

Doc. 89

**MESSAGE**

FROM THE

**PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,**

TRANSMITTING,

In pursuance of a resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 30th Jan. last,

*Communications from the Agents of the United States*

WITH THE

**GOVERNMENTS SOUTH OF THE U. STATES**

WHICH HAVE

**Declared their Independence;**

And the Communications from the Agents of such Governments in the United States  
with the Secretary of State, as tend to shew the

**Political condition of their Governments,**

AND THE

**STATE OF THE WAR BETWEEN THEM AND SPAIN.**

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MARCH 8, 1822.

Read, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

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WASHINGTON:

PRINTED BY GALES & SEATON,

1822.



## MESSAGE.

*To the House of Representatives of the United States:*

In transmitting to the House of Representatives the documents called for by the resolution of that House, of the 30th January, I consider it my duty to invite the attention of Congress to a very important subject, and to communicate the sentiments of the Executive on it, that, should Congress entertain similar sentiments, there may be such co-operation between the two departments of the government as their respective rights and duties may require.

The revolutionary movement in the Spanish provinces in this hemisphere attracted the attention and excited the sympathy of our fellow-citizens from its commencement. This feeling was natural and honorable to them, from causes which need not be communicated to you. It has been gratifying to all to see the general acquiescence which has been manifested in the policy which the constituted authorities have deemed it proper to pursue in regard to this contest. As soon as the movement assumed such a steady and consistent form as to make the success of the provinces probable, the rights to which they were entitled by the law of nations, as equal parties to a civil war, were extended to them. Each party was permitted to enter our ports with its public and private ships, and to take from them every article which was the subject of commerce with other nations. Our citizens, also, have carried on commerce with both parties, and the government has protected it, with each, in articles not contraband of war. Through the whole of this contest the United States have remained neutral, and have fulfilled with the utmost impartiality all the obligations incident to that character.

This contest has now reached such a stage, and been attended with such decisive success on the part of the provinces, that it merits the most profound consideration whether their right to the rank of independent nations, with all the advantages incident to it, in their intercourse with the United States, is not complete. Buenos Ayres assumed that rank by a formal declaration in 1816, and has enjoyed it since 1810, free from invasion by the parent country. The provinces composing the Republic of Colombia, after having separately declared their independence, were united by a fundamental law of the 17th of December, 1819. A strong Spanish force occupied, at that time, certain parts of the territory within their limits, and waged a destructive war. That force has since been repeatedly defeated, and the whole of it either made prisoners or destroyed, or expelled from the

country, with the exception of an inconsiderable portion only, which is blockaded in two fortresses. The provinces on the Pacific have likewise been very successful. Chili declared independence in 1818, and has since enjoyed it undisturbed; and of late, by the assistance of Chili and Buenos Ayres, the revolution has extended to Peru. Of the movement in Mexico our information is less authentic, but it is, nevertheless, distinctly understood, that the new government has declared its independence, and that there is now no opposition to it there, nor a force to make any. For the last three years the government of Spain has not sent a single corps of troops to any part of that country; nor is there any reason to believe it will send any in future. Thus, it is manifest, that all those provinces are not only in the full enjoyment of their independence, but, considering the state of the war and other circumstances, that there is not the most remote prospect of their being deprived of it.

When the result of such a contest is manifestly settled, the new governments have a claim to recognition by other powers, which ought not to be resisted. Civil wars too often excite feelings which the parties cannot control. The opinion entertained by other powers as to the result, may assuage those feelings and promote an accommodation between them useful and honorable to both. The delay which has been observed in making a decision on this important subject, will, it is presumed, have afforded an unequivocal proof to Spain, as it must have done to other powers, of the high respect entertained by the United States for her rights, and of their determination not to interfere with them. The provinces belonging to this hemisphere are our neighbors, and have, successively, as each portion of the country acquired its independence, pressed their recognition by an appeal to facts not to be contested, and which they thought gave them a just title to it. To motives of interest this government has invariably disclaimed all pretension, being resolved to take no part in the controversy, or other measure in regard to it, which should not merit the sanction of the civilized world. To other claims a just sensibility has been always felt, and frankly acknowledged, but they in themselves could never become an adequate cause of action. It was incumbent on this government to look to every important fact and circumstance on which a sound opinion could be formed, which has been done. When we regard, then, the great length of time which this war has been prosecuted, the complete success which has attended it in favor of the provinces, the present condition of the parties, and the utter inability of Spain to produce any change in it, we are compelled to conclude that its fate is settled, and that the provinces which have declared their independence, and are in the enjoyment of it, ought to be recognized.

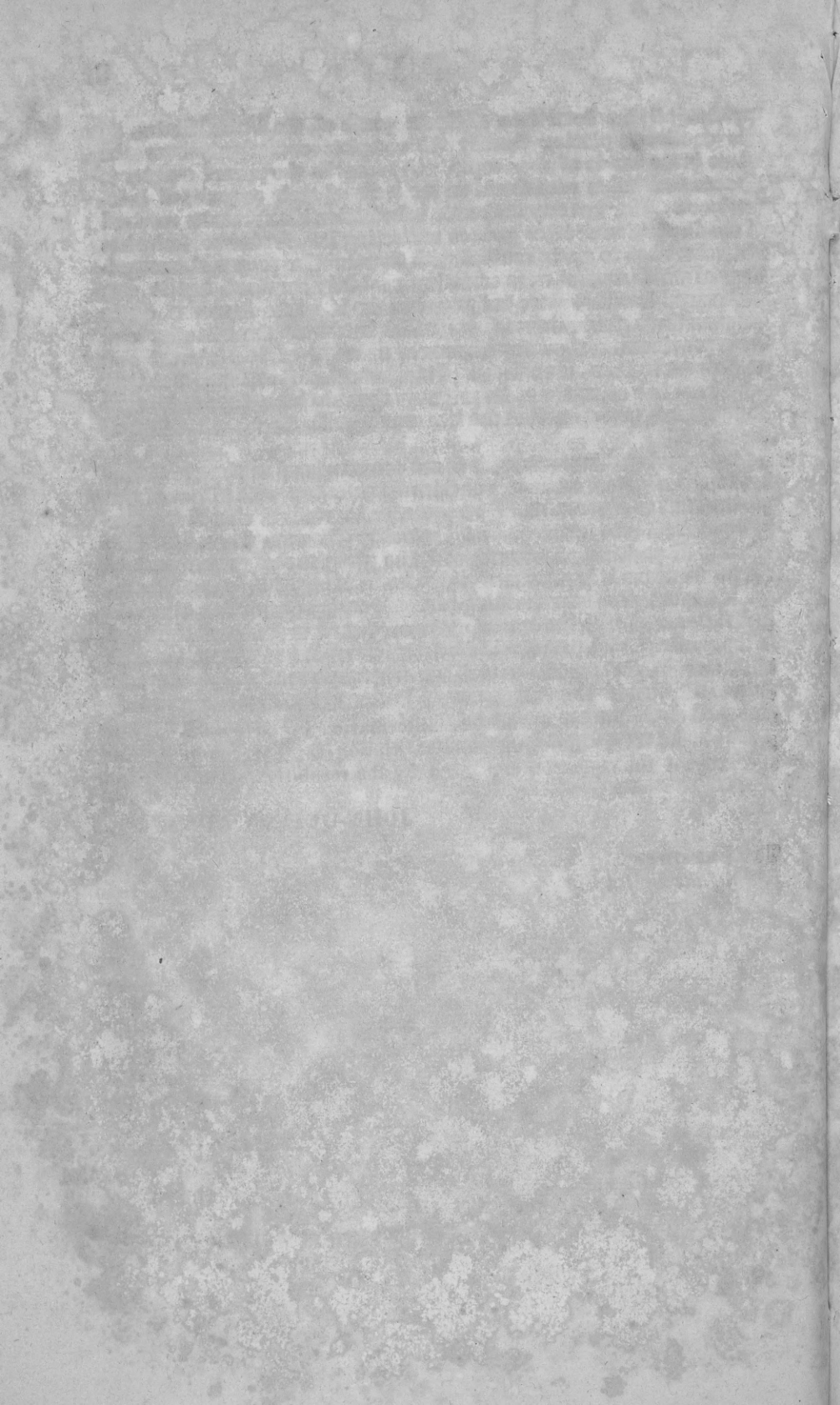
Of the views of the Spanish government on this subject, no particular information has been recently received. It may be presumed that the successful progress of the revolution, through such a long series of years, gaining strength, and extending annually in every direction, and embracing, by the late important events, with little ex-

ception, all the dominions of Spain south of the United States, on this continent, placing thereby the complete sovereignty over the whole in the hands of the people, will reconcile the parent country to an accommodation with them, on the basis of their unqualified independence. Nor has any authentic information been recently received of the disposition of other powers respecting it. A sincere desire has been cherished to act in concert with them in the proposed recognition, of which several were sometime past duly apprized, but it was understood that they were not prepared for it. The immense space between those powers, even those which border on the Atlantic, and these provinces, makes the movement an affair of less interest and excitement to them, than to us. It is probable, therefore, that they have been less attentive to its progress than we have been. It may be presumed, however, that the late events will dispel all doubt of the result.

In proposing this measure, it is not contemplated to change thereby, in the slightest manner, our friendly relations with either of the parties, but to observe, in all respects, as heretofore, should the war be continued, the most perfect neutrality between them. Of this friendly disposition, an assurance will be given to the government of Spain, to whom it is presumed it will be, as it ought to be, satisfactory. The measure is proposed, under a thorough conviction that it is in strict accord with the law of nations; that it is just and right as to the parties; and that the United States owe it to their station and character in the world, as well as to their essential interests, to adopt it. Should Congress concur in the view herein presented, they will doubtless see the propriety of making the necessary appropriations for carrying it into effect.

JAMES MONROE:

WASHINGTON, *March 8, 1822:*



## DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

*Washington, 7th March, 1822.*

The Secretary of State, to whom has been referred the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 30th of January last, requesting the President of the United States to lay before that House such communications as might be in the possession of the Executive from the agents of the United States with the governments south of the United States, which have declared their independence: and the communications from the agents of such governments in the United States, with the Secretary of State, as tend to shew the political condition of their governments, and the state of the war between them and Spain, as it might be consistent with the public interest to communicate; has the honor of submitting to the President the papers required by that resolution.

The communications from the agents of the United States are only those most recently received, and exhibiting their views of the actual condition of the several South American revolutionary governments. No communication has yet been received from Mr. Prevost since his arrival at Lima.

There has been hitherto no agent of the United States in Mexico; but among the papers herewith submitted, is a letter recently received from a citizen of the United States, who has been some years residing there, containing the best information in possession of the government, concerning the late revolution in that country; and specially of the character embraced by the resolution of the House.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The PRESIDENT  
*Of the United States.*

## LIST OF PAPERS

*Accompanying the report of the Secretary of State to the President, of  
7th March, 1822, in relation to South American affairs.*

The Secretary of State to John M. Forbes,	5th July 1820.
Mr Forbes to the Secretary of State, [extracts.]	2d Sept. 1821.
Same to same, [extract.]	11th do.
Same to same, [extracts.]	28th do.
Same to Mr. Rivadavia,	14th do.
Mr. Rivadavia to Mr. Forbes,	15th do.
Minute of a conference with Mr. Rivadavia,	17th do.
Mr. Rivadavia to Mr. Forbes,	6th Oct.
Decree.	
Mr. Forbes to the Secretary of State, [extracts.]	26th Oct.
Same to same, [extract.]	8th Nov.
Same to same, [extracts.]	13th Nov.
Mr. Prevost to the Secretary of State, [extract.]	30th June.
Same to Mr. Joaquin Echeveria, [copy.]	18th do.
General O'Higgins to Mr. Prevost, do.	23d do.
Mr. Hogan to the Secretary of State, [extract.]	18th Aug.
Act of Independence of Peru, [translation.]	
Mr. Brent to the Secretary of State,	10th July.
Mr. Torres to same, [translation.]	20th Feb.
Fundamental law of Congress of Venezuela, do.	17th Dec. 1819.
Credential letter to Mr. Torres, [translation.]	
Mr. Torres to the Secretary of State, do.	30th Nov. 1821.
Same to same, do.	30th Dec.
Same to same, do.	2d Jan. 1822.
Secretary of State to Mr. Torres,	18th do.
James Smith Wilcocks to the Secretary of State,	25th Oct. 1821.
Treaties concluded in the city of Cordova, on the 24th of August, 1821, between O'Donoju and Iturbide.	} Translations.
Decree of the Regency of Mexico.	
Manifesto to the people of Mexico.	

## DOCUMENTS.

*From the Secretary of State to Mr. John M. Forbes, at New York.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 5th July, 1820.

SIR: The certificate from this Department, which has been made out and transmitted to you, constitutes you agent for commerce and seamen, for either of the provinces of Buenos Ayres or of Chili, in whichever of them Mr. J. B. Prevost shall not be. He is at this time at Buenos Ayres; but having at one period intimated to the President a preference to return to Chili, where he some time resided, it is thought due to him to leave the selection of his residence, after your arrival at Buenos Ayres, to himself. Should he determine to continue there, you will proceed, either by land over the Andes, or in the frigate Constellation, round Cape Horn to Valparaiso, and take up your residence there, or at St. Jago de Chili, which is understood to be the seat of the revolutionary government of that province. If he should prefer to return thither, you will remain at Buenos Ayres.

The commercial intercourse between the United States and those countries, though not very considerable, is deserving of particular attention. Whatever accurate information you can obtain, relating to it, as well as to the commerce of those countries with other nations, and to their internal trade, will be particularly acceptable; the condition of our seamen there will also deserve your notice. The performance of these duties will involve also the political relations between those countries and the United States. In the progress of their revolution, Buenos Ayres and Chili have to the extent of their powers, and indeed, far beyond their natural means, combined maritime operations with those of their war by land. Having no ships or seamen of their own, they have countenanced and encouraged foreigners to enter their service, without always considering how far it might affect either the rights or the duties of the nations to which those foreigners belonged. The privateers, which, with the commissions, and under the flag of Buenos Ayres, have committed so many and such atrocious acts of piracy, were all either fitted out, manned, and officered by foreigners at Buenos Ayres, or even in foreign countries, not excepting our own, to which blank commissions both for the ships and officers have been sent. In the instructions to the late Commodore Perry, which his lamented decease prevented from being executed by him, and a copy of which is now furnished to you, certain articles in the Buenos Ayrean privateering ordinance were pointed out, particularly liable to the production of these abuses, and which, being contrary to the established usages among civilized nations, it was hoped would have been revoked, or made to disappear from their otherwise unexceptionable code. These instructions were

renewed to Commodore Morris, but the time of his stay at Buenos Ayres was so short, and he was there at a moment of so great a change in the ruling power of the state, that, although he communicated to the then existing director, the substance of the representations which Commodore Perry had been instructed to make, we know not that it was attended with any favourable result. You will consider the parts of Commodore Perry's instructions, which may be still applicable on your arrival in South America, as directed to yourself; and should you proceed to Chili, will execute them there, no communication upon the subject having yet been made there. Among the inconveniences consequent upon this system of carrying on maritime warfare by means of foreigners, has been occasionally, and to a considerable extent, the enticement of seamen belonging to merchant vessels in the ports of Buenos Ayres and Chili, from their engagements; to enlist them in privateers or public armed vessels of those countries. In attending to the numerous trials and convictions for piracy, which have recently afflicted our country, and cast an unusual gloom over our annals, you will remark that a great proportion of the guilty persons have been seamen thus engaged—foreigners at Buenos Ayres, or enlisted in our own ports, in violation of our laws. Whether at Buenos Ayres or in Chili, you will use every exertion in your power, consistent with the respect and conciliatory deportment to be constantly observed towards the existing public authorities, to protect the seamen of the United States from all such enlistments, and the owners and masters of the merchant vessels from time to time arriving there, from the loss of their men by such means.

The Commercial Digest of the Laws of foreign countries with which the United States are in relation, a copy of which has been furnished you, may suggest to you the nature of part of the information which is desirable from South America.

Political information will be equally acceptable; the more particular and correct the information of this nature which you can obtain, the more acceptable it will prove. Beside the struggle in South America for independence, against which Spain is the only opposite party, internal feuds and civil wars have peculiarly marked every step of the revolutions in progress upon that theatre. As an agent and citizen of the United States, the first advice I shall give you, is, to observe and report with all the vigilance and discernment and penetration and fidelity to your own country, that you possess, the movements of all parties, but to make yourself a partizan to none. From the documents lately received here, it is apparent, that a negotiation has been some time on foot between the late government of Buenos Ayres and France. It is well known that a negotiation of much longer standing has existed between the same government and Portugal; nor has Mr. Rivadavia been residing two or three years to no purpose in England. To ascertain the real movements of all these parties, a neutral position, a neutral heart, and an observing mind, are indispensable; in recommending it to your attention, I would add the caution, neither to take upon trust what any man

shall tell you, without asking yourself what it is his interest or wish that you should believe, nor to give more weight to conjectures, than the circumstances under which they are formed will warrant.

By the latest accounts that we have received, the government, the congress, and the constitution, of the provinces of La Plata were overthrown; the province of Buenos Ayres stood alone, with Don Manuel de Sarratea, as governor, at its head; they were in negotiation with General Artigas, of the Oriental Banda, and with General Ramirez, commander of the Monteneros; in what those negotiations will result, we are to learn hereafter, and what their effect will be upon the relations of all, with the Portuguese at Montevideo, is yet to be seen. Should you remain at Buenos Ayres, we shall expect full communications from you as frequently as opportunities for transmitting them may occur.

I am, &c.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

JOHN M. FORBES, Esq.

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*Extract of a letter from John M. Forbes, Esq. agent of the United States at Buenos Ayres, to the Secretary of State, dated 2d September, 1821.*

“I shall confine myself to a general summary of leading events since my last. The first in order of date, is the total defeat of the party of Ramirez, by a wing of the united armies of Santa Fé and Cordova, under Don Francisco de Bedoya, substitute governor of Cordova. The action was fought at Francisco, on the Rio Seco, on the 10th of July, and the news was most joyfully received here on the 21st of the same month.

“I have great pleasure in announcing to you a new organization of this government, which promises great solidity and character, and from whose exertions the most important reforms are daily taking place. The Departments of State and Treasury were, until the 18th of July last, united in one person, Don Juan Manuel de Luca; the junta then decreed that these departments should be separated, and the Governor called to the first, *Don Bernadino Rivadavia*, with the title of Minister of the Government and of Foreign Relations. Mr. Luca remained charged with the Department of Treasury until the first August, when he offered his resignation, which was accepted, and a complimentary decree of the 8th August published with acceptance of the Governor. Don Manuel Jose Garcia, many years diplomatic agent of the director at Rio Janeiro, since has been appointed to that office. These two gentlemen, Rivadavia and Garcia, both possess a great share of public confidence; have both acquired experience in public affairs by long residences near foreign courts, and they both seem animated by a zealous desire to establish order in the various branches of the administration, and economy in the public expenditure. This spirit of reform, which was the great cause of the over-

throw of *Saratea*, by exciting the discontent and violent opposition of military men, now furnishes also a hope to the partizans of *Purreydon*, who are raising great clamor against the new ministers, and working diligently to regain their influence. In short, the present moment seems to be the crisis of a struggle between public virtue and corruption, between a new-born impulse of public opinion growing in the liberty of the press with that of parliamentary debate, and the rotten legacy of the vice royalty, the deleterious influence of military patronage. It is a struggle, on the event of which hangs the future, liberty and welfare of this province. May Heaven smile on the future efforts of virtue and patriotism!

“Another very important event has occurred since my last report. The annexation of the Banda Oriental to the kingdom of Brazils, and the recognition of the independence of these provinces by His Most Faithful Majesty King John. These measures were simultaneous and correlative. On the 28th July, Don Juan Manuel de Figuieredo presented himself to this government with the character of consul of Portugal and Brazils, and with a letter of credence from the Brazilian Secretary of State, acknowledging the independence of these provinces, and expressing a hope that these provinces would acknowledge any and all governments *of fact* which should be admitted and obeyed by the people of any neighboring provinces. This government received Mr. de Figuieredo with great courtesy, and passed over in silence the recognition with its implied condition. The whole business, on both sides, appears to me to be quite theatrical. Mr. Figuieredo, a conspicuous actor in the first scene, has retired suddenly from all political agencies, and from this life! On the morning of the 21st August, being apparently in perfect health, and whilst walking in his saloon, waiting for his breakfast, he fell down instantly dead! By order of government his body was opened by a surgeon, in presence of some distinguished law officers, and his stomach and bowels found to be in a healthful state, whence it results that he died of apoplexy. Soon after Mr. Rivadavia’s coming into the ministry, to wit, on the 5th August, I was promised a long conference with him on all the objects of my agency, but as he came to me in company of Mr. Luca, I could only hold some desultory conversation touching cursorily on some topics. Mr. R. then promised me for the next Thursday a particular audience, but I am sorry to say that the fulfilment of this promise has been delayed from week to week to this hour.

“I yesterday saw Mr. Rivadavia for a few minutes, and again received an apology for his delay of the long promised conference. I took occasion to say that I was aware of his unceasing occupation in the arduous place he held, and must conform to his convenience, but that there was one subject on which I had been instructed to communicate the views of my government, and which, by the information daily received, became most imperiously pressing, as interesting to the character of this government, which I knew he had so much at heart. I then stated that, by late advices from the West Indies,

the horrors of piracy, which had so justly excited universal indignation, were daily increasing, as well by the numbers of the vessels as by their strength of armament, and the boldness of their nefarious enterprizes; that, recently, a vessel fitted out here under the name of the Confederation had changed her name and her commander, and was captured under the commission of Artigas by a French frigate and carried into Martinique, from whence the captain and a number of the crew, being seamen of the United States, had been sent to Philadelphia in a French armed brig for trial; that all these vessels were notoriously furnished with several different commissions, and according to the privateering regulations of this province they were to be deemed pirates; that one of them had recently fired on a government brig of France, and killed the commander; that I was instructed by my government to make the strongest remonstrances on this subject. To all these observations, Mr. Rivadavia replied that this evil would no longer exist; that there would soon be given an order recalling all privateers; that he was fully convinced that the most important object with this government is to acquire the good will and friendship of all other governments, and that he was determined to make every sacrifice to attain this great end. He said that governments seated in perfect peace and security reasoned calmly on these subjects, but that this country had experienced so many difficulties in its struggle for independence that the government had been compelled to adopt the strongest measures against the Spanish commerce, but, said he, "this is now all finished."

"At the moment I am writing, a salvo of artillery and the most extravagant demonstrations of joy through the streets, announce the capture of Lima by San Martin's besieging army. If this news be true, it puts the seal to the independence of South America. The Spanish royalty, driven from its last hope in these provinces, and enlightened by a Representative Government, will, I think, within six months, acknowledge their independence."

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*Extract of a letter from John M. Forbes, Esq. Agent of the United States at Buenos Ayres, to the Secretary of State, dated 11th September, 1821.*

"Enclosed I transmit an important state paper published here, a manifest of the Governor and his Secretary, on the project presented to the honorable Junta in relation to the Congress now assembled at Cordova, together with the project submitted, which, as will be seen, is intended to lay the foundation for future federation. Messrs. Rivadavia and Garcia are pressing with great vigour their system of reform, and, by a strong blow at the root, have violently shaken the branches of the tree of corruption. Consternation has been spread through the ranks of smugglers, by the arrest and close imprisonment, the day before yesterday, of *Don Fernando Calderon*, first Inspector of the custom-house. This man, although enjoying a very

liberal salary, has notoriously patronized the unblushing atrocities of the giant smugglers, who have totally dilapidated the revenues of the country for years past. The leading man, accustomed to ask and obtain every thing of the government, yesterday solicited of the governor a mitigation of the imprisonment of Mr. Calderon, and perhaps his discharge on bail. The governor consulted Mr. Rivadavia on the expediency of listening to the call of mercy. The latter replied, very respectfully, to the governor, that he certainly had the power and the responsibility of any measures he might adopt, but that if his Excellency yielded to the solicitations in question, he (Mr. B.) must decline any further service as Secretary. This firmness prevailed. The truth is, Mr. Rivadavia, being the father of the incipient system of order and virtue, from his growing influence has become indispensable to the accomplishment of the views now cherished by the public opinion. If this system should prevail, the immediate effect of it will be, the prevalence of civil over military influence."

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*Extract of a letter From John M. Forbes, Agent of the United States at Buenos Ayres, to the Secretary of State, dated 28th September, 1821.*

"I have a dispatch from Judge Prevost, containing the Gazettes from Lima, published since the revolution there, which I shall forward by the first direct opportunity. The night before the last, (26th instant) the Governor (Rodrigues) received an official despatch from General San Martin, confirming the previous news of the surrender of Lima to the liberating army, and accompanied by Gazettes giving the details of that important event. Yesterday morning this great event was announced to this city by salvos of artillery from the fort and national vessels, which were repeated at noon, and at sunset. At five o'clock in the afternoon, the governor, attended by his ministers, and all the public functionaries, went to the Cathedral to attend a *te deum*, and in the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated; other public festivities are said to be contemplated, among which a ball by the Chilian minister at the Theatre, and another by the government, are spoken of. In fact this event is generally considered as a finishing blow in the contest for independence. Enclosed, is a paper just published here, containing a familiar letter from San Martin, (addressed I presume to his father-in-law, Mr. Escalada,) signed Pepe, which is the familiar abbreviation of Joseph; also, various public documents relating to the taking possession of Lima, a correspondence between San Martin and the Arch Bishop of Lima, the declaration of the Cabildo, &c. By these public papers, it appears that San Martin has added to his fame by the moderation and respect for public opinion which he has manifested on this great occasion. Every thing here breathes joy and the brightest hope of the perfection

of their political happiness. The Congress at Cordova is now entirely lost in the contemplation of a grand Congress, which it is said will be agreed on by the three great Republics of Peru, Chili, and La Plata. Perhaps the sister Colombia may be invited to this family party."

"Enclosed, I send you copies of my letter to Mr. Rivadavia, on the subject of privateering, or rather of piracy, dated 14th September, copy of that minister's reply, under 15th September, and of a minute of a conference I had with him on the 17th of same month. Enclosed is also minute of a previous conference with said minister, on the 5th August last."

"Among the important events which have occurred on this side of the mountains, I must not omit to notice the total destruction of the party of Jose Miguel Carrera, and the public execution of that active, intelligent, and extraordinary man. Enclosed I herewith transmit two bulletins published here concerning this event. By the first it will appear, that a Colonel Don Manuel Arias had organized a revolution in Carrera's band, which he communicated to the Governor of Mendoza, on the condition of saving his own life and those of some of his adherents. By the second, entitled "Detail of the destruction of Carrera," it will be seen that Carrera's party was totally defeated by the Mendozinos on the 31st August, and that, on the 4th of this month, Carrera was shot on the public square at Mendoza; he died with the most heroic courage, asking for only favor of his conquerors, that he might be buried in the same grave with his two brothers, who were shot in the same city on a former occasion; it would be well for humanity if the story of this event stopped here; but, I again have to state another act of savage ferocity: the murdered body of this brave and distinguished man was shockingly mutilated, his head was cut off and exposed in the square of Mendoza; his right arm was sent to the Governor of Cordova, and his left to the Punta San Luis. When these particulars were known here, they excited a sentiment of horror; and it has even been said, that if this victim of the ferocity of their half savage brethren at Mendoza had been sent to this place, even his life would have been probably spared.

"Carrera, by his great personal resources, had proved the most dangerous enemy of the present state of things in these Provinces, and had San Martin failed in Peru, and Carrera had survived that failure, he would have menaced the tranquillity of Chili; thus his death is a great event for the present rulers here, although the manner of it may be very revolting to their more civilized breasts."

"October 1, 1821.

"Since writing the foregoing, there has been a further publication of papers connected with the occupation of Lima, containing certain proclamations of Generals San Martin and Arenales; this publication I herewith enclose. The new ministers have very judiciously availed themselves of the present moment to propose to the Junta a general amnesty, and that all those who have been exiled for differ-

ences of political opinion, should be recalled to the bosom of their country; this proposition, so worthy the high-minded cause of the present ministry, and so well calculated to conciliate all parties, is to be discussed this evening at the Junta. I shall attend the debate, seats being assigned to the foreign agents. Among the events tending to consolidate the moral and physical force of these provinces, it is said, that a revolution has taken place in the Entre Rios, against the brother of the slain Ramirez. At the head of this revolution is a Mr. Mansilla, of whose rank and history I am ignorant. The flotilla of this province is co-operating, and further assistance has been asked of Lopez, the Governor of Santa Fé. The trade of the Baxada has been opened in consequence of this revolution. I just now met Mr. Rivadavia in the street, and took the occasion to remind him of the decree which he had promised to send me on the subject of privateering; he said, it depended only on him to reduce it to writing, which he had not yet had time to do; he has given me reason to hope that he will call on me to-morrow; but the Herculean labor of cleansing the Augean stables so entirely occupies him, day and night, I sometimes fear he will be quite exhausted before he can accomplish it."

*Copy of a letter from John M. Forbes, Esq. United States' agent at Buenos Ayres, to Mr. Rivadavia, Minister of Foreign Relations.*

Buenos Ayres,

14th September, 1821.

SIR: Although I have been more than ten months in this city, I have never until now found a moment, when, under all circumstances, I deemed it expedient to lay before this government the sentiments and views of that of the United States, in relation to many interesting subjects as contained in the instructions I received on my departure from Washington. On the recent organization of the government, I intimated to you the desire to hold a full and frank conference; which you had the goodness to promise me at the commencement of the past month, but which has been unavoidably delayed by your more pressing occupations.

Appreciating as I do the great and efficient efforts now making by you in the cause of your country, I should most willingly continue to wait your convenience for the proposed conference, were I not impelled by recent information, to press on the early attention of this government one of the subjects on which I am instructed by that of the United States; I mean those indiscriminate violences which are daily committed on the ocean against the peaceful commerce of unoffending nations, under the various flags of the South American provinces.

It is now a long time since those violences have called forth the most pointed reprobation of many governments in Europe and of that of the United States. Several governments have made active efforts

to repress them by force. These efforts have been unavailing—these privileged plunderers

“ Can add colors to the chameleon,  
“ Change shapes with Proteus for advantage.”

There is nothing fixed, but the blackness of their purpose and the boldness of their atrocities. They are furnished with various commissions, and navigated by crews of men, without country, without morality, and without other ties than those of crime and plunder. By the privateering regulations of Buenos Ayres, a privateer owned here, or commissioned by this government, who shall be furnished with a commission from any other prince or republic, even if allied with this, “ *shall be adjudged a good prize, and her captain or commander punished as pirates.*” It is therefore under the sanction of its own laws, that I presume to call the early and efficacious intervention of this government to vindicate those violated laws. But, sir, it is, above all, from a full faith in those sentiments of honor, that love of order and justice which so eminently distinguish every step of the present administration, that I derive the strongest hope that this call will not be disregarded. The public gazettes recently received from the United States contain several well authenticated statements of new outrages committed by these freebooters, whose numbers are multiplied, and the boldness of their wicked enterprizes increased, by their impunity. I will not swell this written communication by any extracts from the information received; but hope that at an early day, it will be convenient for you to admit me to a personal conference, when I shall happy to communicate with you, in that spirit of frankness, which is the best pledge of friendship, as well the facts in my possession, as the feelings of the government of the United States on this highly interesting and important subject.

I avail myself with pleasure of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Minister, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration and respect.

JOHN M. FORBES.

To the Hon. Mr. RIVADAVIA,  
*Minister of Foreign Relations, Buenos Ayres.*

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*Mr. Rivadavia to Mr. Forbes.*

BUENOS AYRES,  
15th September, 1821.

The Minister of Government and Foreign Relations has had the honor of receiving the official note from the agent of the United States under yesterday's date, and he considers it as his particular duty to make an acknowledgment of the honorable distinction the said agent shews towards him. With respect to the principal affair therein con-

tained, he can only repeat what he had the satisfaction to make him acquainted with in his last interview; which was, that the government had adopted every measure in its power to suppress the evils committed by privateers of this country towards the commerce of neutral nations from the abuse of their commissions. Nevertheless, the Minister of Government and Foreign Relations, feeling desirous of contributing towards the completion of these measures, as far as they are capable of being made perfect, he will be happy to receive any further explanation on this subject that the agent of the United States may think proper to give him. For which purpose it will be taken as an honor, if the agent would take the trouble to call on the minister at his house on Monday morning of the 17th inst. at eleven o'clock.

The minister of government and foreign relations expresses his thanks to the agent for the distinction he confers upon him, and begs to return it by the assurances of his consideration and respect.

**BERNARDO RIVADAVIA.**

To JOHN M. FORBES, Esq.

*Agent of the United States of N. A.*

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*Extract of a minute of a conference with Mr. Rivadavia, Minister of State.*

**BUENOS AYRES.**

*Monday, 17th September, 1821.*

I received this morning at ten o'clock, by the hands of one of the clerk's of the Department, an answer from the Minister of State to my letter of the 14th instant, containing an invitation to a conference at 11 o'clock at his house. Although the notice was too short to admit of any preparation, I gladly accepted the invitation, taking with me my instructions, including those intended for the late Commodore Perry. I found the minister, Mr. Rivadavia, quite alone, and was, as always, well received. I commenced my conversation by very sincere assurances of the enthusiasm I felt in the present march of events, and compliments to the minister on his zealous efforts for the establishment of order in the administration, and the formation of a sound public opinion in the country. I then observed, that not having had time to prepare extracts I had brought my instructions *in extenso*, and would ask permission, in frankness and friendship, to read certain parts of them in the original language in which they were written, which I was aware was well understood by him. I then read the assurances of the good will of the United States towards these provinces, and the interest they had constantly felt in the success of their efforts for independence; I continued through the history of our diplomatic correspondence and measures in relation to the South American affairs, to all which the minister listened with much attention and apparent approbation. When I communicated to him the fact, that the United States government had proposed to those of

France and England to acknowledge, in concert with them, the Independence of Buenos Ayres; in reply to my question, he confessed his previous ignorance of that fact. I then continued the forcible expositions in the instructions to Commodore Perry, of the evils and horrors of the system of piracy as practised by vessels carrying various colors of the South American provinces, and stated to him that the United States would not acknowledge as legal any commission granted in blank; which, he said, was perfectly just, and continued by saying, that he was fully sensible of all the injury which had been done to the cause and character of these provinces, and deprecated as much as any one the atrocities which had been committed on neutral commerce; that the government had determined on an entire change of system, and that, probably, this day a decree would be drawn up revoking all privateer commissions, and ordering them all to return within a given period. But this decree would be communicated to me, when it would be seen if any thing more efficacious remained to be done within the scope of the government's authority. I observed that the decision of the government was in perfect unison with the whole system now going into operation, eminently wise and politic, and would have a most important influence on the opinion of other nations in regard to this country; that, as nothing had so much operated to damp the enthusiasm of my countrymen in favor of South American liberty as the enormities committed under the Patriot flags, so nothing would so effectually tend to reanimate their good wishes as the suppression of those crying abuses. I stated to the minister the measures adopted by Congress to repress the predatory system, and particularly the act of 20th of April, 1815, of which he requested and I promised a copy. I next read from the instruction of 12th July, 1820, the remarks on the subject of commercial preferences, and the unanimous feeling with which the government of the United States disclaimed any wish to barter an acknowledgment of the independence of these provinces for any exclusive advantages in their commerce; at the same time their firm reliance that no such exclusive privileges would be granted to other nations to the prejudice of the United States. On this Mr. Rivadavia assured me that it was the firm determination of this government to grant no exclusive privileges of commerce to any nation whatever, and that I might communicate this decision to my government with an assurance that the most complete reliance might be placed on it. The minister proceeded, that his most decided opinion was, that no measure whatever ought to be taken to solicit an acknowledgment of the independence of these provinces by any government; he expressed himself in flattering terms of his good will towards me personally; and added, that it would be an abuse of the confidence I had evinced towards him, if he were to engage me to make any representations to my government tending to that end; and that he was much less disposed to take any such measure towards any government of Europe. That such proceeding must operate, if unsuccessful, to the humiliation of the provinces; and, if successful, to mislead the people by per-

suading them that such recognition was all sufficient to the political existence and happiness; that, in his opinion, the most efficacious system would be to establish order and wise institutions of government throughout the provinces, and to shew themselves worthy of the fraternity of other nations, when it would be voluntarily offered; that such voluntary recognition, in every point of view, would be much more beneficial than that protection which should result from a compromise of honour or interest; that he had told his countrymen, *de haute voix*, his sentiments on the important topic of self-government; that much was to be done, but that he hoped to see the successful progress of a sound system of domestic and foreign policy. Our conference lasted, with a short interruption, nearly two hours; and we separated with assurances of mutual satisfaction.

An exact minute, taken immediately after the conference.

J. M. FORBES.

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BUENOS AYRES, 22d September, 1821.

SIR: Enclosed I have the honor to transmit a correct copy of the act of Congress, passed on the 20th April, 1818, for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States, to which act reference was had in the conference to which you did me the honor to admit me on Monday, 17th instant.

I pray you, Mr. Minister, to accept the renewed assurances of my highest consideration and respect.

J. M. FORBES.

To the Hon. B. RIVADAVIA, *Minister*, &c.

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*Mr. Rivadavia to Mr. Forbes.*

BUENOS AYRES, 6th October, 1821.

The minister of government and foreign relations, in consequence of the offer made, has the honor to transmit to the agent of the United States a copy of the decree which has just been issued by the Department of War and Marine, concerning privateering.

The minister salutes the agent with his most distinguished consideration.

BERNARDO RIVADAVIA.

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DECREE.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR.

BUENOS AYRES, 6th October, 1821.

Among the resources which the unfortunate rights of war have

rendered lawful, and its object necessary, is privateering. The wars of the independence of the provinces of Holland, and of the United States of North America, have proved that this kind of warfare is the most advantageous for a country which prepares to defend its independence against a more ancient and remote country that has governed it. It is impossible to prevent or repress all the abuses which may result from privateering. The government which finds itself under the painful necessity of authorizing, and even of encouraging it, has only two ways of lessening its illegal consequences, and in so far has only two obligations in this respect. The first is, to dictate such rules, and take such precautions and guarantees, as may correct abuses, not suffering them to pass unpunished. In this respect, the government of these provinces has fulfilled its duty, and the regulation of privateers proves it. The other obligation is, to put an end to this kind of warfare, either when it shall be no longer necessary to the object which induced it, or when the effect which it produces no longer equals the risks and inconvenience which result from it. The government considers these two cases as having taken place, and in virtue thereof, it has agreed, and now decrees, the following articles:

1. In future, no commission of privateering whatever shall be granted without a previous solemn publication, expressing the cause which obliges the government to have recourse to this measure.

2. Every individual who possesses any commissions, and shall be now in the territory of this province, shall be obliged to present it to the minister of marine, within fifteen days from the date of this decree.

3. Those individuals who hold privateer commissions, and are in countries situated on the other side of the equinoctial line, or on the coast of the Pacific, shall be held to present the said commissions at the ministry of marine within the term of eight months.

4. The sureties given shall answer for the fulfilment of the foregoing articles.

5. Every commander of a vessel, armed as a privateer in virtue of a commission of any one of the governments, which have commanded in this capital, on sight of this decree, shall cease to cruize, and shall put into port to disarm and return his commission.

6. Every one who shall contravene the preceding article will incur the pains of piracy.

7. Every vessel which, after the term of eight months from the date of this decree, shall continue to cruise under the authority of a commission of the government of this country, shall be treated as a pirate.

8. The minister of war and marine is charged with the execution of this decree.

MARTIN RODRIGUEZ,

*Minister of War and Marine.*

FRANCISCO DE LA CRUZ.

*Copy of a letter from John M. Forbes, Esq. Agent of the United States at Buenos Ayres, to the Secretary of State, dated 8th October, 1821.*

SIR: The detention of the vessel, by which I had prepared to send the foregoing despatch, furnishes an opportunity to communicate a translation of the promised decree, for suppressing privateering.— It has not yet been published here, but will undoubtedly appear in the first official register, which will perhaps be printed to-morrow or the next day. I hope that the terms of it will prove satisfactory to the government of the United States. Although the right is reserved of resorting again to this kind of warfare, yet I hope that the restrictions under which it will be renewed will be more efficient to guard against those abuses which have heretofore been so justly and extensively complained of.

By the schooner Essex to sail to-morrow for Providence, I shall have the honor to transmit duplicates, together with Judge Prevost's despatch, mentioned in the foregoing.

I am, &c.

JOHN M. FORBES.

October 11th, 1821.

P. S. By this vessel, the Essex, via Providence, I send Judge Prevost's despatch, and a large file of newspapers. The decree against privateering was published yesterday in the "*Registro Oficial*."

HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

*Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

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*Extracts of a letter from J. M. Forbes, Esq. to the Secretary of State, dated at Buenos Ayres, October 26, 1821.*

"I have previously reported the total destruction of the parties of Ramirez and Carrera, together with the death of those chiefs, the barbarous mutilation of their bodies, &c. By these events the influence of this Province over the others is much increased, and by the wise course of the present administration, the moral force of a sound and exemplary political department will be added to the success of their arms, and I hope that the day is not far distant, when all the jarring jealousies which have hitherto so perniciously counteracted the progress of civil liberty will be put to silence, and the wise men of every section of this country, will be brought to a cordial co-operation to attain the high objects of their political destiny. But much, very much, remains to be done before the general union of the great sections of this almost boundless country in any one system of government can be effected."

"In the mean time, Rivadavia and Garcia, firm as they are enlightened and patriotic, are pursuing "the even tenor of their

way." They have added public credit to the other sinews of war which this province before possessed, by repaying with great punctuality in gold several loans, (a thing without example in the history of this revolution;) they enjoy now to so great a degree the confidence of the community, that I believe they could borrow, to any reasonable amount, for an immediate exigency. It is said, also, that an entirely new system of finance is agreed on, and will appear in a few days. By this tariff, as it has been represented to me, the duties, with a very few exceptions, will be ad valorem, and will vary from five to fifteen per cent. Every possible measure is taken to prevent smuggling, and public opinion and morality are cherished by the government. If, therefore, Buenos Ayres, in all the darkness of her most gloomy period, public sentiment paralyzed by deadly dissensions, and public resources completely dilapidated, has been able to struggle successfully against the machinations of the other provinces, it is not too rash to expect that when she fights with a two fold armament of reason and force, seconded by a vigorous public credit, the victory must eventually be hers. The most deplorable result, however, of these continued agitations, is the necessity of continuing an onerous military establishment."

"The most alarming state of agitation prevails in the neighbouring kingdom of Brazil. It was some days since confidently reported, on the authority of Captain McLean, of the British government brig Beaver, in six days from Rio to Monte Video, that Prince Don Pedro, was to have been crowned king of Brazil, on the 13th of the present month. Subsequent accounts contradict this fact, and it is now no longer believed. It is, however, well known that the public mind there, is in a most feverish state, and should civil war burst forth, it would be the signal of the emancipation of a numberless horde of slaves, and the most horrid scenes of blood and devastation would overwhelm that kingdom, and eventually threaten these provinces, where it would find easy victims in the scanty white population here. The progress of this all-destroying flame could only be arrested by the Indians, and, in such a conflict, this delightful country would be totally lost to civilization."

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*Mr. Forbes to the Secretary of State.—Extract.*

BUENOS AYRES, 8th Nov. 1821.

"Since my last respects, we have received news from Lima and Chili, by which it appears that the royalist army, which had evacuated Lima on 6th July, under La Serna, had returned on the 22d August under command of Canterac—La Serna remaining sick at Jauja; the strength of the returning army was between three and four thousand men; the official accounts say, that they avoided an engagement with San Martin, but I have seen several private let-

ters, and one from a citizen of the United States, who was two days in San Martin's camp, in view of the royalist troops, and who states that San Martin's force was much superior, and extremely anxious to give battle; but that San Martin retired, and permitted the un molested march of the royalists into Callao. The motive of such a proceeding is generally deemed strange and incomprehensible; but it occurs to me, that San Martin being sure of eventually forcing the garrison of Callao, augmented as it is, to a capitulation, prefers to continue his influence by protracting the military conflict, until the civil organization of this new-born republic shall be completed, rather than to put down the remnant of royal troops, and leave the country to the agonies of conflicting factions; or, in a few words, to make himself at his own choice, King, Dictator, or Director; he has at present taken the head of the civil and military power with the title of Protector. All accounts agree in the enthusiasm for independence prevailing in Lima. On the late return of the royalist troops, it became necessary to imprison twelve hundred old Spaniards, as 'tis said, to preserve them from the popular fury. I have conversed on these events, with several gentlemen well acquainted with Peru and Lima, and particularly with a sensible friar native, and until recently resident at Lima, who agrees in the general opinion, that the return of the troops to Callao is a most fortunate event, inasmuch as it places the termination of the war in the hands of San Martin; whereas, had La Serna kept the country, and increased his forces, he might have continued the war for a very long time. I send enclosed a bulletin issued on the subject, by which you will be able to see and appreciate events in their detail.

“Of this province I have only to say, that there are still active, but occult efforts making to overturn the present administration, and bring the Puyrredon party into power.”

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*Extracts of a letter from John M. Forbes, Esq. Agent of the United States at Buenos Ayres, to the Secretary of State, dated 13th November, 1821.*

“Since my last, we have the important news of the surrender of Callao; I send enclosed the Bulletin published here, by which you will see the particulars of the capitulation. Private letters state that *Canterac's* army was much harassed on its retreat, and were still pursued. It is said that eight hundred of his army had joined that of San Martin. It was thought that there would not remain five hundred men to join *La Serna*. I have seen a private letter which states that when the report reached Lima of *Cantarac's* approach, funds to the amount of five or six hundred thousand dollars were embarked on board the ships at L'Ancon. Lord Cochrane had been for some time making every exertion to procure money to pay off the crews of his ships, but without effect.

On hearing that this amount was on board the different transports, he repaired to Ancon with the O'Higgins and Esmeralda, and forcibly took possession of the whole sum, in defiance of the strong representations of the general, and immediately paid the arrearage due to his men. Report says, that he has not dared to put his foot on shore since he took this violent measure.

November 16th, 1821.

The "Registro Oficial" No. 13, published yesterday, contains the resolution of the honorable Junta on the subject of general amnesty, and oblivion of political acts and opinions, together with a decree of the governor, by which all those who have been exiled under the special powers vested in the Executive by the decree of 6th October, 1820, and all who have voluntarily absented themselves to avoid the evils of political agitation, may forthwith return without passports: only nine persons are excepted from this amnesty, and they are not named.

It is said that an officer has, arrived here sent by the governor of Tucuman, charged to solicit military aid to deliver that province and its vicinity of the presence of the royalist troops, and at the same time to declare a perfect coincidence of opinion with that put forth by this government on the subject of the confederation. Every thing continues to go on well here. Enclosed I send a printed paper, entitled "*Dictamen de un Arribeno*," (which means citizen of the interior provinces.) It goes to maintain the inexpediency of a confederation at present, which is the ground taken by this province."

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*Extract of a letter from Mr. Prevost, agent of the United States, in South America, to the Secretary of State, dated*

"ST. JAGO DE CHILI, June 30, 1821.

"In my last, I mentioned the departure of Lord Cochrane from Huacho, with 600 troops, for the purpose of landing them somewhere to the southward of the capital, so as to intercept the supplies from that quarter. It is now ascertained, that his lordship has directed this force to a different point, with objects distinct from those contemplated by the General. After proceeding to Pisco and pillaging that place, he went to Arica, where there was a considerable quantity of merchandise in deposit for the market of Lima, took possession of the town at the point of the bayonet, and as much of the moveable property as he could grasp. It is the third, or fourth time, different sections of the coast have been thus distressed by a mode of warfare injurious to the cause, always at variance with that strictly enjoined and as rigidly adhered to by the General. In addition to which, he has lately committed outrages upon the British flag, by impressing seamen, and by detaining the vessels from which they were taken, in order to use them as transports. These acts, of

course, are disavowed by the government, but it has given rise to a correspondence which threatened a serious result. Among other subjects, that of the blockade was introduced, the one insisting upon its nullity in toto, if contemplated to embrace any portion of the coast not covered by an actual force; the other denying the consequence, and maintaining the sufficiency of the force. Although this government might have sustained the position assumed, by recurring to British practice, yet, in their situation, it was neither prudent or justifiable to assume any equivocal grounds, particularly on such a subject; and I thought it proper, therefore, to present a note to the Secretary of State, asking the truth of the case, and stating specifically the principle to be recognized. No. 1 is a copy of mine, and No. 2, of that of the Director, written in our language and in his own hand writing. I had hoped the correspondence, but the delays are such here in all the public offices, that I cannot avail myself of them for this opportunity; it is not now, however, important, except for the greater satisfaction of the President, inasmuch, as an order has been issued in conformity with his note, and conveyed to Sir Thomas Hardy, who acquiesced in its propriety. There have been upwards of a dozen English merchantmen under capture, some of which have already been condemned.

“Nothing has reached us from the army later than the 4th of May, when San Martin had resumed his former station at Ancon, within a few leagues of the capital. It is feared here, that the absence of Lord Cochrane on the expedition I have already referred to, may retard the views of the General, if not wholly defeat the object of his approach. Bolivar has sent a considerable force to Guayaquil, seven hundred of which have already landed at the place, from whence they are to march for the Congress of Quito.”

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*Mr. Prevost to Mr. Joaquin de Echeveria, Secretary of State of the Republic of Chili.*

ST. JAGO DE CHILI, 18th June, 1821.

SIR: I understand that there is a letter in town from Sir Thomas Hardy, addressed to the British merchants of this place, in which it is stated, that this government considers the whole coast of Peru, south of the capital, as under blockade, although there is no force stationed before any one port, except that of Callao. This information is so much at variance with the impressions I have uniformly received, during my residence here, that I must believe some mistake has arisen either with my informant, or with the British admiral.

Will you therefore allow me, Sir, to ask from you the fact on this subject? It is a question of great moment; one of peculiar interest in the United States, since our last contest with Great Britain, and one upon which I am anxious that there should exist no difference of

opinion. The principle, upon which the right of exclusion from any specific port is founded, is the temporary sovereignty acquired by the presence of the force of one belligerent, competent, as to the other, to control the mouth of such port, or harbor. Hence, it is obvious, that, to the legal exercise of the rights growing out of the blockade, the force must be permanent in its station.

There will offer a conveyance to the United States, in a few days, of which I could wish to avail myself, as well to satisfy the President of the strict adherence to principles maintained by his Excellency the Supreme Director, as to defeat the effect of rumors that must have a pernicious tendency at home.

J. B. PREVOST.

The Hon. JOAQUIN DE ECHEVERIA,  
S<sup>ry</sup> of State of the Republic of Chili.

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*General O'Higgins to Mr. Prevost.*

June 23, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR: I am very much obliged to you for the indication which favors me with your note of this day. You might be sure of my resolution about the necessity of an actual force to be stationed at the sight of the ports that are to constitute the blockade. This very moment I am answering sir Thomas Hardy about this point, declaring that must be considered as such to the ports from Pisco to Ancon, and orders will be despatched to the vice admiral, lord Cochrane, and general San Martin, by the first safe conduct.

By next Tuesday's post to Valparaiso, will be sent to you, by the Minister of State, all what has occurred about the matter; meanwhile I remain yours most sincerely.

B. O'HIGGINS.

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*Extract of a letter from Mr. Hogan, commercial agent of the United States at Valparaiso, to the Secretary of State, dated 18th August, 1821.*

"I have now the honor to inform you that, on the 13th instant, a despatch vessel arrived here from Callao, which place she left on the 23d ult. with advices to this government, of the surrender of Lima to General San Martin, and of the inhabitants having sworn to the independence of the place. On the 12th July, the Spanish troops proceeded to the mountains with their General, who first placed a garrison of two thousand men in Callao, which place had not surrendered when the despatch came away, but could not be expected to hold out, as there was not more than a week's provision in the fortress, which was to be attacked by land and by sea from the squad-

ron. The sufferings of the people in Lima for want of bread-stuffs and other food had been great; but there is no public gazette issued explanatory of the proceedings, and that private letters are short and unsatisfactory, it is impossible to say to what extent they had carried their attachment to royalty, or, rather, their opposition to being conquered by the forces of Chili, which they had even treated and considered as an inferior people, not entitled to the enjoyment of equal rights with themselves. To expect them to submit tamely to the dictation of this slip of country is, I believe, more than will be realized, although there can never be any doubt of the country of South America facing the Pacific ocean being forever free from the government of old Spain.

“An additional export duty of 15 per cent. is laid by this government upon all articles shipped from this port for Lima; many vessels are in port ready to depart as soon as permitted. The Constellation was at Callao, and may (by report only) be expected here soon.

“Mr. Prevost is expected from Santiago, to embark by the first vessel from Lima. I send this letter in duplicate by two ships bound this day to London, in the hope that either may be put on board of some vessel bound to the United States. I have also written to Mr. Rush by them, requesting he may communicate the information by the earliest opportunity.

“Soon after my arrival here I wrote to Captain Ridgely, requesting he would use his endeavors to inform you, by way of Panama, of the fall of that important section of South America, which I doubt not will be the first communication you will receive.”

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[TRANSLATION.]

## ACT OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF PERU.

IN THE ROYAL CITY OF PERU,

15th July, 1821.

The Señors who compose it having yesterday assembled in the most excellent Senate, with the most excellent and most illustrious Señor the Archbishop of this Holy Metropolitan Church, the prelates of the religious convents, titulars of Castile, and various neighbors of this capital, for the purpose of fulfilling what had been provided in the official letter of the most excellent señor the general in chief of the liberator army of Peru, D José de San Martín, the contents of which were read; and persuaded thereof, reduced to what persons of known probity, learning, and patriotism, who inhabit this capital, would express, if the general opinion for independence had been resolved on, which vote would serve as a guide to the said general for proceeding to take the oath: All the señors agreeing for themselves, and satisfied of the opinion of the inhabitants of the capital,

said, that the general will was decided for the independence of Peru of the Spanish dominion, and of any other foreign dominion whatever, and that they would proceed to its sanction by means of the corresponding oath; it was compared with a certified copy of this act to the same most excellent Señor, and the Señors signed it.

THE COUNT OF SAN ISIDRO.  
 BARTOLOME, *Archbishop of Lima.*  
 FRANCISCO DE ZARATÉ.  
 SIMON RAVAGO.  
 FRANCISCO XAVIER DE ECHAGNE.  
 MANUEL DE ARIAS.  
 The Count DE LA VIGA DEL REN.  
 FR. GERONIMO CAVERO.  
 JOSE IGNACIO PALACIOS.  
 ANTONIO PADILLA, *Syndic, Proc. gen.*

*Mr. Brent, Charge des Affaires of the United States at Madrid, to the Secretary of State.*

MADRID, 10th July, 1821.

SIR: The late session of the Cortes had far advanced when most of the Deputies from Mexico arrived. They had been detained two months at Vera Cruz by the commander of the frigate *Pronta*, and were at last obliged to make the best of their way to Spain in foreign vessels, running every risk, and incurring great expense. They had not been long in Madrid when they began to press their claims, and on the 3d of May, count Toreno, one of the most distinguished members of the Cortes of Old Spain, a friend, as is supposed, to their cause, made a motion in the Cortes, that a special committee be appointed, composed of deputies of Ultramar and Europe, to consider of, and propose, conjointly with the Executive, such measures as they should deem most proper "to terminate the dissensions prevailing in the various parts of America." This motion was agreed to, and the committee appointed.

While this committee were engaged in their important duties, the news was received, about the beginning of June, of the insurrection of Iturbide, and the form of government proposed by him to be adopted, copy of which I transmit, (marked A,) and, in consequence of a resolution offered by an American deputy, the ministers appeared, on the 4th June, before the Cortes to give an account of the occurrences that had taken place in New Spain. The American deputies availed themselves of this occasion to shew to the Cortes, and Executive, the impracticability of the provinces of America being governed as those of the Peninsula, according to the provisions of the constitution, on account of their great distance from the Metropolis; proved the necessity of adopting prompt and efficacious measures, and press-

ed the government and committee to come to an early decision. They then moved that the government should be requested to direct, without delay, the Vice Roy of Mexico to inform Iturbide that the Cortes were occupied in projecting a plan of government for America, and propose a suspension of hostilities until the resolution should be finally made by the Cortes and Executive. It was stated that, should this step be taken, they were perfectly convinced that Iturbide, and those under his standard, would suspend hostilities the moment they knew that the deputies of New Spain had arrived at the capital in time to be able to make the "just reclamations of those Spaniards." This was not agreed to. A resolution was then offered and adopted, directing that the minister of Ultramar, "in consideration of the state of New Spain, should propose the measures he might think proper, whilst the Cortes were occupied in taking radical ones for its complete pacification."

The committee labored with great assiduity, and had various conferences with the ministers, who, at first, coincided in the opinions advanced, and in the arrangement proposed by it to be adopted in regard to Spanish America, and which would have been satisfactory to the American deputies. When, however, it was laid before the king, he was strenuously opposed to it, on the ground, as he informed them, that the arrangement contemplated would be a violation of the constitution; that the public opinion was not prepared for it; that it was against the interest, both of the Peninsula and America; and finally, he spoke of the opposition that might be made to it by foreign powers, since they had not been consulted. In consequence of this, the accord between the ministers and committee ceased; and, as according to the resolutions of count Toreno, which gave rise to the appointment of the committee, it being unauthorized without the concurrence of the Executive to offer any plan, none was proposed to the Cortes. The committee made their report to the Cortes on the 24th June, (copy marked B.) and state that the government, not believing that the moment had arrived of convenience and necessity for the adoption of certain measures, they can do nothing more than excite the zeal of the ministers, to the end that the wished-for moment may be accelerated, and recommend that the Executive should be pressed "to present to their deliberations, with the greatest despatch, the fundamental measures they may think proper, as well for the just and complete pacification of the revolted provinces of America, as to secure to all of them the enjoyment of a firm and solid happiness."

The disappointment and vexation of the American deputies at this result, was proportionate to the flattering hopes that had been excited by the unanimity of sentiment that prevailed at the first conferences of the ministers and committee. They then determined to present, themselves, a plan to the Cortes, having the object in view, and the propositions (copy marked B) were made on the 25th June; which, in substance, are the same as those that had at first met the approbation of the ministers.

These propositions are, that there shall be three divisions made of America. In each a cortes, having the powers delegated by the constitution to the general cortes, with the exception of the 2d, 3d, 4th 5th and 6th powers; that part of the seventh relative to the sanction of treaties, and the second part of the 27th power. In each division, a delegate appointed by the king, from among the persons most distinguished for their high qualifications, not excluding members of the royal family, removeable at his will, who shall exercise, in the name of the king, the executive power, to be inviolable with respect to the American cortes, and only responsible to the king and general cortes. In each four ministers: of the interior, of finance, of grace and justice, and of war and marine. In each a supreme tribunal of justice, and a council of state. The commerce between the peninsula and America, to be considered as from one province to another. And the inhabitants of the latter to have equal eligibility with those of the former to all public employments.

New Spain binds herself to pay 200 millions of reals in six years, and contribute annually 40 millions of reals to the support of the navy. The other parts of America to contribute in the manner that shall be subsequently arranged. New Spain will also pay all the debt contracted within its territory, and all public property to belong to it. On the sitting of the 25th June, two of the deputies offered an amendment to the 5th article, having for object to prevent the appointment of delegates being conferred on any of the royal family.

These propositions were preceded by an expose read in the cortes, a copy of which I transmit herewith. In it they state that "they desire the constitution which ought to make them happy, but which, in the actual state of things, they consider to be a beautiful theory, that can only be reduced to practice in the peninsula. The Americans are freemen, are Spaniards—have the same rights as the peninsulars. They are acquainted with, and have sufficient virtue to support them."

The measures recommended by the committee to request the government to present a plan at an early period has been acted upon, as you will perceive by the king's speech, in which he says that his government, "urged by the cortes to propose the measures they may think proper for their welfare, on a consideration of the state of those countries, will do so immediately, and with all possible generosity." These will, without doubt, be proposed on the meeting of the cortes extraordinary, which the speech of the president of the cortes to the king will have shewn you is to take place. It is supposed that its convocation will not be delayed longer than the first of October, if so long.

You will perceive that the deputies do not demand an acknowledgment of independence, and pretend not even to aspire to it; and they have declared in the cortes, on the 4th June, that if the revolutionists desire independence, it is because means have not been de-

vised that should make the welfare of those provinces compatible with their union with the peninsula.

The commissioners of Bolivar, who are still here, on the contrary, insist upon the acknowledgment of their independence as the basis of any arrangement with Spain. Nothing has been concluded between them and this government, and all negotiation is suspended.

It is difficult to conjecture what will be the determination of the cortes and the executive on this great and interesting question, when we consider on the one hand that they cannot be wholly blind to the just claims, the strength, and resources of America—and view, on the other, the prejudices and illiberality that still exist in a high degree in the executive, and a great portion of the members of the cortes, and the observation in the king's speech, "that the Spaniards of both hemispheres ought to be persuaded there is nothing he desires so much as their felicity, founded in the integrity of the monarchy, and in the observance of the constitution."

As far as I have been able to form an opinion, it is, that the foreign powers during the agitation of the American question, have endeavoured to prevent any arrangement between the parties.

On the 9th instant I received a note from Mr. Ravenga, one of the commissioners of Bolivar, requesting an interview with me, (copy marked D) to which I immediately replied, (copy marked E,) stating that I would receive him that very evening.

In this interview he spoke of his mission to Spain; he said, that when he left Colombia, he had no idea of meeting with the least obstacle; he had calculated to a certainty that his object would immediately be accomplished. He spoke of the ignorance of this country of the real state of Spanish America—of their illiberality and their prejudices with warmth, and particularly so of the expression of the king, in his speech respecting Spanish America. He calculated, he said, upon the friendship of the United States, to promote the independence of the Republic of Colombia; he had a full conviction that he could rely upon it. Mr. Monroe, when Secretary of State, had informed him that all the ministers of the United States in Europe, had instructions to advance the acknowledgment of their independence by foreign powers.

I sympathized with him in the unpleasant situation in which he was placed, and feared that the sentiment in Spain was not as favorable as could be desired. He was perfectly justified, I said, in relying upon the good dispositions of the United States. It was their interest and their sincere wish, that the acknowledgment of the independence of Spanish America should be accelerated. The United States had not only been more forward than any other power, in publishing to the world their wishes with respect to her, but had accompanied them with actions, which certainly afforded the best proof of their sincerity, and among them I adverted to the message of the President to the Congress of the United States, at the commencement of its last session in which, alluding to the proposed negotiation between the late colonies and Spain, the basis of which, if entered upon, would be the ac-

knowledge of their independence; he says, "to promote that result by friendly counsels, including Spain herself, has been the uniform policy of the government of the United States."

The friendship of the United States, he said, was very grateful to the Republic of Colombia, and he hoped and expected, that, at the commencement of the next meeting of Congress, the acknowledgment of its independence would be decided upon; the moment had arrived when all the powers of the world would see the propriety of it. He calculated that the United States would be the first to take this step; hoped to see a confederacy of Republics throughout North and South America, united by the strongest ties of friendship and interest; and he trusted that I would use my exertions to promote the object he so much desired.

I heartily concurred with him in the hope, that all governments would resolve to adopt a measure so conformable to justice, joined with him in the agreeable anticipations of the progress of free principles of government, of the intimate union and brilliant prospects of the states of our new world. I presumed, I said, it was not necessary to bring to his mind, the high interest felt by the United States in their welfare—an interest in which I deeply participated, and desired, as much as he possibly could, the happiness of our Spanish American brethren. What would be the determination of the United States, at the period of the commencement of Congress, it was impossible for me to foresee; whether they would consider it a seasonable moment for doing that which was so much desired, was a point I could not resolve.

In this interview, Mr. Ravenga confirmed to me what I had previously learned, that his instructions do not authorize any terms short of the acknowledgment of independence. I observed to him that I presumed no arrangement would be made under them that might have an injurious bearing on the commercial interests of the United States. To this his reply was, that none would be entered into by the Republic of Colombia, with Spain, that would not be perfectly reciprocal.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

THOMAS L. L. BRENT.

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A.

ARTICLE 1. The religion of New Spain is, and shall be, the Roman Catholic Apostolical, without tolerating any other.

2. New Spain is independent of Old Spain, and of every other power, even on our continent.

3d. Its government shall be a moderate monarchy, according to a constitution peculiarly adapted for the empire.

4. Ferdinand the VII. shall be emperor; and if he do not come in person to Mexico to make oath before the Cortes, within the time prescribed by them, the most serene infants Don Carlos, Don Francisco

de Paula, the arch-duke Charles, or some other branch of the reigning family, shall be appointed in his place by the Congress.

5. Until the meeting of the Cortes, there shall be a junta which shall have their union for its object, and the compliance with this plan in its whole extent.

6. Said junta, which shall be styled governmental, must be composed of the deputies mentioned in the official letter of the vice-roy.

7. Until Ferdinand VII's arrival in Mexico, and his taking the oath, the junta will govern in the name of his majesty, in virtue of the oath of fidelity taken by the nation; but until his majesty hath sworn, any orders he may give shall be suspended.

8. If Ferdinand VII. should not deign to come to Mexico, the junta or regency shall govern in the name of the nation, until it be resolved who shall be crowned emperor.

9. This government shall be sustained by the army of the three guarantees, of which mention shall be made hereafter.

10. The Cortes shall resolve whether the junta shall continue, or a regency substituted in its place, until the arrival of the person who is to be crowned.

11. The Cortes shall immediately establish the constitution of the Mexican empire.

12. All the inhabitants of New Spain, without distinction of Africans, Europeans, or Indians, are citizens of this monarchy, with eligibility to all employments, according to their virtues or merits.

13. The person of every citizen and his property shall be respected and protected by the government.

14. The clergy, secular, and regular, shall preserve all its privileges and pre-eminences.

15. The junta shall take care that every branch of the state remain without any alteration, and all the officers, political, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, on the same footing as at present. They alone shall be removed who decline entering into this plan, substituting in their place those persons who are most distinguished for their virtue and merit.

16. A protecting army shall be formed, under the title of the three guarantees, because it takes under its protection: 1st. The preservation of the Catholic religion, co-operating, with all its efforts, that there may not be a mixture of any other sect, and attacking all the enemies who may injure it. 2d. The independence under the system already manifested. 3d. The intimate union of Americans and Europeans, guaranteeing such fundamental bases of the felicity of New Spain, each individual, from first to last, will prefer sacrificing his life than permit the infraction of any of them.

17. The troops of the army shall observe the most strict discipline, according to their regulations, and the chiefs and officers shall remain on the same standing as at present, that is, in their respective classes, with eligibility to such public employments as are vacant, or may vacate in consequence of those who may not wish to follow their

career, or any other cause, and those which may be considered as necessary or convenient.

18. The troops of said army shall be considered as of the line.

19. In the same light shall be considered those who may afterwards adopt this plan. Those who do not defer it, those of the former system of independence, who shall immediately join said army, and the countrymen who may desire to enlist, shall be considered as troops of national militia, and the form of each, for the interior and exterior security of the empire, shall be dictated by the cortes.

20. The employments shall be conceded to true merit, in virtue of references to the chiefs, and in the name of the nation.

21. While the cortes are assembling, the proceedings against criminals shall be according to the Spanish constitution.

22. For conspiring against the independence criminals shall be imprisoned until the cortes decide the greatest punishment, next to "lesa Majestad Divina."

23. A strict watch shall be kept over those who may attempt to create disunion, and they shall be reputed conspirators against the independence.

24. As the cortes which are about to be installed are to be constituent, it is necessary that the deputies should receive sufficient powers to that effect, and consequently the electors ought to be informed that their representatives are to be for the congress of Mexico, and not of Madrid. The junta will prescribe just rules for the elections, and will fix the necessary time for them and the opening of the congress.

Since the elections cannot take place in March, the term shall be shortened as much as possible.

ITURBIDE.

IGUALA, 24th February.

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B.

The special committee, appointed to propose to the Cortes what it judges most conducive to put a stop in the most effectual manner to the disputes and dissensions which unfortunately prevail in the provinces of America, is duly penetrated with the importance of the charge, and desirous of corresponding to the confidence with which the Cortes has honored it. Few questions of such magnitude can be presented to the deliberations of a legislative assembly and to the resolves of a government, as that which, at present, occupies the attention of the Spanish Cortes. On their resolution, and the wisdom of their measures, depend the greatest events; perhaps the tranquillity of America, and the rapid civilization of the whole world. Spain seems destined to give the world, from time to time, striking examples of grandeur, by turns heroic, or singularly original. The remote seas and regions discovered by her sons since the time of Columbus in the 15th and 16th centuries; the renowned valour and martial deeds, which border on the fabulous, of Cortes, Balboa, and Pizarro

did not suffice to their glory; nor that Sebastian del Cano, in his ship *Victory*, styled the competitor of the sun, should be the first to sail round the globe; to complete its measure, they added the arts, civilization, and the religion of their fathers; those vast regions participated of the benefits enjoyed in Europe, and the discoverers did not delay in making extensive to them the advantages derived from their own country. With what enthusiasm and pleasure (as we are assured by Inca Gacilaso) they assembled to enjoy in reciprocal union, and to spread, by their care and attention, over the whole country, the first productions of Europe. The laws relative to India are an eternal monument of the desire which always animated the Spanish government that America should be treated with the same care and equality as the other provinces of Europe; they state that its natives shall be treated, favored, and defended, as the other subjects of the peninsula. From such just and prudent policy resulted the advantages which afterwards were derived. Cities were erected which, for their population, beauty, and extension, rivalled the principal in Europe; their products served to augment the traffic and commerce of the whole world. The sons of America, with their talents and wisdom, enlightened the country of Manco Capac, and Montezuma, and, not satisfied with spreading their knowledge over their native land, they have come to Europe to co-operate in the amelioration and prosperity of the Spains, it being conspicuous that many estimable deputies from thence, in the anterior and present Cortes, have taken an active and very principal part in the most important decisions. Such are the fruits which have been collected from the civilization and culture which Spain has succeeded in diffusing beyond the Atlantic, and from them is most evident the injustice and levity with which foreign writers have spoken of Spanish domineering in those regions. The disorders and injustice that there has been there have not arisen from the laws, nor from the interests, nor from the ambition, of the metropolis, but from the men, the prejudices of the age, from the evils under which Spain herself groaned, and from the distance which always rendered null the responsibility of the governors. But, in spite of this, America continued faithful, and closely united with the mother country. The dissensions in Europe, the war of the succession, produced no desire to disturb interior tranquillity, or to effect a separation, neither was the glorious war for independence a sufficient motive; they succored us with their treasures, and it has been said, in honor and to the glory of America, that the principle of her revolt had a noble origin, similar to what impelled Spain to defend herself against a hostile irruption. When Andalusia was invaded in 1810, the greater part of our provinces was occupied by the enemy; our government dispersed, and our armies nearly annihilated; the destiny of Spain was considered as decided, and her ruin inevitable. It would, indeed, have been difficult to imagine that, from an insulated extremity of the peninsula, the nation would rise again, not only independent, but regenerated and free. The Americans, mistrustful of their chiefs, feared, that, being Europeans, they would desire to

follow the destiny of Spain whatever it might be; they, therefore, resolved not to submit to a foreign yoke, and preferred separating from the peninsula to the indignity of obeying an unjust invader. This was the noble principle of the commotions in America, and if any of her chiefs had motives less pure, he was obliged to dissemble, and cover them with the pretext of so just a cause.

The Spanish arms, in conjunction with their allies, having beat and harassed the enemy in every direction, obliged him to evacuate the Peninsula. Such a happy state of affairs announced a speedy reconciliation with the revolted provinces of America; but all the hopes of those who loved their country were dispelled by the fatal decree of the 4th of May, and the execrable system which followed. The war continued to rage in many parts, and the passions, irritated to the highest degree, left but little prospect of a conclusion to such a destructive quarrel. Nevertheless, New Spain, or, more correctly, all Spanish North America, almost entirely quelled at that epoch, put a stop to this devastating warfare. A great part of Peru had constantly remained united to Spain; as also, Cuba and the other islands. Thus, while Terra Firma, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, presented the spectacle of Spanish and American blood spilled by the same hands whose interest it was to preserve it, the most important part of Spanish America was free from so much desolation. But this tranquillity does not suffice; though it should extend all over America, and be more durable, it is not sufficient to satisfy the lovers of humanity. America must fix her happiness on a more stable basis, which, instead of prejudicing, may add, to that of Europe. The Cortes, soaring above the prejudices of some, and the passions of others, must take such wise measures as shall entitle them to be considered worthy rivals of those Cortes who, upon a rock, and under the enemy's cannon, dictated laws at this day respected and obeyed by so many and such distant provinces. The committee, fully persuaded of this, discussed, in various conferences, the questions which appeared to it most proper to produce the great end to which we all aspire; it examined them conjointly with his Majesty's ministers, who at first entirely concurred with the opinions that were generally adopted. Peculiar circumstances have since obliged them, in some measure, to suspend their judgment, under the impression that the public opinion is not yet prepared for a definitive resolution. In this dilemma, the committee can propose nothing to the Cortes; because, as it appertains to the government to decide the question of fact, that is, the convenience and necessity of adopting certain measures, and government not thinking the moment has yet arrived, the committee must confine itself to excite the zeal of the ministers, that they may accelerate the wished-for moment. Justice calls aloud for this; the precarious and uncertain destiny of so many Europeans, Spaniards established in those regions, the Americans likewise, the different tribes who have sustained, by force of arms, the cause of the metropolis; in fine, the true felicity of America and the peninsula, call aloud for it. The happiness of America consists in a solid peace, guarantee of its future prosperity; that of Spain, in not meeting impediments at every moment, and not having its atten-

tion drawn off from its deliberations to make the provisions which such distant provinces require. The knowledge of the century, and an enlightened policy, must guide the government in so new and glorious a resolution. The committee, possessed with the grandeur of the subject, and convinced that its decision may have some influence in the destiny of the universe, is desirous of communicating to all Spaniards its intimate conviction, that they, on their part, may contribute to the happy termination of such an undertaking. Spain would derive advantages that, otherwise, she will not realise; and the ties of relationship and religion, united to commercial relations, and those which are derived from free institutions, would be the most certain pledge of our harmony and close union. The committee, therefore, not able of itself to determine on any thing, must confine itself to proposing that the zeal of the government be excited, so that it may present to the deliberations of the Cortes, without delay, the fundamental measures it may think proper, as well for the speedy and complete pacification of the revolted provinces of America, as to secure to them the fruition of a firm and solid felicity.

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C.

**ARTICLE 1.** There shall be three sections of Cortes in America; one in the north and two in the south. The first shall be composed of the deputies of all New Spain, including the internal provinces of Guatemela: the two other sections shall comprehend—the one, New Grenada and the provinces of Terra Firma; the other—Peru, Buenos Ayres, and Chili.

2. These sections shall unite at the time appointed by the constitution for the ordinary Cortes, governing themselves, in every respect, according to the rules prescribed for these; and they shall have in their territory the same legal representation and powers, excepting the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, which are reserved for the general Cortes; the part of the 7th, relative to approving offensive and defensive treaties; and the second part of the 23d.

3. The capitals where these sections shall, for the present, unite, are the following: The section of New Spain in Mexico; that of New Grenada and Terra Firma in Santa Fé; and that of Peru, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, in Lima. If the sections, with the consent of the Executive power of those countries, should think proper to change the seat of government, they may select whatever place may appear best suited to their purpose.

4. There shall be in each of these divisions a delegation, to exercise, in the name of the King, the Executive authority.

5. These delegations shall each be composed of one person, named by the will of his Majesty, selected from amongst men of the most ranscendant talents, without excluding the members of the Royal Family. This delegate shall be removable at the pleasure of his

Majesty: he shall be inviolable in regard to the sections of Cortes of those countries, and shall only be responsible for his conduct to his Majesty and the general Cortes. The ministers of this delegation shall be responsible to the respective sections of the Cortes according to the constitution.

6. There shall be four departments: of the interior, of finance, of justice, of war and marine; some of which may be united, according as it may be judged convenient, in virtue of a law.

7. There shall be three sections of the supreme tribunals of justice, composed of a President, eight Ministers, and an Attorney General.

8. There shall be three sections of the Council of State, each composed of seven individuals, but the legislative sections may at pleasure reduce their number to five.

9. The commerce between the Peninsula and America shall be considered as interior from one province of the monarchy to another; and consequently, the Spaniards of both hemispheres shall enjoy in them the same advantages as their respective natives.

10. They shall likewise reciprocally enjoy the same civil rights and equal eligibility to employments and public offices as their respective natives.

11. New Spain and the other countries, comprehended in the territory of their legislative section, oblige themselves to deliver to the peninsula, the sum of two hundred millions of reals, in the space of six years, which shall commence on the 1st of January, 1823, in order to contribute to the payment of the foreign debt, hypothecating the revenue of the state, and the lands that appertain, or may hereafter appertain to it, in the above mentioned New Spain and indicated territory.

The said two hundred million of reals shall be paid by instalments. The first at the commencement of January, 1823, and thus, successively, in six posterior years, until its final liquidation, which will take place on the 1st January, 1828, so that thirty millions may be paid during each of the first four years, and forty during the two last. The term of these instalments may be curtailed, with the approbation of the legislative section that shall be established in New Spain.

12. New Spain and the other territories comprehended in her legislative section, likewise bind themselves to contribute to the navy expenses of the peninsula, with forty millions of reals annually. The payment of this sum shall commence from the time when the legislative section shall first assemble, and shall be delivered at farthest at the expiration of a year from that period: this sum shall be augmented when the circumstances of New Spain shall permit, and delivered, along with the other, specified in the preceding article, in some one of the ports belonging to New Spain in the Gulf of Mexico.

13. The rest of the countries of America, comprised in the other sections, shall contribute to the peninsula, in the manner that shall be hereafter fixed upon, and according to their circumstances.

14. New Spain takes upon herself the payment of all the public debt contracted in her territory, by order of her agents in her name and by her authority; the lands, revenues, and other property of the state, of whatever nature, without prejudice to what has been agreed upon in the 11th article, shall be made over to her, to serve as an hypothecation of what has been stipulated in said article.

15. The deputies of the respective sections, at the time of taking the oath to observe, and cause to be observed, the constitution of the Spanish monarchy, shall add that of complying with and causing this law to be executed.

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[TRANSLATION.]

D.

Jose R. Ravenga, one of the Plenipotentiaries of Colombia, near his Catholic Majesty, has the honor to present his respects to Thomas Brent, Esq. Charge d'Affaires of the United States of North America, and requests that he will be pleased to name an hour at which he can have a personal interview with him.

House of the Marquis of Mos, Street of the Infantas.

July 9th, 1821.

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E.

Thomas L. L. Brent, Charge d'Affaires of the United States, kisses the hand of Senor Don Jose R. Ravenga, Plenipotentiary of Colombia, and will be happy to receive him at his house at six o'clock this evening.

Madrid, 9th July, 1821.

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[TRANSLATION.]

*Manuel Torres, Agent and Charge des Affaires of the Republic of Colombia, in the United States, to John Quincy Adams, Esq. Secretary of State.*

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1821.

SIR: The Republics of Venezuela and New Grenada, which, after a devastating war of more than ten years, have victoriously achieved the independence which they had declared since the year 1811, were united by virtue of a fundamental law of the sovereign Congress of Venezuela, of the 17th December, 1819, with the glorious title

of the Republic of Colombia, under which it has taken its rank among other independent nations.

In consequence, I have received the order of my government to communicate to you, sir, this resolution worthy of Colombia, and to accompany it with the subjoined authenticated copy of the said fundamental law, in order that you may be pleased to lay it before the President of the United States.

I have also the honor to present to you, sir, the credentials of my public character, and a drawing of the national standard, which will henceforth distinguish Colombia among other sovereign and independent States.

Although the foundation of the Republic of these United States would completely justify the right of Colombia, yet, with respect to the custom which has been introduced among nations, the causes which have rendered this measure indispensable, have been explained in the Declaration of Independence of Venezuela, of the 5th July, 1811, a copy of which Don Telesforo de Orea, then agent extraordinary of that Republic, transmitted to your predecessor, on the 6th of November, of the same year: the other declaration of Venezuela, of the 2d November, 1818, and the manifesto of the President of the sovereign Congress of Colombia, of the 26th of August last, copies of which I sent you with my official letter of the 15th of last December, likewise mention them.

The conduct of Colombia being thus in all respects justified, no doubt my government will be recognized by that of the United States, as a free and independent nation, a sister Republic, situated likewise in the same hemisphere: It is also hoped, that to the recognition of the independence of Colombia on the part of the United States, treaties of commerce and navigation will be added, founded upon the bases of reciprocal utility and perfect equality, as the most efficacious means of strengthening and increasing the relations of amity between the two Republics.

As you are already acquainted with the solicitude of Colombia, permit me, sir, to add that it is of the greatest importance to my government to know the determination of the United States in regard to it.

I repeat, sir, the homage of the sentiments of high respect and distinguished consideration, with which I have the honor to remain,

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

MANUEL TORRES.

## [TRANSLATION.]

*Fundamental law of the sovereign Congress of Venezuela, of the 17th of December, 1819, for the union of the Republics of New Grenada and Venezuela, under the title of the Republic of Colombia.*

## THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.

The sovereign Congress of Venezuela, to whose authority the people of New Grenada, lately emancipated by the arms of the Republic, have voluntarily submitted, considering—

1. That by uniting the provinces of Venezuela and New Grenada in one republic, they will have the means of attaining the highest degree of power and prosperity.

2. That if they should remain in separate republics, however great the bonds that might unite them, yet, far from benefiting by so many advantages, with difficulty would they consolidate their sovereignty, and cause it to be respected.

3. That these truths, clearly perceived by every man of sound understanding and genuine patriotism, had excited the governments of both republics to agree to their confederation, which the vicissitudes of war have heretofore prevented.

From these considerations of necessity and reciprocal interest, and in conformity with the report of the select committee of the deputies from New Grenada and Venezuela, *in the name and under the auspices of the Supreme Being*, has decreed, and does decree, the following fundamental law for the Republic of Colombia:

ARTICLE 1. The Republics of Venezuela and New Grenada shall be, from the present day, united, under the glorious title of the *Republic of Colombia*.

2. Its territory shall be those comprehended in the former captain generalship of Venezuela, and the vice-royalty of the new kingdom of Grenada, embracing an extent of one hundred and fifteen thousand square leagues, whereof the exact boundaries shall be fixed at a more seasonable opportunity.

3. The debts contracted by the two republics, separately, are acknowledged *in solidum*, by this law, as a national debt of Colombia, for the discharge of which, the goods and property of the state are pledged, and the most productive of the revenue shall be destined.

4. The executive power of the republic shall be exercised by a President, and in his absence by a Vice President, both to be appointed pro tempore by the present Congress.

5. The Republic of Colombia shall be divided into three great departments, Venezuela, Quito, and Cundinamarca, which shall comprehend the provinces of New Grenada, whereof the name shall be henceforward suppressed. The capitals of these departments shall be the cities of Caracas, Quito, and Bogota, the addition of Santa Fé being omitted.

6. Each department shall have a superior administration, and chief magistrate, to be appointed for the present by this Congress, with the title of Vice President.

7. A new city, bearing the name of the liberator, *Bolívar*, shall be

the capital of the Republic of Colombia. The plan and site thereof shall be determined by the first general Congress, upon the principle of making it suitable for the conveniences of the three departments, and proportioned to the grandeur for which this rich country is destined by nature.

8. The General Congress of Colombia shall assemble on the 1st day of January, 1821, in the town of Rosario de Cucuta, which in every respect is considered the most suitable place. The convocation shall be made by the President of the republic, on the 1st January, 1820, who shall also communicate the plan for the elections, to be devised by a select committee, and approved by the present Congress.

9. The constitution of the Republic of Colombia shall be formed by the General Congress, to whom shall be presented the project of one already decreed, together with the laws enacted by this Congress, to be immediately carried into execution, by way of experiment.

10. The arms and flag for Colombia shall be decreed by the General Congress. In the mean time, those of Venezuela shall be employed, as they are known.

11. The present Congress shall dissolve on the 15th January, 1820, in order that the new elections may take place for the General Congress of Colombia.

12. A commission of six members, with a president, invested with special powers, to be decreed, shall occupy the place of Congress during its recess.

13. The Republic of Colombia shall be solemnly proclaimed to the citizens and the armies, with public feasts and rejoicings, to take place in this capital, on the 25th December, instant, commemorating the nativity of the *Saviour of mankind*, under whose protection the state has been regenerated by this re-union.

14. The anniversary of this political regeneration shall be perpetually celebrated by a national feast, where virtue and talents, as formerly at Olympia, shall be distinguished and rewarded.

The present fundamental law for the Republic of Colombia shall be promulgated in the settlements and armies, inserted in the public journals, and deposited in the archives of the cabildos, municipalities, and corporations, whether ecclesiastical or secular.

Given at the palace of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, in the city of St. Thomas of Angostura, on the 17th day of December, A. D. 1819, and in the ninth year of our Independence.

Francisco Antonio Zea, *President of Congress.*

Juan German Roscio,

Manuel Sedeño,

Juan Martinez,

José España,

Luis Thomas Peraza,

Antonio M. Briceño,

Eusebio Afanador,

Francisco Conde,

Diego Bantista Urbaneja,

Juan Vincente Cardoso,

Ignacio Muñoz,

Onofre Basalo,

Domingo Alzurn,

José Thomas Machad,

Ramon Garcia Cadiz.

Diego de Vallenilla, *Deputy Secretary.*

## DECREE.

Palace of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, at Angostura, the  
17th December, 1819—ninth.

The Sovereign Congress decrees, that the present fundamental law for the Republic of Colombia, shall be communicated to the Supreme Executive power, by a deputation for its publication and execution.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA,  
*President of Congress.*

DIEGO DE VALLENILLA, *Deputy Secretary.*

*Palace of the Government, at Angostura, the 17th Dec. 1819—ninth.*

Ordered to be printed, proclaimed, executed, and sealed with the seal of the state.

SIMON BOLIVAR.

By his Excellency, the President of the Republic,

DIEGO B. URBANEJA, *Minister of the Interior and of Justice.*

A true copy—Washington, 20th Feb. 1821. (11th.)

MANUEL TORRES.

[TRANSLATION.]

## REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.

ANGOSTURA, 1820.

Juan German Roscio, Vice President of the Department of Venezuela, and charged with the government of the Republic, on account of the absence of the President on the campaign, and of the Vice President on commission.

Whereas, it is important to the prosperity of Colombia, and to the dignity of that station to which it has been elevated, to establish diplomatic intercourse with other nations, and to make treaties which may confirm its friendship with them, regulate its commerce, and protect mutual interests: and this government being desirous of drawing more close the relations and bonds of union and good correspondence which already happily exist with that of the United States; therefore, I have nominated, and, by these presents, do appoint and authorize Manuel Torres, Esq. that in the rank and with the character of Agent and Charge des Affaires of the Republic of Colombia, he present himself and treat with the said United States, and, conformably to the instructions which have been given him, to promote the interests and advantage of Colombia, by reconciling them with those of said states, upon the principles of the most intimate, frank, and sincere friendship.

Given at the Palace of Government at Angostura; signed by my hand, sealed with the provisional seal of the Republic, and countersigned by the Secretary of State and Foreign Relations, the 15th of May, 1820.

JUAN G. ROSCIO.

By his Excellency the Vice President of Venezuela, charged with the government of Colombia.

JOSEPH R. RAVENGA,  
*The Minister of State and Foreign Relations.*

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[TRANSLATION.]

*Don Manuel Torres to the Secretary of State.*

PHILADELPHIA, November 30, 1821.

SIR: Since I had the honor of addressing to you my official note of the 20th of February last, requesting the President of the United States the formal acknowledgment of the independence of the Republic of Colombia, as a free, sovereign, and independent state, new successes have taken place, which, at the same time that they remove any well-founded obstacle which might at that time have been in the way of the government of the United States to prevent their acceding to the wish of that Republic, render now the said measure more urgent, and I might say indispensable, in consequence of the recent events in Peru and New Spain, and the conduct of the Spanish government towards America, always unjust and always capricious.

In compliance with the orders which I have received from the minister of foreign relations, of date the 3d of August, in Cucuta, I hasten to communicate to you, sir, what has occurred in Colombia since the recommencement of hostilities with Spain, and to inform you of the real actual state of the Republic, that you may be pleased to lay it before the President of the United States.

In conformity with the fundamental law of the 17th of December, 1819, the solemn act of the installation of the General Congress of the Republic of Colombia, composed of representatives named by the people of the nineteen free provinces of New Grenada and Venezuela, took place on the 6th of May last, in the city of Rosario, of Cucuta, as is shewn by the official document, No. 1, which I have the honor to enclose to you.

The General Congress being installed, one of the first measures which called the attention of the legislative body, was the great question of the fundamental law, and, after long and elaborate debates, in which each member expressed his opinion with the greatest freedom, the union of New Grenada and Venezuela into one body as a nation, under the express agreement of a popular representative government, divided into Legislative, Executive, and Judicial, authorities, was adopted and sanctioned by a plurality of votes; and, also,

the division of the territory of the Republic into departments or circles, according to the evidence in No. 2.

The document numbered 3, is the manifesto which, on the sixth of June, the President of Congress addressed to the people and armies of the Republic, notifying them of so important a measure; and No. 4 contains the fundamental law.

Whilst the Congress was engaged with patriotic spirit in discussing and making laws conducive to the correct administration of justice, to the regulation and management of the revenues, and to the promotion of public instruction, in all the provinces and places of the state, the attention of the liberator President was engaged in conducting an active war against the enemy, to expel them entirely from the territory of the Republic. The arms of Colombia experienced once more the aid of a beneficent providence, and they accomplished, at one blow, the entire destruction of the Spanish power in Venezuela, in the memorable battle of Carabobo, on the 24th of June.

The enemy lost their park of artillery, their baggage, their all, in their very entrenchments, and of more than six thousand men who were assembled at that military point, scarcely could a small number escape, who were able to retire within the walls of Porto Cabello.

The formidable fortress of Carthagena, and that of Cumana, also fell successively, so that Porto Cabello, in Venezuela, and the isthmus of Panama, in New Grenada, are the only two points which the Spaniards, for the moment, occupy in all the vast territory of Colombia; and, probably, before the termination of the present year, both will be incorporated with the Republic.

Although the isthmus of Panama, from its scanty population, its absolute want of agriculture, and its situation, can contribute little or nothing to the increase or facility of the interior or exterior commerce of the new Republic, still its occupation is of great importance to Colombia, under the view of its own future security, and that of the rest of America; and from the great facility which the river Chagrez affords for the commerce of Peru, and that of the provinces of New Spain, which lie along the Pacific, since the distances, the dangers, and expenses of a navigation by Cape Horn, are considerably diminished.

But it was not enough for the Liberator President to annihilate the formidable legions with which the Spaniards oppressed the country, it was also necessary to preserve good understanding and harmony among the inhabitants of Colombia, and to maintain among foreign nations the respect and reputation of the authorities of the Republic, which the agents of Ferdinand the Seventh have constantly defamed, by circulating, through the medium of the press, the most infamous falsehoods against them. He had no other means of realizing his object but exposing to the impartial world the perfidious conduct which the Peninsular government had incessantly observed towards the Americans; and, to the incontrovertible manner in which he did so, by the proclamation which he addressed to the Spaniards on the 25th of April, from the city of Barinas, is partly due the success of the republican arms in Colombia and in Peru.

The inhabitants of Colombia, after eleven years of a war, as unjust as cruel and destructive, guided by the genius of their liberator president, have achieved the liberty and independence of their country without the least foreign aid; have given themselves a popular and representative government, and a constitution well calculated to preserve the principles of liberty and equality and to promote the general prosperity.

With respect to the ability and capacity of Colombia to maintain its independence, no well-founded doubt can arise upon that point, if we consider on one hand the great population of the republic, which exceeds 3,600,000 souls, the extent of its territory, its natural and artificial resources, and its situation; and, on the other, the great military talent displayed by its generals and officers, and the discipline and valor manifested by its troops on all occasions, but particularly in the celebrated battles of Boyaca and Carabobo, in the capture of St. Martha, defended by seventeen exterior batteries, all taken by assault, and the reduction of the fortresses of Cartagena and Cumana.

Some idea may be also formed of the degree of splendor, power, and future prosperity, of the new republic, by considering it placed in the centre of the universe, with an extent of coast of twelve hundred miles on the Atlantic, from the Orinoco to the isthmus of Darien, and of seven hundred miles on the Pacific ocean, from Panama to Bahia de Tumbes; and exempt, at all seasons, from any of those dreadful hurricanes which cause such disasters in the Antilles, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in other places.

The great canals which are formed by the river Orinoco and its tributary streams, the Sulia, with the lake of Maracaybo, the Magdalena, the Cauca, and the Atrato, which all empty into the Atlantic, render Colombia the most favored part of the universe for interior navigation; and, by a union of all climates, unites, also, in great abundance, the productions of the three kingdoms of nature.

Agriculture is farther advanced in Colombia than in any other part of continental America, formerly Spanish, and its products of exportation, which consist chiefly of cocoa, coffee, indigo, tobacco of Barinas, and some cotton, are of a quality superior to those of other countries, except the cotton. With respect to the precious metals, Colombia is inferior neither to Mexico nor Peru, with the advantage that their discovery is more easy and less expensive. She also unites, by prolonged canals, two oceans which nature had separated; and by her proximity to the United States and to Europe, appears to have been destined, by the Author of Nature, as the centre and the empire of the human family.

Under these auspices it was, that the new republic took her rank among other free, sovereign, and independent nations, and that I had the honor, in my note to you, sir, of the 20th of February last, to solicit the recognition of her independence, on the part of the President of the United States; which request I repeat anew in this.

The glory and the satisfaction of being the first to recognize the independence of a new republic in the south of this continent belongs, in all respects and considerations, to the government of the United States; and this recognition would be, after all, but a measure, which the humanity, the justice, and the convenience and interest of this nation, demand.

Reduced, as Spain is, to an absolute inability to continue the war, her pride wishes an opening, perhaps, to meet with a pretext for making her peace with the Americans, and nothing would better answer her purpose, than the recognition of the independence of Colombia by the Federal government.

On the other hand, if the war between Spain and Colombia must continue, the law of neutrality of the United States would operate with equality with respect to both belligerents, which was not and cannot be the case, whilst this government does not recognize the independence of the new republic. Lastly, between the United States and Colombia, there can never exist a competition or rivalry in agriculture, commerce, and navigation, because, Colombia has no mercantile navy, nor can she form one for many years, and the products of exportation of her agriculture are entirely different from those which are cultivated in the United States. She wants annually twenty thousand barrels of flour, and other provisions from these States, for which she pays in coffee, indigo, hides in the hair, and in money, according as the intercourse between the two countries is favorable to the agriculture of both.

The political events of Peru and Mexico render the recognition of the independence of Colombia, urgent, on account of the great confidence with which this act would inspire those nations, to establish popular representative governments. All South America formerly Spanish, is emancipated, that is, upwards of eleven millions of souls; this has given a new importance to the New World, and now they are no more afraid of the machinations of the Holy Alliance to keep America dependent upon Europe, and to prevent the establishment of free governments.

The present political state of New Spain requires the most earnest attention of the government of the United States; there has occurred a project, long since formed, to establish a monarchy in Mexico, on purpose to favor the views of the Holy Alliance in the New World; this is a new reason which ought to determine the President of the United States no longer to delay a measure, which will naturally establish an American alliance, capable of counteracting the projects of the European powers, and of protecting our republican institutions. My government has entire confidence in the prudence of the President, in his disposition to favor the cause of the liberty and of the independence of South America, and his great experience in the management of public business.

Confined, for about three months past, to my bed or my chamber, by a grievous indisposition, which still gives me very few moments

of repose, it has not been in my power to address this communication to you sooner.

I have the honor to remain, with the highest respect and distinguished consideration, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

MANUEL TORRES.

[TRANSLATION.]

*Don Manuel Torres to the Secretary of State.*

PHILADELPHIA, 30th Dec. 1821.

SIR: The General Congress of the Republic of Colombia, in the session of the 6th of September, appointed the Liberator and Captain General, Simon Bolivar, President of the State, and General Francisco de Paula Santander, Vice President, for the constitutional term of four years; and on the 3d of October they took possession of their respective magistracies, after having taken the oath prescribed by the constitution.

The functions of the Executive power devolved, from the 10th of said October, on the Vice President of the State, agreeably to the 158th article of the Constitution, in consequence of the Liberator President having taken the command of the armies of the Republic.

The Supreme Government has fixed its residence in the city of Bogota, in virtue of a decree of the General Congress, of the 8th of the same October; and, by another decree of the Liberator President, of the 7th, the Señor Pedro Gual has been appointed Secretary of State and Foreign Relations of the government of Colombia.

I communicate this to you, sir, that you may be pleased to communicate it to the President of the United States.

I renew to you, sir, the sentiments of respect and distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to remain, &c.

MANUEL TORRES.

[TRANSLATION.]

*Don Manuel Torres to the Secretary of State.*

PHILADELPHIA, 2d January, 1822.

SIR: In the official note which I addressed to you, on the 20th of February of the last year, soliciting the recognition of the Republic of Colombia, on the part of the President of the United States, I represented how important it was to my government to know the determination of the United States respecting the said demand.

In that which I had the honor to transmit to you, dated the 30th of November last, I repeated the substance of that of the 20th of February, and I suggested some additional powerful reasons which urgently required the positive knowledge of the decision of the Pre-

sident of the United States in regard to a question of so much importance to my government in the present circumstances, for the regulation of its political and commercial relations with other nations.

I ought not to conceal, Sir, my pain in being compelled to distract your attention by requesting, once more, an answer to my former notes. This course, under all circumstances an indispensable duty of my station, has been rendered the more urgent by the negotiations of peace between Colombia and Spain, having lost all their importance, in consequence of the Peninsular government tenaciously persisting in its extravagant and unjust pretensions, at the very time of its most absolute incapacity and impotence to invade the territory of the Republic, or to prevent the prosperity which its inhabitants now begin to enjoy; a blessing of the independence which they have gained by their arms, and of the liberty which their constitution secures to them.

The present state of my health does not yet permit me to visit the capital; but I shall do so as soon as I can undertake the journey without inconvenience.

Be pleased, Sir, to accept the homage of the sentiments of esteem, and distinguished consideration, with which I have the honor to be, &c.

MANUEL TORRES.

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*The Secretary of State to Don Manuel Torres.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

*Washington, 18th January, 1822.*

SIR: In reference to your letters of the 30th of November last, and the 2d of this month, I have the honor of informing you, that the subject to which they relate, is under the consideration of the President of the United States, whose definitive decision concerning it shall, when taken, be forthwith communicated to you. In the mean time, should you receive advices of the surrender of Porto Cavallo, and the Isthmus of Panama, I have to request you would favor me with the information of those events as early as may suit your convenience.

I pray you, sir, to accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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*To the Secretary of State of the United States of America.*

MEXICO, 25th October, 1821.

SIR: The love of my country, the spring of every noble and generous action, induces me to communicate to you, for the information

of the President, and for the benefit that may result to the government and citizens of the United States, the following circumstantial and exact account of the happy revolution that has lately occurred in this kingdom of New Spain, which, by the blessing of God, the intrepidity, talents, and exertions, of its patriotic chief, General Don Augustin Iturbide, the enlightened policy of its mother country, and the liberal and philanthropic ideas of its late Captain General Don Juan O'Donoju, has ended in its complete and entire emancipation.

That you may have a clear and distinct view of the subject, be fully impressed with the justice of the cause of this hitherto afflicted and oppressed people, and have also a general idea of the face of the country, its inhabitants, productions, &c. it may not be improper to state, that, since its conquest, which, if my memory serves me, was in the year 1521, it has been governed by sixty-two viceroys, and innumerable commandant generals, governors, and superintendents of provinces, who, according to general tradition, have been, with very few exceptions, as many merciless and mercenary tyrants, the rapacity and unfeeling barbarity of which nothing could have withstood for such a length of time; but a land enriched by the beautiful hand of nature to a most extraordinary degree, and a people born and brought up, until of late, in all the intolerance of superstition and ignorance, and accustomed from its earliest infancy to the innumerable, and I may say almost incredible impositions, of both church and state.

Few foreigners have, perhaps, had an opportunity of seeing as much of the kingdom as myself, having travelled on horseback from the port of Guaymas, on the gulf of California, to almost every part of Sonora, and afterwards through the provinces and superintendencies of New Biscay, New Galicia, San Luis Potosi, Queretaro, and Mexico, to this city; a distance at least of 700 leagues, passing through all the principal cities, visiting the most celebrated mines, and conversing familiarly with all classes of people.

The provinces of Puebla, Mexico, Mechoacan, San Luis Potosi, and Guanajuato, may be termed the central ones, and of those I have seen, the best watered, most fertile, most productive, and most inhabited; those that border on the gulf of Mexico are Merida de Yucatan, Oaxaca, Vera Cruz, New Santandero, and Texas; the second, from all accounts, beautiful in the extreme; and the third and last very fertile, but almost entirely uncultivated: those on the Pacific ocean and gulf of California, New Galicia, Sinaloa and Sonora, fertile in parts, but very scant of water, and the extensive internal ones of New Leon, New Biscay, and New Mexico, that reaches to the latitude of 42° N. which have for the most part the same defect, and which may be called a general one throughout the kingdom, there being in most parts but little rain, and in no part excepting Texas, what we would call rivers; where there is an abundance of water, however, the country is wonderfully fertile, producing in many parts two and three crops a year, and yielding each time four and five hundred for one, with the singular advantage of a diversity of tempera-

ture within very short distances, produced by the greater or less elevation of the land, the centre of the kingdom being from eight to twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea, so that it is not uncommon to see in the same market, all the fruits, grains, and other productions, of temperate, hot, and cold climates, as is the case in this, and most of the principal cities.

Before the insurrection of the year 1810, the kingdom contained six millions of inhabitants, and it is worthy of remark, that Providence has been no less lavish in the distribution of her gifts as respects mankind, than in the fertility and production of the earth; the natives of this country, not excepting even the Indians, being endowed with a quickness of perception and ability to acquire and make themselves masters of the arts and sciences, that is very notable, and far exceeds that of the inhabitants of Old Spain, and, perhaps, many other countries. At the abovementioned period, the kingdom may be said to have been at its acme of prosperity; the royal revenue exceeding twenty millions of dollars, and the money coined at the mint of this city, upwards of twenty-eight millions annually; it has, however, ever since been on the decline, in consequence of the devastations committed by both parties in the long and cruel war carried on between the Europeans and Americans, so that the population cannot now be computed at more than four millions; the revenue at more than half of what it was, and the money coined yearly, at from five to eight millions; this year it will probably not exceed four.

I have been informed that a very correct history of this insurrection up to the unfortunate expedition of General Mina, has been written by a Mr. Robinson, and published in Philadelphia; it is useless, therefore, to say more on the subject than that its commencement was undoubtedly caused by the abuses daily committed in all branches of the government in this kingdom, by the disorder in which Spain was thrown in consequence of the invasion of the French, and by the imprudent measures adopted in this city, one of which was the arrest of the viceroy Iturigaray, and many of its principal American inhabitants: it is also worthy of remark, that, in proportion as it was prolonged, the evils increased, and its symptoms became more malignant; the various incidents of the struggle, imbruing its character with blood, produced other passions, and among them those of rancor and hatred, which, irritated and inflamed by the inconsideration, imprudence, and want of policy, on both sides, divided the kingdom into two parties, the Europeans and Americans, whose respective opinions formed essentially the war that destroyed both.

Among those that contributed most to quell the insurrection, was the before mentioned General Don Augustin Iturbide, then colonel of the regiment of Celaya, and native of the city of Valladolid, in the province of Mechoacan; born of European parents, and animated by a mistaken zeal, he was induced to embrace the royal cause, and, with a fervor and impetuosity peculiar to his character, committed many arbitrary and violent acts, that, in a great degree, tarnished what would otherwise have been deemed brilliant achievements, and

over which it is necessary to draw a veil, his subsequent conduct having entirely effaced them from the memory even of those most aggrieved. Indeed, it would appear that a sense of the injustice he had committed, an innate conviction of the impropriety of adhering to the party he had espoused, and a remorse of conscience, were the principal causes of the change in his political sentiments; for we see him all at once assume a different character, and at a moment when his sovereign had heaped upon him innumerable honors.

The impossibility of re-establishing peace and quietness in the kingdom by the force of arms, was fully ascertained during the viceroyalty of the Captain Generals Venegas and Calleja, of whom it may be said that they rather dispersed than conquered the Americans, the country being in a complete state of revolt, and full of chieftains that commanded from three to six hundred, and even a thousand men each, and bands of robbers that infested the highways in September, 1816, when the viceroy Apodaca arrived. To this disinterested, good, and virtuous man, is due the pacification of the kingdom; his penetration, skill, and humanity, having suggested to him the propriety of laying aside the arms that had hitherto been in use, and of winning the affections of the people by means of persuasion, pardons, and premiums, who without general officers, money, or any immediate expectation of establishing the liberty of their country, and weary of the wandering and wretched life they had so long endured, embraced readily the opportunity that presented of returning to the bosom of their families. No sooner was the plan adopted than its wisdom became palpable; entire towns and districts yielding to the solicitations of the agents appointed by the government for carrying it into execution, so that at the end of two years all was tranquillity, and you could travel in every direction without escort of arms, except that of Acapulco, between which and this city the chieftains Guerrero, Asensio, and a Colonel Bradburn, of Virginia, that came with General Mina, with about fifteen hundred men, had taken refuge, and fortified an almost inaccessible mountain, from whence they made predatory excursions. To reduce these to obedience was the ultimate object and wish of the government, and, with this view General Yturbe was invested with the important military command of the department of the south, that contained about three thousand veteran troops, and had its head-quarters in the town of Yguala, distant about thirty leagues from this city, on the direct road to Acapulco. It is proper to mention here, that a few months previous to his nomination, news had been received of the regeneration of Old Spain, and of the establishment of the constitution in that country, a circumstance that created great alarm in this among the clergy and friars; the lower class of people were also taught to believe that the planting of it here would be attended with the entire destruction of their long established forms of religion.

The Viceroy, Apodaca, who was now graced with the title of "Conde del Venadito," was also opposed to the new system, and discovered so much reluctance in the change of his measures, that

his unwillingness and tardy mode of proceeding became evident to all, and gave occasion to many just and violent complaints that were made by its admirers, who publicly accused him of its infraction, while the American writers, taking advantage of the liberty of the press, and confused and unsettled state of the public opinion, called aloud for independence as the only certain remedy for the numerous evils that surrounded them.

The crisis was too important and obvious to escape the penetration of our hero Yturvide, who was also instigated to an immediate execution of the plan he had in consequence formed of liberating his country forever from its thralldom, by the mutiny of several of the officers of the regiment of the "Four Military Orders," that had before given many unequivocal proofs of disaffection and insubordination, which was supposed to extend to the soldiers of that corps, and by the departure of a convoy for Acapulco, with near a million of dollars, that was intended to be embarked in a ship bound to Manilla, that he resolved on detaining. He immediately, therefore, concerted his measures with the clergy and friars, and, with the specious pretext of upholding them in their privileges and immunities, secured their favor and protection. He also communicated his design to such of the governors of the provinces as he thought likely to aid him in the execution of it, and, on his arrival in Yguala, persuaded a great part of the troops under his command to join him in the undertaking, in the belief that the government secretly favored it, a circumstance that they at first readily gave credit to from their knowledge of the anti-constitutional sentiments of its leading members, but in which they were soon after undeceived, and, in consequence, not more than a thousand remained faithful of those that espoused his party. The design was also made known to Guerrero, Asensio, and Bradburn, who pledged themselves to support him in the enterprise, and, thus prepared, he openly declared the independence of the kingdom, swearing it in the most solemn manner at the head of his army, in the said town of Yguala, on the 24th day of February last, seizing, at the same time, and appropriating to the use of the nation, the treasure destined for the Manilla ship.

His next step was to form a plan for the installation of the new government, a copy of which I enclose, and to give to his army the style and title of the "Army of the three Guarantees," from the protection it was to afford to the Catholic religion, to the independence of the kingdom, and to the indissoluble union between the Europeans and Americans. A copy of the plan was immediately sent by him to the Viceroy, with a letter, stating all that had passed, explaining his motives for having formed and adopted the new system, inviting him and the government to aid and assist in its establishment, and, finally, naming the said Viceroy, the "Conde de Cortina," and the President of the Royal Audience, the members that were to compose the regency, reserving to himself the command that he had assumed of the national army.

The Viceroy, had he been left to himself, would, I believe, have

assented to the proposal, from the vehement desire he has ever manifested to avoid the effusion of blood, and the miseries concomitant to a renewal of the war, as well as from the conviction that the plan and policy adopted by Yturvide could not fail to gain him innumerable friends, and to enable him, finally, to accomplish his views. It was necessary, however, to call to his counsel the members of the various tribunals of which the government was composed, as well as the principal military officers, all of whom, counting on the versatility that had been conspicuous in the American character up to that period, resolved, unanimously, to maintain the then existing government, in the belief that the few troops that had adhered to Iturbide, would leave him the instant the Royal army should approach Yguala.

The old favorite system of blood and murder was also upheld, but to this the Viceroy would not consent, and an amnesty was offered to all, not excepting Iturbide. The Field Marshal Liñan was named commander in chief, and a numerous staff and army was committed to his charge. He was, however, so slow in his motions, that a detachment of troops, sent by Iturbide, had taken possession of the town and castle of Acapulco, and he himself, with the remainder, were on march in the direction of Valladolid, before the army of Liñan moved from its cantonment in the neighborhood of this city.

The cry of independence was no sooner raised in Yguala than it spread in all parts, and an army was formed in the provinces of Puebla and Vera Cruz, by the Colonels Herrera, Bravo, and Santana, that took possession of the cities of Orizaba, Cordova, and Jalapa, which was a most important conquest, the two former being the depots of the government tobacco, of which a prodigious quantity fell into the hands of the Independents, with a large sum in specie; circumstances that were attended with the double advantage of being a powerful succor to them, and an irreparable loss to the government, who counted on the remission to, and sale of, the tobacco in Mexico, as its principal means of supporting the war.

In this state of things, it was resolved to divide the government army into three divisions; one of which, under the command of Col. Margues, was to retake Acapulco; another, commanded by Colonel Hebia, to march against the cities of Orizaba, Cordova, and Jalapa; and the third to return for the defence of this capital, on the supposition that Iturbide might suddenly change his route and take the city by surprize. It, however, soon appeared that his intention was very different, and that his object was to pass Valladolid and unite with a Col. Bustamente, of San Luis Potosi, who had risen at this critical period, and proceeded against the city of Guanajuato with a considerable part of his regiment of dragoons, declaring independence in all the cities and towns in the Bajio, the inhabitants of which received him with open arms. On arriving at Guanajuato, it also surrendered to him, and, as he was joined by the garrisons of the several places he passed through. Iturbide, on meeting him, found himself at the head of an army of five thousand men, including the divisions of Col. Barragan, and Major Parres, that left Valladolid with what

troops they could seduce, as soon as they knew of his intention to pass that way. With this respectable force it was determined to attack that city, which was the best fortified of any in the kingdom, and had a garrison of seventeen hundred men. It however made no defence, and its commandant, Col. Quintanar, and all but about 600 of the troops, went over to Iturbide.

At Guanajuato, which is one of the richest minerals in the kingdom, a mint was established, that proved afterwards very serviceable to the Independents, and injurious to the royal party, the silver from all the neighboring mines taking the direction of that city, instead of Mexico.

Acapulco remained but a short time in possession of the Independents, the castle having capitulated before the arrival of the division of Colonel Margues, to two Spanish frigates that accidentally arrived there from Panama. San Juan del Rio, a fortified town between this city and Quiritaro, was next invested; the siege, however, lasted but a few days, the greater part of the garrison, being Americans, deserted, and joined the Independents, obliging the few that remained to capitulate.

The division of Col. Hebia that had marched, as before stated, against the cities of Orizaba, Cordova, and Jalapa, surprised Col. Bravo, with about fifteen hundred Independents, in the town of Tepeaca, about nine leagues from Puebla, who, unprepared for action, retired with his troops to a large convent of the order of San Francisco, that was constructed by Hernan Cortez, soon after the conquest, in the form of a fortress, to serve as a place of refuge for him and his followers, in the event of any sudden emergency. Hebia had with him his own regiment of "Castile," and other European troops, that equalled in number those of Bravo; a field piece was, however, necessary to make a breach in the wall of the convent, and to obtain this, he sent immediately to Puebla, asking, at the same time, for a reinforcement of five hundred men, that the success of the action might be placed beyond all doubt. Bravo, suspecting his intention, resolved on a sortie, with the determination to cut his way and escape, as Iturbide had given positive orders to all his officers to avoid the effusion of blood, and to act solely on the defensive, from the double motive of conciliating the enemy and avoiding the butchery of his countrymen; sensible where one European should be killed four or five Americans would fall, the number of the latter in the king's service exceeding greatly that of the former. In the first and second attempts he made, he was unsuccessful; the third, however, proved more fortunate, and he got off with the loss of fifty or sixty men, killing as many of those that were opposed to him.

This was the first action that had occurred, and the result proved highly important to the Independent cause; the gallant conduct of their troops, inspiring an universal confidence, animating their companions in arms throughout the kingdom to a singular and unexpected degree, and demonstrating to the political and military officers of the government of Mexico, that they had to contend with a brave and determined enemy.

Disappointed and chagrined at the result of the action, and undeceived as to the sort of troops he had to deal with, Hebia proceeded on his march to Cordova, where he was killed in the first assault, and his army obliged to retire from the siege by Colonel Herrera, and the valiant troops that defended the city. While these scenes of glory were achieving in the provinces of Puebla and Vera Cruz, the siege of the city of Queretaro, one of the most beautiful in the kingdom, and the third in rank, as respects size, opulence, and commerce, was pushed with much vigor by Iturbide in person. Its garrison was composed of nine hundred Europeans, drafted from various regiments, and about six hundred Americans, all under the command of Brigadier General Loaces, a native of the kingdom of Peru, colonel of the regiment of Zaragoza, and a brave and experienced officer. He had determined to make a vigorous and desperate defence, and as the fate of the kingdom depended in a great measure on that of this city, the government resolved to abandon that of San Luis Potosi, and to succor Queretaro with the European regiment of Zamora that was stationed there. The order to this effect was no sooner despatched, than Iturbide knew of it, and concerted measures to surprize the troops on their march, which were so well executed, that they found themselves surrounded when they least expected it, by a body of three times their number, and compelled to surrender at discretion. This happy occurrence for the Independents was a death blow to the government, who found itself at once deprived of the important capital and province of San Luis Potosi, that were immediately occupied by the Independents, and without the means of contributing to the relief of Queretaro, which capitulated shortly after, the American part of the garrison joining Iturbide, as usual, and the Europeans going on parole to Celaya, until such time as they could be transported to the Havanna. These troops, to their eternal disgrace, proposed afterwards to their colonel to rise and march to Mexico; but he, like a man of honor, sent the letter to Iturbide, who immediately ordered them to be disarmed and dispersed.

The next action of any importance was in the neighborhood of Toluca, 14 leagues from the city, between the regiment of Fernando 7th, commanded by Colonel Castillo, and a body of the Independents of an equal number, under the orders of Colonel Filisola, which was indecisive, both parties claiming the victory, after an obstinate battle in which more than two hundred were left dead on the field, and the Independents in possession of two cannon that their opponents were obliged to abandon.

At this period, General Negrete, commander of the troops in the province of Guadalajara, rose with the whole of his army, obliged the Commandant General Don Jose de la Cruz, to fly from the capital of that name, where, and in all other parts of the province, independence was sworn; the commerce of the port of San Blas was also declared free to all nations. Cruz took the road leading to the internal provinces, with the intention, it was said, of uniting with Brigadier Don Joaquin Arredondo, commandant general of the east-

ern provinces, of raising an army in union with him, and of returning, either to reconquer his own province, or to the aid of that of Mexico. Arredondo had, however, already caused independence to be sworn throughout his district, and on hearing this, Cruz made a halt in the city of Zacatecas, but, being pursued by Negrete, fled to Durango, the capital of the province of New Biscay, carrying with him a large sum in specie, that he found in the treasury at Zacatecas, which city soon after surrendered to a detachment that was sent against it by the commandant of San Luis Potosi.

On the death of Hebia, the command of the regiment of Castile devolved on Lieut. Colonel Luna, who on the fall of Queretaro was ordered to return to Mexico by forced marches, in the expectation that Yturbe would now attack the capital; similar orders were also sent to Colonel Margues, in whose division was a principal part of the insubordinate regiment of the "four military orders." The male inhabitants of Mexico, from the age of 16 to 50, were also ordered to enrol themselves in the militia, without exception or distinction of persons, and every possible precaution taken to prevent a surprize, and maintain the city until such time as an answer should be received to dispatches that had been sent to Spain, or troops should arrive that were expected from the Havanna.

All this, however, was not sufficient to allay the rancor that a certain part of the community had conceived against the Vice Roy, nor to convince them of his upright intentions, or extinguish the sparks of insubordination I have already hinted at in some of the European troops, which, from the first, was more immediately directed at his person than at the government. A report was therefore industriously circulated that he was in secret correspondence with Iturbide, and that there was no real intention to defend the city, notwithstanding the preparations that were ostensibly making for its protection: the whole a prelude to the scandalous revolution of the 5th of July, which had for its object the arrest of that most excellent man, and, without doubt was accomplished by dint of money paid by the merchants to the officers that took part in the affray, who had the temerity to secure the persons of their colonels, and other principal military men opposed to their project, to assault the palace and make a prisoner of the Vice Roy, and afterwards the audacity to place against its gates, and the corners of the principal streets, for the information of the public, who were so many witnesses of their atrocity, a paper, setting forth that he had of his own accord, and at the respectful petition of the officers of the European regiments, delivered the political and military command of the kingdom to Field Marshal Don Francisco Novella, the person they had pitched upon as the leader of the faction.

This gentleman had under his command the various corps of artillery and engineers that existed in the kingdom; and as his education and occupation until now had been altogether confined to that line, you will readily imagine him entirely unfit for the discharge of the arduous and complicated duties of Vice Roy of these extensive provinces.

Indeed, he himself was sensible of his incompetency, and very prudently declined the offer; as unsuitable, however, as he was, there was no other person they could avail themselves of that was less so, and the same necessity that compelled them to name him, obliged him to accept the appointment. From a government constituted by the insubordination of a few soldiers that had the vanity to compare their iniquitous conduct with the noble enthusiasm of the Spanish nation, which, tired of obeying tyrants that abused the goodness of their monarch, rose in a mass to recover the rights of which they had unjustly been deprived, no good was to be expected, and we see it employed from its very commencement in destroying the constitutional regimen, of which it did not leave a vestige, and in substituting the most arbitrary and tyrannical system that it is possible to imagine, all of which was fomented and sanctioned by a body that Novella had created with the denomination of the "Junta Consultiva," composed of a few individuals who had contributed with their money to place the power in his hands, were furious at seeing approach the expiration of their authority, and with sentiments diametrically opposed to the system of liberality and philanthropy at present predominant.

At the time these scenes of horror were transacting in the capital, and to which I myself had like to have been a victim, notwithstanding the great prudence I observed in my deportment, a bloody occurrence took place in Vera Cruz, in consequence of the storm of that city by a party of troops commanded by an inconsiderate but brave young officer, named Santana, who scaled the walls and got complete possession of the town, but was afterwards obliged to retire with great loss, his soldiers having abandoned their arms with a view to plunder, and the inhabitants setting upon them when in that defenceless state.

The city of Puebla de los Angeles, the largest in the kingdom except Mexico, next attracted the attention of General Iturbide, in front of which was a large army of independents, composed of the divisions of the Conde de la Cadena, Herrera, Bravo, Filisola, and others, that only awaited the orders of their general to make the attack, and to prevent which and the loss of many valuable lives, he went in person, preferring in all cases the plan he had from the first adopted of reducing his enemies by means of persuasion and negotiation rather than by force of arms. The fate of Puebla was all-important to the government in the critical situation in which it found itself, being one of the chain of fortified towns that connect Mexico with Vera Cruz, to which port it had resolved to retire with the European part of the army and inhabitants, in the event of not being able to sustain itself in the capital. Puebla was, therefore, well garrisoned, served with an excellent park of artillery, and defended with many cannon of a large calibre, so that its commander in chief, Brigadier Don Ciriaco Llano, the Marquis de Vivanco, and other experienced officers stationed there, had, until the last, sanguine hopes of being able to defend it. Iturbide, however, called to his assistance a part of the ar-

my he had left in Queretaro, and surrounded the city with so many troops that resistance would have been nothing short of an act of madness; it therefore capitulated.

On the surrender of Puebla, the army of Iturbide, which had now augmented to the number of about eighteen thousand, and which was composed entirely of veteran troops that had been disciplined in the King's service, and had gone over to him clandestinely, or joined him on the fall of the various cities he had conquered, received orders to march in separate columns to different towns in the neighbourhood of Mexico, with the intention of manifesting to the government of that city the folly of any further resistance. It was, however, entirely in vain that the general had adopted this prudent measure, in vain that one or two praiseworthy citizens had ventured to reason on the subject with Sen. Novella, and in vain that he was assured he could not rely on more than one third part of the troops that composed the garrison; war! war! was the cry of him and his junta consultiva, and the motto they wore on their hats and that was worn by all their officers and troops was "Vivir y morir feiles y utiles."

Iturbide, after having rested a few days in Puebla, and partaken of the effusion of gratitude manifested towards him by the good people of that city, was on the point of leaving it, with the intention of fixing his head quarters near the town of Chalco, and directing from thence the attack that was to have been made on Mexico, when he received a letter from Lieutenant General Don Juan O'Donoju, who had recently arrived at Vera Cruz, informing him that he had been named by the King of Spain Captain General and Political Chief of the Kingdom, and had accepted the appointment at the solicitation of his friends, the Representatives of America in the Cortes of Spain, that he had risked his health and life, and sacrificed his convenience, at a period when he intended to retire from the public service, without any other desire than that of acquiring the love and esteem of the people of New Spain, and without other sentiments than those of tranquillizing the disastrous inquietude that reigned in the Kingdom; not by consolidating or perpetuating the despotism that existed, or prolonging the colonial dependence, nor falling into the errors or imitating the defects of many of his predecessors, in supporting a system of government, the tyranny and injustice of which arose from the barbarity of the age in which it was established, but by reforming the ideas of the misled, calming the passions of the exasperated, and pointing out to the people generally the mode of obtaining with security, and without the horrible sacrifice they were making, the happiness which the illustration of the era in which they lived, had induced them to seek after, and which no rational person could disapprove; he also required Iturbide to appoint a place at which they could have an interview, and realize the sincere and ardent desire he had to prevent the evils and misfortunes inseparable to a state of hostility, until such time as the treaty they might conclude, founded on the basis of the plan published in Yguala, should be ratified by the King and Cortes.

What a blow was this to the existing government of Mexico, and to those that preceded it since the year 1810; what a contrast to their iniquitous and shameful mode of proceeding! The wise and beneficent O'Donoju, reading the public papers of the Independents, applauding the enterprize of their hero Iturbide, confirming his ideas, commending his virtues, and desiring his friendship, as he does in the conclusion of his letter: while the intrusive Novella and his Junta Consultiva, in imitation of their barbarous predecessors Vanegas and Calleja, were persecuting with unrelenting fury, and almost to death itself, those that communicated with the Independents, or in whose possession should be found any of their seditious writings; proscribing the chiefs of the revolution, and heaping upon them every species of reproach and ignominy!

But the scene had changed, the star of liberty that rose in our own country had happily spread its influence in the more eastern and western hemispheres, and displayed to the world the criminal conduct of the Caligulas and Neros that had for such a length of time dishonored Spain and abused human nature.

This letter of O'Donoju, with another that he wrote to Sor. Novella, were sent by Iturbide to the Mexican government, accompanied with a proposal for the suspension of arms until such times as the definitive treaty should be signed in Cordova, the city named by Iturbide as the point of conference. Novella would, however, hear to nothing of the sort, and the letters were declared spurious, notwithstanding that Sor. Alcocer, a venerable curate of this city, who had been intimately acquainted with O'Donoju in Spain, proved to the junta the identity of the signatures, by shewing others that he had in his possession; which contumacy on the part of Novella, exasperated Iturbide so much that he set off for Cordova, leaving orders with his generals for the immediate occupation of the towns of Tacuba, Tacubaya, Azcapuzalco, and Guadalupe, neither of which were distant more than half a league from Mexico, and all of them in possession of the European troops.

This was an unexpected circumstance to Novella and the junta, who had the folly and vanity to suppose they could frighten the Independents from the execution of their plan by means of the silly proclamations they almost daily issued, in which they affected to despise their number, challenged them openly to commence the attack, and declared the generals Luaces and Llano traitors to their king and country for having surrendered the cities of Queretaro and Puebla. The heroes of Tepeaca, Cordova, and Toluca, were, however, not so easily scared, and a column of fifteen hundred men sent by Colonel Bustamante against Azcapuzalco, presented to the inhabitants of Mexico the sight of a most bloody and desperate action, that took place between them and an equal number of the regiments of Castile and Military Orders that composed the garrison of Azcapuzalco, the result of which was at least six hundred killed and wounded, and the abandonment of the town by the Europeans: a few days after an attempt was made to dislodge the Europeans that were stationed in

Guadalupe, by means of cannon placed on a neighbouring hill, and while this operation was carrying on by a part of the Independents, and others were taking possession of Tacuba and Tacubaya, from both of which towns the Europeans had retired, an aid de camp arrived with a copy of the treaty of Cordova, concluded between General O'Donju and Iturbide, and an order from the former to Sor. Novella, commanding him to obey him as captain general of the kingdom, to cause him to be recognized as such by the troops, to cease all hostilities from the instant he should receive the order, and to adopt measures for the evacuation of the city. This peremptory mandate on one side, and the near approach of the Independents on the other, placed Novella, the junta, and their European troops, in an awkward predicament, inasmuch as if they obeyed the order, they would be subject to arrest and trial for the scandalous imprisonment of the late viceroy, and if they refused compliance, to be treated as rebels against the king's authority; their object therefore, was to shelter themselves from the punishment they had justly deserved in the best manner they could. And, with this view, although they were perfectly convinced of the presence of O'Donju in the kingdom, and of the reality of the treaty signed in Cordova, they nevertheless affected to doubt the truth of one and the other, alleging that all might be a stratagem of Iturbide, and on this frivolous pretext refused to evacuate the city. On the deposition of the Conde del Venadito, the Junta Provincial, Ayuntamiento, and other bodies corporate, hesitated to acknowledge the authority of Novella, but were obliged to do so eventually, from the fear of the bayonets he had at his command.

Now, however, that they were surrounded by the independents and backed by O'Donju, they openly protested against his proceedings, and, in consequence, he was obliged to ask for an armistice, and compelled to send one of the junta consultiva to Puebla to ascertain, as he said, the identity of the captain general. This envoy, who had hitherto been one of the most strenuous supporters of the measures of Novella, and one of the most active members of the junta, received such a fright from the lecture O'Donju gave him, that he immediately returned, explained fully to Novella all that had passed, and forever afterwards ceased to meddle in the matters at issue. Novella was also inclined to succumb, and would have renounced his employ, had it not been for fear of the troops, he having lost all authority, and they having usurped the command, so that the city was in the utmost anarchy and confusion, and dreading at every instant a general massacre and pillage, with which it had been threatened daily for near a month, and which would most assuredly have succeeded, had it not been for the proximity and number of the independent army, that cut off all possibility of escape for the European troops, whose idea was to commit all sorts of enormity, rob what they could, and take the road for Vera Cruz.

Things had got to that pass, that it was impossible to confide in a servant, and dangerous to do so to a friend, every thing like social intercourse was at an end, those that could with any sort of conve-

niece leave the city fled, and those that were obliged to remain, sought security in their houses, so that, in this once populous metropolis, there was scarce a soul to be seen. In this state of things the generals O'Donoju and Iturbide, arrived at Tacubaya, and the former had an interview with Sor. Novella, in the course of which he gave him to understand the impropriety of his conduct in resisting the legitimate authority as long as he did, the impossibility of defending the city, and the certainty of the massacre of the Europeans, should it be taken by assault; remonstrated with him respecting the insubordination of the troops, pointed out to him the illegality of their conduct, and enjoined him to prevent the effusion of blood, by exercising the little influence he had with the subaltern officers and soldiers, in the understanding that he would not take upon him to scrutinize their conduct in the arrest of the late vice roy, but leave them to exculpate themselves in the best way they could on arriving in Spain. The following day news was received of the surrender of the city Durango, and General Cruz, to General Negrete, after an obstinate resistance, in the course of which many lives were lost, and the declaration of independence in the western internal provinces, under the command of field marshal Alexo Garcia Conde, so that if the soldiers of Novella had before any hope, it now entirely disappeared, and, in order to avoid a disgraceful capitulation, were obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of general O'Donoju, obey his orders by evacuating the city and march to that of Toluca, there to wait until it was convenient for them to embark.

To complete the independence of the kingdom there was now wanting the declaration of the province of Merida de Yucatan, which followed almost immediately the surrender of Acapulco, the castle of Perote and Vera Cruz, the two former of which capitulated soon after, and the latter has without doubt ere this followed their example, advice having been received yesterday by the government that it was on the eve of surrendering. The province of Guatemala, which has always been a separate vice royalty from that of Mexico, was also sensible of the general impulse, and desirous of becoming an integral part of the Mexican empire, has likewise sworn independence, which, without doubt, will extend to its neighboring provinces, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Veragua, so that we may from this instant consider North America, with the exception of Canada, as divided into two grand and important commonwealths, that may, with the aid of those that are forming in South America, be able, in the course of time, to give the law to the opposite continent.

I am very far from believing myself possessed of the qualities necessary to treat with the energy and exactness that it merits, a subject of the importance of that on which I have ventured to write, and certainly should not have had the temerity to have touched upon it, had it not been for the particular situation in which I found myself, an eye witness of all that passed, and from the conviction I have ever been under, that each individual is bound to contribute towards the good of his country to the utmost of his ability, be it great or small:

With this view, therefore, I shall, now that I have finished my narrative, take the liberty to add a few remarks, and to say in the first place, that the revolution which I have attempted to describe, is not one of those that have been accomplished by means of unbridled passions, cruelty, rancour, or revenge, but, on the contrary, has, from its commencement, been accompanied with brotherly love, patriotism, disinterestedness, truth and good faith, so that the more I reflect on its origin and progress, the more is my admiration excited, and the more am I tempted to exclaim, that America has produced two of the greatest heroes that ever existed, *Washington* and *Iturbide*. Secondly, that the new government is established on a sure and solid foundation, the people being highly delighted with it, and the subordinate chiefs, officers and soldiers, having one and all implicitly followed the example of moderation set them by their magnanimous leader, who, to obviate strife, envy, and emulation, has absolutely refused the crown, and insisted that the emperor shall come from Spain, as he first proposed in the town of Yguala. Indeed, the plan there published has been adhered to, with the most religious scrupulosity, except the slight variations made in it by the treaty of Cordova at the suggestion of general O'Donoju, and the empire is in consequence governed by a regency of five of its most distinguished and enlightened statesmen, who have elected general Iturbide President, and appointed him commander in chief of the land and sea forces, and by a convention, of thirty-six of the principal personages in the empire, as respects talents, rank, and riches. The independence is to be sworn in this city on the 27th inst. and the Cortes are to meet on the 24th of February next, the anniversary of the declaration in Yguala. In the mean time, the convention will be employed in enacting the most salutary decrees, and among those already passed is one declaring the commerce of this empire free to all nations; another, doing away all the arbitrary taxes, impositions, and excises, imposed by the former government; a third, reducing the duties from sixteen to six per cent; a fourth, for the encouragement of the Miners, relinquishing to them the quota of silver formerly paid to the King, with other imposts that amounted to seventeen per cent, so that many poor minerals that could not be worked before, can now be used to advantage; and a fifth, recognizing and making the new government responsible for the debt contracted by the old one, of thirty-six millions of dollars.

That there is a strong bias in the minds of the people of this country in favor of the government and citizens of the United States in preference to all other nations, is beyond a doubt; and that the convention, of which four-fifths are native Americans, and the regency which is composed entirely of them, are actuated with the same sentiments, is also certain. On this subject I have had various conferences with the leading members of the administration, whose sentiments will be fully explained to you shortly by Don Juan Manuel de Elizalda, the minister plenipotentiary that is already named, and now preparing to go to Washington, where I have no doubt he will

be received and acknowledged as the representative of a free and independent nation, the Mexican empire being so at this time to all intents and purposes, in the first place, by the unanimous wish and consent, power and authority, of its inhabitants, and, secondly, by the treaty signed at Cordova, between the generals O'Donoju and Iturbide, the deputed agents of Spain and this empire.

Your most obedient humble servant,  
**JAMES SMITH WILCOCKS.**

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[TRANSLATION.]

Treaties concluded in the city of Cordova, on the 24th instant, between the Senors D. Juan O'Donoju, Lieutenant General of the armies of Spain, and D. Augustin de Iturbide, first chief of the Imperial Mexican Army of the Three Guarantees.

The independence of New upon Old Spain being declared, and it having an army capable of supporting this declaration, the provinces of the kingdom being subdued by it, the capital, where the legitimate authority had been deposited, being besieged, and when there only remained for the European government the fortresses of Vera Cruz and Acapulco, dismantled and without the means of resisting a siege well directed, and which would last some time—Lieutenant General D. Juan O'Donoju arrived at the first port with the character and authority of Captain General and superior political Chief of this kingdom, appointed by His Catholic Majesty, who, being desirous of avoiding the evils which afflict the people in vicissitudes of this sort, and trying to conciliate the interests of both Spains, invited the first Chief of the Imperial Army, D. Augustin de Iturbide, to an interview, in which they might discuss the great business of the independence, by loosening without breaking the chains which united the two continents. The interview took place in the city of Cordova, on the 24th of August, 1821, and the first with the authority of his character, and the latter with that of the Mexican Empire; after having conferred at length on what was most proper for both nations, considering the present situation and the last occurrences, agreed upon the following articles, which they signed by duplicates, to give them all the force of which documents of this sort are capable, each one keeping an original in his possession for the greater security and validity.

1. This America shall be recognized as a sovereign and independent nation, and shall in future be called the Mexican Empire.

2. The Government of the Empire shall be a constitutional limited monarchy.

3. There shall be named to reign in the Mexican Empire (after the oath which the 4th article of the plan points out) in the first place the Senor D. Ferdinand VII. Catholic King of Spain, and upon his renunciation or non-admission, his brother, the most serene Senor Infant D. Carlos; upon his renunciation or non-admission, the most serene

Senor Infant D. Francisco de Paula; upon his renunciation or non-admission the most serene Senor D. Carlos Luis, Infant of Spain, formerly heir of Etruria, now of Lucca, and upon his renunciation or non-admission, he whom the Cortes of the Empire shall designate.

4. The Emperor shall fix his Court in Mexico, which shall be the capital of the Empire.

5. Two Commissioners shall be appointed by His Excellency General O'Donoju, who shall go to the Court of Spain to place in the Royal hands of Senor D. Ferdinand VII, a copy of this treaty, and the exposition which shall accompany it for the service of His Majesty first, whilst the Cortes of the Empire offer him the crown, with all the formalities and guarantees, which a business of so much importance demands; and intreat His Majesty that in the case of the 3d article he deign to notify their Serene Highnesses the Infants mentioned in same article in the order in which they are named; interposing his benign influence that one of those personages designated from his august house may come to this Empire, inasmuch as the prosperity of both nations is concerned in it; and for the satisfaction which the Mexicans will receive in adding this to the other bonds of friendship with which Spaniards can and desire to be united.

6. There shall be immediately appointed, according to the spirit of the plan of Iguuala, a Junta composed of the first men of the Empire for their virtues, for their stations, for their fortunes, authority and judgment, of those who are designated by the general opinion, the number of whom may be very considerable, that the union of lights may ensure the success of their determinations, which are emanations of the authority and powers which the following articles grant them.

7. The junta, of which the following article treats, shall be named the provisional Junta of Government.

8. Lieutenant General D. Juan O'Donoju shall be one of the provisional Junta of the Government, in consideration of the convenience of a person of his rank taking an active and immediate part in the government, and from its being indispensable to omit some of those who were designated in the said plan in conformity with its very spirit.

9. The provisional junta of government shall have a President appointed by itself, and whose election shall take place in one of its own members or not, who shall have an absolute plurality of votes; and if an election does not take effect at the first voting, they shall proceed to a second scrutiny, beginning with the two who may have together most votes.

10. The first step of the provisional junta of government shall be, to publish its installation, and the motives which unite it, with the explanations which it may consider proper, to illustrate to the people their interests, and the mode of proceeding in the election of Deputies to the Cortes, of which mention shall be made hereafter.

11. The provisional junta of government shall appoint, after the election of its President, a Regency composed of three persons, either of its own members or otherwise, in which shall be vested the

executive power, and which shall govern in the name of the monarch, until he shall take the sceptre of the empire.

12. The provisional junta being installed, shall govern provisionally according to the existing laws, in every thing not opposed to the plan of Iguala, and until the Cortes form the Constitution of the State.

13. The Regency, immediately after being appointed, shall proceed to the convocation of the Cortes, agreeable to the method which the provisional Junta of Government may determine; in conformity to the spirit of the 24th article of the said plan.

14. The executive power is vested in the Regency, the legislative in the Cortes; but as it has happened for some time before that they were united, that both may not again fall under one authority, the Junta shall exercise the legislative power, first in the cases which may occur, and which cannot await the meeting of the Cortes; and then shall proceed in accordance with the Regency: secondly, to serve as an auxiliary and consultive body to the Regency in its determinations.

15. Every person who belongs to a society, the system of government being changed, or the country passing into the power of another Prince, remains in the state of natural liberty to transport himself with his fortune, to what place he pleases, without there being any right to deprive him of this liberty, (unless he shall have contracted some debt with the society to which he belonged, by crime, or in other ways known to publicists:) in this case Europeans are admitted into New Spain, and the Americans resident in the Peninsula; consequently, they shall be free to remain, adopting this or that country; or to demand their passports, which cannot be refused to them, for removing from the realm in the time prefixed, bringing or carrying with him their families and effects; but satisfying, at the departure of the last, the established duties of exportation, or which may hereafter be established by competent authority.

16. The former alternative shall not have place with respect to public officers or military men, who are notoriously disaffected to the independence of Mexico; but these shall of necessity quit this empire within the term which the Regency may prescribe, carrying away their property, and paying the duties mentioned in the preceding article.

17. The occupation of the capital by the troops of the peninsula, being an obstacle to the realizing of this treaty, it becomes indispensable to overcome it; but, as the first chief of the imperial army, uniting his sentiments to those of the Mexican nation, is desirous not to take it by force, because there are abundant resources, notwithstanding the valor and constancy of the said peninsular troops, for the want of means and ability to support themselves against the system adopted by the whole nation—Don Juan O'Donoju offers to use his authority, that the said troops may complete their departure

without the effusion of blood, and by an honorable capitulation. City of Cordova, 24th August, 1821.

AUGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE.  
JUAN O'DONOJU.

A faithful copy of the original.

JOSE DOMINGUEZ.

A faithful copy of the original which remains in this commandancy general.

JOSE JOAQUIN DE HERRERA,  
THOMAS ILLANEZ.

*As assistant Secretary.*

[TRANSLATION.]

### DECREE OF THE REGENCY OF MEXICO.

The Regency of the Empire has been pleased to address to me the following decree:

The Regency of the Empire, provisional governor in absence of the Emperor, to all who shall see or hear these presents: Know ye, that the Sovereign Junta of provisional government has decreed as follows:

“ In consequence of the desire expressed in the official letter of the 23d of October last, by His Excellency D. Augustin de Iturbide, that this Sovereign Junta would be pleased to determine the powers and duties belonging to him as Admiral Generalissimo, for the laudable purpose of not exceeding in the former, nor coming short in the latter, His Majesty has thought fit to declare: That the prerogatives, powers, and honors, designated in the fifteen following articles, belong exclusively to him.

ART. 1. He shall have command of the forces by sea and land, comprehending in his government the economical and administrative, according to the laws; consequently, all propositions of office, in both branches, shall pass through his hand, of officers and chiefs, from those of brigadier, inclusive, downwards, in the land army, and the equivalents in the other branches: He shall propose also for the governments of garrisons, commanders of provinces, captains general, and shall countersign the despatches of all these offices, receiving them from the Emperor, and passing them to the Secretary of War, for their progress.

ART. 2. He shall direct the instruction of military colleges, and of corps of all the armories of the army and marine.

ART. 3. The inspection of the manufactures of gunpowder, arms, munitions, and clothing, shall be his province, with every thing else which relates to those branches. Also, he shall have charge of all that relates to arsenals, artillerists, manufactures, &c. belonging to the marine.

**ART. 4.** He shall watch over the disbursement of the military treasury for sea and land, and the just distribution of the funds destined for those branches.

**ART. 5.** He shall attend to the distribution and movements of the land and sea forces, according to the orders of the Emperor which he may receive for that purpose.

**ART. 6.** He shall be the protector of commerce, navigation, police, and the works of the ports, as well as of the fortifications of the fortresses of the empire, with the powers of admiral.

**ART. 7.** He shall grant passports and licences for navigation, according to the orders of the Emperor.

**ART. 8.** The Secretary of Despatch of War and Marine, and that of the Treasury, in what concerns those branches, shall send to him for his information the imperial orders which have been sent by the ministers relative to them.

**ART. 9.** Preserving the *etat major* of the army, under the plan which is approved, according to the proposition of the generalissimo himself, he shall name two generals, who, as chiefs of it, may communicate the orders which they give; and may also pursue, in their name, the correspondence with the Secretaries of State, for facilitating the expedition of business.

**ART. 10.** When the *Etat Major* of Marine is formed, he shall appoint one of the generals mentioned in the former article, or shall appoint a third, if the multiplicity of business require it, for the discharge of the duties, and attaining the ends mentioned.

**ART. 11.** He shall have the title of highness; but in official letters which may be addressed to him the aforesaid signature shall be omitted, to preserve this distinction for the Regency.

**ART. 12.** His guard shall be composed of two companies of infantry, with a banner, which shall present arms and beat a march. This guard shall only do honors to the persons of the Imperial family.

**ART. 13.** When he goes out there shall go before four body guards, and behind an escort of twenty men, commanded by their officer.

**ART. 14.** In the court and residence of the Emperor, the posts of the place shall do him correspondent honors.

**ART. 15.** On his entrance to, and departure from, the fortresses and garrisons, the troops shall be drawn up and the artillery shall salute him with twenty-one guns, he having, in every thing, by sea and land, supreme military honors.

The Regency shall take the charge of disposing its execution, and that it be printed, published and circulated.

Mexico, 14th November, 1821. First of the Independence of this Empire.

JOSE MIGUEL GUIRIDI Y ALCOZER, *President.*

ANTONIO DE GAMAY CORDOVA, *Vocal Sec'y.*

JOSE RAFAEL SUAREZ PEREDA, *Vocal Sec'y.*

JOSE MARIA DE ECHEVERS Y VALDIOIELSO,

*Vocal Secretary.*

To the REGENCY of the Empire.”

Therefore, we command all tribunals, justices, chiefs, governors, and other authorities, as well civil as military and ecclesiastic, of whatever class and dignity, that they keep, and cause keep, fulfil, and execute, the present decree in all its parts. Ye shall attend to its execution, and provide for its being printed, published, and circulated.

In Mexico, the 14th of November, 1821.

AUGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE, *President.*

MANUEL DE LA BARCENA.

ISIDRO YAÑEZ.

MANUEL VELASQUEZ DE LEON.

ANTONIO, *Bishop of Puebla.*

A. D. JOSE DOMÍNGUEZ.

By order of the Regency of the Empire, I communicate this to you for your information.

God preserve you many years.

JOSE DOMÍNGUEZ.

*Mexico, 15th November, 1821.*

[TRANSLATION.]

*Manifesto of the Provisional Board of Government, to the People of the Empire.*

After the long night of three ages, in which America has lain plunged in darkness, the aurora of her felicity at last burst forth; that day dawned for which she had sighed, and which she desires may be perpetual. This consummation would never have been obtained, if it had not been founded in justice, nor if justice herself were not to be the base of the government which is to consolidate it. But the junta has the satisfaction to announce, that both considerations are combined in the emancipation which we have accomplished.

Nature has marked out the territories of nations by rivers, mountains, and other boundaries, which establish their limits. How many states are divided by the Po and the Rhine, as the Alps and the Pyrenees divide France from Italy and from Spain. From this last, immense seas and a vast distance divide America; distances which not only make them different as kingdoms, but establish them as belonging to two different worlds. Policy must necessarily conform to the order of nature, and as it would be monstrous to put in the same space the contrary elements of fire and water, it is equally so, to unite in one province, people who are distinct and distant, especially if that difference and distance extend to the extremity of the two worlds. Since then it embraces all the contrarieties which climate can originate, two vast globes, and opposite movements, cannot revolve without embarrassment upon one axis, but each requires its own; in the same manner, two empires of distinct and opposite qualities, require two governments, without being susceptible of being united in one, which is never sufficient to govern both well.

If, occasionally, the order of nature is violated, in departing from the boundaries she fixes, it must happen, as with fire enclosed in the mines, that an explosion will finally take place. The two Spains, old and new, or, which is the same thing, Castile and Mexico, which have hitherto borne those names, belong to distinct regions of the earth, to different portions of the globe, to opposite zones of the sphere; differences, which at once evince the justice of their separation. If they have been united, as Esau and Jacob, in the womb of Rebecca, and have long remained so; this alone, giving to the latter her growth, has rendered it necessary that they should separate, as these twins did, first in the maternal bosom, and afterwards in their descendants.

The growth of nations constitutes, successively, their youth and virility, ages which demand their separation. It is very natural that when a nation has arrived at these ages, she should refuse to depend upon one whose assistance she no longer needs, in order to act for herself. If, even among brutes, the teats of the dam are forsaken by the offspring, which has now become capable of receiving other aliment than milk; if the chick whose wings have grown, flies alone, and no longer suffers itself to be conducted by the bird which formerly transported it; if the pubescent virgin, consents to the nuptials which compel her to abandon the paternal dwelling, in order to form a new family; is it not just that America, having acquired the strength which justifies it, should emancipate herself?

It has been long since she arrived at her youth; but it has also been long since assent was refused to her emancipation, for before that was accomplished she had attained the age of virility, which justifies it still more. The qualifications which demonstrate that age are to be found in her—both the moral ones of refinement and intelligence, and the physical ones of arms and population. The increase of their families alone prevented Abraham and Lot from dwelling in common, and they took different routes in order to live separate.

Why then deny to America the justice which may assist her in emancipating herself, supposing this to be her situation and circumstances? Must she not listen to the voice of nature, which speaks to her even through her insensible organs? May she not burst, like the plant, the teguments which covered her when young? Must she be forever in pupillage though at the age of puberty, and must she remain a child of the family even when she is both able and willing to shake off the paternal authority? But even this is not all: nature tells her still more, especially through the organ of reason.

Whenever the bird can force the door of its cage, or any other animal break the ligaments which confine it, they do not hesitate a moment in doing so, for reason teaches them to seek their own happiness. This is what justifies still more the independence of America. She has been able to burst her fetters in order to acquire her liberty, and to escape from the yoke which impeded her prosperity, and placed her labor, industry, commerce, and all her movements, within such bounds and restraints as might enfeeble them, in order to make pre-

ponderant the importance of the mother country, or rather in order that the sole and absolute power might be vested in the latter. Between the power and performance in this case, and with respect to such high and interesting objects as are dictated by nature and demonstrated by reason, there ought to be no space whatever, for they immediately touch each other.

The provisional board of government installed for these purposes, in consequence of their attainment, and the occupation of the capital, has no other view than them. It has been assembled in order to found, perfect, and perpetuate them. The fundamental principles of government which they have adopted, appertain to the first: the mode of procedure upon which they have resolved, to the second: the ties and ligaments which they have proposed to themselves, to the third: and they expose it all to the people, in order that they may judge of the sincerity and propriety of their intentions and conduct.

The foundations should correspond to the edifice, and are what give it its principal strength. The principles of government which have been adapted conformable to the plan of Iguala and the treaty of Cordova, are those received by the most illustrious nations. A representative in preference to an absolute government, a limited monarchy, and a constitutional system with which we are already acquainted, are the fundamental maxims, the angular stone of our edifice. There is nothing to apprehend from the ideas opposed to these, nor from those which will not bear the light of day. Those which animate us are purely liberal. Until the meeting of the Cortes, the Spanish constitution and laws will be observed, so far as they are not inapplicable to the peculiar situation of the country.

The plan of operations or mode of proceeding of the junta, has been to appoint a regency to exercise the executive power, reserving to itself the legislative power, for such purposes as cannot be delayed until the meeting of the Cortes, to whom this branch of the government appertains. Had the junta assumed this power in its whole extent, it would have usurped it from the people; but if it were not to exercise it provisionally in cases of urgency, the government would remain defective; the necessities of the moment could not be provided for, nor the thousand junctures which may present themselves, be met.

To obviate both the one and the other, they have already prescribed to themselves a rule, not to sanction any thing, even provisionally, unless its nature is such that it will not admit of being delayed until the meeting of the Cortes, to whom every thing else is referred. The wisdom of their measures, which involves the perfection of the liberty and happiness of the people, depends upon the choice which they may make of proper representatives. The province of this Board is to inform them on the subject, in order, that all passions being laid aside, and intrigue and party spirit banished, they may have no other end in view than the welfare of the country. For this the Junta is now laboring, and to take such measures that the Congress may be assembled in as short a time as possible.

In the mean time, the public debt, so called, has been acknowledged, and ordered to be paid as soon as affairs are in a condition to do so; at the same time a stop has been put to the arbitrary contributions with which the inhabitants were oppressed, without any advantage to the Treasury. The first fact is announced for the satisfaction of the creditors, the second for that of the public, and both as an evidence of the proceedings of the government.

Would it were possible for the latter to pay another debt, much greater, and of a superior kind, of which it confesses itself a debtor. Such is that of the deserving army, which, animated by the purest patriotism, and braving dangers and difficulties at the expense of inexpressible sacrifices, have consummated the arduous undertaking which Heaven was pleased to protect and crown with success. But there is no tongue to express what it deserves, nor hand to remunerate its services. Who is there competent to relate what all and each of its individuals have performed; the actions which have signaled many of the soldiers and chiefs, especially the first, who animated the rest? What reward can we give them, or what can recompense their benefits? as Tobias the youth demanded of his father, speaking of his benefactor. We have no other choice, inasmuch as reward is impossible, but to manifest to them our gratitude; to which end many steps have been taken, and others will continue to be taken.

Finally, the bonds which the Junta has proposed to itself in order to insure and prolong our independence, are, besides the union of the inhabitants of the empire, which constitutes one of the guarantees, an alliance, federation, and commerce, with other nations. The Spanish nation, to whom we owe our origin, and to whom we are attached by the closest ties, ought to be the first and most privileged in our consideration. We do not content ourselves with the mere family connection which results from calling one of their princes of the royal blood to our empire. We aspire to more; we desire to unite ourselves in a fraternity which may turn to the advantage of the whole nation, and let it know that our political independence, to which we have been compelled by the causes set forth, does not loosen the bonds which unite us, nor cool our affections, which ought to be the more sincere, in order to destroy all resentment.

We desire, then, that our fraternity may be made known to the whole world: that European Spaniards, in virtue of that title alone, may domiciliate themselves in our country, subjecting themselves to its laws, and under the inspection of our government; that our ports may be opened to them for the purposes of trade in such a manner as may be arranged by our laws, and that a preference may be given to them, as far as possible, above other nations; that there may be established between them and us, if practicable and agreeable to them, a good reciprocal understanding, regulated by definitive treaties; and that in every thing there may appear the most cordial amity. With regard to foreign nations we shall preserve harmony with all, commercial relations and others, as may be expedient.

The junta congratulates itself that the people of the empire will perceive, in what has been set forth, at least their wishes for a successful result, which they expect from the patriotism and intelligence of the inhabitants, who may suggest to it whatever they deem conducive to a better government, which the junta will hold in due consideration.

ANTONIO, BISHOP OF PUEBLA,  
*President.*

JUAN JOSE ESPINOSA DE LOS MONTEROS, *Vocal Secretary.*

JOSE RAFAEL SUAREZ PEREDA, *Vocal Secretary.*

MEXICO, 13th October, 1821.