

time, and the gradual influence of experience upon the Mexicans themselves, must determine. I must repeat, however, that during the last three years the way has been prepared for the introduction of a better order of things. Communications have been opened between the most distant points; the post-office has been re-organised, (although much room for improvement in that department still remains,) and a system of general reports established, by which foreigners are secured against the petty persecutions to which they were formerly exposed, on the part of the local authorities. The prejudices originally entertained against them are likewise diminished, and it is my belief that with these prejudices no small portion of the jealousy left with regard to their supposed fraudulent intentions in trade, will likewise disappear. It is not until the year 1827, that I happily indeed will Mexico, in which the Congress discovers that the interests of the Government, if rightly understood, are not only not incompatible with those of the established merchant, but are so far identified with them, that commerce and the revenue must stand or fall together. Then and then only will Mexico attain that station which she seems destined to hold hereafter amongst the great communities of the world; for then, and then only, can the wonderful capabilities of her soil, and the not less wonderful abundance of her mineral treasures, be turned to full account.

APPENDIX.

The first part of the Appendix contains a list of the names of the persons who were present at the signing of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Consular Rights, between the United States of America and Mexico, on the 2nd of February, 1824. The second part contains a list of the names of the persons who were present at the signing of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Consular Rights, between the United States of America and Mexico, on the 2nd of February, 1824. The third part contains a list of the names of the persons who were present at the signing of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Consular Rights, between the United States of America and Mexico, on the 2nd of February, 1824.

APPENDIX.

A.

EXTRACTS FROM A REPRESENTATION, ADDRESSED TO THE
VICEROY OF BUENOS AYRES, BY THE APODERADO (AGENT)
OF THE LANDHOLDERS OF THE PROVINCE.

THE resources of the Royal Treasury being exhausted by the enormous expenditure which has lately been required, your Excellency, on assuming the reins of Government, was deprived of the means of providing for the safety of the provinces committed to your charge. The only mode of relieving the necessities of the country, appears to be to grant permission to the English merchants to introduce their manufactures into the town, and to re-export the produce of the Interior, by which the revenue will be at once increased, and an impulse given to industry and trade.

Your Excellency possesses powers sufficient for the adoption of any measures that the safety of the country may require, but a natural desire to ensure the result of these measures, by adapting them to the peculiar situation of the vice-royalty, induced your Excellency to consult the Cabildo of this city, and the Tribunal of the Real Consulado, before any definitive resolution was taken.

The intentions of your Excellency had barely transpired, when several of the merchants manifested their discontent and dissatisfaction. Groups of European shopkeepers were formed in all the public places, who, disguising their jealousy and personal apprehensions under the most specious pretences, affected to deplore, as a public calamity, the diminution of the

profits, which they have hitherto derived from the contraband trade. At one time, with hypocritical warmth, they lamented the fatal blow which the interests of the Mother-country were about to receive, and at another, they predicted the ruin of the colony, and the total destruction of its commerce: others again announced the universal distress that the free exportation of the precious metals would bring upon us, and pretended to feel a lively interest in the fate of our native artisans (whom they have always hitherto despised), endeavouring to enlist in their cause the sacred name of religion, and the interests of morality.

Never, certainly, has America known a more critical state of affairs, and never was any European governor so well entitled as your Excellency to dispense at once with the maxims of past ages; for if, in less dangerous times, the laws have often been allowed to sleep, when their observance might have checked the free action of the Government, surely your Excellency cannot now be condemned for the adoption of a measure, by which alone the preservation of this part of the monarchy can be effected.

Those should be doomed to eternal infamy, who maintain that, under present circumstances, it would be injurious either to Spain, or to this country, to open a free intercourse with Great Britain. But even supposing the measure to be injurious, still it is a necessary evil, and one which, since it cannot be avoided, ought at least to be made use of for the general good, by endeavouring to derive every possible advantage from it, and thus to convert it into a means of ensuring the safety of the state.

Since the English first appeared on our coasts, in 1806, the merchants of that nation have not lost sight of the Rio de la Plata in their speculations. A series of commercial adventures has followed, which has provided almost entirely for the consumption of the country; and this great importation, carried on in defiance of laws and reiterated prohibitions, has met with no other obstacles than those necessary to deprive the Custom-house of its dues, and the country of those advantages which it might have derived from a free exportation of its own produce in return.

The result of this system has been to put the English in the exclusive possession of the right of providing the country with all the foreign merchandize that it requires; while the Government has lost the immense revenues which the introduction of so large a proportion of foreign manufactures ought to have produced, from too scrupulous an observance of laws, which have never been more scandalously violated than at the moment when their observance was insisted upon by the merchants of the capital. For what, Sir, can be more glaringly absurd than to hear a merchant clamouring for the enforcement of the prohibitive laws, and the exclusion of foreign trade, at the very door of a shop filled with English goods, clandestinely imported?

To the advantages which the Government will derive from the open introduction of foreign goods, may be added those which must accrue to the country from the free exportation of its own produce.

Our vast plains produce annually a million of hides, without reckoning other skins, corn, or tallow, all of which are valuable, as articles of foreign trade. But the magazines of our resident merchants are full; there is no exportation; the capital usually invested in these speculations is already employed, and the immense residue of the produce, thrown back upon the hands of the landed-proprietors, or purchased at a price infinitely below its real value, has reduced them to the most deplorable state of wretchedness, and compelled them to abandon a labour which no longer repays them for the toil and expence with which it is attended.

The freedom of trade in America was not proscribed as a real evil, but because it was a sacrifice required of the colonies by the Mother-country. The events which led to the gradual increase of this exclusive commerce, till it became a monopoly of the Cadiz merchants, are well known.

Well informed men exclaimed in vain against a system so weak, so ruinous, and so ill judged; but inveterate evils are not to be cured at once. Minor reforms had paved the way for a system founded upon sounder principles, when the late extraordinary events, changing entirely the political state of Spain, destroyed by one unforeseen blow all the pretexts

by which the prohibitory laws had been previously supported. —The new order of things which the Mother-country has proclaimed as the happy commencement of national prosperity, has completely changed the motives for the prohibitory system, and demonstrated, in their fullest extent, the advantages that must result to the country from a free trade. Good policy, therefore, and the natural wish to apply a remedy to pressing evils, are converted into a positive duty, which the first magistrate of the state cannot, in reason, or justice, neglect.

Is it just that the fruits of our agricultural labours should be lost, because the unfortunate provinces of Spain can no longer consume them? Is it just that the abundant productions of the country should rot in our magazines, because the navy of Spain is too weak to export them? Is it just that we should increase the distress of the Mother-country, by the tidings of our own critical and vacillating state, when the means are offered to us of consolidating our safety upon the firmest basis? Is it just, that, when the subjects of a friendly and generous nation present themselves in our ports, and offer us, at a cheap rate, the merchandize of which we are in want, and with which Spain cannot supply us, we should reject the proposal, and convert, by so doing, their good intentions to the exclusive advantage of a few European merchants, who, by means of a contraband trade, render themselves masters of the whole imports of the country? Is it just, that when we are intreated to sell our accumulated agricultural produce, we should, by refusing to do so, decree at the same time the ruin of our landed-proprietors, of the country, and of society together?

If your Excellency wishes to diminish the extraction of specie, which has taken place latterly to so great an extent, there is no other mode of effecting it than to open the ports to the English, and thus to enable them to extend their speculations to other objects. It is one of the fatal consequences of the contraband trade, that the importer is absolutely compelled to receive the value of his imports in the precious metals alone. His true interest, indeed, consists in exchanging them at once for articles that may become the objects of a new speculation; but the risks with which the extraction of bulky commodities must be attended, under a system of strict

prohibition, induce him to sacrifice this advantage to the greater security which exports in specie afford, and to deprive himself of the hope of new profits, and the country of the sale of its most valuable produce.

Yet the Apoderado of the Cadiz monopolists maintains, "that a free trade will be the ruin of our agriculture." This luminous discovery is worthy of his penetration. The free exportation of the produce, is declared to be detrimental to the interests of the producer! What, then, is to be the mode of encouraging him in his labours? According to the principles laid down by our merchants, the agricultural produce should be allowed to accumulate,—purchasers are to be deterred from entering the market, by the difficulties of exporting the articles bought up, to countries where they might be consumed; and this system is to be persevered in until, after ruining the landholders by preventing them from disposing of the fruits of their labours, the superfluous produce itself is to be disposed of, in order to fill up the ditches and marshes in the vicinity of the town.

Yes, Sir, this is the deplorable state to which our agriculture has been reduced during the last few years. The marshes around the town have been actually filled up with wheat; and this miserable condition, which forms a subject of lamentation with all true friends to their country, and scandalizes the inhabitants of the whole district, is the natural fate of a province, in which, as soon as an inclination is shown to apply a remedy to these evils, men are found daring enough to assert, "that by giving value, or, in other words, a ready market, to the agricultural produce, agriculture will be ruined."

Buenos Ayres, 30th September, 1809.

B. (1.)

REPRESENTATION OF THE AMERICAN DEPUTIES TO THE
CORTES OF SPAIN, 1ST AUGUST, 1811.

SIR,

THE Cortes being about to discuss the question of the pacification of the Americas, We, the undersigned Deputies,

believe it to be our duty to lay before your Majesty whatever information we possess with regard to the best mode of effecting this most important point:—information which may tend, at the same time, to convey an exact idea of events which are much misrepresented before they reach the Peninsula. The knowledge of the evil ought to precede the inquiry as to the remedy. In order to extinguish the fire that is consuming the Americas, it is necessary to examine its origin. It appears, that all agree that the desire of Independence first excited amongst the Americans the flame of discord, when they saw that it was impossible that the Peninsula should employ force against them. The loss of power, on the part of the Mother-country, is, therefore, the first circumstance to be noted; but something more than this was required to occasion the explosion, since otherwise it would have taken place as soon as the obstacle was removed, and this has not been the case; the revolt of the colonies being effected in some places before others, and in none immediately on the arrival from Spain of the first fatal news of the occupation of Madrid.

In Caracas, the intelligence of the invasion of Andalusia by the French, and the dissolution of the Central Junta, caused the revolution, by which, on the 19th of April, 1810, the Authorities were deposed without bloodshed, and a Junta created, with the title of Supreme, for the government of the Province, “to preserve its existence, and provide for its safety,” as it is expressed in the proclamation which was published upon the occasion.

The same news was communicated to Buenos Ayres by the Viceroy, Don Baltasar Cisneros, who permitted the people to assemble a Congress, in order to take the necessary precautions, and not to be involved in similar calamities. This produced, in May 1810, a Provisional Junta, which took the command, until a Congress could be formed of Deputies from all the Provinces.

The imprudent conduct of the Corregidor of El Socorro, in the new kingdom of Granada, in attacking with troops the unarmed people, who, by means of official representations, endeavoured to calm him, and to avoid a rupture, irritated the natives, and caused a revolution, on the 3d of July, 1810, the

first effect of which was the imprisonment of the Corregidor himself, and his satellites.

In Santa Fè de Bogota, a still slighter cause led to the explosion. An individual was passing a small shop, when the European proprietor offended him by some words reflecting on the Americans in general. The Creoles, piqued with this, assembled in a body and attacked him, and those who hastened to his assistance. This trifle lighted the torch of dissension, and the irritation increased to such a degree, that a Junta was installed, July 20, 1810, which took the management of affairs in the Viceroyalty, excluding many of those who governed before.

In Carthagena another Junta was formed, the 18th of August of the same year, in consequence of the proceedings of the Governor, and the odious differences which he excited between the European Spaniards and the Americans.

In Chile, the violent attempts of the Captain-General, Don Francisco Carrasco, who was brought to trial by the Council for his conduct, caused such a sensation, and irritated the people so much, that he was obliged to resign. The Conde de la Conquista succeeded him. After this, a Provisional Junta was created, the 18th of September, 1810, following the example of the Junta of Cadiz, which approved the measure, in a proclamation addressed to the Americans. This Junta was recognized by, and received laws from, the Cortes.

In Mexico, the imprisonment of the Viceroy, Don José Yturigaray, by a faction of Europeans, on the night of the 15th of September, 1808, created disputes between them and the Americans. This feeling, spreading gradually through the kingdom, and increasing from day to day, by the death of some and the imprisonment of others, (particularly of the Corregidor of Queretaro,) and the distinctions conferred by the new Viceroy, Don Francisco Venegas, upon the author and accomplices of the faction, caused an insurrection in the Interior, which began in the village of Dolores, the 16th of September, and extended itself in a most alarming manner.

Such are the circumstances which have occasioned the breaking out of the Revolution in the different parts of America;

the pretext unanimously alleged, is the necessity of providing for their own safety, and their wish not to be given up to the French, or any other power, but preserved to Ferdinand VII., whom all have acknowledged, and proclaimed as their king. This being the case, to what, but to bad government, can the present differences be attributed? The daily increasing system of oppression banished from the hearts of the natives the hope of reform, and begot the desire of Independence, which was looked upon as the only remedy. An inflammable material has gone on accumulating, till at last it has ignited, with a very small spark, and the mine has burst. Oppression is, without doubt, the first link in the chain of causes which have produced this effect. Throughout the Colonies, the fear of being betrayed to the French was very great, and not entirely without foundation. To this circumstance, which was common to all the Provinces, and occasioned the Revolution in Caracas, may be added the conduct of the Viceroy in Buenos Ayres, who communicated the intelligence of the invasion of Andalusia as a decisive blow, allowed the people to form a Congress, and to choose a Junta which should govern them.

The bad conduct of the chiefs in Quito, Socorro, and Chile,—of individuals in Santa-Fè,—of both, as well as of the Government in Mexico, may be subjoined to the fatal news from Spain.

It is worthy of remark that the differences have everywhere commenced with an attack upon the Creoles, on the part of the Europeans. Nowhere has any American been known to insult a European, but the reverse. In every province, Americans were tried and thrown into prison, on pretence of being disaffected to Spain, and yet not one of the many Europeans who insulted the Americans, even in public places, was chastised. In them it was a crime only to show themselves well disposed towards the Creoles, or to commiserate their oppression. For this the most respectable men amongst them were arrested, and even a Viceroy himself deposed. Americans were continually sent to the Peninsula, where they were absolved, which proves the injustice with which they had been treated. In a word, the blood of the Creoles was profusely spilt, without one drop of the Europeans being shed, except in

their defence, or by way of reprisals for the rivers which they caused to flow.

The streets of Callao, in the kingdom of New Granada, the fields of Cordova, in that of Buenos Ayres, the mountain of Las Cruces, the plains of Aculco, the bridge of Calderon, the city of Guanajuato, with a thousand other places in Mexico, were the scenes of these horrors; without relating what took place in Quito, over which, for the sake of humanity, we must draw a veil.

We shall therefore only add, that in Mexico the Government rewarded the authors of the faction who insulted the natives of the kingdom, and were the origin of the insurrections.

As to the pretexts assigned, in order to know whether they are really such, or whether there is some foundation for them, it is necessary to consider—1st, That they were the same in every place: 2dly, That they were original, i. e. that one province has not been the echo of another, but that each has assigned its own causes, without having any communication, or previous consultation, with the rest: 3dly, That these pretexts, if not true, are at least so plausible that it would be difficult to demonstrate their fallacy: And, 4thly, That they are conformable to the principles by which their conduct ought to be regulated, and for the neglect of which they might justly be condemned.

The supposition of French influence is unfounded, not because they have not endeavoured to obtain it, but because they have not been successful. Bonaparte has made use of several Spaniards as agents to conciliate the Americas, but these were unanimously deaf to his voice, and notwithstanding the flattering promises contained in his proclamations, they have burnt them by the hands of the common hangman, put to death the bearers, and uniformly expressed their detestation of the Government by which they were sent.

With regard to the English, it is evident that in the parts of America with which they hold no communication, as Mexico and Santa-Fe, they cannot have exercised an influence prejudicial to Spain; and we believe that they have not done so even in the countries which they are in the habit of frequenting; for there have been no disturbances in the Havana; unless indeed, it be assumed that no predisposition in favour of Inde-

pendence existed there as in other places, in which case they may have encouraged, without absolutely exciting, the inhabitants to revolt. The English ambassador, in his note to our Government, in which he offers the mediation of Great Britain to effect a reconciliation with the Insurgents of America, endeavours to clear his Government from the imputation, and states that the only object of the communications into which England has entered with Caracas and Buenos Ayres, is the wish to be able to mediate between the two parties more effectually.

All may be resolved into the desire of Independence, which is the *primum mobile*. This, again, may be divided into two classes; Independence of the European Spaniards, and Independence of the Government of the Peninsula. We will suppose that the Creoles desire the last, as is affirmed in many of the papers of the day, and, I believe, by most people. Still, the great and principal cause of their criminal intentions will be found in the state of oppression in which they have lived for so many years. This impelled them to take advantage of the first opportunity to shake off the yoke. Without it, they would have acknowledged the Government, although regarding it as illegitimate, in order to conform with the rest of the nation. Bad Government alone has been the cause of the dissatisfaction of the Americans.

In order to form a just idea of the effects produced, and the system pursued, let us consider the Creoles as men, as individuals, and as members of a political community. As men, they believe themselves degraded by the Government, which regards them with contempt as colonists; i. e. as an inferior class, or species of men, who have never enjoyed the rights due to all. The consequence of this is, that the Creoles have been loaded with abusive terms, sarcasms, and opprobrious epithets, by those who fancy themselves superior, only because they are natives of a different soil. As individuals who, for food and raiment, are in want of the fruits of the earth, they complain of restrictions which prevent them from turning the advantages of their soil to account, and manufacturing what they require. As members of society, they lament to see

themselves bowed beneath the cruel yoke of despotic governors, who are often sent out to oppress them.

The disturbances and commotions which have now commenced will not cease until the motives for discontent are removed. It would be acting contrary to nature to endeavour to put a stop to effects, while the causes which necessarily produce them are still in existence.

The flame might be extinguished in some of the Provinces, but it would appear in another; and while the remedy is applied to one, it would return to the other. It would not be sufficient even to destroy all the inhabitants of America, and convey a new population there, because the sons of those who must necessarily be born there, (it being impossible to send all the women to be confined in Europe,) would love their native soil, and be equally indignant at the oppression to which they would find themselves subjected.

Why is not this to be remedied, when your Majesty can do it with such trifling sacrifices, as we have shown? Is it possible that the wish to continue to regard the Americas as colonies, although the name has been abolished, should prevail against the philanthropy, the liberality, and knowledge of the National Congress?

This would be to act in such a way that the blame must fall upon the nation, which, till now, has been imputed only to the Government.

Cadiz, 1st August, 1811.

(Signed)

VICENTE MERALEO,
&c. &c. &c.

B. (2.)

REPRESENTATION ADDRESSED TO THE CORTES BY THE
AUDIENCIA OF MEXICO.—DATED 18TH NOVEMBER, 1813.

THIS *exposé*, which consists of 270 paragraphs, is one of the most valuable of the state papers which the assiduity of Don Carlos Bustamante has rescued from oblivion. It is too long, and contains too many details of merely local interest, to be