

braces but a small part of the numbers which have perished; and were we to say, that *one hundred and fifty thousand*, instead of *eighty thousand*, have been deliberately slaughtered by the royalists, we conceive that we should still be short of the actual number of victims.

Similar scenes of carnage have taken place in the provinces of La Plata and Chili; and although we have no recent accounts of such events, yet we find enough to make us shudder, on perusing the eloquent manifesto, addressed to all nations, by the Congress of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, dated at Buenos Ayres, the 25th of October, 1816, from which we make the following extracts:—

“The town of Cochabamba was taken, and delivered up to plunder for three hours. The commandant of the royal troops, Goyeneche, entering, with one-half of his cavalry, the gate of the principal church, the host being exposed, killed with a stroke of his sword the fiscal Lopez Andren, who presented it, trembling with terror. He ordered the respectable governor intendant, Antesana, to be shot; and, observing with complacency from the balcony of his house this iniquitous assassination, ferociously cried out to his troops, not to shoot the victim in the head, as it was wanted to be stuck upon a pike,

When it was severed from the body by his command, the headless trunk was dragged through the streets, while at the same time the brutal soldiers were permitted to dispose at pleasure of the lives and properties of the inhabitants, during many successive days. Wherever this Nero went, death and devastation marked his path. A gesture, a clouded visage, an indiscreet word, or a tear stealing down the cheek, was a crime of state. The royalists have adopted the dreadful system of putting men to death indiscriminately, for no other purpose than to diminish our numbers; and, on entering our towns, have been known to massacre even the unfortunate market-people, driving them to the public square in groups, and shooting them down with cold-blooded, wanton cruelty. The villages of Chuquisaca and Cochabamba have more than once been theatres of this shocking barbarity.

“They have compelled our soldiers, taken prisoners, to serve against their wills in the ranks of their armies, carrying the officers in irons to distant outposts, where it was impossible for them to preserve health for a single year, while others have been starved to death in dungeons, and many have been forced to labour on the public works. They have wantonly shot the bearers of flags of truce, and have inflicted the

most unjustifiable outrages upon chiefs after their surrender, and other principal personages, notwithstanding the humanity that had been shewn by us to those prisoners who fell into our hands. In proof of this assertion, we need only mention the deputy Matos of Potosi, Captain-General Pumacagua, General Angulo, and his brother, the commandant Muñecas, and other partisan chiefs, shot in cold blood, many days after they had surrendered themselves prisoners.

“ In the district of Valle Grande, they indulged themselves in the brutal sport of cutting off the ears of the natives, and transmitting a pannier full of them to head-quarters. They afterwards destroyed the town by fire; burnt about forty populous villages of Peru; and took a hellish pleasure in shutting up the inhabitants in their houses before setting them on fire, in order that their unhappy victims might be burnt alive.

“ They had not only shewn themselves implacable in murdering our countrymen, but they have thrown aside all decency and morality, parading old men of the religious profession, and women, in the public places, made fast to a cannon, and their bodies exposed to shame.

“ They have established an inquisitorial system for all these punishments; they have dragged out peaceful inhabitants from their houses, and transported them across the ocean, to be tried for pretended offences, and have executed, without trial, a multitude of citizens.

“ They have attacked our sea-coasts, and murdered defenceless inhabitants, without sparing clergymen and those in extreme old age. By the order of General Puzuela, they burnt the town of Puna; and, meeting with no others, they put to the sword old men, women, and children. They have compelled our brothers and sons to take up arms against us, and have forced them, under the command of Spanish officers, to fight against our troops. They have excited domestic insurrections, corrupting with money, and every species of seduction, the pacific inhabitants of the country, in order to involve us in a frightful anarchy, and to enable them to attack us weakened and divided. They have displayed a new invention of horror, by poisoning fountains and food at La Paz; and, in recompense for the kind treatment they received when obliged to surrender at discretion at that place, they blew up one hundred and fifty patriots, in the barracks which had been previously mined for that purpose.

“ They have abused the sacred privilege of flags of truce, tampered with our governors and generals, and they have repeatedly written letters inciting to treason. They have declared that the laws of war, recognised by civilized nations, ought not to be observed towards us; and, with contemptuous indifference, replied to General Belgrano, that treaties could not be entered into nor kept with insurgents.

“ It is in the name of Ferdinand of Bourbon, that the heads of captured officers have been stuck up on the highways; that a distinguished partisan leader has been actually impaled; and that the monster Centano, after having murdered Colonel Gamargo in the same horrid manner, cut off his head, and sent it as a present to General Puzuela, informing him that it was a miracle of the Virgin del Carmen.

“ It is Ferdinand of Bourbon, who has sent his generals with decrees of pardon, which they caused to be published, with no other view than to deceive the simple and ignorant, in order to facilitate their entrance into cities and towns; but giving, at the same time, private instructions, authorizing and commanding them, after having thus obtained possession, to hang, burn, confiscate, assassinate, and inflict every possible suffering on those who had

availed themselves of such suppositious pardons.

“ What could America expect from a king, actuated, at the very moment of seating himself on the throne, by sentiments so inhuman?—of a king, who has no other rewards but chains and gibbets, for the immense sacrifices of his Spanish subjects in releasing him from captivity—of subjects, who, at the expense of their blood, and of every privation, have redeemed him from a prison, in order to adorn his temples with a crown? If these men, to whom he owed so much, received death, were doomed to perpetual imprisonment, or to base slavery, for no other cause than that of having framed a constitution, what might we not expect to be reserved for us? To hope for a benign treatment from him, and from his bloody ministers, would have been to seek among tigers for the mildness of the dove. Then, indeed, would have been repeated towards us the ensanguined scenes of Caracas, Carthagená, and Quito. We should then have spurned the ashes of the *eighty thousand* persons who have fallen victims to the fury of the enemy, and whose illustrious manes justly call for revenge; and we should have merited the execrations of every succeeding generation of our posterity, con-

demned to serve a master always disposed to tyrannize over them, while, by his nullity on the sea, he has become unable to protect them from foreign invasion."

The Madrid Gazette has published the following, among many of the blood-stained despatches from America:—

" *Battle of Santa Helena, in Peru, April 3, 1816.*

" I can assure your excellency, that I never saw rage or energy equal to that of our enemies. They throw themselves on our musquets, as if they had nothing to fear from them: our soldiers were mixed with them; they grasped our men by the body, and endeavoured to wrench the arms out of their hands. A shower of stones fell upon us: we were obliged to fight with the bayonet. The wretch Lamargo died by my hand: I did not cease striking him with my sabre, until his sword fell from his hand. I send it to you, together with his head. More than six hundred men were despatched with the bayonet, or shot by the soldiers. I intend that the celebrated Pedro Villarubia shall be beheaded in the public square. He is about to be conveyed to Pesit, accompanied by two sergeants, who deserted from the regiment of Lima. They will be shot, together with all the other prisoners."

Where is the citizen of the United States, where is the lover of liberty, or where is the man possessing even a spark of humanity, whose bosom does not throb with indignation against a policy such as that of Spain, after perusing this eloquent and dignified manifesto, and the relation we have given of the horrors that have taken place in Mexico, New Grenada, Quito, and Venezuela? What ought to be the feelings excited in the breast of every citizen of the United States, at the mention of the *inhuman treatment*, and the *cold-blooded murder of their fellow-citizens*, whom accident or the chance of war placed in the hands of the Spaniards in Mexico, and who were cruelly put to death, not to afford an example which might deter other foreigners from aiding the patriots (for the cruelties exercised towards them have not yet been told to the world by the perpetrators), but to satiate that thirst for revenge which has always formed a component part of the Spanish character? Although Mina's comrades acted in contravention to the existing laws of their own country, that circumstance cannot possibly palliate the inhumanity they experienced—inhumanity the more outrageous, as the conduct of the victims had been marked by honour, justice, and clemency—

inhumanity which can only be equalled by the wild and savage inhabitants of unexplored countries—a degree of inhumanity which adds its mite to the load of infamy with which the annals of Spanish history are already burthened. The recollection of the scenes which occurred at the abandonment of Sombrero, and in the dungeons of San Juan de Ulua, cannot be easily effaced; and we hope, nay, we feel confident, that there does not exist an American citizen, whose breast burns not with indignation against a nation which in the present day can sanction deeds of so appalling a nature.

If the causes which arrayed the colonies of North America in opposition to the authority of Great Britain, have been proclaimed by the world to be just; with how much greater reason may the colonists of Spanish America appeal to the universe for approbation and support, during their present struggles for emancipation from Spanish thraldom! Yet, strange and incredible as it may appear, there are in free North America many who, far from sympathizing with their southern brethren, or even wishing success to a cause in which they themselves have contended successfully, condemn the exertions of those who are imitating

their example, in striving to obtain the blessings of freedom, support Spain with all the weight of argument, and are almost brought to deprecate the independence of Spanish America. Every trifling opportunity which presents itself is seized with avidity by many, to misrepresent and falsify the efforts of the ill-fated Spanish Americans. Their victories are burlesqued, their reverses are magnified, and their sufferings are derided, by those who, enjoying the blessings of security and plenty, know not, except by hearsay, the toils, the dangers, and the hardships, endured by this oppressed people. Incapable of appreciating their exertions, they are callous to the appeals, and even withhold their applause from the perseverance and intrepidity which they have displayed against the tyranny of the Old World. Because the union, energy, and wisdom, which accomplished the independence of the United States, have not directed the operations of a people who are only now emerging from a state of the most complex slavery, and involuntary ignorance, under which colonies ever groaned, they are shamefully disregarded as unworthy of protection, and the voice of humanity is suffered to waste itself in vain. Such principles should be found only in the satellites of crowned

heads. That misrepresentation and falsehood on this subject should be propagated by Spanish agents and foreigners, who come into our country imbued with monarchical and aristocratical principles, cannot excite surprise; but can we refrain from expressing our regret and indignation, when we behold some of our own citizens espousing the cause of Spain, with as much zeal as if their very existence depended upon the continuance of her wide-extended dominion in the western hemisphere?

In the course of this work, we have merely glanced at some of the grievances which America has endured for the space of three hundred years. Ponderous volumes would be filled with a detail of them. They are, however, so far known, as to supersede the necessity of our enlarging farther upon the subject. It must, nevertheless, be remarked, that we did not observe in the former Cortes of Spain any disposition to relax the iniquitous system so long maintained in Spanish America; but, on the contrary, that body, in unison with the Cadiz monopolists, exhibited more rancorous hostility to the Spanish Americans than had been displayed during any period since the conquest. We have already noticed the infamous decree of the Cortes, of the 10th of April, 1813, wherein

they declared, that it was "*derogatory to the majesty and dignity of the national congress, to confirm a capitulation made with malignant insurgents.*" On examining the decrees of the Cortes, of the regency, and of the different juntas who exercised the functions of the Spanish government during the late war in the Peninsula, we do not find a single instance of paternal and generous conduct towards the Americas. But a few years ago, the Consulado, or board of trade of Mexico, composed of *European members*, in its solemn deliberations, manifested to the Cortes, that *the Americans were a race of monkeys, filled with vice and ignorance,—automata, unworthy of being represented, or representing.* This silly and singular communication, instead of being treated with scorn, and its authors severely reprehended, gave rise to serious debates, in which the Americans were most abusively slandered, as may be seen by examining the proceedings of the Cortes for September, 1811.

The representation of America, as well in the former as in the present Cortes, is the greatest farce, or rather the most outrageous insult that was ever offered to a body of rational beings. Spain, with a population of *nine or ten millions*, elects *one hundred and fifty* representa-

tives to that body; while America, with a population of *eighteen millions*, has *thirty* representatives, that is, one for every six hundred thousand souls. But the most extravagant peculiarity of the farce is, that *an electorate junta assembled at Madrid, in May last, and there named the thirty representatives who are to represent Spanish America in the Cortes.* To say that the decrees of *such* a Cortes are binding, even on that portion of Spanish America at present under the royal authority, would be an assertion rather difficult to maintain: but to suppose that the people of *Chili*, of *Buenos Ayres*, of *Venezuela*, and of *New Grenada*, are represented by men nominated at Madrid, and bound by the acts of a Cortes thus constituted, is indeed an absurdity that has no parallel in the annals of legislation. In fact, the orders issued by the late Cortes to the royal commanders in America, were more barbarous and imperious than those issued by Ferdinand, after his return to the Spanish throne; and we have seen how faithfully those orders were executed by the Spanish officers.

Every revolving hour, since the present revolution commenced in Spanish America, has been marked by new injuries towards its inhabitants; and, considering the extent and nature

of those injuries, we are astonished that there exists a Creole, from Cape Horn to the Floridas, who does not execrate the Spanish name.

If, during the revolutionary contest of the North American colonies, any attempt on the part of the mother country to refuse the rebels, as they were then called, the rights of civilized warfare, caused general indignation—if, in the case of a single citizen put to death contrary to the usages of war, the whole nation took a common interest in the murder, and adopted immediate measures of retaliation,—what ought to be the feelings and conduct of the South Americans towards a government which has acted as Spain has done during the present contest? If an Indian alliance was reprobated by many of the most enlightened members of a British parliament, during the struggles of North America for independence, what language should now be used towards a nation that has ordered and sanctioned such excesses as those we have related? Let us recall to the recollection of our readers the speech made by the venerable Earl of Chatham, at the time when Lord Suffolk, then British secretary of state, contended in the British House of Peers for the employment of Indians in the war against America. The secretary undertook to main-

tain, that, "besides its policy, the measure was also allowable on principle, for that it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and Nature put into our hands."

Earl Chatham replied, in a burst of eloquence, not surpassed for strength, beauty, and effect, by any thing history has recorded:—

"I am astonished," exclaimed the dignified statesman,—"SHOCKED, to hear such principles confessed; to hear them avowed in this house, or even in this country. My lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself IMPELLED to speak. My lords, we are called upon, as members of this house, as men, as Christians, to protest against such horrible barbarity. 'That God and Nature put into our hands!' What idea of God and Nature that noble lord may entertain, I know not; but I know that such detestable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife! to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, devouring, drinking the blood of his mangled victims! Such notions shock every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of honour. These

abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that reverend, and this most learned bench, to vindicate the religion of their God; to support the justice of their country. I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the judges to interpose the purity of their ermine; to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your lordships to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain did he defend the liberty, and establish the religion of Britain against the tyranny of Rome, if these worse than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are endured among us. To send forth the merciless cannibal, thirsting for blood! Against whom? Your Protestant brethren! To lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, by the aid and instrumentality of these horrid *hell-hounds of war!* Spain can no longer boast pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed