerly belonging to the Jesuits, which had not been sold, estimated at 2,405,645 dollars. The post-office and lotteries, which had been separate departments, he proposes to unite into one, to save expense, and to reduce the expenses of the mint, which, for the six preceding months, had been an expense to the government of 21,835 dollars. The minister proposes to reduce the tariff, or imposts on imports, to 22 or 23 per cent. including the consulate duty. At that time the impost was 25 per cent. exclusive of the consulate duty. He is in favour of restrictions on foreign importations, and thought the articles of

merchandise incorrectly classed in the existing tariff. The revenue from imports, from the first of April to the first of September in 1823, he states at 971,345 dollars, an increase of 177,884 dollars, over the revenue during the same period of time the preceding year. He proposes to abolish the duty on exports, as it respects articles of most importance, which he enumerates, and finally recommends the collection of the revenue on the model or plan of the United States.\*

The following statement exhibits the receipts and expenditures for the six months preceding the report, and the estimated receipts, with the proposed changes in the system for one year, and also the estimated expenses. According to this statement, the revenue exceeds the expenditures a little more than one million.

The receipts of the Treasury for the last six months amount to - - - - - \$6,418,814

The disbursements were as follows :—

Expenses of the monopolies of tobacco and gunpowder, and of the mint, -	\$2,893,403
Expenses of all the other departments, -	2,697,630
<b>Total expenditure for six months, -</b>	<b>5,591,033</b>
Contingencies, - - - - -	827,781
	<hr/>
	\$6,418,814
Receipts for one year, - - - - -	12,837,628

*Proposed augmentation :—*

On tobacco, - - - - -	648,836
On stamps, - - - - -	268,135
On imports and exports, - - - - -	500,000
On excise on pulque, and other liquors, and on meats, -	1,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$15,254,599

*Expenses :—*

Foreign affairs, - - - - -	360,978
Administration of Justice, - - - - -	159,023
Treasury, - - - - -	3,351,435
Army, - - - - -	9,922,782
Navy, - - - - -	473,014
	<hr/>
	\$14,267,182

By an official report of the minister of finance, in 1825, the whole expenses of the current year are estimated at 18,000,000

\* Report of the Minister of France, Nov. 1823.

of dollars, and the revenue only amounting to 10,600,000 dollars, leaves a deficit of more than 7,000,000 of dollars; to supply this, the report proposes the establishment of the rents on the manufacture of tobacco, and the duties on gold and silver in bullion and coin, which it is supposed will nearly supply the deficit.

*Population, and Character of the Inhabitants.*—The population of Mexico has been derived from three sources, or races, the Europeans, the Indians, and the Africans or negroes. The population at present consists of two great divisions, the whites, and the people of colour. The former is subdivided into natives of Spain, called chapetones, or gachupines, and those born in America, creoles. The white population, previous to the revolution, was estimated at 1,200,000, of which only 70 or 80,000 were natives of Europe, about one-fourteenth part of the white inhabitants. Since the independence of the country, and establishment of a free government, affording equal political rights and privileges to all classes, this distinction is disappearing, and in a few years must be wholly lost. The people of colour comprise the greater part of the population, and form three divisions; the Indians, the Africans, and the casts or mixt races. The number of Africans is very small, less than in any other part of America under the torrid zone, and has been estimated not to exceed 6000. The Indians have been constantly decreasing, and the casts continually increasing, and have been estimated at 2,400,000, comprising at that period nearly one half of the whole population. There are various casts, but the Mestizos, or descendants of a white and an Indian, compose the principal part. Their skin is of a pure white colour, with a peculiar transparency; their beards thin, their hands and feet small, and they have an obliquity of the eyes. The offspring of a Mestizo, and a white, differs very little from a European. The descendants of an Indian and negro are called Zambos, and the descendants of a white and a negro are called mulattoes.\* There are various other casts, or mixtures, with different shades of colour, and different degrees of European blood. The whiteness of the skin, or rather the pureness of the blood, formerly determined the rank of every person, and this was a matter of so much importance, that families often obtained from the high court of justice an official declaration, establishing their whiteness, or European blood.

The population of Mexico was estimated by Humboldt, in 1803, at 5,785,750; and it is now estimated by the best authorities, after deducting 500,000 for the destruction of the revolution, to be about 5,500,000. To this may perhaps be added the population of Chiapa, amounting to 128,000.

\* Edinburgh Encyclopedia: article Mexico

The reve-  
of September  
177,884 dol-  
ime the pre-  
exports, as it  
merates, and  
the model or

expenditures  
ated receipts,  
ear, and also  
ent, the reve-  
million.

onths amount  
\$6,418,814

03  
30  
—  
33  
31  
—

\$6,418,814  
12,837,628

648,836  
- 268,135  
500,000  
, 1,000,000

\$15,254,599

360,878  
- 159,023  
3,351,435  
- 9,922,782  
473,014

\$14,267,182

, in 1825, the  
at 18,000,000

3.

The creoles, in general, possess good natural talents, and a great facility of acquiring knowledge; they are extremely mild and courteous in their manner, kind and benevolent toward each other, and hospitable to strangers. They are very patriotic, and much attached to the cause of independence and liberty. Their besetting sin is gambling. They possess most of the property, hold the principal offices of the government, and in the army, since the establishment of the republic, and comprise most of the professional men and the merchants, as well as those that are fond of literature and science.

The people of colour comprise the labouring classes, and a considerable part of the troops; many of them are orderly and industrious, and make good citizens and soldiers. Some of this class acquire property, and are respectable, and many of them have been much devoted to the cause of liberty and their country, whilst others are indolent, ignorant, wretched, and filthy. This is said to be particularly the case with part of the population of the city of Mexico, where a portion of the inhabitants, called *Leperos*, are notorious beggars, thieves, and pick-pockets, and much addicted to drunkenness. All classes of the people are said to be fond of smoking to excess—females, as well as the men and the boys. This custom appears to be common to most of the Spanish American countries.

*Education and institutions of learning.*—Under the dark shade of despotism, when there was neither a free press, nor free inquiry; when it was the policy of the government to keep the people in ignorance, little could be expected of science or learning. But even the reign of despotism did not prevent occasional sparks of science from being elicited, which often kindled into a blaze. The creoles possess very lively and active intellects, and apprehend the principles of science with facility; and, with all the disadvantages under which they have laboured, they have afforded some good scholars, who have done honour to the age in which they lived. In the capital, the mathematical sciences, chemistry, mineralogy, and botany, have been cultivated with success. In mathematics, they can boast of the illustrious names of Velasques, born in 1732, a self-taught astronomer; of Gama, his fellow-labourer, and Alzate, all of whom possessed genius of the highest order; in chemistry M. Sesse, and M. Echeveria, were distinguished for their extensive acquirements; and in sculpture they can boast of M. Tolsa, whose equestrian statue of Charles V. is considered as superior to any similar work extant, except that of M. Aurelius at Rome. Alzate, a man of ardent genius, published a literary gazette at Mexico, to diffuse a knowledge of the physical sciences, and excite a spirit of learning among his countrymen. The mathematics were extensively



taught in the university of Mexico, and also in the Minería, or school of mines. Besides these, there are several colleges, academies of fine arts, and schools; and it has been said that Mexico had more sound scientific institutions than any other town in America, not excepting the United States. Many of the young creoles visited Europe, for the purpose of travelling, or to complete their education, and thus acquired a taste for literature, the arts, and the sciences.\*

During the colonial system in the cities, most of the people were taught to read and write; but in other settlements instruction was greatly neglected. Since the revolution a different policy prevails, and a new impulse has been given to education and the diffusion of knowledge. The dynasty of ignorance has ended, and the reign of intelligence commenced, under favourable auspices. The policy of the old government was to keep the people in ignorance; that of the present is entirely different; it declares, that "without education liberty cannot exist; and that the more diffused is the former, the more solidly cemented will be the latter."† The solemn announcement of this important truth has induced the government, amidst all its pressing concerns, and pecuniary embarrassments, to do every thing in its power to promote an object so essential to the prosperity of the republic. Provision has been made for the establishment of primary schools, which are intrusted to the city councils. They have generally been established; but in some places they have not, for the want of funds, and in others they are almost useless, from the incapacity of the teachers and the lowness of salaries. In the capital a society has been founded under the patronage of the government, for the purpose of introducing the system of mutual instruction, or Lancasterian plan of education; and a school has been established in a convent, capable of containing 1600 scholars. It is the design of government to have other societies formed in the different cities on the same model, and for the same objects as the one in the capital. This has been done in Guadalaxara, Guanaxuato, San Luis Potosi, and other large towns, where schools on the Lancasterian plan of mutual instruction have been established, which promise to be extensively useful. The government has not neglected the higher branches of education, but has appointed a committee of enlightened men to inquire into the condition of the universities, colleges, academies, and libraries, which will enable the congress to adopt the proper measures for their melioration and encouragement. It appears by the report of the secretary of state, that the government is affording every encouragement in its power to increase the means and facilities of edu-

\* Ed. Encyclo. Ar. Mexico.

† Report of Mexican Sec. of State, Nov. 1823.

cation ; and many of the citizens are nobly seconding their exertions. An investigation having been made into the condition of the old colleges and universities, some of them will be restored, but conducted on different principles, and others re-established on an entirely new plan. In San Luis Potosi, 42,000 dollars have been subscribed by the inhabitants for the erection of a college, and similar exertions are also making for the establishment of a college at Guanajuato. There is also a college now in operation in Zelaya. Measures have been adopted for preserving the records and documents in the archives of the colonial government. The plan is to assort and arrange them, and make a copious index, so that any document can readily be found. This service is to be performed under the direction of the secretary of state. The documents and papers of the department of excise afford an index, which, together with the printed tracts on the subject, make eighty-two volumes. From the branches of finance, ecclesiastical benefices and indulgencies, four thousand five hundred and ninety-six documents have already been deposited in the secretary's office.\* Among the means for the diffusion of knowledge, which owe their origin to the new order of things, that of the establishment of newspapers is by no means the least important. The government has also adopted another regulation, which is worthy of imitation ; it has ordered that in each city there shall be established, in the city-hall, a public reading room, to be supplied with the laws and public documents by the government, and with newspapers, and other valuable periodical works, by small subscriptions among the inhabitants.†

*Religion.*—Protestant nations have left Roman catholic countries (with perhaps the exception of France) at a distance behind them, in the moral and intellectual sciences, in politics, the diffusion of knowledge, and those improvements which promote the freedom and happiness of individuals, and the prosperity of nations. Hence it is inferred, that the Roman catholic religion is not favourable to intellectual and scientific exertion. There are two reasons for this ;—the first is, that its spirit is intolerant, and calculated to stifle mental inquiry and exertion ; the second, that it is a religion of external forms and ceremonies, pompous and imposing, which serve to engross the attention, and, by confining the mind to external objects, withdraw it from intellectual. In a word, it is calculated to enslave the mind, and when that is fettered, little improvement can be expected.

From the early settlement of Spanish America, the established hierarchy has been both an instrument and a cause of oppression. Whilst it strengthened the despotism of the government, it added

\* North American Review for October, 1825.

† Report of the Secretary of State.

ding their exer-  
ne condition. of  
ill be restored,  
e-established on  
00 dollars have  
on of a college,  
blishment of a  
ow in operation  
serving the re-  
al government.  
a copious index,  
s service is to  
of state. The  
afford an index,  
t, make eighty-  
clesiastical be-  
red and ninety-  
secretary's of-  
nowledge, which  
f the establish-  
portant. The  
which is worthy  
shall be estab-  
e supplied with  
ent, and with  
by small sub-

catholic coun-  
istance behind  
olitics, the dif-  
which promote  
e prosperity of  
atholic religion  
ertion. There  
it is intolerant,  
; the second,  
nies, pompous  
n, and, by con-  
m intellectual.  
d when that is

the established  
of oppression.  
ment, it added

5

a darker and deeper shade to it. Clothed with power, and armed with the inquisition, its influence was great, and always exerted on the side of the government, and was a principal cause of the ignorance of the people. The ecclesiastical establishment in Mexico was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and had its full train of dignitaries. The inferior clergy were divided into three classes; the *curas*, who were parish priests, employed in the settlements; the *doctrineros*, who had the charge of districts inhabited by Indians, subject to the Spanish government; and the *missioneros*, who were employed in converting the *Indios Bravos*, or wild tribes, not reduced under the Spanish yoke. Many of the inferior clergy suffered extreme poverty, whilst the incomes of some of the high dignitaries exceeded that of many of the sovereign princes of Germany. The archbishop of Mexico enjoyed an income of 121,875 dollars, and several of the bishops but little less; at the same time that some of the priests, in the Indian villages, received only the pittance of from 80 to 100 dollars. The clergy in Spain, previous to the revolution, amounted to about thirteen or fourteen thousand, one half of which were regulars, and wore the cowl.\*

The clergy were violently opposed to the revolution, and the firmest supporters of the Spanish government, until the Cortes undertook to reform the ecclesiastical establishment of the peninsula; they then declared against it, and became in favour of a revolution, from an apprehension that the new regulations in Spain would be established in Mexico. Their influence was by no means the least considerable in bringing about the plan of *Iguala*.

Whilst the revolution has regenerated Mexico, and swept off the colonial despotism, with all its train of corruptions and abuses, it has as yet done but little to relieve the nation from the thralldom of an established hierarchy, and the worst of all despotisms, that of superstition.

It is declared, in the third article of the constitutional act, "that the religion of the Mexican nation is, and shall be perpetually, the catholic apostolic Roman. The nation protects it by just and wise laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other." This provision but little accords with the free, just, and liberal principles of the constitution of which it composes a part, and casts the only dark shade on the luminous political horizon of the nation, and its fair prospect of a splendid career of moral, political, and social advancement. The Mexican congress is an enlightened body, and we may suppose that, like Soion, when giving laws to Athens, it thought this provision was as perfect as the nation was prepared to receive. Whilst this constitutional principle remains,

\* Edinburgh Encyclopædia, article Mexico.

it will obstruct the free exercise of religion, the freedom of inquiry, and the enjoyment of the rights of conscience; but will not prevent the government from reforming the ecclesiastical establishment, and correcting its inveterate abuses, the growth of time and despotism. This necessary work of reformation has already been commenced; and a spirit of liberality and toleration is increasing.

## R E

*Causes w  
Americ  
vicero  
vult—t  
people-  
rations  
commu  
attache  
is defea  
cuted.*

## THE

found in a  
sential va  
the paren  
could be o  
respecting  
crown, as  
sessions.  
nish colon  
qualified r  
“in all ca  
turies qui  
French re  
countries,  
sought for  
derangem

VOL. I.

om of iniqui-  
will not pre-  
al establish-  
wth of time  
has already  
ration is in-

# HISTORY

OF THE

## REVOLUTION IN MEXICO.

### CHAPTER VIII.

*Causes which led to the revolution—junta of Seville sends deputies to America—junta established in Mexico—conspiracy against the viceroy—regency of Cadiz—Hidalgo raises the standard of revolt—takes Guanajuato—the viceroy attempts to conciliate the people—spirit of the revolution spreads rapidly—military preparations of Hidalgo—organizes his army—revolutionists are excommunicated—Hidalgo threatens the capital—he retires—is attacked by the royalists—retreats to the town of Guanajuato—is defeated with great loss—betrayed—taken prisoner, and executed.*

THE causes of the revolution in Spanish America are not found in any change of policy on the part of Spain, nor in any essential variation in the sentiments of the Americans respecting the parent country. A people who enjoyed no political rights could be deprived of none; no disputes, therefore, could arise respecting the rights of the colonies, and the prerogatives of the crown, as existed between Great Britain and her American possessions. The flames of civil war were not kindled in the Spanish colonies by resistance to a tax on tea, or a denial of the unqualified right of taxation, claimed to be binding on the colonies "in all cases whatsoever"—since to this they had for three centuries quietly submitted. Although the North American and French revolutions may have shed some rays of light over these countries, yet the causes of their recent civil changes are to be sought for solely in the peculiar condition of Spain, and the total derangement of her monarchy.

Leaving out of the account the unfortunate attempt at La Paz, the bloody drama of the revolution first opened in Colombia, and as the struggle there was most protracted and severe, and its final success having been the means of the emancipation of the other colonies, Colombia seems to possess a more commanding revolutionary character than any of her sister republics. Consequently, in the history of the contest in Colombia, we shall endeavour to give a full and satisfactory account of the causes and events of the revolution, as it respects Spain and her colonies generally; and, as to the other republics, confine our narration in a great measure to local occurrences.

Spain had for more than a century been on a decline when, in 1808, a finishing stroke was given to her degradation, by the ambitious designs of the emperor Napoleon. Not satisfied with having reduced the peninsula to a condition little above that of a conquered state, and with draining off its resources to support his wars, Bonaparte made one of the boldest attempts recorded in history, to seize on the country, and transfer the crown to his own family. Partly by fraud, but more by force, he obtained possession of the persons of Ferdinand VII., his father, and most of the royal family, caused them to pass over into France, and detained them at Bayonne, where, in May 1808, the father was constrained to abdicate to his son, and the latter to renounce his crown to Joseph Bonaparte.

And as all the regulations respecting Spanish America must be approved of by the Council of the Indies, a decree of that council transferred the dominions of Spain, in America, to king Joseph, in confirmation of the cessions at Bayonne. Bonaparte sent agents to America to communicate to the Spanish chiefs, and through them to the people, the political change which had taken place, and to demand their allegiance. All the Spanish chiefs, with the exception of the viceroy of Mexico, seemed willing to yield to this revolution, and acknowledge the supremacy of their new sovereign; they being all assured of retaining their places. At this period it was the *people*, and not the royal governors, who showed their loyalty; they were shocked at the thought of being transferred like so many cattle, to another master, and that master Napoleon Bonaparte, who had done so much to oppress their parent country. They were indignant, too, at the foul treatment which their sovereign had received. An unusual ferment was excited among the people; the proclamations of Bonaparte were burnt, and his agents glad to quit the country to save their lives. This spirit prevailed, in a greater or less degree, throughout Spanish America.

A similar spirit soon disclosed itself, also, in old Spain, and a general revolt of the inhabitants against the authority of the Bona-

partes  
Mexic  
feeling  
juntas  
ment a  
junta  
juntas  
penins  
which  
enthus  
junta  
the co  
the jur  
ted to

Such  
their lo  
ready  
though  
their ki  
and a  
of the  
spatch  
nounci  
the Me  
The re  
leaving  
and Ar  
suprem  
ing eac  
and pla  
monarc  
vernm  
claim t  
situati  
curity,  
The C  
1808, p  
assemb

"Jun  
and kin  
which  
neral a  
of the s  
in orde  
togethe



partes, occurred in the peninsula. Intelligence of this reached Mexico on the 29th of July, 1808. It immediately raised the feelings of the people into the highest enthusiasm. In Spain, juntas were established in the different provinces, for their government and security. The junta at Seville styled itself the supreme junta of Spain and the Indies; several other of the provincial juntas claimed the like superiority, which led to dissensions in the peninsula, and distracted the Americans, so that they knew not which to acknowledge, as entitled to their allegiance. Before the enthusiasm had subsided in Mexico, the deputies sent by the junta of Seville arrived in America, to demand the sovereignty of the country; and, to induce the colonies to yield obedience to the junta, the deputies represented that its authority was submitted to throughout the whole of Spain.

Such was the hostility of the people against the French, and their loyalty and zeal toward their sovereign, that they seemed ready to acknowledge the authority of any tribunal in Spain, although self-created, which claimed their allegiance in the name of their king. A meeting was called of the civil and military officers, and a general disposition prevailed to recognise the pretensions of the Seville junta; but during the debates on the question, despatches were received from the junta of Asturias in Spain, denouncing the ambitious views of the junta of Seville, and warning the Mexican government against acknowledging its pretensions. The regency which Ferdinand had established at Madrid, on his leaving the country, also claimed the supreme power in Spain and America. These numerous tribunals in Spain, claiming the supreme authority, and the obedience of the colonies, and denying each other's claims, produced distrust among the Americans, and placed them in a perplexing dilemma. The power of the monarchy was overthrown or suspended, and there being no government in Spain, not even a government *de facto*, which could claim their obedience, or which afforded them protection, their situation suggested the necessity of providing for their own security, by the establishment of some provisional government. The *Cabildo*, or municipality of Mexico, on the 5th of August, 1808, presented a memorial to Arrigaray, the viceroy, for the assembling a junta, from which we make an extract:

“Juntas of the government, and respectable bodies of the cities and kingdoms, are no more than in exact conformity to the law, which ordains that all arduous cases shall be considered of in general assemblies. As in existing circumstances, in consequence of the seizure of the king, the sovereignty is vested in the nation, in order that its interests may be consulted, the united authorities, together with the municipalities, which are the heads of the peo-

ple, do exactly the same as would the monarch himself for the general welfare.

“ Mexico has in view the same principles that influenced Seville, Valencia, and the other cities of Spain ; and she is empowered, in like manner as the above two faithful capitals, to do what she conceives is advisable in such urgent circumstances.

“ These examples point out what ought to be done—to organize a governing junta, composed of the royal audiencia, the archbishop, municipality, and deputies from the tribunals, ecclesiastical and secular bodies, the nobility, and principal citizens, as well as the military. This junta shall deliberate on the most weighty subjects that concern us, which shall be determined conformably to our interests.

“ The junta is necessary ; for, although we are at present free from the urgent danger which threatened us on the side of France, we, nevertheless, ought not to neglect our means of defence, till we receive such positive advices, as may place us perfectly at ease. It is at the same time necessary to satisfy the wishes of the people, by restoring to them those means they formerly had of appeal to the Council of the Indies, or to the person of the king ; and, finally, many amendments ought to be made in the nomination to secular and ecclesiastical dignities. These are the only means, in consequence of the absence of the monarch, by which the kingdom, being thus united, may overcome all its difficulties.

“ This union of authorities is likewise necessary, as being the best means to produce unanimity in the minds of the people ; which will prevent the fatal consequences which must arise throughout the country from disunion. Every one will then be happy ; their patriotism and wishes will be united by love, enthusiasm, and a sense of the public good.

“ The city, consequently, thinks that the time is arrived for adopting the same means as have been carried into effect in Spain. The junta which your excellency is to form, for the present, of the authorities and respectable bodies above-mentioned, when the representatives of the kingdom are assembled, will carefully examine its interests, &c.

“ But the two fundamental points on which the junta is to act, ought not to be forgotten. The first is, that the authorities retain the full extent of their power, in the same manner as if the derangement which we deplore in the monarchy had not taken place ; that is, that your excellency shall still hold the same power which the laws grant, and that the same be observed with respect to the other tribunals. The second is, that in order to fill up the immense void which exists between the authority of your

exce-  
cours

TH  
not h  
dered  
to gra  
sonal  
were  
resign  
favou  
decisi  
tribin  
of the  
on the  
comm  
of the  
the St  
their  
impris  
the ap

A  
was e  
vincia  
approv  
whilst  
that th  
been d  
the ex  
sentim  
the Eu  
Spain  
the rul  
illegal  
royal f  
was, n  
money  
niards  
by the  
lar mar  
the Me  
indigna  
gaged i  
honour  
duct to  
of thin  
bishop,

Vol

excellency and the sovereign, the proposed junta is to be had recourse to."

The viceroy felt himself embarrassed in his situation, and knew not how to act. His advanced years, and want of vigour, rendered his conduct indecisive and temporizing. He was inclined to grant the prayer of the petitioners, thinking the measure reasonable and just; but was afraid of the Spaniards, who he knew were violently opposed to it. In this dilemma, he proposed to resign his authority. The Spaniards, knowing his inclination to favour the views of the popular party, taking advantage of his indecision and weakness, formed a conspiracy against him, and, by bribing the officers commanding the guards, about four hundred of the conspirators entered the palace of the viceroy, at midnight, on the 15th of September, 1808, seized him and his lady, and committed the latter to a nunnery, and the former to the prisons of the inquisition. The conspirators consisted, principally, of the Spanish merchants in Mexico, and were secretly favoured in their designs by the court of audience: the annunciation of the imprisonment of the viceroy was connected with a suggestion of the appointment of his successor by the royal audience.

A central junta, possessing the supreme and national authority, was established in Spain, composed of deputies from all the provincial juntas. The violent proceedings in Mexico were not only approved by the central junta, which received the intelligence whilst in session at Seville, but the junta manifested great joy that the viceroy, who had favoured the wishes of the creoles, had been deposed and imprisoned, without considering the danger of the example, or the evidence it afforded of the feebleness of all sentiments of subordination. These high-handed measures of the European faction greatly exasperated the creoles against the Spaniards in Mexico, and tended to produce disaffection toward the rulers of Spain. The authority of the central junta, although illegal, (as the laws required that in case of a suspension of the royal functions, the government should be vested in a regency,) was, nevertheless, submitted to by the colonists, and large sums of money remitted from America to Spain, which enabled the Spaniards to carry on the war against the French. The appointment, by the central junta of Spain, of the archbishop, a mild and popular man, to the vicerealty, greatly conciliated the affections of the Mexicans, and preserved tranquillity, notwithstanding much indignation continued against the Spaniards, who had been engaged in the conspiracy. This indignation was increased by the honours lavished on the European faction, and their insolent conduct toward the Americans, which this occasioned. In this state of things the people were alarmed by the removal of the archbishop, and the intrusting the powers of government, until the ar-

rival of the new viceroy, to the court of audience, the members of which the inhabitants regarded as their enemies. Victory had followed the imperial eagles in Spain, the Spaniards had been every where defeated, the French occupied nearly the whole of the peninsula, and the central junta were dispersed. Some of its members retired to the Isle of Leon, where the archbishop of Laodicea, who had been president of the central junta, published a paper, ordering a regency to be formed, and naming the three persons who were to compose it.\* This regency published a proclamation, addressed to the Americans, and pretending to possess supreme authority in Spain, claimed dominion over the colonies, and promised to redress their grievances. The authority of the regency was considered as entirely illegal, and as little better than self-created. Caraccas and other provinces refused to acknowledge it.

The regency, commonly called the regency of Cadiz, named Don J. Venegas as viceroy of Mexico, and conferred fresh honours and additional rewards on the Spanish faction, which, like fuel added to an enkindling flame, contributed to spread disaffection through the whole country. The troops, which in time of war are constantly stationed between Mexico and Vera Cruz, to repel an attack on the coast, after Iturrigaray was deposed were ordered into the interior. A regiment of cavalry was sent to Queretaro, and three captains in that regiment, named Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo, were natives of the town of San Miguel el Grande, situated near Guanaxuato, 210 miles from Mexico.

In the vicinity of the town of San Miguel, is that of Dolores, in the state of Guanaxuato, in which resided Don Miguel Hidalgo Castilla, a clergyman, distinguished for his talents and learning, for his liberal sentiments, and his extensive general intelligence. He had taken great pains to instruct and better the condition of the Indians, which gained him their attachment, and, from the urbanity of his manners and the beneficence of his conduct, he was popular with all classes of the inhabitants. A particular friendship subsisted between Hidalgo and Allende, Aldama and Abasolo. Hidalgo, perceiving the general disaffection of the people throughout the viceroyalty, and the prevailing animosities against the Spaniards, conceived a plan of general insurrection, for the overthrow of the colonial government. The time said to have been fixed upon for the rising was the first of November, 1810. His plan was communicated to his three friends, Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo, who readily joined Hidalgo, and, by their activity and exertions, sentiments of disloyalty were rapidly and extensively disseminated. Every circumstance was laid hold of which might tend to inflame the animosity of the natives against the

\* Manifesto of the Congress of Rio de La Plata.

Spaniards, and alienate them from Spain. The disaffection had been spread extensively, and the plan in a great degree matured, when one of the conspirators, a canon of Valladolid, on his deathbed discovered the plan to a priest of the name of Gil, residing at Queretaro. This information was conveyed to some of the members of the *audiencia*, and led to the arrest of the corregidor, Dominguez, who was falsely charged with being engaged in the conspiracy. Alarm was instantly spread among the conspirators, who, fearing that their plan was discovered, hastened its execution. Allende was the first to raise the standard of revolt; he assembled, at St. Miguel, a few soldiers, who were attached to him, and set out for Dolores. The disaffected flocked to his standard in his route, so that when he arrived, on the 14th of September, 1810, he was at the head of 800 men. Hidalgo, the same day, preached to the Indians, and pointed out the oppressions which they had endured from the Spaniards, since the first discovery of the country; the tyranny and rapacity of the Spanish chiefs in America, and the present distracted condition of Spain, without any settled government, exposed to anarchy, and the danger there was that it would fall under the dominion of France, and America be either delivered up to the French or the British, which would destroy the holy catholic religion. He concluded his discourse by calling on the Indians to arm in defence of their religion, and to redress their grievances. A summons to arms came with an odd grace from the pulpit, but nevertheless was obeyed implicitly, and with alacrity. The Indians flew to arms with fury, and, uniting with the recruits of Allende, they proceeded, with Hidalgo at their head, to San Miguel, and commenced hostilities by plundering the houses of the Spaniards. Here two squadrons of the regiment of cavalry of Reyna, to which Allende had belonged, joined the insurgents, and Hidalgo immediately marched to Zelaya, where he was also joined by the principal part of the regiment of infantry of Zelaya, and by part of a regiment of horse.

Thus re-enforced, Hidalgo proceeded to Guanajuato, a populous and wealthy town, containing at this time 80,000 inhabitants, and situated 180 miles northwest of Mexico. The governor of the intendency, Riano, attempted to oppose him, but, his troops having declared for the revolutionists, he retired with two hundred Spaniards into a building, and fired on the assailants. Having no troops for the defence of the town, it fell into the hands of Hidalgo on the 29th of September, 1810, and was an acquisition of no small importance, as he found in the treasury five millions of dollars, consisting of specie and bar silver.

Venegas, the new viceroy, arrived in Mexico on the 16th of September, 1810, and in a public meeting of the principal in-



habitants, proclaimed the honours and rewards which the regency had bestowed on the conspirators against Iturrigaray, who were regarded by the inhabitants as the enemies of their country, and the emissaries of Spain. In a few days the viceroy obtained intelligence of the insurrection, and of the success of Hidalgo. He immediately despatched Count de la Cadena to Queretaro, a populous town, and an important military position. The inhabitants of this town, amounting to nearly 80,000, were in favour of the revolutionary cause, and were desirous of joining Hidalgo, which was an additional reason why the viceroy was anxious to prevent its falling into the hands of the insurgents, which he did by a timely arrival of royal troops. Venegas, alarmed at the threatening aspect of the insurrection, and the extent of the disaffection, attempted to conciliate the people, and on the 23d September, 1810, issued a proclamation, referring to the decree of the central junta of Spain, in 1809, which declared the colonies to be equal with the mother country, and promised that the cortes would soon make such reforms in the government of America, as would promote its prosperity, and satisfy the reasonable wishes of the people.

Hidalgo, in the first exercise of his high functions of a chief or ruler, abolished the tribute paid by the Indians, which so animated their hopes and attachments, that they flocked from all parts to join him, and he soon found himself at the head of a numerous body of men. To oppose the revolutionists, Venegas formed several corps or *guerrillas* of Spaniards, who however, from their violence and rapacity, injured the royal cause, and he was obliged to disband them. He also established corps of militia, not entirely composed of Spaniards, which he called *patriotas*. The spirit of the insurrection spread rapidly from town to town, producing general disaffection, and the revolutionary cause extended and strengthened daily. The town of Lagos, celebrated from the fact of a great fair being held there every five years, and Zacatecas, from its situation near some of the richest mines in Mexico, and many others, declared in favour of the revolution. Hidalgo remained at Guanajuato, long enough to introduce a little discipline among the multitude who had collected around the revolutionary standard; forming them into corps, and appointing the necessary officers. He also established a mint, fabricated cannon of wood, and one of brass, with this inscription engraved upon it, *et Libertador Americano*, the liberator of America. His greatest difficulty was to obtain arms, for his multitude of creoles, Indians, and mixed bloods, who resembled a caravan, more than a regular army, had only a few muskets, but were armed with pikes, knives, hatchets, blunderbusses, slings, and all sorts of weapons. Hidalgo marched from Guanajuato to Valladolid, and



entered the town on the 20th of October, 1810. There he was received as a deliverer, and greeted with shouts of joy and gratitude by the inhabitants. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the town conferred upon him the highest honours, and treated him with every mark of distinction; but what was more important to Hidalgo, they presented to his military chest 1,200,000 dollars. Two regiments of militia were formed, and joined the popular leader. Hidalgo fell back on Indaparapeo on the 2d of October, where he called a military council, to improve the organization of his army; numerous promotions were made; Allende was appointed captain-general; Aldama, Balleza, Ximenes, and Arias, were appointed lieutenant-generals; and Abasolo, Ocon, and the two brothers Martinez, field-marsals. Hidalgo was proclaimed generalissimo of the Mexican armies; and as such, reviewed the troops, which were now divided into eight regiments of one thousand men each. Mass was performed on the occasion, and a solemn *Te Deum* sung. Regulations were adopted for the pay of the army; three Spanish dollars a day was to be the pay of each infantry colonel and captain of cavalry; each cavalry soldier was to receive one dollar, and each infantry soldier half a dollar per day. Hidalgo assumed the ensigns and habiliments of his new dignity; his military dress was blue with red facings, embroidered with gold and silver; and a black sash embroidered with gold. A medal, with an image of the Virgin de Guadaloupe, highly venerated by the Mexicans, was worn on his breast, and the colours were white and blue, in resemblance of the banners of the ancient emperors of Mexico, and as a memento of the former independence of the country.

Having made the necessary arrangements, Hidalgo, at the head of a vast army, commenced his march toward the capital, and on the 27th of October, 1810, entered the town of Toluca, 36 miles west of Mexico.

A storm was now gathering over the capital, which was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the revolutionists; disaffection prevailed extensively in the city; the populace, and a considerable part of the higher orders, hated the Spaniards, and detested the government. The royal forces were at a distance from the capital, and from each other; Don F. Calleja was stationed at San Luis Potosi, with a brigade, 300 miles from Mexico. Count Cadena had 3000 troops at Queretaro, and the viceroy had but a handful of men for the defence of the capital against Hidalgo, and to overawe the inhabitants. The fall of Mexico was apparently inevitable; but at this alarming conjuncture, the viceroy, not being able to rely on the military rulers, called on the ecclesiastical: as he had not the power of the sword, he called to his aid the power of superstition. He applied to the archbishop

of Mexico, and the officers of the inquisition, to obtain a bull of excommunication against Hidalgo, and all his followers, as rebels and heretics. Accordingly, excommunications, with all the form and solemnity of hierarchial craft, were fulminated against them, denouncing them as apostates from the holy church, and rebels against the state; and as obnoxious to the vengeance of both the state and church, and the wrath of the Almighty. To support their denunciations, the inquisition declared, that accusations had been made against Hidalgo ten years before, to the holy office; but that he then had the address or good fortune to escape the punishment which his crimes merited. Hidalgo, by a manifeste, replied to the excommunications of the archbishop, and the edict of the inquisition; proclaimed his own sentiments of belief, and exposed their inconsistency and absurdity. These excommunications had no effect on Hidalgo's troops: for being himself a priest, he seized the spiritual weapons of his adversaries, and turned them on themselves. He persuaded his adherents that the sentence pronounced against them, proceeding from their enemies, could have no effect; and that the excommunication would, undoubtedly, fall on the heads of those who pronounced it, as a punishment for their presumption. But these terrible weapons of the church were not without their influence on the people; the inhabitants of Mexico, and the provinces which were not yet infected with the spirit of the insurrection, were perfectly tranquil, and seemed petrified with terror.

The viceroy had sent his aid-de-camp, colonel Truxillo, with 1500 men, to Xtlahuaca, to check the advance of the insurgents, which were afterward re-enforced by 500 more; and when Hidalgo entered Toluco, the royalists fell back on Lerma, 27 miles only from Mexico. Here Truxillo formed a bridge across the river Lerma, and intended to dispute the passage with the revolutionists; but Hidalgo, having crossed the river at a different place, Truxillo retired to an eminence, called *El Monte de las Cruces*, where the patriots attacked him, and drove him from his position. Whilst on his retreat to Mexico, Hidalgo sent envoys to Truxillo, with proposals for him to join his party; he admitted the deputies within his lines, and then ordered his soldiers to fire on them. The royalists continued their retreat, and entered the capital on the 30th of October, having, in their flight, left their artillery behind. The intelligence of the defeat of the royalists, at Monte de las Cruces, reached Mexico, accompanied with the report, that the revolutionists were entering the city, which produced great alarm; and the consternation was increased by intelligence that Morclos, a priest at the head of a body of independents, had taken possession of several towns in the south of Mexico, and that Villagran, another popular leader,

at the  
Whilst  
increas  
and no  
the roy

Und  
fending  
to retir  
ever, p  
his troo  
ed his  
Octobe  
ants, w  
ing the  
who w  
dalgo s  
met hin  
three r  
not an  
care to  
anxiety  
the cap  
wished  
express  
an anx  
assaila  
ble, no  
Hidalg  
neral,  
troops  
these  
relief  
of the  
ral an  
Hid  
lage o  
He pl  
a rect  
his un  
on the  
the ca  
alists  
and e  
the ro  
equip  
fright

at the head of a large force, was marching toward the capital. Whilst the opposers of the government were thus numerous and increasing, there were but about 2000 royal troops at the capital, and no information had been received where the main army of the royalists under count Cadena was.

Under these circumstances, perceiving little prospect of defending the capital, the viceroy and the Spaniards were preparing to retire to Vera Cruz should the enemy prevail. Venegas, however, prepared to make the best defence he could, and drew up his troops between two public walks, within the city, but stationed his artillery at the entrances into the town. On the 31st of October, 1810, the independents were observed, by the inhabitants, with secret joy, (as their hearts were with them,) descending the hill Santa Fe, as it was supposed, to attack the viceroy, who was at the head of his troops, prepared to meet them. Hidalgo sent general Ximenes with despatches to the viceroy, who met him in a magnificent carriage, attended by forty horsemen, three miles from the city, and delivered his message, which was not answered, nor its contents ever known, as the viceroy took care to conceal them from the people. In the city, alarm and anxiety, hope and fear, pervaded every breast, and all supposed the capital would be stormed; the great body of the inhabitants wished for the success of the independents, but they dared not express their sentiments, or make known their feelings. After an anxious night, all were surprised the next morning to see the assailants retiring. The cause of this was at the time inexplicable, nor has it ever been fully explained; but it is supposed that Hidalgo had received information of the defeat of the patriot general, Sanchez, at Queretaro, and of the junction of the royal troops, under Calleja, with the army of count Cadena, and that these united armies were advancing, by forced marches, for the relief of the capital. Some, however, have attributed the retreat of the independents to the moderation of Hidalgo, and his natural antipathy and horror at the violence and devastation of war.

Hidalgo retired in confusion to a hill, which overlooks the village of Aculeo and an extent of country on the north and east. He placed his cannon on the sides of the hill, which was of nearly a rectangular form, and drew up his troops in two lines, stationing his undisciplined Indians between them. Here he was attacked on the 7th of November, by Calleja, who had previously reached the capital, with the main part of the Spanish army. The royalists advanced to the attack in five columns against the north and east side of Hidalgo's encampment. There were 6000 of the royal troops, disciplined veterans; and being well armed and equipped, and making a splendid martial appearance, they so frightened the Indians that they fled the instant the firing com-

menced. This disconcerted the regular troops, who making but a feeble defence, abandoned the position in disorder. They were pursued by the royalists with great fury, and immense slaughter; 10,000 of the independents, in the official report of Calleja, were said to have been killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The patriots retreated to the town of Guanajuato, which is situated on an eminence, and fortified by a defile, through which the road passes leading to the town. Here they were attacked by Calleja, on the 24th of November, and driven from their position, with the loss of twenty-five pieces of their cannon, of which the Liberator was one. Some of Hidalgo's troops, exasperated by the attack and success of the royalists, put to death two hundred Spanish prisoners. The royalists, the next day, stormed and took the town, and delivered it up to the pillage and rapacity of the soldiers for two hours; and the day following, as the closing scene to this tragical drama, all the officers who had been taken, and many other prisoners and citizens, were shot. Among the latter, were the mineralogists, Chovel, Davalos, and Valencia. A proclamation was issued by the Spanish general, ordering all arms and ammunition to be delivered to the government within twenty-four hours, on the pain of death, and threatened all with the same punishment who supported the rebellion, or entertained opinions favourable to it.

From Guanajuato, Hidalgo marched toward Guadalajara, which is 450 miles from Mexico; and during his route had numerous skirmishes with parties of the royal army, and in many of which the patriots were successful. Hidalgo entered Guadalajara, a populous town, containing at that time 90,000 inhabitants, and immediately despatched Mercado, a priest, against the port of San Blas, which capitulated, and a large number of cannon fell into the hands of the patriots—Mercado sent forty-two pieces to Hidalgo, at Guadalajara. At this time, the authority of Hidalgo was acknowledged in the then intendancies of Valladolid, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, and part of Sonora. Whilst Calleja was in pursuit of Hidalgo, the royalists, under general Cruz, defeated the independents at Zamora, which enabled him to take the town of Valladolid, where a scene of the most dreadful cruelty and bloodshed was exhibited. Hidalgo choosing an advantageous position, 33 miles from Guadalajara, encamped his army, which was protected on one side by a hill, and on the other by a small river: the bridge across the stream he fortified, and erected batteries on the summit of the hill, and two to defend the army on the left. In this position Hidalgo waited the approach of Calleja, with the determination to give him battle. The royal general did not decline the engagement, but as soon as he arrived, made preparations for attacking the independents in their position. He

divided his army into two columns, one of which stormed the batteries on the hill, and took them; the other column attacked the left of Hidalgo's encampment, and was repulsed. But whilst retiring to its first position, it received a re-enforcement, and engaged the cavalry of the patriots, who, perceiving its retrograde movement, had attempted to surround it. Hidalgo now made a charge on the royal cavalry, which being supported by the grenadiers, repulsed him with great loss. Calleja in person stormed and carried the battery which alone prevented his penetrating into the enemy's camp; and at the same time, Emparan attacked and routed the cavalry of the independents. Consternation now spread through the camp of the patriots, which rendered unavailing all further exertions to retrieve the fortune of the day.

This defeat occurred on the 17th of January, 1811. Calleja sent general Cruz to recapture San Blas, which he found already in possession of the Spaniards, by means of a counter revolution, brought about by the curate of the town. Having rallied the remnant of his army, Hidalgo marched to Zacatecas, where he found a considerable quantity of cannon, there being a foundry in the town. Here he made a new coinage of silver, still retaining the "image and superscription" of Ferdinand VII. The independents marched to San Luis Potosi, where Hidalgo was re-enforced by several corps of guerrillas, which he formed; and from thence he moved toward the town of Saltillo, in the military government of the western internal provinces, and about 600 miles from Mexico. Calleja had reached San Luis Potosi, in pursuit of Hidalgo: a body of royalists, under Arredondo, had arrived at Altamira, and the governor of the western internal provinces had sent troops to hem in and cut off the retreat of Hidalgo. It was his intention to have escaped with such of his partisans as would follow his fortunes, to Louisiana, in the United States, and to resume the war for the revolution of the country, when more favourable circumstances might occur. The situation of the popular chief, surrounded with enemies on all sides, was critical, and his escape attended with sufficient hazard, without a Judas to betray him into the hands of his enemies. He was, however, destined to be the victim of treachery. Don Y. Elisondo, who commanded a body of independent troops, had the baseness to attempt to purchase a pardon for himself, by arresting Hidalgo; and having drawn several officers into his plan, he attacked him at Acatita de Bajan, whilst pursuing his course unsuspecting of danger, through a friendly district of the country, from which circumstance he was easily overcome. Hidalgo and his followers were made prisoners, on the 21st of March, 1811; fifty-two of them were executed on the field of action, the next

day; and ten more, including Hidalgo, were sent to Chihuahua, where they were put to death on the 27th of July following; Hidalgo having first been divested of his clerical orders.

## CHAPTER IX.

*The war continued by several patriot chiefs—they are attacked at Zitaquaro—they create a junta—surrender and massacre at Zitaquaro—success of Morelos—destruction of Quautla—Morelos is defeated—massacre of prisoners by the royalists—Morelos convenes a congress—they frame a constitution—arrival of Mina—he penetrates into the country—Apadoca appointed viceroy—attempts to conciliate the inhabitants—siege of Remedios—capture and execution of Mina—fall of Remedios—civil dissensions among the patriots—Guadalupe Victoria.*

THE fatal and sad termination of the career of Hidalgo and his associates did not terminate the revolution, or discourage the other chiefs engaged in it; which is evidence that its spirit had taken deep hold of the minds of the people. The most active and powerful of the revolutionary leaders, who remained, were Don Y. Rayon, a lawyer, Don N. Villagran, and Don J. Morelos, a priest. Rayon had taken a station at Saltillo, to favour Hidalgo's retreat; and on learning of his defeat and capture, he fell back on Zacatecas, having in his march defeated a body of royalists, under Ochoa. Here he released three Spanish prisoners, and sent them to the viceroy, with proposals for an accommodation. His terms were, that a congress should be formed, consisting of half Spaniards and half Americans, to decide on the best means of putting an end to the war, and restoring tranquillity to the country. The viceroy returned no other answer but that, if he would lay down his arms, he should be included in the general *indulto*, or amnesty, which the cortes had granted in 1810. This act of the cortes promised a total oblivion of all that had taken place during the revolution, to all who should lay down their arms, and desist from aiding the rebellion. But this act of oblivion had been so totally disregarded by the Spanish chiefs in

Americ  
wished  
had te  
could  
so ent  
faith o  
church  
to atte  
signed

“ O  
ral cha  
“ his e  
tative  
has ha  
be the  
grante  
likewis  
do, to  
ty, Fa  
of Gu  
the Ch  
roy in  
ed to a  
now w

Ray  
of Val  
Lopez  
Zitaqu  
body o  
loss, a  
the in  
against  
was re  
place.  
Zitaqu  
ran, o  
bloody  
the los  
the re  
the vi  
no be

Th  
and it  
Mexi  
receiv  
were



America, and only used by them as a snare to entrap those they wished to destroy, that instead of conciliating the disaffected, it had tended to inflame their minds against a government, which could be guilty of such base duplicity and treachery. In Mexico, so entirely destitute were the people of any confidence in the faith or promises of the viceroy, that he was obliged to get the church, or *cabildo eclesiastico*, to endorse his proclamation, and to attempt to persuade the people that his promises were not designed to ensnare them.

“On this account,” says the *cabildo eclesiastico*, in a pastoral charge addressed to the clergy, on the 17th of May, 1812, “his excellency the viceroy, the worthy and legitimate representative of our catholic and most Christian king Ferdinand VII. has had the unparalleled goodness, not only to authorize us to be the guarantees and trustees of the indulto, or general pardon granted to the insurgents, but also to permit us to grant to you likewise the power, reverend brethren, as by these presents we do, to offer, promise, and assure, in the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in the name of the Virgin of Guadaloupe, protectress of this kingdom, and in the name of the Christian and catholic king Ferdinand VII., and of his viceroy in these kingdoms, that a general pardon shall be duly granted to all those who, repenting themselves their past faults, are now willing to lay down their arms,” &c.

Rayon, being pursued by Calleja, retreated into the intendancy of Valladolid, now state of Michoacan; and the patriot colonel Lopez, at the head of a party of guerrillas, fortified the town of Zitaquaro, where he was attacked on the 22d of May, 1811, by a body of royalists, under Torre and Mora, who were repulsed with loss, and the two commanders slain. This victory encouraged the independents to act on the offensive, and Lopez marched against Valladolid, which he attacked on the 4th of May; but was repulsed by Truxillo, who commanded the royalists in that place. Rayon joined Lopez, and established his headquarters at Zitaquaro, where he was attacked by the Spanish general Emparan, on the 30th of June. The conflict was extremely sharp and bloody, and resulted in the complete route of the royalists, with the loss of 800 men, and all their baggage. Emparan retired with the remnant of his forces to Toluca, and the patriots, elated with the victory, again attacked Valladolid on the 23d of July, but with no better success than before.

The cause of the revolution was now evidently gaining ground; and it was supposed that a plan for a general revolt throughout Mexico was maturing, and would soon take place. The viceroy received many threats and denunciations. Numerous persons were arrested and accused of being concerned in the conspiracy;

a part of whom were brought to trial; six were condemned and sentenced to be executed, and six others sentenced to hard labour at Puerto Rico; two women were among the number found guilty of conspiring against the government, and condemned to imprisonment. These condemnations took place in the month of August. At this period Rayon established a junta for the government of the country, consisting of himself, Doctor Berduseo, and Don J. M. Liceaga, which nominally at least, acknowledged the authority of Ferdinand, and published their acts in his name. Calleja, the moment he received intelligence of the creation of this junta, issued a proclamation from his headquarters at Guanaxuato, offering ten thousand dollars each for the heads of the junta, and the viceroy, greatly alarmed at this measure of Rayon, regarding it as the harbinger of a general rising of the people, ordered Calleja to make an immediate attack upon the insurgents at Zitaquaro. This town is 120 miles from Mexico, situated in a valley, and surrounded by high mountains. It contained 10,000 inhabitants; and the principal object in attacking it, was to seize the members of the junta. For this purpose Calleja ordered Polier, commanding at Toluca, to drive the independents from their position on the Tenango mountain, previous to his attack on Zitaquaro, to cut off their retreat. Calleja attacked Zitaquaro, on the 2d of January, 1812, and the place being strong by nature, and well fortified, made a resolute defence, but was taken by the royalists after three hours of hard fighting.

"The rebels," says Calleja in his official account of the action, "had added to that state of natural fortification in which Zitaquaro was placed, all that art, despair, and eight months continued labour could contribute. The defeat of the two preceding expeditions had so much encouraged the people, that even women and children now united in repelling our attack. All, however, has yielded to the intrepidity of the army under my command. The enemy being completely routed, fled away in every direction, leaving the surrounding country covered with their dead and wounded. The rebels, *cobecillus*, Rayon, Liceaga, and Berduseo, had previously made their escape, and taken the road toward Tasco; nor has it been in my power to pursue them, my troops being already exhausted with fatigue, and the roads in a very bad state.

"The quantity of military stores is immense which we found in the town. I will send your excellency an exact list of them, as well as of the cannon which we took from the enemy. I now merely confine myself to that information more immediately necessary to convey to your excellency, that it is owing to the valour and exertions of my officers as well as of my men, that the engagement was so short. Their good conduct in this attack has

exc  
and  
"  
part  
cart  
of a  
give  
ling  
"  
and  
latic  
of t  
ever  
amp  
distr  
lish  
prop  
who  
city  
the  
of 2  
days  
mitt  
dest  
men  
this  
surp  
tion.  
T  
not  
ror i  
suc  
\* ?  
" I  
shall  
vileg  
them  
"2  
who  
their  
place  
"3  
crimi  
force  
their  
we d  
or de  
and, a

exceeded even what they have displayed on former occasions, and our loss has been considerable.

“My stay here will be as short as possible, and before my departure I will erase every vestige of the town from the face of the earth, that I may, by this means, punish the criminal instigators of so barbarous, impolitic, and destructive an insurrection, and give an example of terror to those who might otherwise be willing to support it.”

The contest had now assumed a character peculiarly savage and horrible; the war was not only a war of death, but of desolation. Vengeance and destruction seem to have filled the minds of the royal chiefs, who were as weak as they were destitute of every sentiment of justice or humanity, in supposing that “examples of terror,” and destruction, would restore tranquillity to a distracted country. After the capture of Zitaquaro, Calleja published a decree, depriving the Indians of that department of their property and immunities, declaring the property of all Mexicans who had taken any part in the insurrection, or who fled from the city on the entry of the royal troops, to be forfeited; transferring the capital of the department to Marabatio, and ordering the town of Zitaquaro razed to the ground, allowing the inhabitants six days only to leave it, with their moveables, which they were permitted to take “as a proof of mercy;” and threatening the same destruction against any town which should harbour either of the members of the junta. The scene of horror and distress which this decree, conceived in the true spirit of Vandalism, produced, surpassed the power of imagination, much more than that of description.\*

The fall of Zitaquaro, and the dispersion of the patriots, did not terminate the struggle: nor did the dreadful examples of terror induce the independent chiefs to throw down their arms, and sue for peace and pardon. Morelos, Villagran, Canas, Aldamar,

\* The following are some of the articles of the decree referred to:—

“1st. It is decreed that the Indians of Zitaquaro and its department, shall be deprived of their property, as well as of those immunities and privileges which the extreme beneficence of the government had granted them.

“2d. This forfeited property, as well as that of those South Americans who have taken part in the insurrection, who accompanied the rebels in their flight, or who left the city at the entrance of the king’s troops, to be placed in the public treasury.

“3d. Monarchical government being hated by the inhabitants of this criminal town, who have supported three engagements against the king’s forces, and having found the heads of many of our chiefs, who sacrificed their lives for the public good, placed on poles at the entrance of the town, we decree that every building in Zitaquaro shall be razed to the ground, or destroyed by fire. Every inhabitant to leave the town within six days; and, as a proof of mercy, I permit them to take their moveable property.

“CALLEJA.”

and other popular leaders, still commanded corps of guerrillas in different parts of the country. The members of the junta took refuge at Zultepec, a town situated on a steep mountain, about 90 miles from Mexico; from whence they proposed to the viceroy terms of accommodation, which received as little attention as the proposals of Hidalgo and Rayon. The terms of reconciliation were contained in an address of the junta to the Spaniards, of the 29th of March, 1811, in which they recapitulated their grievances, and proposed a plan, in case the royalists did not choose to comply with their terms of accommodation, for carrying on the war, in a manner less barbarous and destructive.

Morelos possessed an efficient army, and was obeyed throughout nearly the entire southern coast of Mexico. He had defeated the royalists in various skirmishes and engagements, one of which was bloody and decisive, fought on the 19th of August, 1811, at Tixtla; after which, he besieged Acapulco, with a small part of his army, but marched with the main division toward Mexico. He took possession of the town of Izucar without opposition; and, in the mean time, a division of his army commanded by general Bravo, defeated the Spanish general Musitu, and took possession of the town of Quautla Amilpas, 75 miles south of the capital. Morelos also occupied the towns of Huexapan and Tasco. The Spanish colonel Soto attacked the town of Izucar on the 17th of February, but was repulsed with loss, and himself so dangerously wounded, that he was obliged to retire from the command. He was succeeded by Llano, who on the 22d renewed the assault, and was also repulsed; yet he succeeded in gaining possession of a hill, from which he bombarded the town. In this attack were employed the first troops which had been sent from Spain to Mexico, since the commencement of the revolution. Calleja attacked Morelos in the town of Quautla Amilpas, on the 19th of February, 1811, and, after a severe action of six hours, was compelled to retire. Exasperated at this defeat, Calleja swore vengeance against the town of Quautla and its inhabitants, and made great preparations for renewing the assault. Llano was ordered to raise the siege of Izucar and join him, who on his march defeated several parties of guerrillas. In the mean time the patriots, who had been re-enforced, assisted by the whole population of the town, were making the utmost exertions for its defence. The rage of the Spanish general is in some degree evinced by a letter which he wrote to a friend whilst encamped before Quautla on the 15th of March, 1812.

“We will precipitate this town and its inhabitants into the very centre of hell, whatever exertions or fatigue it may cost us. The enthusiasm of these insurgents is unparalleled. Morelos, with a prophetic countenance, gives his orders, and whatever they may

be, they are always punctually executed. We continually hear the inhabitants swear that they will be buried under the ruins rather than deliver up the town. They dance around the bombs as they fall, to prove that they are fearless of danger."

The town of Quautla is situated on an eminence, in a plain, and commands a view of the adjacent country. It had been so strongly fortified by Morelos, that Calleja was obliged to relinquish the plan of conquering it by storm, and to attempt to reduce it by a siege. This having been continued for some time, provisions began to fail, which induced Morelos to make a sally, in the hope that this might enable the parties of guerrillas, which were harassing the besiegers in the rear, to convey provisions into the town. On the night of the 23d of April, field-marshal Matamoros, with one hundred horse, forced the enemy's line, but no supplies were procured by the movement. The town not being able to hold out much longer, for the want of provisions, as a last effort, Morelos attacked the enemy's camp on the 27th, aided by the guerrillas; but the patriots were repulsed, with the loss of nearly one thousand men. After the siege had lasted seventy-five days, the precise time of that of Mexico, when taken by Cortes, and all hopes of obtaining provisions being extinguished, Morelos resolved to evacuate the place, and on the night of the 2d of May, 1811, the independents marched out of the town, together with most of its inhabitants. A corps of 2000 infantry formed the advance, next 250 horsemen, followed by nearly 5000 lancers and slingers, between whom and the rear guard, which consisted of a corps of fusileers, was placed the inhabitants, comprising nearly the entire population of the town. Calleja soon discovered the movement of the independents, and commenced a spirited attack upon them, which occasioned a most shocking slaughter among the unarmed, and in a great degree unprotected inhabitants, who were fleeing for their safety. Four thousand of the patriots were slain, principally the unfortunate inhabitants of Quautla. Calleja, in his account of the slaughter, says, that the dead bodies of the enemy covered the ground for twenty miles in extent, and that he lost only twenty men.

Morelos retreated to the town of Chilapa, which he took by storm; Tehuacan next yielded to him, and Orizaba shared the same fate. Here he set fire to the tobacco in the royal magazines, of the value of several millions of dollars. On the 25th of November Morelos attacked and captured the town of Antequera, the capital of the intendency of Oaxaca, where the patriot officers, Palacios, Tinoco, Lopez, and Armenta, had been shot by the royalists. Morelos resolved to retaliate, and executed, on the spot, lieutenant-general Gonzales Saravier, brigadier-general Bonavia, and two colonels, of the Spanish prisoners in his pos-

session. The remains of Lopez and Armenta were then disinterred, conveyed in triumph and deposited in the cathedral. Morelos soon after captured Acapulco, and a numerous corps of guerrillas under Guadaloupe Victoria, stationed at different positions between Xalapa and Vera Cruz, cut off the communication between the latter place and the capital.

Rayon having made an unsuccessful attack on Toluca, retreated to Tenango, 54 miles southwest of Mexico, situated on a mountain, from which, in the beginning of June 1812, he was driven by the royalists, who succeeded in avoiding the batteries that defended the ascent to the town. All the prisoners, taken by the Spaniards, were shot. The national junta, which had taken refuge in the town of Zultepec, withdrew from that place, and either accompanied the army under Rayon, or remained in towns in the neighbourhood of it, and to which it afforded protection. Near the close of the year 1812, Don J. M. A. Toledo, who had been a member of the cortes in Spain for Mexico, arrived in the United States, and in conjunction with Don B. Gutierrez, then at Washington, in the capacity of commissioner, or agent, from the new government in Mexico, to the government of the United States, formed a plan for invading the eastern provinces of New Spain, from the United States. They engaged some citizens of the United States to join the expedition, and set out for the *Provincias Interas*: and having entered the Spanish territories, were re-enforced by some guerrillas; they obtained some advantages over the royalists, and took San Antonio de Bejar, the capital of the province of Texas. But they were attacked in January, 1813, and completely dispersed by Don N. Arredondy, military commander of the internal provinces. Toledo made his escape to the United States. An attack was made by Morelos on Valladolid in December, 1813; but the royalists being re-enforced by a body of troops under Llano, the independents were defeated, and retreated to Pascuaro, whither the royalists pursued them, and an engagement took place on the 7th of January, 1814. The battle having commenced before the dawn of light in the morning, unfortunately two divisions of Morelos' troops fought each other until the appearance of light discovered to them the fatal mistake, which paralyzed all their efforts, and rendered them an easy conquest to the enemy. Matamoros, Morelos' lieutenant, a very active and brave officer, and seven hundred men were made prisoners. Morelos made every effort to save Matamoros, and offered to exchange for him, and his staff, five hundred Spaniards which Matamoros had himself taken a short time before. But the bloodthirsty royalist general declined this offer; and immediately ordered Matamoros and the seven hundred prisoners shot, which he must have known would expose

the lives of the patriots a death.

The army conducted the revolution, Rayon, however, proved himself a fortified royalist.

In his opinion a congression at Valladolid declared the congression of Valladolid the people's decree, joy the increased decree following, should or refused the estate to it, increased any sed any underg defeated between

Many governments and arms of the Gulf of the interior ledo and at Elpu which v retire in the inhab

The



the lives of the Spanish prisoners, in the possession of the patriots at Acapulco, whom Morelos by way of retaliation put to death.

The Spaniards at this time had a powerful force; the royal army consisted of four strong divisions, and from the vigorous conduct of Calleja, who was now appointed viceroy, they drove the revolutionists from the principal part of the country. Morelos, Rayon, Doctor Cos, and some others of the patriot chiefs, however, kept the field, and occupied a considerable part of the provinces of Guanajuato, Valladolid, and Zacatecas; Liceaga fortified a position on the Lake Chapala, where he repulsed the royalists in several attacks made to dislodge him.

In hopes to revive the spirits of the inhabitants, Morelos called a congress, consisting of forty members, which opened its session at Chilpanzingo, 90 miles south of Mexico, and was afterward removed to Ario, about 130 miles from the capital, where it declared Mexico independent, and constituted a triplicate executive, consisting of Morelos, Liceaga, and Cos. From thence the congress was transferred to Apatzingan, in the province of Valladolid.—There, on the 23d of October, 1814, they offered to the people a democratic constitution, and on the 25th issued a decree, prescribing the oath of allegiance to all who were to enjoy the benefits of the new government. These proceedings increased the rage of the royal governors, and the constitution and decree were publicly burnt at Mexico on the 25th of May following, and the punishment of death denounced against all who should retain in their possession any copies of the constitution, or refuse to deliver them to the government. Morelos found that the establishment of a congress, and the resignation of his power to it, instead of promoting, injured the cause, and greatly embarrassed his operations. When he, or any of the generals, proposed any military plan of action, the long discussion which it must undergo in the congress, not only occasioned delay, but often defeated the object, and finally led to mutual jealousy and distrust between the civil and military authorities.

Many privateers were fitted out under the authority of the new government, which supplied the armies of the patriots with arms and ammunition, through the port of Boquilla de Piedra, on the Gulf of Mexico. Being no longer able to maintain himself in the intendency of Valladolid, and receiving intelligence that Toledo and general Humbert had arrived with arms and ammunition at Elpuente del Rey, situated between Xalapa and Vera Cruz, which was fortified by the independents, Morelos determined to retire into that province, and the congress and a large portion of the inhabitants resolved to accompany him.

The expedition had more the appearance of a large caravan,

or the migratory incursions of those nations of the north of Europe, which overran the Roman empire, than that of a regular army on its march. The royalists pursued and hovered round this vast multitude, armed and unarmed, but made no general attack. Morelos had separated himself from the main army, to cover the retreat, and with a body of cavalry lay at a place called *Tepecuacilco*, of which the royalists obtaining information by their spies, attacked him by surprise, and after a short conflict, he was defeated and made prisoner, on the 5th of November, 1815. Morelos was carried to Mexico, deprived of his clerical orders, accused of heresy, but acquitted of that charge by the inquisition. On the 22d of December, he was shot in the back as a traitor, in the village of San Christobal, 18 miles from the capital, the viceroy not daring to execute the sentence in the city, for fear it would excite the people to rise.

The congress convened at the city of Tehuacan, in the province of Puebla, where Teran, an independent officer, commanded a considerable body of troops. Here, on the 17th of November, they sent to Calleja a despatch, imploring him to spare the valuable life of Morelos, which he did not condescend to answer. The loss of Morelos was irreparable; the congress had great difficulty in supplying his place as a member, and president of the executive department; the place was demanded by Teran, whom the congress did not seem disposed to appoint, and serious disputes arose. Teran being provoked, and taking advantage of the existing disputes, dissolved the congress by force, in December, which arbitrary act proved very fatal to the cause of the patriots. There was no longer any national authority, unity of power, or concert of action; but the military officers in the different provinces acted as independent chiefs, and the war languished until the arrival of general Mina, in the autumn of 1816. Mina was a nephew of the celebrated general of that name, so distinguished for his patriotic devotion to his country, and the constitutional cause in Spain, and the long and successful resistance he made against the French and the Spanish royalists. He sailed from Liverpool with a small expedition, in May, 1816, having 7000 stand of arms, and equipages for 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry, and arrived in the United States in June. Here he obtained some officers, and additional muskets, some pecuniary aid from Baltimore and New-Orleans, to help out the expedition, and sailed for the Gulf of Mexico. Having suffered much in the passage from unfavourable weather and disease, he landed at Galvestown in November, where he was joined by Aury, the commander of the privateers in that quarter, and by some of the inhabitants. Hastily organizing his forces, he proceeded to Soto Murina, and entered the place without opposition. Here he constructed a fort,

and left  
and on  
the cou

At th  
no resis  
cept in  
rillas, in  
ceeded,  
vicero  
tempte  
cruel an  
tranqui  
tion, he  
concilia  
fidence  
cess, an  
that par  
pressed  
the cou  
whole f  
counte  
Valle d  
no stay  
sious t  
14th of  
was att  
in num  
gallant  
enemy  
Mina p  
ed the b  
on the  
though  
the 24t  
of the i  
His tro  
hardshi  
young,  
ings an  
Mina a  
he wro  
them w  
vices in  
Torres  
Min  
the vic

and left a small garrison for the protection of his military stores, and on the 24th of May commenced his march for the interior of the country.

At this time the revolution was at its lowest ebb, and little or no resistance was openly made to the Spanish government, except in the internal provinces; there were, however, some guerrillas, in other parts, that kept the field. Calleja had been succeeded, as viceroy, by Don Juan R. de Apadoca; and the new viceroy departed from the policy of his predecessors, who had attempted to govern solely by fear and terror. Sensible that the cruel and bloody career of Calleja was not calculated to restore tranquillity to a distracted country, where all was war and desolation, he resolved to try a different line of conduct, and attempt to conciliate the affections of the inhabitants, and to regain their confidence. This conciliatory policy was attended with great success, and almost put an end to the revolution, in the capital and that part of Mexico. But the spirit of independence was suppressed, not extinguished, and it was revived by the invasion of the country by Mina. When he commenced his march, his whole force, including officers, was 308 men; with which he encountered a body of the enemy on the 8th of June, 1817, near Valle del Mais, routed them, and entered the town. He made no stay, but continued his march with great expedition, being desirous to unite with the independents in the interior, and on the 14th of June he encamped at the hacienda Peotillas. Here he was attacked by a force greatly superior, but his heroic band, few in number but brave in spirit, directed and encouraged by their gallant leader, not only defended themselves, but compelled the enemy to abandon the field with a heavy loss. In this action Mina proved himself to be a brave and skilful officer, and acquired the highest confidence of his followers. Continuing his march, on the 18th he stormed and took the town of Real del Pinos, although defended by a garrison exceeding his own force; and on the 24th of June he reached Sombrero, where he found the forces of the independents, having marched 660 miles in thirty-two days. His troops had endured the greatest fatigue, and almost every hardship and privation; but being animated by their commander, young, gallant, and popular, who shared himself in all their sufferings and wants, no murmurs or complaints were heard. When Mina arrived at Sombrero, he had 269 men, rank and file. Here he wrote to the junta which had been established, acquainting them with his object in invading the country, and offering his services in the cause of independence; he also wrote to Padre de Torres, who was regarded as commander-in-chief of the patriots.

Mina learnt that a body of royalists, amounting to 700, were in the vicinity, and leaving the fort under the command of Don Pe-

dro Moreno, he marched in conjunction with a guerrilla, commanded by Ortis, of 100 men, to meet the enemy. His whole force amounted to 400 men, with which he did not hesitate to engage the royalists, drawn up at the hacienda de los Llanos. So spirited and vigorous was the charge of the independents, led on by Mina, that the enemy yielded before them and fled in disorder, with the loss of half their number left on the field. After the troops were refreshed by a few days repose at Sombrero, Mina and Moreno penetrated as far as Xaral, 60 miles from Guanaxuato, and surprised and took the place, in which they found immense booty.

On his return to Sombrero, Mina received intelligence of the surrender of Soto la Marina to the royalists, commanded by Arredondo, governor of the internal provinces. Following up their success, the Spaniards invested Sombrero. The patriots made an obstinate defence; but it being evident the place could not hold out much longer, Mina left the fort and proceeded to general Torres, in hopes of obtaining some troops for the relief of the besieged, in which he did not succeed. A few days after he left the place, the patriots were compelled to evacuate it, and had no other means of escape but by cutting their way through the lines of the enemy. Fifty only survived, who joined their leader at Los Remedios, the headquarters of general Torres. The royalists under general Linan, marched against Remedios, and invested the place on the 31st of August, which was defended by Torres, assisted by some of Mina's officers. Mina, at the head of a body of cavalry, marched toward Guanaxuato, and captured the hacienda of Biscocho, and the town of San Luis la Paz. He also advanced against the town of San Miguel, and commenced an attack upon it, but retired on receiving information that a strong force of the enemy was marching to the relief of the place. He retreated to the valle de Santiago, where he was joined by many patriots, so that he soon was at the head of one thousand cavalry. With this force Mina set out for the relief of Remedios, but learning that the besiegers were stronger than he had supposed, he deemed his force insufficient for the purpose, and retired to the mountains near Guanaxuato, being pursued by Orrantia. The Spaniards carried on the siege of Remedios with great vigour; yet Mina continually harassed them with his cavalry, and cut off their supplies. But at length he was attacked by Orrantia at the hacienda of La Caxa, and defeated with a heavy loss. He retired to a small town called New Puebla, twelve miles from the scene of action, and attempted to rally the fugitives, who had escaped, but with little success, as most of them returned to their homes. In this forlorn condition he proceeded to Xauxilla, to obtain from the government of the independents, which was then

fixed at  
tions.

ble oppo  
with a s  
valle de  
Xalapa  
of royal  
rapid mo  
of the ro  
proceede  
to an obs  
ed some  
men, wit  
naxuato,  
been fore  
machiner  
men to th  
der his in  
intrepid y  
surprised  
nadito, o  
gave ord  
to the he  
Remedio  
Novembe  
joy amon  
important  
honoured  
Orrantia  
great a s

The ro  
siege of  
evacuate  
The evac  
the garris  
the town,  
were inv

The de  
garrison,  
pendence  
tions for  
The tow  
of the re  
and the  
defended

fixed at that place, some troops to resume his military operations. He proposed attacking Guanaxuato; and after considerable opposition to his plan it was agreed to, and he was supplied with a small body of troops. With this force he marched to the valle de Santiago, where he was re-enforced by a few men from Xalapa, waiting to join him; but the approach of a detachment of royalists compelled him to withdraw from the valley. By a rapid movement through the mountains, he descended in the rear of the royalists, and marched to La Caxa; and from thence he proceeded by a rapid march across the country during the night, to an obscure place called La Mina de la Luz. Here he received some re-enforcements, which increased his little army to 1400 men, with which he did not hesitate to attack the city of Guanaxuato, although entirely destitute of artillery. As might have been foreseen, the attack was unsuccessful, and after burning the machinery of the mine of Valenciana, he retired, and ordered his men to their different stations, retaining sixty or seventy only under his immediate command. The bold career of this brave and intrepid young officer and patriot was soon terminated. He was surprised and captured by the Spanish general Orrantia, at Venadito, on the 27th of September, 1817. Apadoca the viceroy gave orders for his immediate execution, and he was conducted to the headquarters of Linan, commanding the royal army before Remedios, where he was condemned, and shot on the 11th of November.\* The capture of Mina not only occasioned great joy among the royal chiefs in Mexico, but was regarded as so important an event by the Spanish government, that Apadoca was honoured with the title of *Conde del Venadito*, and Linan and Orrantia received marks of distinction for having rendered so great a service to their country.

The royalists now directed all their efforts in prosecuting the siege of Remedios; and Torres finding his ammunition failing, evacuated the place on the night of the 1st of January, 1818. The evacuation was so unskillfully conducted, that nearly all of the garrison were killed or made prisoners, and the inhabitants of the town, of all ages and both sexes, unarmed and unprotected, were involved in one common ruin, and nearly all massacred.

The death of Mina, the fall of Remedios, and the loss of the garrison, presaged the speedy overthrow of the cause of independence, and encouraged the royalists to redouble their exertions for the consummation of an object so devoutly to be desired. The town and fortress of Xauxilla, the seat of the government of the revolutionists, was invested by 1000 men under Aguirre; and the place was compelled to surrender, after being gallantly defended for three months. The government was removed into

the province of Valladolid, where it was surprised in the month of February, 1818, by a party of royalists, and the president made prisoner. The popular government, however, still maintained a precarious existence, its members being obliged to remove from place to place, to avoid falling into the hands of the Spaniards, having no troops sufficient for their protection. To increase their difficulties, they were involved in civil dissensions. Torres, after the fall of Remedios, had conducted in so capricious and tyrannical a manner, that it had been found necessary to deprive him of his situation as commander-in-chief, by a formal decree, which he resisted. Don Juan Arragon, a French officer, who came into the country with Mina, was appointed to succeed Torres, and both parties had recourse to force, to settle the dispute. The approach of the royalists ended this unhappy contest, and Torres was obliged to yield, and place himself under the protection of the government. This occurred in July, 1819, and from this period the war languished every where; the royalists occupied all the fortresses, and every town, and the revolutionary party appeared to be almost entirely crushed. General Guerrero, however, a brave and enterprising officer, Arago, and a few others, continued to keep the field at the head of guerrillas, and roamed over the mountains; and Guadaloupe Victoria, an assumed name, but one which has since become illustrious in Mexico, after long maintaining himself in the intendency of Vera Cruz, as the only resource left, disbanded his troops, and sought refuge in the mountains from royal vengeance, by which means his life was preserved for the redemption of his country.

In 1821, after the revolution in Spain, deputies were sent from Mexico to the cortes at Madrid, to propose terms of accommodation to the new government. On the 3d of May the subject was brought before the cortes, by count Ferrero, which resulted in a reference to a committee consisting of deputies of the Peninsula, and of America, who, in conjunction with the executive, were to consider and propose such measures as they might deem best calculated to "terminate the dissensions which prevailed in the various parts of America." Whilst the subject was before this committee, news arrived of the insurrection of Iturbide. The discussions which this event occasioned, enabled the American deputies to show to the cortes the impracticability of the transatlantic possessions of the monarchy being governed by the same system and laws as the Peninsula. The Mexican deputies offered a resolution, instructing the viceroy of New Spain to propose to Iturbide a suspension of hostilities until the project of a government for America could be decided on, which was rejected.

The committee devoted their attention to the subject with zeal and assiduity corresponding with its importance. They had fre-

quent co  
their mu  
the colo  
utter dis  
further a  
mittee r  
zeal of  
as soon  
deem ca  
vinces.  
ican dep  
another  
that Am  
Guatem  
nezuela  
each of  
certain l  
division  
named b  
responsi  
of the k  
taries, o  
one of v  
to be a  
commer  
one colo  
a large a  
was bro  
participa  
of their  
with Spa

\* See  
Madrid, t



quent conferences with the ministers, and at length succeeded to their mutual satisfaction in maturing a plan of government for the colonies, which, on being submitted to the king, met with his utter disapprobation : this caused the ministers to decline acting further at that time upon the subject. In consequence the committee reported that nothing could then be done but to excite the zeal of the ministers, and request them to present to the cortes, as soon as possible, the fundamental measures which they may deem calculated to complete the pacification of the revolted provinces. But this unsuccessful result did not discourage the Mexican deputies from submitting to the cortes and the executive another plan for the government of America. This plan was, that America should be divided into three parts. Mexico and Guatemala were to form one jurisdiction, New Grenada and Venezuela another ; and Peru, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, the third ; each of these jurisdictions were to have a cortes, possessing, with certain limitations, the same powers as that of Spain. In each division the executive power was to be exercised by a delegate, named by the king, removable by him at pleasure, and wholly irresponsible to the American cortes. He was to act in the name of the king, having the power to appoint four ministers or secretaries, one of the interior of finance, one of justice and grace, one of war, and one of marine. In each government there was to be a supreme judicial tribunal and council of state, and the commerce of Spain and America was to be regulated as between one colony and another. Mexico stipulated also to advance Spain a large amount of money, as a gratuity, but further negotiation was broken off by the Colombian commissioners disclaiming any participation in the scheme, and insisting on the acknowledgment of their independence as the only basis of any accommodation with Spain.\*

\* See Letter of Mr. Brent, charge de affairs of the United States at Madrid, to the Secretary of State.

## CHAPTER X.

*Royal authority re-established—influence of the clergy—their views changed by the revolution in Spain—second revolution planned—plan of Iguala proclaimed—viceroy deposed—disaffection of the people—Victoria joins Iturbide, who takes Queretlaro—success of the revolution—arrival of O'Donoju—treaty—Mexico the capital surrendered to the revolutionists—cortes assembled—different parties—regency appointed—disputes between Iturbide and the cortes—Iturbide declared emperor—ambition of Iturbide—proposes to establish military tribunals—project defeated by the cortes.*

THE struggle might now be considered as terminated, and the royal authority as re-established throughout Mexico. This unfortunate issue of the revolution was mainly to be attributed to the opposition of the clergy, whose influence had always controlled the conduct of a large majority of the inhabitants. When the revolution first broke out, and the standard of independence was unfurled by Hidalgo, the shouts of liberty spread from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, until they reached the shores of the two oceans; and the whole country was electrified by the patriotic flame. The people were evidently ripe for a general rising; but this noble spirit was checked by the clergy, who viewed in a revolution, originating from, and to be sustained by the people, if not the overthrow of their power, at least great danger of it, and they immediately sounded the tocsin of alarm. The church was in danger, the inquisition, and the Roman apostolic catholic religion. All the engines of a powerful hierarchy were put in requisition, and all the spiritual weapons of the church directed against the revolution. Disloyalty to the Spanish government was not only treason, but heresy, the greatest of all sins. Ancient prejudices were renewed, the scruples of the conscientious appealed to, the fears of some were excited, and the ignorance and superstition of the many taken advantage of, to oppose the progress of the revolution, and aid the cause of royalty. The want of an efficient government, and unity of authority, dissensions among the patriot chiefs, and the want of discipline in their armies, and experience in their commanders, were the causes of many of the disasters which retarded the progress of the revolution, and contributed to its unfortunate termination; yet with

all these  
been ch  
dices be  
dence, t  
champi  
patrioti  
ers of th  
earth, th

But ev  
were wh  
rate stru  
the coun  
incredibl  
perated t  
from Spa  
gence an  
their righ  
yoke. I  
acquired  
their disa  
revolution  
through  
could har  
which we  
been brow  
long have  
have soon

It is a  
first revo  
This caus  
denounce  
without  
their mo  
broke out  
various in  
the estate  
hood, alar  
ed their a  
tred. TH  
an attach  
this was e  
free, they  
and, from  
The cort  
patriotic  
sive syste

Vol. I.

all these difficulties, had not the rising current of popular feeling been checked by the influence of the clergy, and religious prejudices been brought to oppose the cause of liberty and independence, the first revolution would have succeeded; and its early champions, instead of being rewarded for their exertions and patriotism with a halter, would have been viewed as the redeemers of their country, and have received the highest honours on earth, the homage of a free and grateful people.

But even as it was, we are not to suppose that their exertions were wholly lost, and that their blood flowed in vain. A desperate struggle of ten years, for liberty, in which the best blood of the country had been spilt, and the creoles and Indians suffered incredibly from the cruel tyranny of the Spanish rulers, had exasperated the people against their oppressors, alienated their minds from Spain, shaken ancient prejudices, and diffused much intelligence among the inhabitants, which enabled them to understand their rights, and rendered them more uneasy under the Spanish yoke. During this long contest too, much experience had been acquired by the patriots, and they had discovered the causes of their disasters and miscarriages. Notwithstanding, therefore, the revolution had failed, it had scattered the seeds of independence through the valleys, and over the mountains of Mexico, which could hardly fail, in due time, of springing up and producing fruit which would ripen to maturity. Had not the second revolution been brought about in the manner it was, tranquillity could not long have been preserved, as the spirit of independence would have soon disclosed itself among the people.

It is a curious fact, that the same cause which overthrew the first revolution in Mexico, should have produced the second. This cause was the exertions and influence of the clergy; they denounced the revolution at first, and afterward encouraged it, without however becoming advocates for liberty, or changing their motives. The constitutional revolution in Spain, which broke out in the isle of Leon, the establishment of the cortes, the various innovations made by them, particularly the confiscating the estates and reforming some of the higher orders of the priesthood, alarmed the clergy in Spanish America, and at once changed their attachment for the mother country into jealousy and hatred. Their affection for Spain proved to be nothing more than an attachment for its ecclesiastical despotism, and the moment this was endangered, and there was a prospect of Spain becoming free, they lost all regard and veneration for the parent country, and, from being its zealous advocates, became its open opposers. The cortes were openly denounced from the pulpit, and their patriotic measures, for the reformation of a corrupt and oppressive system, were declared to be tyrannical, and calculated to

overthro, all civil order, and destroy the holy catholic religion. Considering the government of Spain as now being in the hands of disorganizers and impious men, they declared that a separation was the only means of preserving the catholic religion ; and not only openly advocated a revolt against the Spanish government, but assisted in devising and preparing the plan for giving effect to the revolution. The new order of things in the Spanish peninsula not only changed the views of the clergy in Mexico, but many of the European Spaniards, who had been the most zealous opponents of the revolution, were so indignant at the conduct of the cortes, and so hostile to the constitutional system, as to prefer the separation of Mexico from Spain, to its being governed by the constitution of the parent country, and falling under the dominion of the cortes.

The Spanish revolution, which entirely failed of securing the freedom of the peninsula, was the means of establishing the independence and liberty of Mexico ; and had the singular effect of converting the clergy and many of the European Spaniards, in America, who had been the most violent opponents of the revolution, into its most zealous advocates. A considerable part of the two classes which supported the royal cause, having turned against it, it had no other reliance but the officers of the government and the military. The Spaniards, and the clergy who were at this time in favour of a revolution, had very different views from the creoles ; the first class wished for the independence of Mexico, in hopes to preserve in America that system of despotism, which they perceived overthrown in Spain, and thus secure a refuge for Ferdinand VII. ; the clergy were in favour of a separation, from an apprehension that the reforms and restrictions of the prerogatives of the priesthood, which had been made in Spain by the constitutionalists, would be introduced into America ; whilst the creoles and Indians were anxious to throw off the Spanish yoke, and thereby avoid its oppressions, and to establish a free government. The latter, however, had little agency at first in the second revolution, as it was planned and executed by those who, though friendly to the independence of the country, were opposed to its enjoying the benefits of liberty and free institutions, securing equal rights to all classes of the people.

The principal difficulty with the clergy and Europeans who were in favour of a revolution, was to select a proper military leader, as an instrument of carrying their plan into execution. At length they fixed on Don Augustin Iturbide, who, although a creole, had been zealous in the royal cause; and, as an officer of the king, had fought against the independents with as much animosity as any of the Spanish chiefs. He had been successful in his military career, and had acquired the reputation of a brave and

faithful  
as he  
desig  
about  
tain,  
blow  
attach  
their  
the e  
him a  
fit ins  
the c  
narch

TH  
hide  
voy o  
nilla  
stead  
junct  
vicer  
claim  
procl  
lution  
and  
genti  
of th  
revol  
to th  
Igual  
to th  
appr  
vicer  
of in  
shou  
mon  
to th  
take  
be e  
also  
the i  
unic  
like

\*  
as re  
nal r

faithful officer; and his situation at that time was very important, as he had been appointed by the viceroy to command the army designed to attack and disperse several popular chiefs, who, with about 1500 adherents, had fortified an almost inaccessible mountain, between Mexico and Acapulco, and thus to give the last blow to the revolution. The European Spaniards considered him attached to their party; the clergy thought he would maintain their power and privileges, and all the enemies of liberty and of the equality of the different classes of the population, regarded him as opposed to the establishment of a free government, and a fit instrument to bring about a revolution, which should separate the colonies from Spain, and at the same time maintain the monarchical system and the power of the hierarchy.\*

The Spaniards and priests engaged in the plot supplied Iturbide with some funds, which he augmented by seizing on a convoy of specie of nearly a million of dollars belonging to the Manilla merchants, whilst on his march against the insurgents. Instead of attacking the independents, under Guerrero, he formed a junction with them, and attempted to explain this event to the viceroy, by representing that the patriots had united with him, claiming the protection of the government in pursuance of the proclamation which he had issued. In the mean time, the revolutionists in the capital had despatched agents to all the provinces, and had been extremely active in disseminating revolutionary sentiments; and the great body of the clergy, together with many of the Spaniards, now employing their influence in favour of a revolution, in a short time the minds of the people were prepared to throw off the Spanish yoke. The united armies proceeded to Iguala, where on the 22d of February, 1821, Iturbide submitted to the officers a plan of independence, which being unanimously approved of, copies of it were immediately despatched to the viceroy and the governors of all the intendancies. This project of independence, called the plan of Iguala, proposed that Mexico should be independent of Spain, and be governed by a limited monarchy, the crown first to be offered to Ferdinand, and then to the other members of his family in regular succession, subject to the condition that the monarch must reside in Mexico, and take an oath to preserve inviolate the constitution which might be established by a congress, to be called for that purpose. It also guaranteed the security of the Roman catholic religion, and the immunities of the secular and regular clergy; the indissoluble union of the European Spaniards and the creoles, or natives; it likewise provided for the security of the rights of person and pro-

\* Different views have been given of the origin of this revolution so far as respects the part acted by Iturbide; had he proved a patriot, his original motives would have been considered as pure.

erty, and abolished all distinctions of classes; Spaniards, Creoles, Indians, Africans, and the various casts, were to be citizens of the monarchy, and alike eligible to places of honour and emolument. It provided that, for the support of this new system, an army was to be raised, entitled the army of the three guarantees, to preserve the holy apostolic catholic religion, the independence of Mexico, and the union between the Spaniards in Mexico and the Mexicans.

The appearance of the plan of Iguala opened the eyes of Apadoca, and expelled from his mind every doubt as to the defection of Iturbide, and his revolutionary designs. He immediately prepared to counteract the plans of the revolutionists, and to maintain the authority of the government, but was arrested in his exertions by the royalists, who thinking him not possessed of sufficient nerve, or wanting in military talents, for such a crisis, deposed him, and elevated to his station Don Francisco Novella, an officer of artillery. Iturbide's plan of the revolution was dissatisfactory to the European Spaniards, who were alarmed at tying the hands of the monarch, and calling a congress to impose on him a constitution, and also at the principle of equality among the different classes, as proposed. The rights and interests of the clergy being sufficiently attended to, they were satisfied with this plan, and the Europeans were obliged to acquiesce. They were also informed that the calling of a congress to establish a constitution was a necessary feature in the plan to reconcile the creoles to it, without whose assistance they could not expect to succeed.

This plan was submitted by Iturbide to his officers, on the first of March, 1821, they being requested to express their opinions freely on the subject, and assured of the privilege of acting as they saw fit. The plan was unanimously approved of, and such was their enthusiasm that it was proposed to create Iturbide lieutenant-general, and march immediately to the capital to carry it into effect. And although at this period Iturbide dreamed of "sceptres, diadems, and royal state," yet, like Cesar, he pushed away the crown; he not only declined the promotion, but declared, that the greatest moderation ought to be observed, and that it was his intention to carry his plan into effect, if possible, without resorting to hostilities. The next day Iturbide proposed to the army an oath to support the proposed plan, which, having been taken, he addressed them in the following language:—

"Soldiers—You have this day sworn to preserve the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion; to protect the union of Europeans and Americans; to effect the independence of this empire; and, on certain conditions, to obey the king. This act will be applauded by foreign nations; your services will be gratefully acknowledged by your fellow-citizens; and your names will be in-

scri  
title  
me,  
the  
serv  
desi

T  
sam  
fect  
with

T  
were  
to a  
the  
plan  
be a  
wou  
best  
the  
stan  
popu  
give  
ever

T  
bein  
of th  
draw  
revo  
forc  
the p  
with  
try.  
the i  
was  
of th  
Pot  
took  
uato  
how  
oppo  
Igual  
wher  
ber  
Gua  
sista  
fuge

V



scribed in the temple of immortality. Yesterday I refused the title of lieutenant-general, which you would have conferred upon me, and now I renounce *this* distinction, (tearing from his sleeves the bands of lace, which distinguished a colonel in the Spanish service.) To be ranked as your companion fills all my ambitious desires," &c.

This address shows, that the arts of a military usurper are the same, whether a Cesar, a Bonaparte, or a Spanish colonel—affected moderation, pretended patriotism, and flattering the soldiers with notions of companionship and equality.

The Americans disapproved of the plan of Iguala, as they were opposed to a monarchical form of government, and still more to a prince of the house of Bourbon; but nevertheless favoured the revolution, considering that they should not be bound by this plan, and believing that a convention, elected by the people, would be authorized to depart from it, and to form such a constitution as would be most acceptable to the great body of the people, and best adapted to their condition. Many also foresaw that, when the wheels of the revolution were once set in motion, circumstances would be likely to occur, calculated to give to them a popular direction; as experience has demonstrated that those who give the first impulse to revolutions cannot always control their events, or govern their results.

The disaffection of the inhabitants to the Spanish government being almost universal, had only been repressed by the influence of the clergy, and that powerful class having now not only withdrawn their opposition, but taken an active part in favour of the revolution, it was accomplished without a severe struggle, by the force of public opinion. It was a *revolution* in the *sentiments* of the people, so important and so universal, as to produce, almost without violence, a change in the political condition of the country. The spirit of freedom spread with astonishing rapidity; in the intendancies of Vera Cruz and Puebla, the standard of revolt was raised by Bravo, Santana, and Herrera, who took possession of the cities of Orizaba, Cordova, and Xalapa; and in San Luis Potosi, colonel Bustamete declaring in favour of independence, took possession of several cities, and among the number Guanajuato, where he was joined by the garrison. In some provinces, however, the royalists made a show of defence of the old, and opposition to the new order of things. Iturbide proceeded from Iguala to the *Baxio*, lying between Guanajuato and the capital, where he was joined by several provincial governors, and a number of military officers. At San Juan del Rio, he was joined by Guadalupe Victoria, who after keeping the field until further resistance became useless, had dismissed his forces, and sought refuge in the mountains of Vera Cruz, where he had been concealed

since 1819. This celebrated chief, who had been engaged in the revolution from its commencement, and become equally distinguished for his activity and bravery as a warrior, and for his patriotic devotion to the cause of liberty and the independence of his country, possessed in an eminent degree the confidence of those engaged in the first revolution, and of all the friends of freedom. His joining Iturbide had great influence with the liberal party; it removed their doubts, dispelled their apprehensions, and inspired them with confidence to afford their zealous support to the revolutionary cause. Iturbide, sensible of the importance of possessing Queretaro, which from its position is in some measure the key of the interior provinces, marched against it, and entered the town without opposition. There he divided his army of the three guarantees, as it was called; Victoria at the head of one division marched directly toward the capital, whilst Iturbide with the other moved upon Puebla, where he was received without opposition, and the place immediately surrendered to him.

In this stage of the revolution, the new viceroy, general O'Donoju, arrived at Vera Cruz from Spain, intrusted with the government of the country. Finding that all was lost; that the country had not only declared its independence, but was already in the enjoyment of it, as the capital, Vera Cruz, and Acapulco, were the only places in the possession of the Spanish government, or subject to its authority, and these without garrisons sufficient to stand a siege, he proposed to Iturbide to open a negotiation, on the basis of the plan of Iguala. This proposal having been accepted, the parties met at Cordova and negotiated a treaty, the principal provisions of which were, that Spain should acknowledge the independence of Mexico, and that the latter should send commissioners to the Spanish peninsula, to offer the crown to Ferdinand VII., and that in the mean time a provisional government should be established, consisting of a regency and a junta; and that a cortes was to be elected and assembled, to form a constitution for the new monarchy.\*

At this time the capital had not surrendered, but was besieged by Victoria, and general O'Donoju stipulated to use his authority with the commander of the Spanish troops, to induce him to evacuate it. A request was made and refused; but the commander at the same time suggested that he considered general O'Donoju as his superior officer by virtue of his appointment, and that he should obey his orders as commander-in-chief of the royal forces in New Spain. Orders were accordingly given for the garrison to capitulate, which they did, and marched out of the capital with the honours of war, and repaired to the town of Toluca, to wait for transports to convey them to Spain.

\* See the treaty concluded the 20th of August, 1821.

All  
sessio  
memb  
of five  
appoint  
ry of  
The  
was c  
of a c  
the b  
fided  
dignit  
one n  
one t  
ties in  
repre  
to the  
class  
with  
subm  
ed.  
prese  
that  
elect  
one t  
popul  
the p  
malec  
racy,  
princ  
The  
public  
them  
TH  
capit  
ganiz  
serve  
instal  
plan.  
have  
diate  
la, th  
bide.  
Ferd  
lution  
adhe

All opposition being at an end, and the independents in possession of the capital, a provisional junta, consisting of thirty-six members, was created, which appointed a regency or executive, of five persons, of which Iturbide was president. He was also appointed commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and a salary of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars assigned to him.

These preliminary matters being disposed of, the public attention was directed to the assembling of the cortes, and the formation of a constitution. A plan was submitted to the junta by Iturbide, the basis of which was, that the legislative power should be confided to two chambers, one to be composed of twelve or fifteen dignitaries of the church, the same number of officers of the army, one member from each territorial supreme court of justice, and one to be chosen from each of the city councils of the several cities in the empire; and the second chamber to be composed of representatives of the people, the election to be made according to the ratio of one deputy for every fifty thousand population; the classes represented in the first chamber to be excluded. Notwithstanding the influence of Iturbide at this time, and that he submitted his plan as emanating from the regency, it was rejected. In the project adopted, the same ratio of representation was preserved in the chamber of representatives, and it was provided that the provinces which sent more than four members, should elect one ecclesiastic; one belonging to the military class, and one to the legal profession. The proposed constitution was not popular; it was too aristocratic to be acceptable to the mass of the people, who were much dissatisfied with it. Among the malecontents, were Victoria and Bravo, who headed a conspiracy, the object of which was, to compel the junta to adopt the principles of election of the constitution of the cortes in Spain. The plot being discovered to Iturbide, he arrested the two republican generals, and several of their abettors, and imprisoned them.

The elections having taken place, the cortes assembled in the capital on the 24th of February, 1822; but previous to their organization, the members were compelled to take an oath, to preserve inviolate every article of the plan of Iguala; and after their installation, the chambers, by an unanimous vote, sanctioned that plan. But neither the oaths or votes of the members seem to have had any influence on their conduct, for the cortes were immediately divided into three parties—the friends of the plan of Iguala, the opponents of that plan, and the personal adherents of Iturbide. The first party comprised the monarchists, the friends of Ferdinand, and some liberal men who were in favour of the revolution, but who thought a moderate course the safest, and that an adherence to the plan of Iguala, would not only reconcile the Eu-

ropean Spaniards to the revolution, but check the ambitious designs of Iturbide. The republican party denied the right of Iturbide and the army to pledge the nation, and were opposed to the plan of Iguala, both on the ground of principle and policy. Thinking the nation capable of self government, they were in favour of a republic, and were alarmed at placing a prince of the house of Bourbon at the head of the government, who, having the command of the army, the influence of the clergy, the support of the royalists in the country, and of those who would be likely to emigrate from Spain, would break down every constitutional barrier to absolute power. The partisans of Iturbide wished to accumulate power in his hands, and to push him forward to the supreme authority, that through him they might acquire wealth, and aggrandize themselves. They possessed the balance of power, and acted with one party or the other, as best suited their object in advancing their leader; to prevent the republican party from establishing a democratic constitution, they voted with the Bourbonists, or friends of the plan of Iguala, and when the latter attempted to carry into effect that part of the plan, which provided for calling a prince of the house of Bourbon to the throne, they opposed it, by voting with the republicans. The greater part of the two first parties were honest in their intentions, and only differed in their views; they soon found it necessary to unite to oppose the ambitious designs of Iturbide. So dangerous is the possession of power, that this chief, who, but a short time before sustained no higher rank than a colonel in the royal army, was now bent on attaining the supreme authority. He assembled four thousand troops at Tacuba, a town about five miles from the capital, and endeavoured to overawe the cortes, and dictate to them. A joint meeting of the regency and the cortes was held, and Iturbide assumed the president's chair, to the surprise and astonishment of every one; but the cortes, asserting that it belonged to the president of their body to preside, Iturbide was obliged to yield that point. Aided by his partisans, Iturbide constantly exerted himself to extend his power, and encroach on the authority of the congress; and this struggle between the military chief and the legislative body, was terminated only by the overthrow of the latter. This contest, like that in England, between Charles I. and his parliament, and most others, between the executive and the legislature, consisted principally of a demand of money on the one part, and a refusal on the other, attended with various irritating circumstances. When the person possessing the executive power attempts to play the tyrant, the greatest obstacle usually experienced is the want of pecuniary resources, and hence the withholding of money is the most effectual check to the extension of executive power.

Itu  
solely  
any c  
Span  
throu  
the p  
which  
wishes  
bide  
it he  
the c  
would  
tende  
the c  
want  
regen  
made  
hundr  
sion o  
sand  
sand.  
Th  
army  
asper  
congr  
he ch  
cessa  
Th  
royal  
a cou  
bide  
use of  
which  
follow  
ger, a  
3d of  
joint  
ber of  
This  
that I  
the re  
Yane  
the e  
leagu  
"He  
and r

Iturbide, like Bonaparte and other military usurpers, relied solely on the army, as he was sensible that he could not carry any considerable part of the people with him of any party. The Spanish royalists would not favour his design of usurping the throne of Mexico, which belonged to the house of Bourbon; and the patriots did not wish to exchange one master for another, which would destroy all the advantages of the revolution. They wished the country to be *independent*, that it might be *free*. Iturbide had increased the army and raised its pay, and to maintain it he made constant demands on the congress for money. Had the cortes been disposed to furnish the supplies demanded, it would not have been in their power, as the protracted war, attended with immense expense and devastation, had exhausted the country. His demands were answered by complaints of the want of economy in the public expenditure, and by calling on the regency to account for the appropriations which had already been made. Iturbide, as commander-in-chief, enjoyed a salary of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars, and his father a pension of ten thousand; the salary of the ministers was eight thousand each, and the members of the cortes received three thousand.

This struggle between Iturbide and the congress occasioned the army to go unpaid; and the commander-in-chief, in order to exasperate them against the cortes, published his remonstrance to congress, exhibiting the wants and sufferings of the army, which he charged to the wilful neglect of that body to provide the necessary supplies.

The dissensions and disorders which prevailed occasioned the royal troops at Toluca, who had capitulated at Mexico, to attempt a counter-revolution. Having obtained information of this, Iturbide adopted measures to defeat it, and at the same time made use of it as a pretext for withdrawing from the capital all the troops which were well disposed toward the congress. This step was followed by a proclamation declaring that the country was in danger, and summoning the congress to assemble the next day, the 3d of April, 1822, at an early hour, with the regency. At the joint meeting held in pursuance of the summons, Yanez, a member of the regency, arose and demanded the cause of the alarm. This declaration occasioned general surprise, as it plainly showed that Iturbide had himself issued the proclamation in the name of the regency, and evidently to promote his own ambitious views. Yanez concluded by protesting against the president's engrossing the entire authority of the regency, and making use of his colleagues only as a screen to cover his own ambitious designs. "He has usurped," continued Yanez, "the sole executive power, and rendered himself absolute and despotic." Iturbide made an



indignant reply, and charged Yanez with being not only a personal enemy to him, but a traitor to his country; he also declared that this was equally true of many members of the cortes. A tumultuous and disorderly scene ensued; Iturbide was repeatedly called on to name the members to whom he alluded, and to exhibit his charges and proofs against them. He named several members most distinguished for talents and integrity, and the charges exhibited against them consisted only of their patriotic efforts to check his usurpations and ambitious designs. The cortes inquired into the charges, and unanimously acquitted the members accused, of any improper conduct, which exasperated Iturbide. These occurrences excited complaints against the regency, and petitions were presented to the cortes for the removal of the members of that body. A new appointment was made, and two of the old members only retained—Iturbide, from fear of his influence with the army, and Yanez, on account of his bold and patriotic conduct at the sitting on the 3d of April.

Alarmed at the ambitious plans of Iturbide, and the ascendancy he had gained over the military, the cortes were desirous of reducing the army to 20,000 men, and of organizing a national militia. These wise and prudent measures excited both the fears and indignation of the military chief, and he used all his influence to oppose them, and even to procure an augmentation of the army. The contest became warm, but the congress could not be intimidated or frightened out of their purpose, and they passed a decree providing for reducing the army to 20,000 men, and for organizing and calling into service a force of 30,000 militia. Iturbide and his partisans perceived that public opinion was against them, and that the reduction of the army, and the organization of a force of militia, would deprive them of all chance of success. It was therefore determined to carry their plans into immediate execution, by stimulating the soldiery to declare Iturbide emperor. Accordingly, on the night of the 18th of May, the sergeants of three regiments of the garrison in the capital assembled the soldiers, and addressed them in a manner calculated to exasperate them against the cortes, and, to give a fresh stimulus to their zeal for the interests of their leader, money was profusely distributed among them. They were then marched to Iturbide's house, and, parading in front of it, were joined by a mob of Leperos, the lowest and most worthless portion of the community, and at 10 o'clock commenced shouting, "Long live Iturbide, Augustin I. emperor of Mexico." These shouts, with intervals of firing, continued until morning. To prevent the attendance of some of the most able and influential members of the cortes at the session that morning, the conspirators caused private intimation to be conveyed to them, that their lives would not be safe should they



appear in public that day, as the troops were so exasperated against them, and in such a state of turbulence and insubordination, that it might not be in the power of the officers to restrain them from acts of violence and outrage. This disguised threat had the intended effect, and forty members of the cortes were absent when that body met, comprising the most bold and determined opponents of the usurper. Shouts, insults, and threats, assailed the cortes whilst proceeding to the hall of congress, from a mercenary and disorderly soldiery, and a mob, who filled the galleries of the hall, so as to exclude all other persons. The occurrences of the night occasioned deep anxiety and concern among the members, and much excitement was apparent. At length, order being established, one of the deputies belonging to the faction of Iturbide arose, and after adverting to the occurrences of the preceding night, and the existing disorders, observed that the voice of the people had been declared in favour of Iturbide, and that it was the duty of their representatives to obey the will of their constituents. He concluded with proposing to proceed immediately to the election of an emperor. This proposition having been expected, did not surprise the members, though it occasioned a solemn pause, which continued for several moments. At length a member arose; aware that it would be of no use directly to oppose the proposition, and, with a view to gain time, suggested a doubt as to the authority of the congress to act on the subject, as they had not been elected for that purpose, but to frame a constitution; and expressed an opinion that if the house were to proceed to an election at all, it ought not to take so important a step without first consulting the provinces. These moderate remarks occasioned instant tumult in the galleries. The soldiers and populace became outrageous, and not only vociferated, "Long live Augustin I. emperor of Mexico," but brandishing their swords and knives, threatened to put to death all the deputies who were opposed to the election of Iturbide, unless he was chosen and proclaimed emperor before one o'clock. Further opposition to a licentious soldiery and an infuriated populace, was deemed not only dangerous but unavailing, and the members of the cortes opposed to this usurpation were compelled to yield to circumstances which they could not control, and give consent to the choice of the army. The success of the conspiracy so elated the soldiers that a few days after the election they issued a manifesto, in which they triumphantly claimed the principal merit of the elevation of the emperor, and asserted that the plan was contrived and executed by themselves alone. This daring usurpation of a military chieftain, distinguished neither for his services nor his talents, was submitted to without open resistance or complaint,

and the officers of the government at the capital and in the provinces took the oath of allegiance.

There is scarcely another instance in history of a man no way distinguished as a military leader, and having no hold on the affections of the people for any distinguished or patriotic services, raising himself to the supreme power, over an extensive country. But notwithstanding the crooked counsels and open violence by which Iturbide obtained the sovereign power, had he possessed talents, and governed with moderation, such was the condition of the country, that he might have maintained his elevation for a considerable time, and possibly have established a new empire and a new dynasty. Fortunately, however, for the Mexicans, and indeed for America, the intoxication of success arising from the sudden possession of power, turned the head of Iturbide, and prepared him for his own destruction. His obvious policy would have been not only to have conciliated the people as well as the soldiers, but to have acted in concert with the cortes, and to have encouraged that body to form a constitution which might have recognised his elevation, and formed the basis of his power. His security required that he should have been content with the enjoyment of the executive power, and to have governed in conjunction with the cortes, leaving with them the responsibility of making the laws. But instead of this course he immediately attempted to render himself absolute, and kept up a constant struggle with the congress for power. He insisted on the appointment of his privy council, the judges of the supreme court, and an unqualified *veto* on all laws made by the cortes, and even on the articles of the constitution which that body was about to frame. The cortes proposed to leave the question of the veto to be determined by the constitution, and yielded to him the appointment of his council, but insisted on retaining the privilege of nominating the secretary of the council. The cortes were strenuously opposed to investing him with the right of appointing the supreme judges, that being a very dangerous power, and much exposed to be abused. During the interval that might elapse previous to the adoption of a constitution, the cortes proposed that the emperor, with the advice and consent of his council, should have the right of returning laws and proposing alterations. The emperor at first assented to these propositions; but soon changed his mind, and renewed his first pretensions; insisting that the constitution of the Spanish cortes, which had been adopted as the basis of a temporary government, conferred on him those powers. The congress had at first adopted the Spanish constitution as the basis of a government in Mexico, until a constitution could be provided; excepting such parts as were inconsistent with the inde-

pend  
the c  
the g  
It co  
sister  
tinue  
vern  
point  
unsh  
the j  
powe  
the m  
of ab  
migh  
awe  
pose  
guilt  
to th  
The  
in th  
ror, a  
a law  
the e  
mini  
sure  
and  
“  
robb  
high  
abse  
law,  
that  
miss  
not  
thou  
of ju  
into  
“  
ties  
cers  
pero  
“  
with  
and  
natio  
“  
V

pendence of Mexico, the plan of Iguala, and the decrees which the cortes might pass, as it was intended only as the outline of the government, and not to restrict the legislation of the cortes. It could not therefore invest the emperor with any power inconsistent with the decrees of the cortes. The struggle was continued between the executive and legislative branches of the government, but at length the cortes yielded to the emperor the appointment of the secretary of his council, yet continued firm and unshaken in their purpose to withhold from him the control of the judiciary, as they had reason to fear, if he possessed this power, he would elevate to the bench men who would become the mere instruments of his arbitrary purposes, to the subversion of all justice, and the danger of the liberty and lives of all who might oppose the imperial will. The emperor attempted to overawe and control the deliberations of the cortes, for which purpose his partisans and the soldiers filled the galleries, and were guilty of the most disorderly and threatening conduct, disgraceful to the government, and derogatory to the national legislation. The cortes, however, could not be intimidated, but remained firm in their purpose of resisting the arbitrary measures of the emperor, and maintaining the liberties of the people. The project of a law for the establishment of military tribunals, was prepared by the emperor and his council, and submitted to the cortes by the minister of justice. As the adoption of so extraordinary a measure could only be justified from the existence of extraordinary and alarming circumstances, the preamble to the law declared :

“ That the interruption in the administration of justice—the robberies, murders, assassinations—the banditti that infest the highways—the disorders that disturb the public tranquillity—the absence of all punishment, an impunity authorized as it were by law, clearly show that the administration of justice is paralyzed, that there are no judges, no tribunals of justice, and that the commission of crimes has gone so far that the ordinary tribunals are not sufficient to suppress them. To remedy these evils it is thought expedient to adopt a new system for the administration of justice ; and the following articles are proposed to be passed into a law :

“ 1st. That there shall be in this city, and in all the capital cities of the provinces, a special tribunal, composed of two officers of the army, and of one lawyer, to be appointed by the emperor.

“ 2d. This tribunal shall have exclusive jurisdiction, or jointly with the other judges, in all cases of conspiracy against the state, and jointly with the other judges in all cases of robbery, assassinations, and murders.

“ 3d. All appeals to be made to the captain-general of the pro-

vinces, who shall pronounce sentence after hearing the opinion of a solicitor, appointed for that purpose.

"4th. This sentence to be carried into execution whenever it agrees with that of the first tribunal; and in case of disagreement, the cause to be referred to a council of war.

"5th. The articles 287, 293, 295, 299, and 300, of the Spanish constitution to be suspended. (These provide for the habeas corpus.)

"6th. That there shall be in this capital a chief, with whatever name or title the emperor may choose to confer on him, especially charged to watch over the public security, and to exercise the most vigilant police."

The committee of congress appointed to examine and report on this project of a law, declared—

'1st. That it is contrary to the enlightened principles of those authors, who have written on the subject of government with most philosophy.

"2d. Contrary to public opinion, which all governments are bound to respect.

"3d. Contrary to the Spanish constitution, which has been adopted until a new one be formed for the empire.

"4th. Contrary to reason, which ought to guide the legislation of a people.

"5th. Contrary to the interests of the Mexican nation in its present situation."

This report was adopted unanimously, and the attempt to establish military tribunals, as a preliminary step toward military despotism, was indignantly put down.

*Tyranny  
dissolves  
people  
revolt  
for I  
Spain  
affecti  
clares  
bide r*

THE

lute in op  
and viole  
caused f  
to be arr  
against t  
the corte  
ed of the  
and was i  
cated in  
been arr  
tion, conf  
the corte  
172d artic  
arrested  
eight hou  
sion, the  
tribunal f  
charge wa  
comply w  
constitut  
be applica  
as it migh  
but would  
ber in the  
sent an ad  
tion may  
cused mig

CHAPTER XI.

*Tyrannical conduct of the emperor—his power over the congress—dissolves the congress—a junta assembled—disaffection of the people—Santana and Victoria join the republicans—spirit of revolt spreads rapidly—Iturbide resigns the crown—he embarks for Leghorn—new congress assembled—commissioners from Spain—state of the country—adoption of the constitution—disaffection in the army—Iturbide meditates a return—congress declares him a traitor and outlaw—public credit—slavery—Iturbide returns in disguise—is arrested and executed.*

THE emperor perceiving that the cortes were firm and resolute in opposing his plans, found it necessary to resort to coercion and violence; and on the night of the 26th of August, 1822, he caused fourteen of the most distinguished and intrepid members to be arrested and thrown into prison, on a charge of conspiracy against the government. Indignant at this tyrannical measure, the cortes assembled in secret session the next day, and demanded of the minister the cause of the arrests which had been made; and was informed that some of the members were actually implicated in a conspiracy, and others suspected, and that they had been arrested by authority of an article in the Spanish constitution, conferring that power on the executive. The following day the cortes sent a message to the minister, suggesting that the 172d article of the Spanish constitution provides, that all persons arrested shall be brought to trial, if they desire it, within forty-eight hours, and demanding that, in compliance with this provision, the prisoners be immediately brought before a competent tribunal for trial. To this message it was answered, that the charge was of so complicated a nature, that it was impossible to comply with the request of the cortes; and that the article of the constitution referred to spoke only of one person, and could not be applicable to several who were charged with the same crime, as it might be easy to try one person within forty-eight hours, but would be impossible to examine the charges against a number in that limited time. The congress next determined to present an address to the emperor himself, praying that the constitution may not be violated, and requesting that the deputies accused might be delivered up to them, in which case they could

constitute a tribunal for their immediate trial. At nine o'clock at night his majesty's answer was received, which repeated the interpretation given by the minister to the 172d article of the constitution, and declared that he could not consent to have the accused members tried before the tribunal which the cortes might create, until it could first be ascertained whether the members of the tribunal were not themselves implicated in the conspiracy. This communication excited much feeling, and occasioned an animated discussion, attended with severe animadversions on the conduct of the emperor and his ministers.

After continuing to assemble in secret sessions until the 12th of September, without being able either to procure the release or trial of the accused members, the cortes resolved to say no more on that subject at present, and attend to the business before them. The great questions of the veto, and the appointment of the supreme judges, still continued unsettled, and subjects of dispute between the emperor and the cortes. At length, becoming satisfied that he could not carry these points, and that it would be impossible to render himself absolute whilst the cortes remained, the emperor resolved to free himself from what he regarded as the only obstacle to his power. He assembled in his palace a junta, or what in this country would be called a caucus, composed of the general officers of the army, his ministers, and council of state, and such of the deputies of the cortes as were favourable to his views. He addressed the junta, and declared, that the majority of the cortes were hostile to the present system, and wished to establish a democracy, under the name of a monarchy; that the country was in imminent danger, and would be ruined unless the number of the deputies was reduced; that the congress had failed to give a constitution to the empire, but had adopted that of Spain, which was not suited to its condition, and had made no provision for the administration of justice, or for the exigencies of the treasury. These charges against the cortes were correct in point of fact, but the emperor himself had been the cause, why the congress had not effected any of these objects, by his arbitrary conduct, and his persecutions and encroachments on the authority and privileges of the legislative body. It was finally determined at this meeting to require of congress the reduction of their number, and that they grant to the emperor the appointment of the judges, and an unqualified veto on all laws. These proposals were submitted to the cortes by the ministers and four counsellors of state, who were allowed to discuss them. The cortes wishing to put at rest these disputed questions, and many believing that they were the sole causes of the persecutions the congress had suffered; and being sensible of the alarming circumstances of the country, as the government did not even



pay the printers; which prevented their decrees from being published, they finally resolved to grant to the emperor the appointment of the judges, and a veto on all laws except the articles of the constitution. It was hoped that this would satisfy his majesty, and restore harmony between the two branches of the government, and enable the congress to attend to the important regulations which the state of the country and the exigencies of the treasury so imperiously demanded. How insatiable is the lust of power! When the ocean is satisfied with its tributary waters, then will the ambition of man be satisfied with the possession of power. The concessions made to the emperor, instead of contenting him, seemed to increase his avidity for power, and he immediately demanded that his veto should be extended to the articles of the constitution, and that the number of the cortes should be diminished. The cortes perceived the fallaciousness of their hopes, as to satisfying the emperor, and that the more they yielded to him, the more he would demand. They determined to make no further concessions, and, by a decided majority, rejected the imperial demands, although not insensible that matters had reached a crisis. The next day the emperor sent a general officer to the hall, with orders to dissolve the congress, and to expel the members by force, if they did not retire in ten minutes. The deputies were in some measure prepared for this violent proceeding, and the president having directed this order to be entered on the journals of the chamber, the officer signed the same, and the members retired from the hall. Iturbide issued a proclamation the next day, declaring the dissolution of the congress, alleging as a reason, that it had totally neglected its duty, in failing to present to the nation a constitution, to provide for the administration of justice, and to supply the exigencies of the treasury, in consequence whereof the army remained unpaid, and alarming disorders prevailed. The proclamation concluded with several decrees:

“1st. The congress is dissolved from the moment this decree is promulgated.

“2d. The national representation shall be continued until a new congress can be assembled, in a junta, composed of two members from each of the larger provinces, and one from the smaller—all of whom I will nominate.

“3d. The business to which this junta shall attend, is to be determined by separate regulations.

“The members of congress, not of this junta, must, in order to leave the capital, signify their intentions to the political chief. Those who remain, and are not inhabitants of this city, may apply to the treasury for their daily pay.

"The junta shall meet and commence their duties on the second day of November."

The emperor selected forty-five members of the congress, and eight substitutes for the junta, who assembled in the congressional hall on the day named, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and a little after dark the emperor appeared, and taking his seat on the imperial throne, addressed them, in the following language :

"Gentlemen :—When the nation, borne down by the chains which it had dragged for the space of three centuries, could not explain its wish to recover its natural independence, I, with a small number of troops, resolved to declare it, in the face of frightful perils ; and from that time my voice, in consequence of that act, became necessarily and essentially the organ of the general will of the inhabitants of this empire. It became my duty to consider well, and to seize the true points of what is politically called the general will, and this important consideration constituted one of the many essential prerequisites for the success of the undertaking. In this manner I settled the basis on which the majesty of the government of a nation so great, and of such extensive territory, ought to rest. I declared the right that it had acquired to adopt the constitution best suited to it. I adverted particularly to the necessity of convoking a national representation, not by the *demagogical* and anarchical method prescribed by the Spanish constitution, but by just rules, and such as are suited to our circumstances. This most delicate work I might have accomplished myself : but my fervent desire to act right, made it appear to me more secure to intrust it to an assembly of men the most distinguished for their talents, probity, fortune, and employments. After telling them that the conduct of the former government had led the nation to the brink of a precipice, he said, "That in order not to fall into it, it had become necessary to step backwards, not by the devious path that we had lately followed, but by that of the plan of Iguala ; by which we reached the difficult and glorious goal of our independence. Let us return boldly, gentlemen, and follow this sure road, watered with sweat and laurels : let us march on it with a firm and tranquil step, and the happiness of the nation will be secured. Let us bear this nation along to the glorious epoch of its establishment, in a peaceful, solid, and stable manner. Let us organize its representation in such a manner, that it shall yield no other than the pure, limpid, clear, and general sound of the public wishes, and let us profit by the experience of the past for the future. The rock on which we have struck is, that the sovereign power, by a most impolitic error, has been transferred from the mass of the people, to whom it exclusively belongs, to a congress. An authority so powerful as not to be subjected to any

law, no  
itself, n  
is chara  
ous and  
abuse p  
that he  
with res  
to a pre  
nothing  
dence.\*  
Spanish  
he not i  
if we fol  
The r  
powers o  
junta wa  
were to  
ordinary  
perial wi  
absolute  
The fin  
the publi  
annual re  
the exper  
a forced l  
the pressi  
of the mo  
merchants  
first hint  
Iturbid  
his talents  
the ability  
have been  
usurpation  
would hav  
tory ; a r  
have blast  
ment of po  
its nationa  
ous exemp  
lies. The  
\* This str  
vernment ca  
government

law, nor to admit any rule but such as it chooses to prescribe for itself, must act in an arbitrary manner; and such a state of things is characteristic of, and peculiar to, a despotism, as it is incongruous and repugnant to a limited government. Man is disposed to abuse power: for it is extremely difficult that he, who can do all that he wishes, will not desire to do more than he ought; and if, with respect to one man, or a few persons, it is imprudent to trust to a presumption of virtuous and voluntary moderation, there is nothing in a numerous body that ought to inspire greater confidence.\* It is true, that our congress followed the example of the Spanish cortes; but whoever copies from a deformed model, will he not increase its imperfections? And what shall we come to, if we follow in every thing that pernicious example?" &c. &c.

The regulations governing the proceedings and specifying the powers of the junta, were then read by the minister of state. The junta was empowered to frame a constitution; but the ministers were to be admitted to discuss the project of one, and even the ordinary laws. The junta was in fact only the organ of the imperial will, and intended and calculated rather to strengthen the absolute authority of the emperor, than to form a barrier to it. The financial minister submitted an expose of the condition of the public revenue to the junta, from which it appeared that the annual receipts amounted to only eight millions of dollars, whilst the expenditures exceeded thirteen millions. The junta decreed a forced loan of two and a half millions of dollars, and, to supply the pressing exigencies of the treasury, they ordered the seizure of the money detained at Perote, which had been sent by Spanish merchants to be embarked at Vera Cruz: the emperor having first hinted to the junta the situation of this money.†

Iturbide is not the only man whose ambition was greater than his talents; or who succeeded in usurping power which he had not the ability to maintain. It is fortunate that it was so; as it would have been a reproach to Mexico, and to America, that this crude usurpation, this contemptible tyrant, should have succeeded. It would have presented one of the most melancholy events in history; a revolution for liberty, resulting in despotism. It would have blasted all the fruits of the revolution, retarded the advancement of political and social improvement in Mexico, and checked its national prosperity and importance, besides affording a dangerous example, and a dangerous neighbour to the American republics. The only legitimate object of a revolution is the establish-

\* This strange reasoning proves, if any thing, that the powers of government cannot be safely vested any where, and that there can be no other government but a despotism.

† Poinsett's notes on Mexico.

ment of liberty, and a government founded on the will of the people. If this object is lost, all is lost.

Iturbide had no sooner reached the goal of his ambition, than he began to perceive the instability of his power, and that the imperial diadem did not set so lightly or securely on his head, as he seems to have imagined that it would. In a few months the disaffection of the people broke out into open revolt. The republican standard was first raised at Soto la Marina, in the state of Tamaulipas, and as the disaffection was general in the northern provinces, the people flocked to it, and the republicans would have been formidable, had not Garza, their leader, been totally destitute of courage or capacity, and fled on the first appearance of the imperial troops. This revolt occurred in October, 1822, and was soon followed by an event at Vera Cruz, which led to important results. The royal garrison of the castle of San Juan de Uloa made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the works that had been erected in the suburbs of the city of Vera Cruz, which occasioned the junta to interdict all intercourse with the castle, and all commerce with Spain; and likewise to prohibit the exportation from Mexico, of all goods or money belonging to European Spaniards. A correspondence was opened with the royal governor of the castle, without any satisfactory result. The emperor finally concluded that a personal interview would lead to an accommodation, and on the 10th of November he left his capital, and proceeded to Xalapa, passing through Puebla, where, from the influence of the bishop, who had a principal agency in the elevation of Iturbide, he was received with demonstrations of respect. At Xalapa, he learnt that the royal governor would, on no consideration, leave the castle, in consequence of which; commissioners were appointed by both parties, to meet at Vera Cruz. After considerable discussion, they could not agree on terms of accommodation, and separated without doing any thing. Santana was governor of the city of Vera Cruz, an active officer, who had stormed and taken the place from the royalists. A dispute arose between him and Echavarri, who commanded the southern division of the army, and the latter officer preferred a complaint to the emperor, who immediately summoned Santana to appear before him. Knowing how much the emperor was indebted to him for his elevation, and confident of his protection, he did not hesitate to obey the order; but instead of being treated in the kind and friendly manner he expected, the emperor censured his conduct with severity, and dismissed him from his command as governor of Vera Cruz. His astonishment at this unexpected treatment was only equalled by his indignation, and suddenly leaving Xalapa, he returned to Vera Cruz with the greatest expedition, riding day and night, and arrived before the news of his dismissal

from l  
stantly  
determ  
vernme  
and his  
confide  
horting  
country  
ing the  
These  
in acco  
who ha  
er was  
publica  
dressed  
indebte  
enterta  
cal con  
and jus  
duced t  
duty to  
his cou  
violated  
ing des  
tablishi  
resign t  
gress.

No a  
mends  
partic  
vice of  
to marc  
and Fort  
and sev  
cise r  
stande  
been in  
Fortun  
republ  
then e  
cause c  
ed the  
been se  
ing the  
to the t  
Santan

from his command. As not a moment was to be lost, he instantly ordered out his own regiment, and laid before them his determination no longer to support the despotic and odious government of Iturbide, who, by forcibly dissolving the congress, and his arbitrary and tyrannical conduct, had justly forfeited the confidence of the people and the army; and concluded by exhorting them to use their arms in defence of the liberties of their country, and to add to the glory they had acquired in overthrowing the despotism of Spain, by prostrating the tyrant Iturbide. These sentiments were received with acclamation, as they were in accordance with the opinions of all the officers of the garrison, who had suppressed them from a persuasion that their commander was strongly attached, personally, to the emperor. The republican standard was immediately unfurled, and Santana addressed a letter to the emperor, reminding him how much he was indebted to him for his elevation, and of the regard he had always entertained for him; but declaring that his arbitrary and tyrannical conduct had rendered him unworthy of the station he held, and justly forfeited the confidence of the nation, which he had reduced to the greatest disorder and misery; and that he felt it his duty to lay aside all personal considerations, when the liberties of his country were at stake. He reproached Iturbide with having violated his oath, in dissolving the cortes by force, and establishing despotism in his own person; declared his intention of re-establishing the republic, and concluded by advising the emperor to resign the crown, and throw himself on the generosity of congress.

No advice is less likely to be relished than that which recommends to sovereigns the relinquishment of their power, or any particle of it; and the emperor, instead of complying with the advice of Santana, immediately ordered Echavarri with his division to march against him. Santana proceeded to Puente del Rey, and fortified the place. The imperialists pursued the republicans, and several actions were fought between them, but none of a decisive nature. The people did not rally round the republican standard, not having confidence in Santana, as he had formerly been instrumental in promoting the ambitious projects of Iturbide. Fortunately for Mexico, several of the most distinguished of the republican generals had escaped all the perils to which they had been exposed, and at this conjuncture came forward to aid the cause of liberty. The most distinguished, and the first who joined the republican standard, was Guadalupe Victoria, who had been secreted in the mountains from the period when, by opposing the ambition of Iturbide, he had rendered himself obnoxious to the tyrant. He was at first appointed second in command, but Santana perceived that, to inspire the people with perfect confi-



dence, it was necessary to raise him to the chief command. The confidence and respect which the public felt in a man who, from the commencement of the revolution, under all vicissitudes of fortune, and the various changes which it had assumed, had been distinguished, not more for his bravery than his patriotic devotion to the cause of liberty, and his uniform republicanism, was immediately perceptible on his elevation to the chief command of the republican forces. The people flocked to his standard from all quarters, and the spirit of revolt spread with rapidity through the different provinces. Echavarrí, although a personal enemy to Santana, joined the republican cause, and an arrangement was entered into between him and Victoria. The united armies sent commissioners to Iturbide, to offer him terms of accommodation; the basis of which was the immediate assembling of a congress to form a republican constitution. Iturbide was not disposed to treat, but sent commissioners to Echavarrí and his officers, to attempt to dissuade them from their purpose, but without success. The emperor marched with the small force he had, to Istapaluca, a small town twelve miles from the capital, where he took an advantageous position. The power of Iturbide crumbled to dust in less time than it had been acquired. The example of the army under Echavarrí, was followed in the provinces, and the defection soon became general. What are now the states of Oaxaca, Xalisco, Guanajuato, and San Luis Potosí, declared against the imperial government, and imprisoned the emperor's commanders; and Queretaro, Valladolid, and the capitals of the other provinces, also seized and imprisoned the imperial officers. The distinguished republican generals, Guerrero and Bravo, who had remained in the capital, under the jealous and vigilant eye of the government, escaped, and, returning to the west, rallied the people, and appeared in arms against the usurper.

Under these portentous circumstances Iturbide made proposals of accommodation, and was answered by a demand for the immediate assembling of a national cortes, and money sufficient to pay the troops. If the emperor had been disposed he could not have complied with the last requisition, except in paper money, of which he had issued four millions on the 1st of January, 1823, and, by a decree, made it a tender for one third part of the amount of any debt, and it was received for duties and taxes in the same proportion, by the government. This currency immediately and rapidly depreciated, as was to have been expected, and contributed greatly to increase the discontents of the people. The province of Puebla declared for the republicans, and a strong force was organized in its capital by the Marquis de Vivanco, who assumed the government of the city. The republican army advanced to Puebla, and here were joined by Negrete and several

other  
the en  
guard  
The  
to a cl  
attemp  
were in  
could  
clined  
of Itur  
soul.  
ship, as  
person  
overthr  
sans de  
tively ab  
suprem  
obeyed,  
that "t  
even tre  
municat  
he acce  
serve hi  
taining p  
a pretext  
not abdic  
generally  
in the ca  
retire to  
for his d  
Immed  
His lette  
cepting t  
be constr  
ed; but  
parting fr  
tenance o  
year. T  
strange ir  
abdication  
a concess  
permit hi  
edly the c  
of usurpat  
of all treat  
ment, and



other distinguished officers, who deserted the sinking fortunes of the emperor. The republicans pushed forward their advanced guard to San Martin, within fifty miles of Mexico.

The emperor perceiving that his short-lived reign was drawing to a close, hastened to Mexico, and on the 8th of March, 1823, attempted to assemble those members of the old congress who were in the capital, to tender to them his resignation; but few only could be induced to attend, and there not being a quorum they declined to act. The imperial diadem which once graced the brow of Iturbide, had now become a crown of thorns that pierced his soul. A monarch is deprived of the solace and support of friendship, as those who claim to be his friends, are not friends to his person but his power, and leave him when that departs. As the overthrow of Iturbide's power became more apparent, his partisans deserted him one after another, until he found himself entirely abandoned. Thus the man who had succeeded in acquiring supreme and despotic power,—whose will was law, and implicitly obeyed, in little more than one year was not only fallen so low as that "there was none so poor as to do him reverence," but was even trembling for his life. On the 19th of March, 1823, he communicated to the congress his resignation, and remarked "that he accepted the crown with the greatest reluctance, and only to serve his country; but from the moment he perceived that his retaining possession of it might serve, if not as a cause, at least as a pretext for civil war, he determined to give it up; that he did not abdicate before, because there was no national representation, generally recognised as such, to receive it; that as his presence in the country might serve as a pretext for dissensions, he will retire to some foreign land, and asks only a fortnight to prepare for his departure, and finally solicits congress to pay his debts."

Immediately on forwarding this letter, he retired to Tulancingo. His letter was referred to a committee, who reported against accepting the renunciation of the crown by Iturbide, as that might be construed to imply a right or lawfulness to the power renounced; but they recommended, not only to grant his request of departing from the country, but to allow him a pension for the maintenance of his family and suite, of twenty-five thousand dollars a year. This was certainly a singular document. There seems a strange inconsistency in being so scrupulous about accepting the abdication of Iturbide, from an apprehension that it might imply a concession of his right to the crown, and at the same time to permit him to retire on a princely pension. If, as was undoubtedly the case, he had no better right to sovereign power than that of usurpation, he had justly forfeited his life, as guilty of the greatest of all treasons, that of overturning by military force a free government, and establishing a despotism. For what greater felony can

be committed, than to rob an entire people of their liberties? It is to be presumed, however, that the liberal conduct toward Iturbide proceeded from considerations of policy, he having many partisans in the country, and perhaps in part from a regard to his services in breaking down the royal government; but whatever may be thought of the propriety of granting him the pension, the policy was undoubtedly correct. His subsequent conduct, however, shows how misapplied was the munificence of the government.

The report of the committee was accepted, and the ex-emperor was escorted by general Bravo to Antigua, near Vera Cruz, where, on the 11th of May, 1823, he embarked on board of an English vessel for Leghorn, with his family and suite, consisting of twenty-five persons.

The republican troops entered the capital on the 27th of May, and the old congress was soon after assembled. It immediately established a provisional government, and appointed a triplicate executive, consisting of generals Victoria, Bravo, and Negrete; the two first are natives, distinguished for their patriotism, talents and services, and the last is an European, justly esteemed for his integrity and talents. Steps were immediately taken for the convocation of a new congress, and the people in the election were careful to exclude the royalists, the partisans of Iturbide, and the advocates for the plan of Iguala. The congress assembled, and entered on the arduous duty of framing a constitution of government. This was now a subject that engrossed public attention, and the only source of division or dissension, as neither the royalists, nor the adherents of Iturbide were sufficiently formidable to occasion disturbances among the people, or anxiety to the government. The people were divided into two parties relative to the constitution, one being in favour of a confederative government like that of the United States, and the other preferring a central or consolidated republic, like that of Colombia.

Some time in March, 1823, before the republican army entered the capital, general Santana, with six hundred troops, sailed from Vera Cruz, and landing at Tampico, advanced rapidly into the interior, as far as San Luis Potosi, where he established his headquarters, and immediately declared himself protector of the federal republic. But as it was suspected that his object was to place himself at the head of one of the two parties, for the advancement of his own views, he was not supported even by the advocates of the federal plan. The government having sent a force against him, he was obliged to submit, and was brought to the capital and confined.

After the overthrow of the royal government by Iturbide, and the treaty with O'Donoju, on the basis of the plan of Iguala,

Spain,  
dence  
and it  
pende  
sions  
Iturbid  
not pe  
castle  
royalis  
were a  
verme  
signate  
after th  
conseq  
of Ver  
ment a  
point o  
avoidin  
subject  
been ca  
of all n  
compell  
works,  
ment im  
intercou  
After  
tempted  
bers, an  
the gove  
remainin  
opinion  
Congres  
in some  
alarm an  
to establi  
ment was  
volt. W  
central s  
strong in  
in inducin  
in the cor  
sure resp  
cordingly  
adopted b  
February  
and accla

Spain, although obstinately refusing to acknowledge the independence of Mexico, made no effort to regain her authority over it, and it had been since that period, in point of fact, entirely independent of Spain, who had not been a party to any of the dissensions and wars which had existed. During the administration of Iturbide, commissioners were sent to Mexico from Spain, but were not permitted to enter the country, and they had remained in the castle of San Juan de Uloa, which was in the possession of the royalists. After the fall of Iturbide, the Spanish commissioners were allowed to enter the Mexican territories, and the new government appointed general Victoria to treat with them, and designated Xalapa as the place for the meeting of the parties. Soon after the negotiations were commenced, they were broken off in consequence of the castle of San Juan de Uloa firing on the city of Vera Cruz. This was occasioned by the republican government attempting to fortify the island of Sacrificios, on the opposite point of land, to form a new port of entry, for the purpose of avoiding the exactions which all vessels entering the harbour were subjected to, by the governor of the castle. If this plan had been carried into execution, it would have deprived the garrison of all means of maintaining themselves; and the governor was compelled to make use of force to prevent the erection of the works, and the plan was obliged to be relinquished. The government immediately published a decree, interdicting all commercial intercourse with Spain.

After the departure of the *cidevant* emperor, his partisans attempted to excite civil commotions, but they were too few in numbers, and too well known and watched to occasion any alarm to the government, or to endanger the public tranquillity. The only remaining source of public dissension, was the difference of opinion as to the form of government about to be established. Congress were divided, as well as the people, on the subject, and in some of the provinces the inhabitants were thrown into great alarm and agitation, from an apprehension that congress intended to establish a central government; in several districts the excitement was so great as to occasion civil commotions, and open revolt. Whether the convention intended to have established a central system, in preference to a federative one or not, these strong indications of public opinion no doubt had great influence in inducing it to adopt the latter. It was perceived that unanimity in the congress could alone quiet the existing dissensions, and ensure respect to the government which might be established. Accordingly a constitution, on the federative plan, was prepared and adopted by the congress with great unanimity; and on the 2d of February, 1824, was sworn to in the capital, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. The system is similar to that of

the United States, and consists of a general or national government, and local or state governments in the provinces or intendancies, since erected into states. After the adoption of the system, the congress and people proceeded, with order and harmony, to organize both the national and state governments, and to set all the political machinery in operation. Guadalupe Victoria was chosen president of the republic, and general Bravo vice president.

In the month of January, previous to the adoption of the constitution, a disturbance occurred in the province of Puebla, in consequence of general Echavarri, who commanded there, refusing to obey the orders of the executive. The reason of such strange conduct, or what were his designs, did not satisfactorily appear. This officer is an European by birth, but had contributed essentially to the establishment of the republic, by joining Victoria and Santana, which became the signal for a general revolt against Iturbide. General Guerrero, at the head of a few men, marched to quell the insurrection, and Echavarri being deserted by his troops, was seized and sent a prisoner to the capital, which terminated the insurrection without bloodshed. The public mind, however, was not settled, and this disturbance was soon followed by an insurrection, headed by one Hernandez, at Cuernavaca, which general Guerrero was sent to suppress, and effected it without difficulty. But not far from the same time, a more extensive and alarming disaffection appeared in the capital, that threatened more serious consequences. A formidable opposition, or faction, had been organized, including the garrison and its commander, the object of which was to compel congress to dismiss all the Europeans from office. The employment of European Spaniards, to the entire exclusion of the natives, or creoles, had always been regarded, not only as a great grievance in itself, but as the fertile source of the oppressions of the colonial system.

The new government had neglected to remove this source of political evil, but suffered the Europeans still to hold most of the offices, in consequence, as is supposed, of attaching a mistaken importance to their being familiar with the routine of public duties, and from their connexion by marriage with the wealthy and influential creole families. This conduct of the government was regarded by many as equally impolitic and unjust, and the garrison, with Lobato at their head, demanded of congress the immediate removal of all European Spaniards from office. Congress with great firmness resolved to maintain its authority; and with the assistance of the numerous friends of the government, made great exertions to induce the garrison to return to their duty, and to collect and embody a force sufficient to intimidate, and, if necessary, to put down the insurgents. Instead therefore of complying with the demand of Lobato, congress ordered him to appear

before  
self u  
done  
other  
aband  
vern  
tial.\*

Th  
which  
has o  
with  
he ca  
trated  
forme  
cideva  
ment  
and p  
dom,  
lead h  
Imper  
after  
ponde  
certai  
more  
the m  
Tusca  
in Eng  
Mexic  
turnin  
the 8th  
signs  
soon h  
might  
service  
militar  
public  
pender  
of his  
declare  
Mexic  
tire to  
instead  
him to  
ties of

before them, and after two days' negotiation, he delivered himself up to the government, and in consideration thereof was pardoned. Lieutenant-colonel Staboli, an Italian by birth, and some other officers, obstinately refused to submit; but were finally abandoned by their adherents, who delivered them up to the government, and Staboli was sentenced to be shot, by a court martial.\*

There is but one evidence that a king is more than mortal, and which is the fact fully proved by history, that when an individual has once become a king, he can no longer live as a man. It is, with him, *aut Cæsar, aut nihil*—he must be a king or nothing; he cannot exist as a man. This truth was not more strongly illustrated by the great Napoleon, than by the humble Iturbide. The former's example, and all the lessons of history, were lost on the cidevant emperor of Mexico, and the generosity of the government toward him, instead of producing a deep sense of gratitude, and preparing his mind to be content to follow the paths of wisdom, which are pleasantness and peace, probably contributed to lead him into the mad course of ambition, which proved his ruin. Imperial power appears never to have been absent from his mind, after his banishment from Mexico. Whether he had any correspondence with his partisans in the Mexican republic, or not, it is certain that he soon meditated returning to Mexico. He was the more in haste to return, as he asserts, from an apprehension that the ministers of the powers of the holy alliance, at the court of Tuscany, would attempt to frustrate his intentions. He arrived in England in February, 1824, when he addressed a letter to the Mexican congress, in which he communicates his intention of returning to America, although in direct violation of the decree of the 8th of April, 1822; and gives, as a reason, the hostile designs of the powers of Europe against the new world, which would soon be developed; and his wish to be in a situation where he might fly to the aid of his countrymen, if they should desire his services. He submits to the congress, whether his services, in a military capacity only, may not be of some utility, in uniting the public voice, and contributing with his sword to secure the independence and liberty of his country. He assures the congress of his ability to bring arms, ammunition, clothing and money; declares that his only object is to aid in securing the liberty of Mexico, and that when that is established, he shall cheerfully retire to private life.† Being apprised of his intentions, congress, instead of abrogating the law by which he was exiled, or inviting him to return, to assist in a military capacity in securing the liberties of his country, immediately passed a decree, declaring Itur-

\* Poinsett's notes on Mexico.

† See his letter.



bide a traitor and outlaw, the first moment he should enter any part of the territory of the republic, under any title or pretence whatsoever; also declaring all persons traitors, who should, by any means whatever, aid or encourage Iturbide's return to the republic, or any other foreign invader, and that they should be judged conformably to the law of the 27th of September, 1823. The decree bore date the 28th of April, 1824; and the executive was charged with its execution, and with causing it to be published and circulated through the confederacy. These effective measures did not prevent a conspiracy being formed in the capital, for the purpose of overturning the present government, and the restoration of Iturbide, which was afterward discovered.

The constitutional congress passed a decree on the 28th of June, 1824, for the establishment of public faith and national credit, which recognises the debts contracted under the government of the viceroys, to the 17th of September, 1810, when the colonial government was considered as abrogated by the will of the nation; and all debts contracted with the Mexican people by the viceroys where the loans were made by compulsion, or involuntarily, from the 17th September, 1810, to the entrance of the Mexican army into the capital in the year 1821. The decree also recognises all debts contracted for the service of the nation by the independent chiefs, from the declaration of independence to the entrance of the army into the capital, and those of the army of Iguala, or liberating army, until its occupation of the capital; and also all debts contracted by the established governors, from the first epoch of independence. This decree is founded on the principle, as it respects the authority of Spain, that the Mexican nation was not lawfully subjected to that authority, after the declaration of its wishes for independence, and therefore it does not acknowledge the loans which were *voluntarily* made to the viceroys after that period, as such an act was affording voluntary aid to an unlawful government, attempting to enslave the nation, and in one sense, was an act of hostility against the rightful government. It seems to be somewhat doubtful, whether the debts contracted by Iturbide after his dissolution of the congress, are included in this decree; the debts of the liberating army are recognised down to the time of its entering the capital only; so that there is no clause in the decree, which would include the debts created by Iturbide, unless it is that recognising those of the "established governors." On the 13th of July the congress passed a decree prohibiting the importation of slaves, under the penalty of confiscation of the vessel and its cargo, if any, and the captain, owner, and purchaser of the slaves, to suffer ten years' imprisonment. Slaves were declared free the moment they landed on the Mexican soil.

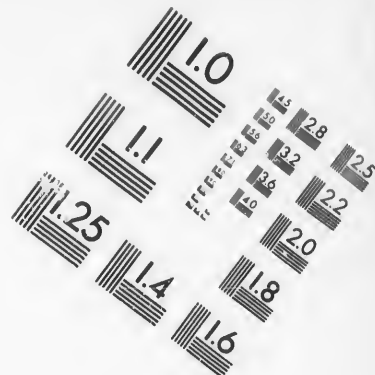
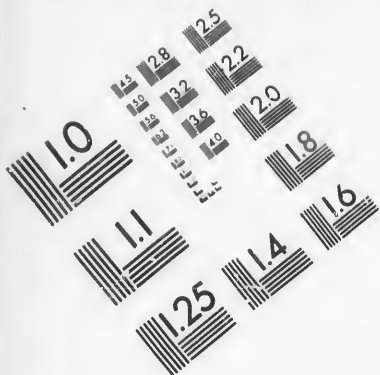
TH  
twent  
veral  
of dis  
"Go  
woma  
before  
the re  
of the  
na in  
glish  
that h  
cernin  
purpos  
sented  
quired  
left hi  
being  
who w  
advanc  
formed  
that he  
ceedin  
Garza  
them a  
person  
under a  
munica  
state of  
that th  
1824, h  
of state  
cording  
ly, 182  
the first  
sovereig  
panied  
don. T  
hension  
by anni  
a militar  
favour o  
give sta  
Since  
in Mexi  
Vol.



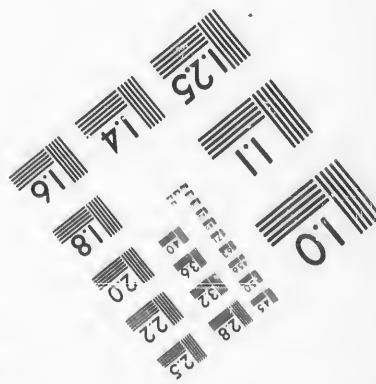
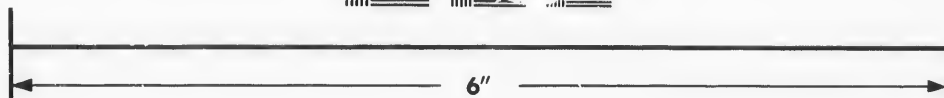
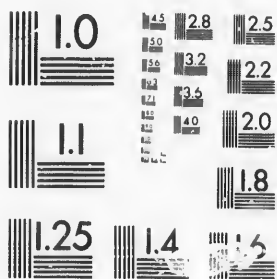
The conspiracy in the Mexican capital was discovered, and twenty persons implicated were arrested, among whom were several general officers, a number of colonels, and some citizens of distinction. The papers of the conspirators were headed, "God, independence, and the hero of Iguala;" it is said that a woman acted as secretary. The criminals were brought to trial before a council of war, and two of them sentenced to death, and the rest to perpetual banishment. After this premature explosion of the conspiracy, the infatuated Iturbide landed at Soto la Marina in disguise, on the 14th of July, 1824. He came in an English brig with Charles de Beneski, a foreigner, who pretended that his object was to treat with the Mexican government concerning a plan of colonization, and that he had powers for that purpose, from three Irish capitalists of London. Beneski presented himself to general Garza, military commandant, who inquired concerning Iturbide, and was informed by Beneski, that he left him at London, residing quietly with his family. Iturbide being disguised, passed himself as the companion of Beneski, who was permitted to go into the country, and thus attempted to advance into the interior. On the 16th, general Garza was informed by an officer who commanded a detachment of troops, that he had seen Beneski, with another person in disguise, proceeding into the interior, which excited his suspicion. General Garza immediately went in pursuit with some troops, and overtook them at Arrogas, and immediately recognised in the disguised person, Don Augustin Iturbide, arrested him, and conveyed him under a strong guard to Soto la Marina. General Garza communicated the arrest of Iturbide to the provincial congress of the state of Tamaulipas, then in session at Padilla, which resolved that the decree of the general congress of the 28th of April, 1824, be carried into immediate effect, and ordered the minister of state to cause Iturbide to be executed without delay. Accordingly, he was shot in the town of Padilla, on the 10th of July, 1824. Thus terminated the career of Don Augustin Iturbide, the first, and it is hoped it may long be said the last usurper of sovereign power in America. His wife and two children accompanied him, but the rest of his family and suite were left in London. This event relieved the republic from one source of apprehension, and one cause of the vacillation of the public opinion; by annihilating for ever the hopes and designs of the partisans of a military usurper. It tended to concentrate public opinion in favour of the political system which had been adopted, and to give stability and energy to the government.

Since this period the public tranquillity has not been disturbed in Mexico by civil commotions: the government has been ad-





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (M1T-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

1.5 2.8  
3.2 2.5  
3.6 2.2  
2.0  
8

10

ministered with success, and has enjoyed the increasing confidence of all classes of the population.

The Spaniards still retained possession of the strong fortress of St. Juan de Uloa, which, commanding the entrance into the port of Vera Cruz, greatly deranged the Mexican commerce, by exactions from all vessels entering the harbour. This was the more vexatious, in consequence of there being no seaport to which the trade of Vera Cruz could be transferred. The annoyance which the castle occasioned to the commerce of the country, united with the desire to reduce the last strong hold of Spanish power in Mexico, rendered the government and the nation anxious to accelerate an event which it was evident could not be long delayed. The superiority of the Mexican navy to that of the Spanish, prevented the governor of the castle, Coppinger, from receiving any re-enforcements, or even supplies, from abroad, whilst the garrison continually wasted away by disease and hardships, till they at last became reduced to a handful of men. Still the governor obstinately refused to capitulate. At length, however, the time arrived when he could hold out no longer, and accordingly, on the 18th of November, 1821, the castle surrendered, to the great joy of Vera Cruz and all Mexico. The garrison (except the sick, who were conveyed to Vera Cruz,) were, with the governor, sent to Havana.

Thus the Spanish flag, which, since the days of Cortes, had been a memorial of the slavery and debasement of the country of Montezuma, ceased to wave in any part of its territories—it was struck, never, it is hoped, to be raised again in Mexico.

Mexico, as well as the other independent states, at one period felt some apprehension that the allied powers in Europe, which interfered in the internal concerns of Spain, would extend their kind offices to her possessions on this side the Atlantic; but the disposition manifested by Great Britain, has removed such apprehensions, as her ministers have declared that England would not agree to any cession Spain might make of the states which were *de facto* released from her dominion.

Mexico has probably received less aid from foreigners than most of the other new republics; some enterprises have been undertaken from the United States against the Texas country, but these have had no influence on the great contest; and some individuals from the United States and the British isles have engaged in the Mexican service; but she has had no foreign succour of any importance; the Mexican patriots have maintained the long and sanguinary struggle alone, without allies and without assistance; and by their own valour and perseverance, have overcome both foreign and domestic tyranny.

The  
Americ  
counten  
Don B  
agent o  
nearly  
Toledo  
In 181  
ted Stat  
vantage  
of frien  
the sam  
the Uni  
ment to  
lating th  
nius of  
passed  
the Uni  
sale of  
subjects  
arms or  
their be  
suance  
Orleans  
of Mex  
Near  
mission  
claimed  
knowle  
of the s  
dent mi  
in that  
Grea  
not only  
merce,  
British  
Mexica  
mercial  
very im  
gence fr  
ledged  
republic  
Portuga  
admit th  
tions w  
residing

The patriots of Mexico, as well as those of the other parts of America, formerly Spanish, made an early attempt to secure the countenance, if not assistance of the United States. In 1811, Don B. Gutierrez was sent by the patriots of Mexico as their agent or commissioner to Washington, where he continued until nearly the close of the following year, at which time he joined Toledo in an expedition against the eastern internal provinces. In 1816 the Mexican congress sent Doctor Herrera to the United States. But these missions were productive of no other advantage than the promotion in the breasts of our citizens of feelings of friendship and sympathy for a people who were struggling for the same rights, the attainment of which a few years since had cost the United States so much blood and treasure. Yet for our government to have assisted the Spanish colonies would have been violating the fundamental principles of the constitution, and the genius of our foreign policy. Hence it was that congress, in 1817, passed an act for the more effectually preserving the neutrality of the United States, which authorized the president to prevent the sale of vessels of war by the citizens of the United States to the subjects of any foreign power, and prohibited the exportation of arms or ammunition, except bonds were given as a security against their being conveyed to either of the belligerent parties. In pursuance of this policy, an expedition which was preparing at New Orleans in 1815, and destined against the northeastern provinces of Mexico, was stopped by a proclamation of the president.

Near the close of the year 1818, the president appointed commissioners to visit some of the South American states, which claimed to be independent; and in 1822 congress formally acknowledged the independence of Mexico and the other republics of the south. Mr. Poinsett was afterward commissioned as resident minister from the United States, and has remained in Mexico in that capacity ever since.

Great Britain has acknowledged the independence of Mexico, not only by the recognition of her flag and the pursuits of commerce, but by the establishment of political regulations. The British government has recently sent a charge d'affairs to the Mexican government, and has for some time had consuls and commercial agents in the country; her commerce with Mexico being very important, and constantly increasing. By the last intelligence from Europe, it is stated that France had secretly acknowledged the independence of the Mexican and South American republics; but whether this be correct or not, France, Holland, Portugal, and most of the other commercial powers of Europe, admit the Mexican flag into their ports, maintain commercial relations with the republic, and have consuls and commercial agents residing there.



The Mexican patriots received little or no assistance from abroad, except in funds, and not that until the contest was decided. The war had destroyed the machinery, and stopped the operations of the mines, destroyed the government magazines of tobacco, and essentially impaired every branch of revenue, whilst at the same time it had augmented in a greater ratio the expenses of the government. Whilst the colonial authority existed, the patriots secured the public property for their own use, and destroyed what they could not thus appropriate; both parties had recourse to forced loans. These causes, together with the devastation of a civil war, and the suspension of industry, had so impoverished the country that the revenue was almost entirely annihilated, and the government which succeeded the overthrow of Iturbide was placed under the most distressing embarrassments. Until the resources of the country could be called into action, the only relief was from loans. To supply the immediate wants a million and a half of dollars were borrowed of the house of Robert Staples & Co. of London, who had a partner in Mexico; and afterward a loan of twenty millions of dollars was obtained of Barclay, Herring, Richardson & Co. of the same place. In 1824 Mexico made an additional loan; the whole of their loans in England amounted to thirty millions, besides their domestic debt. But the resources of the country are great, and are rapidly developing. The government have made great efforts to retrieve the condition of the treasury, by introducing a rigid system of economy, and creating an entire new system of finance. And such is the activity given to commercial enterprise, by just and equitable laws, that the duties on imports and tonnage are even at this time very considerable, and will eventually, independent of the mining and agricultural interests, become a source of abundant revenue to Mexico.

The plan of Bolivar\* for forming a general confederacy has been zealously seconded by Mexico. This plan was communicated by the liberator, (so is Bolivar styled by his countrymen) as president of Colombia, to the other republics, early in 1823, and on the 6th of June, of that year, a treaty was concluded between Peru and Colombia for carrying it into effect. Don Miguel Santa Maria, minister from Colombia, proposed this union to the Mexican government during the usurpation of Iturbide, but without success; but after the establishment of the republican government the negotiations were renewed, and on the 3d of October, 1823, a treaty was signed by the ministers of the two republics, having for its object the promotion of a confederacy or fami-

\* The man, to whom, in a great measure, is owing the independence of all South America. A particular account will be given of him in the history of the revolution in Colombia.

ly comp  
of their l  
nizance  
hereafter  
lics. Se  
sition, no  
when Be  
circular t  
tentiaries  
federacy.  
of the lib  
proving th  
longer, h  
despatch  
He reman  
them to E  
bling the c  
ington, he  
plenipoten  
pointed its  
of the ye  
indicates  
nation.  
vernment,  
thorities,  
distant, an  
tional con  
ized a gov  
has been c  
choacan, y  
of June, 1  
convened  
1825. P  
representati  
against fo  
adds that t  
structed in  
the respec  
says he, "v  
vincible; ;  
of freemen  
president  
appear no  
into operat  
fusion will  
cred to est

ly compact, designed to unite all the new states for the defence of their liberty and independence. This body will also take cognizance of all cases of difficulty or misunderstanding which may hereafter arise between the governments of the different republics. Some of the new republics not having agreed to the proposition, nothing further was done until the 7th of December, 1824, when Bolivar, as the head of the republic of Peru, addressed a circular to the several republics, inviting them to appoint plenipotentiaries to meet at Panama, and install the congress of the confederacy. Victoria, president of Mexico, answered the circular of the liberator on the 23d of February following. Cordially approving the measure, he says, had it been suffered to rest much longer, he intended to have taken the lead himself, and sent a despatch to the president of Peru, proposing the same course. He remarks that he shall appoint his plenipotentiaries, and send them to Panama, as soon as he is informed of the time of assembling the congress; and adds that, through his ministers at Washington, he has invited the president of the United States to send plenipotentiaries to the congress. The Mexican government appointed its representatives, who repaired to Panama near the close of the year 1825. Mexico continues tranquil, and every thing indicates the stability of the political system, and prosperity of the nation. The states appear to be satisfied with the federal government, and are forming constitutions, and organizing their authorities, conformably to the constitution of the Union. The distant, and isolated state of Yucatan, has sent deputies to the national congress at Mexico, proclaimed a constitution, and organized a government, at the head of which is Jose F. Lopez, who has been elected governor. The constitution of the state of Mexicoacan, was also sworn to by the public authorities on the 20th of June, 1825. A special session of the national congress was convened at Mexico, by the president, on the 4th of August, 1825. President Victoria, in his message, congratulates the representatives upon their not having been convened to provide against foreign invasion, or to quell internal commotions, and adds that the republic, prosperous and at peace, advances unobstructed in her political career; that in its infancy it has obtained the respect and admiration of the world. "The government," says he, "is engaged in a system of defence; the republic is invincible; its sons feeling the dignity, and animated by the spirit of freemen, will bravely defend the rights of their country." The president urges the establishment of tribunals of justice, which appear not to have been organized since the new system went into operation, and for want of which, he says, disorder and confusion will ensue. It would seem that the executive was empowered to establish judicial tribunals, and he informs the congress

that his profound regard for the separation and independence of the different powers of government, has prevented his exercising the authority, reposed on him by the nation. The message also recommends further provisions for securing the liberty of the press; reform in the treasury; the more perfect organization of the land and naval forces; the conclusion of treaties with maritime nations, and for the protection and encouragement of the commerce of the republic. The president speaks with pride of the good order of society, the mildness of the laws, and the protection they afford, and of the fame of Mexican opulence having attracted a vast concourse of foreigners into the country, and submits to congress the propriety of encouraging their enterprise, by exclusive privileges.

The nation is tranquillized, and faction has subsided; it is not only in the enjoyment of independence, but of peace and security, which are the first fruits of republican institutions. The power of Spain is annihilated, and the government, respected and energetic, is advancing steadily in the great work of regenerating the nation. With such distinguished patriots and enlightened statesmen as Guadalupe Victoria, and general Bravo, the president and vice president, Alaman, secretary of state, and others less known, but perhaps not less worthy, at the head of affairs, we have every thing to hope. The measures of the government, hitherto, have been marked by wisdom, foresight, and political sagacity. The administration combines vigour with a respect for the rights of the people and of the states, and with a sacred regard for the constitution. It has reduced the army, adopted measures for the organization of a national militia, and acquired a respectable marine, fully adequate to the defence of the country against Spain. It has adopted a system of primary education, reorganized the old colleges, and established new ones; corrected some of the abuses of the ecclesiastical system, restored the natives to the rights of men and citizens, and encouraged them in habits of industry. Freemasonry, at the very time that it is proscribed in Spain, is introduced into Mexico, under the patronage of the officers of the government. A lodge has been installed in the capital by Mr. Poinsett, the minister of the United States; and liberal principles seem rapidly gaining ground.

The Mexican republic has a larger territory than that of the original United States, with a milder climate, and greater national resources; it has nearly twice the population the North American states had at the period of their separation from Great Britain although its character is inferior; it has made our institutions the model of its own, and what reason is there to doubt that its career will be as successful and glorious as has been that of the republic of the north? If we had brave generals, distinguished

patriots.  
Washing  
be regard  
our freed  
the one  
commo  
violence  
The rep  
measure  
ple to di  
and it n  
copy to  
her illu  
ence of  
temperat  
hills of M

A larg  
States, is  
enough t  
ber, as h  
vast inter  
enjoying  
for settle  
lation.  
and the g  
ing its po  
to say, th  
republics  
republics  
enjoying

patriots, and enlightened statesmen, so has Mexico ; if we had a Washington, she has a Victoria, who is scarcely less entitled to be regarded as the father of his country. If we have preserved our freedom, guarding it against all tendencies to despotism on the one hand, and popular anarchy on the other : avoided civil commotions, and defended ourselves from foreign aggression and violence, who can say that Mexico will not be equally successful ? The republican institutions of the United States were in a great measure an experiment : but Mexico has the light of our example to direct her course ; she has copied from a correct model, and it now only remains for her to preserve the likeness of the copy to the original, and her destiny will not be less glorious than her illustrious prototype, the first American republic. The influence of liberty is the same every where ; in the torrid as in the temperate zone, on the table-lands of Mexico as on the rugged hills of New England.

A large portion of the Mexican territory, like that of the United States, is unsettled, and in a state of nature, and is capacious enough to carve out states which would double the present number, as has already been done in the northern confederacy. The vast interior regions of the east, north, and west, are very fertile, enjoying a fine climate, possessing great facilities and advantages for settlements, and are capable of sustaining an immense population. Mexico affords flattering prospects to foreign emigrants, and the government is fully sensible of the advantages of recruiting its population from other nations. It is no longer prophesy to say, that the time is not distant when there will be two great republics in North America, each uniting numerous subordinate republics, and possessing a vast population, free and enlightened, enjoying all the blessings of liberty and republican institutions.

SKETCH  
OF THE  
HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE  
OF  
GUATEMALA.

CHAPTER XI.

*Situation and extent of the country—revolution and establishment of its independence—rivers—climate—productions—population—character and customs of Indians—principal towns—Leon—Guatemala—public instruction—mines—roads—army—finances—patronage of foreigners—conclusion.*

THE kingdom of Guatemala, now known by the better name of "The Republic of Central America," is situated in the centre, between North and South America, and is bounded on the west by the province of Chiapa; on the northwest by Yucatan; on the southeast by Viragua, in Colombia; on the south and south west by the Pacific; and on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, or Gulf of Mexico. The superficial extent of Guatemala is estimated at about twenty-six thousand square leagues, varying much in quality, height, exposure, temperature, and fertility. From this it may be seen that it is larger than Spain in Europe, or the republic of Chili in the New World.

Until 1821, this interesting portion of the American continent remained subject to Spain; and was as an elegant writer expresses himself, *a rose shut up in its bud*. Some time previous, however, to this date, the minds of the inhabitants of Guatemala had been prepared for shaking off the oppressive yoke of Spain. The journals, the writings, and the opinions of men of influence, had kindled in the breast of the natives a love of their country. The charms of liberty, and the advantages ever concomitant with a state of independence, had been demonstrated to them. Hence, the fire, which for a long time had lain smothered, was fanned into a flame; and on the 15th of September, 1821, the general wish

for in  
though  
creed  
tivities  
the ca  
The  
herity  
part in  
tion, j  
grords  
their c  
and in  
The  
friends  
Mexico  
time, w  
temala  
constit  
govern  
an Itali  
The m  
views o  
towns g  
gated th  
he had  
union o  
that uni  
of many  
nexion  
casion w  
suffici  
country  
eloquenc  
San Salv  
from the  
in defens  
forces of  
Guatema  
all the pr  
favour of  
Guater  
lowed for  
the Mexi  
that con  
Guatema  
The fa  
Vol. I



for independence was openly manifested—a day of the month thought to be so memorable, that the Constituent Assembly decreed that it should every year be celebrated with patriotic festivities, religious pomp, and gifts to the poorest young persons of the capital, who had married during the preceding twelvemonth. The spirit of independence thus manifested, spread with the celerity of electric fire, and the deputies of Guatemala, who took part in the Cortes of Madrid, as the representatives for that nation, joining in the shout of joy raised by their countrymen, recorded in Madrid, in December, 1821, to the general voice of their country, in a splendid banquet, uniting their vows of firmness and independence to those of their fellow-citizens.

The anticipations of the inhabitants of Guatemala, and her friends, were not, however, to be realized without a struggle. Mexico, which had proclaimed her independence at the same time, was desirous of forming one state in conjunction with Guatemala, and saw with displeasure that these provinces desired to constitute themselves a separate and independent nation. The government of Mexico, therefore, sent the commandant Filisola, an Italian, with some troops, to prevent the threatened separation. The machinations of the captain-general, in unison with the views of the Mexican government, the wishes expressed by many towns gained over by cabal, and the rumours industriously propagated that Filisola came with an imposing force, (when in reality he had no more than 700 men,) tended to make it appear that the union of Guatemala with Mexico was voluntary, although in fact that union was but the effect of deceit and violence. The efforts of many of the citizens to set aside that forcible and absurd connexion proved abortive; the voice of Senor del Valle on that occasion was not listened to, nor were the wishes of several patriots sufficiently favoured by fortune. These generous lovers of their country were not permitted to reap the fruit of their courage and eloquence, until two years afterward, in 1823. The province of San Salvador however, and a part of that of Nicaragua, refused from the first moment to submit to Mexico. They took up arms in defence of their independence, and although assailed by the forces of Filisola, re-enforced by the troops of the province of Guatemala, prolonged their existence until the public opinion of all the provinces, on the 21st of June, 1823, spoke out again in favour of complete independence.

Guatemala, united to Mexico by force and political cabal, followed for some time the fate of that empire, and sent deputies to the Mexican congress; and when, on the 18th of October, 1822, that congress was dissolved by the powerful hand of Iturbide, Guatemala submitted to the yoke of the usurper.

The fall of Iturbide was the signal for the recovery of her inde-



pendence. Accordingly, on the 24th of June, 1823, Guatemala declared herself an independent state. Every thing was now in her favour. The commandant Filisola, who had enjoyed opportunities of knowing the true wants and wishes of the people of that country, instead of opposing the insurrection, gave all his assistance to help it forward; although the motive which induced him to give such co-operation was not, perhaps, of the most generous nature.

Animated with a desire of becoming the chief of the new republic of Guatemala, he was in hopes, by such an adhesion, to open to himself the road to power. The congress of Mexico having become more wise from experience, and more just by reason of its own misfortunes, a few months afterward acknowledged the independence of Guatemala. But the army which had first given oppression, and subsequently liberty to the country, threatened again to overthrow the republic, and to place a usurper on its ruins. On the 14th of September, 1823, a dangerous conspiracy against the government broke out among several corps of the army, and the fate of the republic was for two days undecided. During this time, the sittings of the Constituent Assembly were suspended; broils and combats arose in the streets, while the hall of the Assembly served as a fort to the patriots, against the attacks of the military. At last, patriotism stood forth triumphant; and captain Ariza, the contriver of the conspiracy against the government, was constrained to fly, while a serjeant of artillery, his accomplice, suffered the punishment of death, a penalty which he had most deservedly incurred. The troops which had rebelled were disbanded; praises were prodigally bestowed on the courage and patriotism of the inhabitants of Guatemala; and the names of those, who, during these days, had sacrificed their lives in fighting for their country, were engraved on marble in the hall of the Congress.

Guatemala had scarcely raised the standard of independence, on the 24th of June, 1823, when measures were taken to nominate a Constitutional Assembly, by which the basis of a constitution fit for a federal republic might be arranged; and through the medium of which it might be presented for approval to the five states composing the nation. After some months, the labours of the Assembly were completed. The model which served to guide the legislators of Guatemala was the republican forms of government of the United States of America; together with that of Colombia. By the constitution, the legislative power is vested in a federal congress and a senate. The congress is elected by the people, and is half renewed every year. Each state sends a representative for every 30,000 inhabitants. The senate is composed of members, popularly elected in the ratio of two for every state. That body has the right of sanctioning all the resolutions

made  
indivi  
cutive  
habita  
Presid  
last fo  
any in  
very,  
the pr  
Guate  
Each  
govern  
The  
the me  
of its  
which  
rivers  
discha  
Some  
L'Ulu  
naviga  
most o  
Nicara  
in circ  
and dis  
San Ju  
ject of  
canal,  
ready b  
when t  
folded.  
ward th  
Juan, a  
Concha  
Guat  
lower p  
zone.  
that of  
you ent  
the equ  
frigid z  
The  
climates  
tired of  
two pro  
are in J

made in the congress, and a third part is renewed annually; the individuals going out being eligible to be re-elected. The executive power is exercised by a president, nominated by the inhabitants of the different states of the federation. The offices of President and Vice President (both nominated in the same way) last for four years, and the individuals who fill them may, without any interval, be *once* re-elected. The constitution abolishes slavery, establishes individual liberty, and guarantees the freedom of the press. The republic is at present divided into *five states*; Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Each of these states is free and independent as to its provincial government, and internal administration.

The territory, thus emancipated from the long oppression of the mother country, possesses many advantages for the extension of its riches and power. From the lofty summits of the Andes, which cross the territory, many of which are volcanic, numerous rivers descend, fertilizing the soil, refreshing the atmosphere, and discharging themselves into the Northern and Southern oceans. Some of these rivers are partly navigable, such as the Motagua, L'Ulua, L'Aguan, &c. and others, no doubt might be rendered navigable, were the scheme encouraged by government. The most considerable interior waters of the territory are the lakes Nicaragua and Leon, the former of which is three hundred miles in circumference. These lakes are connected by a narrow strait, and discharge themselves into the gulf of Mexico, by the river San Juan; the course of which is about ninety miles. The project of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by means of a canal, and the lake Nicaragua and the river San Juan, has already been suggested; and can scarcely fail to be accomplished, when the prospects and resources of the nation are better unfolded. The territory is accessible by numerous harbours; toward the north are the ports of the Gulf, Omoa, Truxillo, San Juan, and Matina; and on the south, those of Ricoia, Realexo, Conchagua, Acajutla, Iztapa, &c.

Guatemala lies wholly within the tropics, and, hence, in the lower part of the country is to be found the *climate* of the torrid zone. As you ascend the mountains, the climate corresponds to that of the temperate zone, and is cool and delightful; higher up, you enter the regions of perpetual frost; and here, even under the equator, you are encircled by the snows and rigours of the frigid zones.

The *productions* of the soil are in general those of tropical climates, and are almost innumerable. Nature never appears tired of conferring her bounties on this part of the world. The two productions most known to commerce, and most esteemed, are *indigo* and *cochineal*. In the province of Soconusco, the

cocón, for the especial use of the court of Madrid, was formerly gathered. Logwood, also, is an important article of exportation. As early as 1730, the British established a settlement on Black River, seventy-five miles to the east of the bay of Honduras, and another on a navigable stream, near cape Gracias a Dios, for the purpose of the logwood trade. The logwood cut in this part of the country is of the best quality, and superior to that on the borders of the bay of Campeachy. Guatemala has rich pastures, which support vast herds of cattle; the hides of which form an article of commerce of considerable importance.

According to Baron Humboldt, in 1822, the population of the ancient kingdom of Guatemala did not exceed 1,600,000 souls. These calculations of the baron have since been found to be incorrect; and the population is now estimated to be not less than 2,000,000. More than half of these consist of Indian tribes, which speak many and opposite languages; and hence are thought to have descended from divers nations. Generally speaking their languages are difficult to acquire, having a short, harsh, guttural sound, and the signification being changed by only laying a greater or less stress upon the words.

The greater proportion of these Indians profess the catholic religion, having been converted by means of the ministry of successive Spanish missionaries. Few of them, however, understand the tenets of their religion. They are credulous and superstitious. In the state of Honduras, on the banks of the river Uluá, exist a tribe of Indians, from fifteen to twenty thousand, called Sicaques, who are quiet and hospitable in their disposition. They welcome most affectionately every stranger; and if such persons show an inclination to become domiciliated among them, give them a hut, and provide them with agricultural utensils; and after a year, if they have conducted themselves well, incorporate them with their community, giving one of their daughters in marriage to each of them.

The foreigner who receives these marks of favour and hospitality, should take especial care never to speak of the missionaries, whom they detest, as having uniformly been the chief agents in the work of their oppression. In the state of Honduras, also, the Musquito Indians are resident,—rough in their aspect, dirty, and nearly naked. These are the implacable enemies to the Spaniards, who could never subdue them. They are inhospitable, and carry on an insignificant commerce with the English alone, selling to them the small quantity of silver and gold, which they pick up in the rivers and mines. Some of them are seen in the streets of Wallis (an English settlement) who appear like the gipsies in Europe, and live apart from all the other inhabitants, feeding on uncleanness and the offal which they find in the streets.

Some  
are it

Wh  
conve  
state  
tha th  
such r  
tles de  
tentati  
traces  
ruisera  
only o  
contain  
nulty o  
no inst  
with as  
of the

The  
state :  
like sa  
die, lea  
clothin  
the bro  
nies, a  
Indians  
selves  
tongue

It is  
coward  
the co  
kingdom  
soldiers  
Plaxalt  
fifty, or  
in the S  
ceed in  
last war  
weapon  
kets.

tramed  
By d  
of citize  
descend  
wise th  
towns a  
Unde

Some will have them to be cannibals, but certain it is that they are still idolaters.

When we behold the disorder, narrowness, and total want of convenience, in the houses of the natives of this country, and the state of misery in which they are now found, it appears incredible that the Indians before the conquest should have had palaces of such magnificence, cities so well constructed, fortresses and castles defended with so much art, and other edifices for mere ostentation and parade, of which many histories descant, and some traces still remain. The richest Indian has *now* nothing but a miserable house for his habitation, which, generally speaking, has only one chamber, and, although sometimes their houses may contain several apartments, they are arranged without any continuity of order, and separated from each other; so that there is no instance of an Indian possessing a house inclosed in walls, with any vestige of taste, notwithstanding they have the abodes of the Spaniards constantly before their eyes.

The Indians in the vicinity of Guatemala are yet in a wild state: they speak the indigencous language, and clothe themselves like savages, if a piece of cloth with which they cover their middle, leaving all the rest of the body naked, can be denominated clothing. The females are not more covered than the men; but the bronze-like colour of their skins, and their coarse physiognomies, are antidotes against the seductions of such a dress. The Indians of the other provinces are more civilized, clothing themselves after the European fashion, and speaking the Spanish tongue.

It is generally remarked, that the Indians are naturally timid and cowardly,—a fact which is perfectly established by the history of the conquest. Don Pedro Alvarado conquered the numerous kingdoms which existed in his day, with some hundred Spanish soldiers, and six thousand allied Indians from the province of Plaxaltecas. The armies of the Indian kings consisted of thirty, fifty, and sometimes eighty thousand men, if credit can be placed in the Spanish historians. But by degrees, as these Indians proceed in civilization, they acquire courage and valour; and in the last war many of them evinced great prowess. Their principal weapon is the sabre, and several of them know how to use muskets. Many of the tribes are armed with spears, and are extremely skilful in shooting with arrows.

By the present constitution, the Indians have acquired the right of citizenship, and are placed completely on an equality with the descendants of the Spaniards. They cannot therefore be otherwise than attached to the new system, and many of their entire towns are open partisans of the republican government.

Under the Spanish rule these people lived in oppression. The

government, to appearance, protected them; but, in *reality*, their laws tended solely to keep them in ignorance and inferiority. Thus the Spanish law considered the Indians as minors during their whole life, and subjected them to a perpetual tutelage. In order to prevent instruction from penetrating to them in any way, the Spaniards were prohibited from entering Indian villages. Dancing in their own houses was not permitted, and, to the end that they might not become accomplished in the exercises of war, they were debarred from even mounting on horseback, although their country was most abundant in horses. In fine, under the Spanish sway they were liable to be compelled by the proprietors of mines to work in those subterranean caverns for *two reals*, or twenty-five cents per day. These people, therefore, have cause to bless the present constitution, which has emancipated them from a state of degradation, and their emancipation would always be a powerful obstacle in the way of the pretensions and attempts of Spain, even were that power in a state of capability to aspire to the reconquest of its colonies.

The historian Torquemada, says, that these Indians under their kings, had colleges and seminaries for children and adults, under the superintendance of approved, prudent, and able persons. Although in the present day no traces of these colleges remain; nevertheless, Indian parents take great pains with the education of their children. The mothers suckle their offspring till it attains the age of three years, and there is no instance of their confiding their children to a strange nurse. They carry them slung over their shoulders, wrapped up in a piece of cloth, which they tie before them. With this burden they wash, and grind, the movement of the mother serving as a gentle rocking to the child. They do not defend them from the inclemencies of wind, of rain, of sun, or of frost; nor have they any cradle but the hard ground, or at most a piece of cloth. As soon as the child can walk, they place burdens on him adapted to his strength, and at the age of five or six years, he is conducted to the fields to gather grass, or to collect wood. At a more mature age, the father instructs his sons in hunting, fishing, labouring, using the bow and arrow, dancing, and other accomplishments. The mothers teach their daughters to grind, to spin cotton and *pita*, and to weave all kinds of cloth. They accustom them to bathe frequently, as often as twice or thrice a day. They are jealous of the honour of their daughters, and never suffer them to be absent a moment from their sight.

The Indians lead a life of great hardship, sleeping on the bare ground, with their heads wrapped in a woollen covering, and their feet exposed to the air. They eat from off the ground, without any cloth or napkin, and their chief aliment consists of maize;

for although  
mal food, it  
with a *tortilla*  
*comal*, or p  
salt. They  
tracted from  
sweet drink  
cularly parti  
it in their ov  
gar of a ven  
costs two re  
imposed a t

When the  
of repetition  
ocasions, o  
secrets with  
than reveal  
reply determ  
a *quizas si*, v

Among the  
Quosaltenan  
These perso  
rious kinds.  
*serga*, which  
wool, and is  
people who a  
a more ordin  
cloth, and is  
these stuffs  
The Indians  
the stuffs we  
men make us  
in the cities.

It is by no  
Indians are i  
lectual facult  
a criterion fo  
physical pow  
peans in the  
their equals,  
loads of two  
diseases bett  
ganization of  
habitants of  
faculties for a  
reflect, that f



for although they eat ox-flesh, game, and other mountainous animal food, it is taken in small quantities, and always accompanied with a *tortilla*, which is a cake of maize, thin, and baked on a *comal*, or plate of clay, and seasoned with a small quantity of salt. They drink water or else *chicha*, which is a beverage extracted from maize, bran, or different fruits. The *chicha* is a sweet drink, and also of a strong nature. The Indians are particularly partial to brandy, which they purchase in bottles, or make it in their own houses from bran, or *panela*, which is a sort of sugar of a very vile quality. In some villages a bottle of brandy costs two reals, and in others four. The government has always imposed a tax on this distillation.

When they pay visits, they make use of long harangues, full of repetitions; and their sons when they accompany them on such occasions, observe the strictest silence. The Indians preserve secrets with the greatest fidelity, and would rather suffer death than reveal them. When interrogated about any thing they never reply determinately, but always in the way of a doubt, and with a *quizas si*, which signifies *perhaps*.

Among the Indians in the province of Guatemala and those of Quosaltenango, there are many who possess sheep in abundance. These persons avail themselves of the wool to weave stuffs of various kinds. The most common of these stuffs is that called *serga*, which for the most part is a mixture of black and white wool, and is used by the Indians for clothes, as well as by other people who are employed in rough and hard labour. They weave a more ordinary sort of stuff which scarcely deserves the name of cloth, and is destined for various purposes. The lowest price of these stuffs is a real the *vara*, which is nearly an English yard. The Indians, also, manufacture cotton cloth, higher in price, than the stuffs we have just mentioned, and of which the Indian women make use for dress, as well as the poorer classes of people in the cities.

It is by no means true, as some writers have asserted, that the Indians are inferior to Europeans in physical force, and in intellectual faculties; or at least some writers have assigned too low a criterion for judging of the natives of America. With regard to physical power, if the Indians are not to be compared with Europeans in the conventional beauties of figure, many of them are their equals, or superiors in strength, and are capable of carrying loads of two hundred pounds English weight. They also resist diseases better than Europeans. There is no doubt that the organization of the Indians is similar to that of the European inhabitants of America; and to prove that they possess the same faculties for acquiring any art or science, it is sufficient merely to reflect, that from among those Indians who have been placed in



contact with civilized society, and instructed by priests capable of guiding their understandings, many have stood forth eminently skilled in philosophy, in theology, in jurisprudence, and in other sciences which they have been taught. In the province of Nicaragua there was an Indian ecclesiastic, (not long dead) styled *Doctor Ruiz*, who was a scholar of no ordinary stamp. In general, they make great progress in whatever studies they take up; and are particularly gifted with fluency of language and feelings of patriotism. They were the first in 1812 to take part in the revolution of Independence; and in the first constituent assembly of Guatemala, in 1823, three Indian deputies took their seats, of whom two were ecclesiastics.

The principal towns are Leon, the capital of the state of Nicaragua, situated near the Pacific, and containing a population of about 12,000 inhabitants—Grenada, Nicaragua, Masaya, and San Salvador. But the place which particularly deserves notice is the city of *Guatemala*, the capital of the republic.

The present Guatemala is the fourth city which has borne the name. The first was that Guatemala which was the residence of the kings of the Rachiqueles, and which has so entirely disappeared that the Spanish historians are still at issue as to the spot where it existed. The second was founded by Alvarado, in 1524, between two volcanoes, as a temporary establishment, until he could select a more appropriate situation; but finding none, the city was enlarged, and multitudes became inhabitants of it. It was, however, inundated and desolated in 1541, by a tremendous torrent of water which issued from a volcano. The third city of Guatemala was founded in a pleasant valley, and became a place of great extent and much splendour. But the city was unfortunately shaken by frequent earthquakes; and in several instances nearly destroyed. At last, the place having again been partly laid waste by the earthquake of 1773, the inhabitants, tired of ruin, and of so often rebuilding their domiciles, resolved to remove to a spot farther distant from the volcano, and the misfortunes it occasioned; making choice for that purpose, of the valley of Mexico, where in 1776 the new Guatemala was erected.

*New Guatemala*, the capital of the republic, is built in a spacious plain, five leagues, or fifteen miles, in diameter, watered and fertilized by various rivulets and considerable lakes, under a smiling sky, and enjoying a benignant climate; so much so, that throughout the year woollen or silk stuffs may be worn indiscriminately. The streets of the city are straight, tolerably long, and in general paved. The houses, though built low for fear of earthquakes, are nevertheless commodious, pretty in appearance, and have gardens and orchards attached to them. The principal plaza is a large square, of which each side measures 150 yards, well

paved, with  
built by an  
chitecture.  
palace, and  
cathedral is  
the palace o  
tain, slightly  
somely and  
arrested by  
barbarous a  
way of refin  
have somet  
where law, t  
are taught;  
cal museum  
possesses, b  
constructed  
ployed in E  
dy this defic  
individual, a  
chines. Th  
from it was  
ed with the  
public; exhib  
*ca y fecundo*  
mountains, c

According  
while he was  
mala exceed

The city  
Guatemala;  
north; near  
from the city

The new  
ence of olde  
spect to pub  
attention; an  
becomes firm

The wisdo  
cious in reg  
instruction of  
and liberty.

list of the sc  
means best fi  
Guatemala an  
700 young m

paved, with porticoes all around. In front of it is the cathedral, built by an Italian artist, in a correct and magnificent style of architecture. On one side of the cathedral is the archiepiscopal palace, and on the other one of the seminaries. In front of the cathedral is erected the palace of government, near which stands the palace of justice, and in the middle of the square plays a fountain, slightly carved. The churches of Guatemala are all handsomely and elegantly constructed, and the attention is particularly arrested by a beautiful amphitheatre of stone, destined for the barbarous amusement of bull-baiting; and in this building, by way of refinement in cruelty, combats between jaguars and bulls have sometimes been exhibited. There is a well built university where law, theology, medicine, mathematics, and natural history, are taught; to which are added a small library, and an anatomical museum, with several curious preparations in wax. The city possesses, besides, an academy for the fine arts, an elegantly constructed mint, very deficient, however, in the machinery employed in European establishments of the same kind. To remedy this deficiency, the government has lately commissioned an individual, at present in London, to purchase one of Bolton's machines. This mint has always been in active employment; and from it was issued, in 1824, the recent gold and silver coin, stamped with the newly-devised armorial bearings adopted by the republic; exhibiting on one side a tree, with the motto "*Libre crezca y fecundo*," and on the other a rising sun, enlightening five mountains, emblematical of the five federal states.

According to the census, instituted by order of Senor del Valle, while he was president of the republic, the population of Guatemala exceeded 40,000 souls.

The city is from twenty-five to thirty miles from the ancient Guatemala; about three hundred miles from the sea on the north; near the Pacific ocean, and more than one thousand miles from the city of Mexico.

The new government of Guatemala, profiting by the experience of older countries, is already copying their example in respect to public improvements. Several objects are receiving attention; and doubtless will receive still more, as the government becomes firmer, and its resources are better unfolded.

The wisdom of the government has been particularly conspicuous in regard to *public instruction*, from a conviction that the instruction of a people constitutes the true foundation of virtue and liberty. The local authorities were directed to present the list of the schools existing in each province, and to propose the means best fitted to augment similar seminaries. In the city of Guatemala are ten schools for reading and writing, in which nearly 700 young men are educated. The government, anxious to es-

establish the system of mutual instruction, directed its minister at the United States, to procure a professor capable of transplanting and diffusing that plan in the republic, while it disseminated throughout the provinces a pamphlet, printed in Mexico, in which the new method was explained; and a committee was selected to translate the projects of Foureroy, Condorcet, and Talleyrand, on the subject of public instruction.

A chair of mathematics, of botany and agriculture, and another of architecture, were endowed in the university: and in order to propagate the knowledge of agriculture and botany, so essential in a country highly favoured by nature, and so shamefully neglected by man, young persons were brought from all the provinces to be instructed in these sciences. As a proof of the laudable impartiality of the government, it is worthy of remark, that six black young men of Omoa and Truxillo are educated at its expense.

The cultivation of cochineal in the different provinces is greatly encouraged by the ruling powers; and, by their direction, pamphlets have been circulated, disclosing the most approved methods of cultivating that valuable production, as well as printed essays on the rearing of cocoa and indigo. The latter article, which for former years had fallen in value, rose in 1814 to a price unexampled for many years. The plantations of cochineal recently cultivated in the republic make great progress, and in a short time will be one of the principal sources of national wealth.

The mines of Guatemala contain abundance of wealth. Those of *Alostepeque*, *Del Corpus*, *San Martin*, *San Antonio*, *Santa Lucia*, and *Tapanco*, which are situated in the same ridge of mountains, with the mines of Peru, Potosi, and Mexico, are supposed to be not much inferior in wealth to the latter, so justly celebrated throughout the world. Scientific mineralogists and expert miners have been greatly wanting, to open to the inhabitants those bounties with which the liberal hand of Providence has enriched the country. The new government of the republic, aware of this obstacle, and anxious to invigorate and protect so important a source of wealth, began, among the first acts of its administration, to put into effect every possible method for the improvement and prosperity of the mines. It caused printed instructions to be distributed among the miners, and circulated an essay on the separation of metals, bringing at the same time a professor of mineralogy from Mexico, and urging the agents of two English commercial houses, to establish a company for the purpose of undertaking the proper working of the mines.

The roads of Guatemala are exceedingly poor, it having been the policy of the parent monarchy to prevent facilities of communication between place and place. From this neglect of its former rulers, the

republic for  
of making  
diction; a  
in all prob  
road, and th  
tal. The  
ports, decl  
from Euro  
seat of gov  
tance does  
ter, and pa  
the attentio  
a communic  
already con  
small establi

The arm  
clothed, an  
wanted, and  
in a state of  
ries, and ba  
the exceptio  
ry, there ma  
of the gove  
ample prov  
state. A s  
endowed.  
Americans h  
passive obe  
rogative of t  
cers, and ev  
sequence of  
foundation of

The finan  
Under the S  
million of d  
gers, the cou  
sum. Amid  
concerns al  
Guatemala,  
ward as an e  
beginning to  
ment will ere  
the national  
more palatab  
imprudent pl  
public treasu

republic found itself imperiously called on to commence the labour of making communications between the provinces within its jurisdiction ; a work which Spain had long neglected to commence, and in all probability would never have undertaken. The principal road, and the one most frequented, is that from Omoa to the capital. The chamber of commerce of Guatemala, in one of its reports, declared, that the merchandise which arrived at Omoa from Europe could not in many instances be transported to the seat of government, in less than eight months, although the distance does not much exceed three hundred miles, partly by water, and partly by land. In consequence of this representation, the attention of the government was directed to the facilitating of a communication between these places ; for which object it has already commenced the founding of the post of Isabel and other small establishments, along that line of road.

The *army* of the republic, is in a very dilapidated state ; badly clothed, armed, payed, and disciplined. Muskets are much wanted, and the fortresses require a thorough repair to put them in a state of defence. The harbours are unprotected by batteries, and barracks are so much wanted for the soldiery, that with the exception of one newly erected in Guatemala, for the cavalry, there may be said to be none in the republic. The attention of the government is turning toward this important subject, and ample provision will doubtless be made for the defence of the state. A school for officers, and a military college, have been endowed. Military knowledge was carefully withheld from the Americans by the Spanish government. They were taught that passive obedience was *their* duty, and to command was the prerogative of the Spaniard. The chief of corps, the subaltern officers, and even the serjeants, were sent from Spain ; and in consequence of this system of mistrust, under the Spanish sway, the foundation of a military college in Guatemala was not permitted.

The *financial concerns* of Guatemala are said to be improving. Under the Spaniards the revenue of the kingdom amounted to a million of dollars ; but by reason of the peculation of its managers, the court of Madrid received little or no benefit from that sum. Amidst convulsions and changes of government, financial concerns always undergo an unfavourable mutation ; nor could Guatemala, in its unsettled position, be expected to stand forward as an exception to this rule. Order and economy are now beginning to be re-established, and the revenue of the government will ere long keep pace with the progress and increase of the national wealth. In order to make the present institutions more palatable to the people, recourse was had to the hasty and imprudent plan of abolishing some of the taxes which filled the public treasury. The contributions which the natives paid, un-

der the name of tribute, have been taken off, and likewise the tax on playing cards and snow, not to mention the duties derived from *bulls*, the fifth of gold and silver, the half of the secular annats, the two per cent. on tobacco, and various other imposts which have been diminished, or exchanged. By reason of these reductions the public treasury became so empty, that the government was constrained to contract in London for a loan of seven millions and a half of dollars, by the assistance of which sum it will gain time to re-establish by gradual process some branches of the public revenue, and be enabled to undertake at the same time many works advantageous to the state.

The revenue destined for the general expenses of the republic has, for some time past, been derived solely from imposts on powder, postage, tobacco, and clearances from the maritime custom-house. We cannot say whether the produce of these four objects of taxation are sufficient to maintain the general expenses of the republic, which, according to Señor del Valle, rarely exceed 500,000 dollars. But, should there be a slight deficiency in the revenue to meet the expenditure, this will be but a momentary evil, inasmuch as the government, besides daily adopting economical experiments, is proceeding slowly with the augmentation of the taxes, in quotas which will fall lightly on the people, and be a mere nothing, when compared with the sums which were exacted from them in times past. The fact is that the inhabitants of Guatemala pay less taxes than any other people of the present day in Europe or America. Señor del Valle having compared the contributions of Mexico with those of Guatemala, proves, that in Mexico each person pays eleven reals, or one dollar and thirty-seven and a half cents, and in his country but two and a half, or thirty-one cents.

In respect to *foreigners*, Guatemala has exhibited the most liberal policy. By the 12th article of the constitution, "the republic" is declared to be "a sacred asylum for any foreigner, and the country of any one who desires to inhabit its territory." Aware of the necessity of inviting foreign industry to establish itself in the republic, the government, by a decree of the 12th of January, 1824, offered the most liberal advantages to foreigners who colonize there. Land is easily obtained, and its possession is accompanied with exemption of taxes for twenty years, and the right of citizenship after three; besides which, the most careful protection is given to every foreign agriculturist.





