

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE REVOLUTION SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF HIDALGO.

Guerilla warfare—National junta—Manifesto of the revolutionists—Morelos—Evacuation of Cuautla—Expedition against Oaxaca—Valladolid—Morelos defeated—Expedition to Tehuacan—Morelos taken prisoner—Executed.

AFTER the death of Hidalgo, the character of the contest changed its phase materially. Rayon maintained the command of the remnant of the army which escaped from the bridge of Calderon; the Baxio was laid under contribution by Muniz and Naverrete, another priest of the country; Puebla was taken possession of by Serrano and Osorno, and far in the valley of Mexico partisans were so numerous that there was no communication between the capital and the provinces above it; even the sentinels at the gates of the city were not unfrequently lassoed. Notwithstanding this, the creoles were unable to keep the field in any body, and the royalists controlled most of the cities. It is impossible to follow the separate chiefs through all the mazes of a guerilla war, when every day some partial action occurred, without any other result than a slaughter of prisoners, quarter being never claimed or given. Rayon, we have already said, appears to have been the first who saw the necessity of union, the only thing which could enable the partisans to oppose an enemy then conquering them in detail. He conceived the idea of a national *junta*, to be created by some popular election, and to be

acknowledged by all the insurgent chiefs. As the seat of this body, he selected the town of Zitacuaro, in Valladolid, public opinion decidedly sustaining the insurgents in that province. With this view he occupied that town towards the end of May, 1811, and was lucky enough to repulse an attack made on it by General Emperan, with two thousand men. He was enabled on the 10th of September, following, to instal a junta or provisional government of five persons, elected by as many landholders as could be collected for the occasion, in conjunction with the authorities and people of the town.

The principles propounded by the junta were nearly those afterwards made famous as the plan of Iguala, acknowledging Ferdinand VII., on condition that he would reside in Mexico, and professing a wish for an intimate union with Spain. This, however, was probably mere profession, as Morelos, who had pronounced in favor of the junta, had refused to acknowledge a king *on any terms*; and Rayon defended the proposition, only on the terms of expediency, the lower orders not having as yet shaken off all respect for the royal name, though they were in flagrant rebellion against his authority. The establishment of this government was hailed with great enthusiasm by the creoles throughout New Spain, which was never fully realized. The junta was no doubt honest, but its authority at first was not generally recognised; and when Morelos acceded to it, Calleja contrived to disperse its members. It was, however, the nucleus around which was formed the congress of Chilpanzingo, which gave consistency to the action of the insurgent chiefs. The manifesto it published is characterized with great moderation, and contained one proposition



which placed the insurgents in the best position before the tribunal of the world. It offered to conduct the war on the principles of civilized nations, and to prevent, the wanton sacrifice of prisoners. This document, which has been attributed to Doctor Cos, father of the present general, pointed out to Vanegas the certainty of the final triumph of the patriot cause, boldly challenging the right of any junta in Spain to control Mexico during the imprisonment of the king; and finally proposed, if the Spaniards would lay down their offices, and permit a general congress to be called, not only their property should be respected, but their salaries paid. If they did this, the Mexicans would admit them to all privileges, recognise the king, and assist Spain in her struggle with their men and treasure. Had this offer been accepted, how vastly differently situated would Spain now have been? She need never have placed herself at the beck of England to shake off the weight of France, or perhaps now have been forced to cast her queen at the feet of Louis Philippe, to disenthral herself from the influence of England. Mexico might now have been a crown-property of Spain, as devotedly attached to her as Cuba and Porto Rico—the only colonies she retains in America, because they were the only ones the central junta did not interfere with. Vanegas had the proposals burned by the executioner of Mexico, and thereby the destiny of two nations was decided. It now becomes necessary to refer to one repeatedly mentioned already, the history of whose life is that of the Mexican revolution from the death of Hidalgo to his own.





DON JOSE MARIA MORELOS.

## MORELOS.

When Hidalgo was in Valladolid in October, 1810, previous to the battle of Las Cruces, he was joined by Don Jose Maria Morelos, cura of Nucupetaro, a town of that province, on whom he conferred a commission to act as captain-general of the provinces on the southwestern coast, for which he set out with no other escort than a few servants armed with old muskets and lances. The first reinforcement he received was by a numerous party of slaves, who were eager to win their freedom; and his exigencies were so great that the discovery of twenty muskets at Petatan was thought an especial matter of congratulation. He was afterwards joined by Don Jose and Don Antonio Galeaño; and in November, 1810, was at the head of one thousand men, and marched against Acapulco. This, as is well known, was the great depot of the Manilla trade, probably the busiest town in Mexico, with a population as industrious as any people with Spanish blood and education can reasonably be expected to be. The possession of this city might in that quarter be expected to put an end to the strife. The commandant of the district, Don Francisco Paris, marched against him at the head of a numerous body of troops, and Acapulco was evidently to be no bloodless conquest.

Though commanding an inferior force, Morelos did not hesitate to attack him, and under the cover of night, surprised and signally defeated the royalist force, January 25th, 1811. The result of this battle was the possession of eight hundred muskets, five pieces of artillery, a large quantity of ammunition, and Paris's chest, in which



was a large sum of money. At the same time seven hundred prisoners were taken, and, it is pleasant to say, treated with humanity. This was the first of Morelos's triumphs, and the base of the superstructure of fame he raised for himself. His success was not unnoticed; and having baffled the parties commanded by Llano and Fuentes subsequently, he became at once the idol of his countrymen and the terror of the Spaniards. Men of talent flocked to his army, among whom were Ermengildo Galeaño, the three Bravos, two of whom were executed by Calleja afterwards, and the other subsequently was placed with Victoria at the head of government in 1828. The whole of 1811 was, as we have said, consumed in a series of petty engagements, and by the great and successful efforts of Morelos to discipline his army, the mass of whom were negroes. With such an army, he deserves credit for the humane manner in which he generally was able to conduct the war.

After a series of successful actions, in January, 1812 Morelos pushed forward his advanced guard, under Bravo, to Calco, with outposts reaching to San Augustino de las Cuevas. Calleja had just defeated Hidalgo, and was summoned to oppose him with his army, which Morelos was determined to fight at Cuautla Amilpas, about twenty-two leagues from Mexico.

Calleja immediately set out to obey the order of Vanegas, to oppose Morelos; but it is now necessary to describe the events which occurred on his march. The junta established by Rayon at Zitacuaro, was considered by the Spaniards as their most formidable enemy, and Calleja was ordered positively to disperse it. On the 1st of January, after a march of great hardship, he reached this place, and on the 2d carried it.

The junta escaped to Sultepec, and Calleja immediately rased the walls of the town, after having passed a fortnight there in the examination of Rayon's papers. This was not all; the people were decimated, and every house, except the churches, burned. From Zitacuaro he proceeded to Mexico, into which he made a procession, and a *Te Deum* in honor of his victories was sung in the cathedral.

On the 14th Calleja left the capital to oppose Morelos, who, as we have said, was at Cuautla Amilpas. On the 18th of February the two forces first came in contact; on which occasion Morelos, who had gone out to reconnoitre, was near being taken, and owed his safety entirely to Ermengildo Galeaño. On this occasion Jose Maria Fernandez, afterwards known as General Victoria, first appeared on the stage. His father was a land-owner in the neighborhood of San Luis de Potosi, and when the cura Hidalgo first pronounced against the government, Fernandez, just twenty-two, had concluded his studies for the law. He immediately determined to adopt the popular cause, but did not declare himself until he saw a man appear, whom he thought capable of ruling the storm. As soon as Morelos became known he at once recognised him as the man he sought, and left Mexico to place himself under his orders. In this skirmish he received a severe wound and saved Galeaño's life. On this occasion Morelos had the satisfaction to see his negro levies meet the Spanish veterans with a firmness which realized all he had hoped, but dared not anticipate. On the 19th, Calleja assaulted the town in four columns, with great fierceness. The Mexicans suffered him to approach till within one hundred yards, when they opened on them a fire which could not be withstood. The Spaniards fled precipitately, and Ga-



leña having discovered a Spanish colonel seeking to rally his men, sallied out, and in a hand to hand contest killed him. The consequence was, that all four columns were repulsed, after an action which lasted from seven A. M. till three P. M., and Calleja was forced to retreat, having lost five hundred men. So completely was he discouraged, that he wrote for a siege train to the viceroy, who immediately complied with his request, and sent him reinforcements under Llano, who had previously served against Morelos. The courier, however, who conveyed to Llano his orders, fell into the hands of the insurgents, and Morelos was informed of the approach of this body. He, however, was aware that all Mexico looked anxiously at Cuautla. He determined, therefore, to defend himself, and did so with the gallantry which was his characteristic. Llano was, when he received the viceroy's orders, about to attack Izucar, defended by Guerrero. During the revolution this general has received forty wounds, and undergone perils, his escape from which seem miraculous. In one instance a shell exploded in a house in which he was asleep and killed every individual but himself. Llano immediately deserted this formidable opponent, and on the first of March joined Calleja. On the 4th both attacked the place with their batteries. The cannonade continued for a long time, but Cuautla held out manfully. The Bravos and Lorios attempted to attack Calleja's rear, but failed. Calleja attempted to cut off the small stream which supplied Cuautla with water, but Galeaño, in his turn, contrived to thwart this plan.

After various other attempts, which were sometimes made by one and then by the other party, Morelos determined to evacuate the town, which he did successfully in the presence of a superior force, by a manœuvre

so peculiar, that it deserves especial mention. On the 2d of May, in the middle of the night, the troops were formed, the main body under command of Morelos, the van of Galeaño, and the rear of the Bravos. They reached the Spanish lines and passed two of the batteries unobserved; nor was it until they reached a deep baranca or ravine, that they were noticed. Over this they were obliged to construct a bridge, which was done with hurdles borne by the Indians, so that a sentinel gave the alarm before Galeaño was able to cut him down. Immediately on crossing the baranca, the column was attacked both by Llano and Calleja. This had been foreseen, and orders given, should it occur, for a general dispersion and to rendezvous at Izucar. So well was it effected, that like the children of the mist, the patriots became invisible; and the royal troops, completely amazed, began to fire on each other. Izucar was in possession of Don Miguel Bravo, and on his arrival there Morelos had the satisfaction to find but seventeen were missing; among whom, however, was Don Leonardo Bravo, who was made prisoner. Calleja was for a long time afraid to enter Cuautla; when he did so it was to commit outrages which must ever stain his reputation. On the 16th the army returned to the capital, and an attempt was made to magnify its achievements into a triumph. Rumor had, however, preceded the army; and every one knew the *victor* had first been defeated and then outwitted, so that Calleja was ridiculed. Morelos had received a slight injury at Cuautla, which detained him some time at Izucar. On his recovery he again took the field at the head of his troops, whom one of his lieutenants, the Padre Matamoras, had brought to a high state of discipline. He successively defeated three Spanish divisions, and made a triumphal

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entry into Tehuacan, a city of La Puebla, on the 16th of September, 1812. He carried the city of Orizaba by a *coup de main*, capturing nine pieces of artillery and an immense booty in money and tobacco. On being driven by a superior force from that place, he undertook his famous expedition against Oaxaca, the most beautiful spot perhaps of all Mexico.

At that time there were no roads in Mexico except those connecting the great cities, and the army suffered much hardship on the march. The city was commanded by the Brigadier Regules, who sought to defend it. The artillery of the insurgents, commanded by Don Miguel Mier y Teran, having silenced that of Regules, he made a last stand on the edge of the moat which surrounded the city, over which there was but one drawbridge, which was elevated, and the approach to it defended by the royalist infantry. The insurgents having paused at this obstacle, Guadalupe Victoria swam the moat, sword in hand, and cut the ropes of the bridge unresisted; the battle was thus won, and the capital of the vale of Oaxaca taken possession of by Morelos. He then released all political offenders (and many were confined in the prisons), and set about the conquest of the rest of the province, which he completed on the 30th of August, 1813, when Acapulco surrendered, having been besieged from the 15th of February by his army, now equal to any in discipline and effectiveness.

The Spanish flag having been hauled down for ever at Acapulco, Morelos returned to Oaxaca, where Matamoros had prepared all for the meeting of the national congress, which was composed of the junta of Zitacuaro, deputies elected by Oaxaca and selected from all those provinces in which the people dared not meet. This

body convened September 13th, 1813, at the town of Chilpanzingo, and declared the independence of Mexico the 13th of November of that year. Had this event taken place earlier, it might have resulted in good; but Morelos soon after had an enemy to oppose him, so numerous, that he was unable fully to protect it. We have mentioned that, at Cuautla, one of the Bravos was taken prisoner, and refer to it again to mention an act of forbearance which would do honor to any country. Several engagements having taken place, the patriots were in possession of more than three hundred Spaniards, whom Morelos placed at the disposal of Nicolas Bravo, to enable him to effect an exchange for his father Leonardo, the captive, then under sentence of death in Mexico. The whole of these prisoners were offered to Vanegas for Leonardo, whom the viceroy immediately ordered to be executed. The son, instead of making reprisals, liberated the whole body, and assigned as his reason for doing so, that he feared he might not be able to resist the constant temptation to revenge, their presence exposed him to. On the 18th of November, 1813, at Palmar, Matamoros defeated the Spaniards after a severe fight, which lasted eight hours; cutting off the regiment of Asturias, which had been at Baylen, and won there the cognomen of invincible. This is not the only instance in which reputations won in the peninsular campaigns, were lost in America. The capture of this regiment, composed altogether of Europeans, was considered to have finally destroyed the prestige of Spanish superiority, which had long trembled before the fierceness of the attacks of Hidalgo and Morelos.

An expedition against Valladolid was agreed on, which would have placed Morelos in connexion with the insurgents of the *provincias internas*, to effect which he



collected seven thousand men. At Valladolid, where he arrived on the 23d of December, he found Llano and Iturbide at the head of a formidable body of men, whom he immediately attacked, and by whom he was repulsed. On the next morning Iturbide made a sally which would have failed, the insurgents having after a short check been rallied. Unfortunately, a body of reinforcements for them, which arrived just then, were mistaken for enemies and fired upon. They immediately charged the force of Morelos. Of this scene of confusion Iturbide took advantage, and routed the whole army, which fled to Puruaran.

There they were again attacked, and Matamoros made prisoner. The patriot forces being signally defeated, January 6th, 1814, Morelos sought in vain to exchange for Matamoros a number of the prisoners taken at Palmar, when the regiment of Asturias was cut to pieces. Calleja, however, was now viceroy, and was inexorable, ordering Matamoros to be shot. We cannot censure the fearful retribution taken by the patriots, who immediately, in retaliation for him and Don Valentino Bravo, ordered all their prisoners to be put to death.

Morelos sent Don Manuel Mier y Teran to take command in La Puebla, and Victoria to the district of Vera Cruz. This was a dark period to the patriots; and after suffering several defeats, losing Miguel Bravo, who was executed, Galeaño, who died in battle, and being unable to protect the Congress, which was driven from Chilpanzingo to the woods of Aputzingan, where, however, it continued its labors and put forth the constitution of 1814; Morelos was induced to undertake the expedition to Tehuacan, in Puebla, where Teran had collected a body of five hundred men. On this expedition Morelos had but five hundred men, and had to march

sixty leagues across a country in possession of the loyalists. Couriers he had sent to Guerrero and Teran were intercepted, so that these generals could not learn his position; and the royalists having ascertained how feeble he was, attacked him on the morning of the 15th, in a mountainous road. An admirable writer thus describes what follows of his history:

“He immediately ordered Don Nicolas Bravo to continue his march with the main body, as an escort to the congress, while he himself with a few men endeavored to check the advance of the Spaniards.

“‘My life,’ he said, ‘is of little consequence, provided the congress be saved. My race was run from the moment that I saw an independent government established.’

“His orders were obeyed, and Morelos remained with about fifty men, most of whom abandoned him when the firing became hot. He succeeded, however, in gaining time, which was his great object, nor did the royalists venture to advance upon him, until only one man was left by his side. He was then taken prisoner, though he had sought death in vain during the action. There can be little doubt that his late reverses had inspired him with a disgust for life, and that he wished to end his days by a proof of devotion to his country worthy the most brilliant part of his former career.

“Morelos was treated with the greatest brutality by the Spanish soldiers into whose hands he first fell. They stripped him, and conducted him, loaded with chains, to Tescmalaca. But Concha (to his honor be it said), on his prisoner being presented to him, received him with the respect due to a fallen enemy, and treated him with unwonted humanity and attention. He was transferred, with as little delay as possible, to the capi-



tal, and the whole population of Mexico flocked out to San Agustin de las Cuevas, to see (and some to insult) the man, whose name had so long been their terror. But Morelos, both on his way to prison, and while in confinement, is said to have shown a coolness which he preserved to the last. Indeed, the only thing that seemed to affect him at all was his degradation; a ceremony humiliating in itself, but rendered doubly so, in his case, by the publicity which was given to it. His examination was conducted by the Oidor Bataller (whose insolent assertion of the natural superiority of the Spaniards to the creoles, is said to have roused Morelos into action), and was not of long duration. On the 22d of December, 1815, Concha was charged to remove him from the prisons of the Inquisition to the hospital of San Christoval, behind which, the sentence pronounced against him was to be carried into execution. On arriving there, he dined in company with Concha, whom he afterwards embraced, and thanked for his kindness. He then confessed himself, and walked, with the most perfect serenity, to the place of execution. The short prayer which he pronounced there, deserves to be recorded for its affecting simplicity. 'Lord, if I have done well, thou knowest it; if ill, to thy infinite mercy I commend my soul!'

"After this appeal to the Supreme Judge, he fastened with his own hands a handkerchief about his eyes, gave the signal to the soldiers to fire, and met death with as much composure as he had ever shown when facing it on the field of battle."

## CHAPTER IV.

### REVOLUTION—FROM THE DEATH OF MORELOS, DECEMBER 22d, 1815, TO 1820.

Dissolution of the Mexican congress—New Spanish constitution—Battles in Texas—Teran—Rayon—Nicolas Bravo—Guadalupe Victoria—Mina—Gloomy aspect of the revolutionary cause.

THE heroic days of the revolution thus terminated, and with Morelos apparently died all union, no one else seeming to have the power to induce the insurgent chiefs to act in concert. Each province considered itself independent; and in consequence of this fatal disunion, though supported in many parts of the country by great military ability, the cause of liberty decidedly lost ground. Morelos always intended the congress to be a source of union, to which his lieutenants might look, as to himself, in case of accident; but few of his officers recognised its authority as fully as he had done. On the 22d of October, 1814, the congress was driven by Iturbide from Apatzingan to Michoacan, whence Bravo escorted it to Tehuacan; there some difficulties having arisen between the military and civil authorities, Teran, on the 15th of December, 1815, forcibly dissolved it. This act has been severely reprobated, but has been perhaps misunderstood. There is no doubt but that the congress was valuable as a point of union, but it is also true that the demands of this body would have ruined the district he commanded. Among other things, the congress appropriated eight thousand dollars a year for each of its members, and took the management of