

heart of every American, that nothing but the most energetic measures, supported by an imposing force, can ever eradicate it; for it is to be observed, that even if the arms of the rebels prove unsuccessful, and their plots fruitless, still misery, and a growing consumption, will do that, which neither force nor intrigue may be able to effect.

It is to be hoped that with the troops which I command, the Insurgents will be beaten, as they have been till now, in whatever number they may present themselves; but it is no less certain that this is not sufficient to put an end to the rebellion, but rather tends to prolong its fatal effects.—It acts against us in two ways, by open force, and by increasing distress: the first will be always repelled, the second will reduce us gradually to death's door.

The military force now at my disposal is but just sufficient to garrison the capitals of the Provinces, and to cover the large towns: but, in the mean time, an infinity of smaller towns are left, unavoidably, at the mercy of the banditti: the roads are ours only as long as a division is passing over them; and the Insurgents, who are infinitely superior to us in number, are masters of the largest proportion of the cultivated lands: the consequence is that trade is at an end; agriculture languishes; the mines are abandoned; all our resources exhausted; the troops wearied out; the loyal discouraged; the rich in dismay; in short, misery increases daily, and the State is in danger.

As the armed bands of the rebels are constantly in motion, without any fixed place of residence, and are principally composed of men belonging to the Haciendas, the trapiches, and the mines, used to live in the open air, and on horseback, and accustomed to the transition from vicious indulgence, to frugality and want, they require no regular administration. Without plan or calculation they wander over the whole country, eating and drinking where they can, and robbing, plundering, and devastating all that falls in their way; now uniting in large masses, now dividing into insignificant parties, but always doing us incalculable mischief. It is the facility which this mode of life affords them for satisfying the wants of the moment, and consulting either the caprice of the hour, or the desire of vengeance, that endears to them this predatory exist-

ence: blood flows unceasingly: the war is perpetuated, and the fruit is never to be attained.

The continuation of such a contest is the worst evil that we can experience, and the effects of the ruin which it entails upon us will hardly be less felt in the Peninsula than here. The war, besides the fatal consequences with which it must always be attended, detains in this country the few Europeans who have any thing still to lose, and prevents them either from assisting the Government, or even subsisting, with comfort, themselves: the war dries up the very sources of our prosperity: it renders contributions a mere name, by destroying those branches of industry upon which they ought to be levied: it diminishes our population, and converts what still remains of it into robbers and assassins: the war teaches the insurgents, to our cost, the art of making it with success, and gives them but too good a knowledge of their advantages in point of number and resources.

The war strengthens and propagates the desire of Independence, holding out a constant hope of our destruction, a longing desire for which (I must again assure your Excellency) is general amongst all classes, and has penetrated into every corner of the kingdom.

The war affords the Insurgents an opportunity of knowing Foreign Powers, with whom they form connexions, and from whom they receive aid: the war, in fine, destroys, in detail, our little army, either by the fruitless fatigues of a campaign under the present system, or by exposing it to the influence of seduction, to which the apparent remoteness of our success gives but too much room, and the effects of which are felt even amongst the European soldiers, without its being possible for the Government either to replace them or the arms which they generally carry off.

The usual means of recruiting are useless amongst a people which detest the armies of the King; conscription is of no avail, on account of the want of order in the villages, and the opposition of the Ayuntamientos. Forced levies, which are sometimes attempted, only serve to swell the number of our regiments for the moment, and afterwards to strengthen the ranks of the enemy, while our small stock of military stores is

exhausted by the arms and uniforms, which our deserters are enabled, by the general assistance that they meet with, to carry over to the rebels:—For, as six millions of inhabitants, decided in the cause of Independence, have no need of previous consultation or agreement, each one acts, according to his means and opportunities, in favour of the project common to all:—The Judge, and his dependents, by concealing or coniving at crimes:—the Clergy, by advocating the justice of the cause in the confessional, and even in the pulpit itself:—the writers, by corrupting public opinion:—the women, by employing their attractions to seduce the royal troops, and even prostituting themselves to them in order to induce them to go over to the insurgents:—the Government officer, by revealing, and thus paralyzing the plans of his superiors:—the youth, by taking arms:—the old man, by giving intelligence, and forwarding correspondence:—the public Corporations, by giving an example of eternal differences with the Europeans, not one of whom they will admit as a colleague,—by refusing any sort of assistance to the Government,—and by representing its conduct, and that of its faithful agents, in the most odious light, in protests, for which malice always finds a specious pretext; while the edifice of the State is thus sapped by all, under the shelter of the liberal institutions of the day!

An association has subsisted in this Capital for more than three years, under the name of “the Guadalupes,” which corresponds with every part of the kingdom, and is composed of a number of men whose situation necessarily gives them a participation in the affairs of the Government. And yet it is by these men that the operations of the rebels have been directed, and that they have been encouraged and supported in their reverses.

From this club they received every species of information that could conduce either to their security, or to the success of their plans,—a diary of all that passed in the Capital,—statements of forces,—of money and stores issued by the Government,—accounts of its resources, wants, and necessities, and intelligence of every measure taken by the Viceroy, in order to meet the exigencies of the moment. Proofs of this treasonable correspondence have been acquired during the late severe

checks that the Insurgents have received, and many of the principal criminals of this faction have been discovered: I should have already purged the country of the most dangerous of these traitors,—and, by so doing, deranged the schemes of the disaffected,—intimidated secret enemies, and strengthened the hands of the Government, if I had been able to act with freedom or energy. But the necessity of conforming to the laws which the Constitution had established, in order not too openly to set at defiance the will of the Mother-country, communicated always in the august name of the King our Master, compelled me to trust to the slow, and, under present circumstances, insidious course of a judicial inquiry, confided often to judges but little less criminal than the accused themselves, without deriving from the measure any other fruit than a confirmation of my suspicions, that the Government was undermined, without any possibility of avoiding the explosion.

In such a situation as this, no resource remains but to reanimate the authority of the Government, and to make a last effort to conclude the war, by crushing the rebellion at once. The re-establishment of the old laws will no longer suffice: There was a time when they were sufficient to keep up the ancient illusions of these people with regard to their chiefs and magistrates, and to inspire them with a proper respect for their measures and decrees: But now,—decried, discredited, and even turned into ridicule, by the new system,—stigmatized as arbitrary and unjust,—attributed to an illegal origin, and held up to the scorn of the crowd,—they have lost their *prestige*, and even their respectability, and are no longer capable of reducing a people which has thrown off the yoke, or of communicating to them an impulse sufficiently powerful to compel them to return within the bounds of duty. When once this is effected, they may be governed again by the old Code, or by any other that his Majesty may think fit to adopt for his dominions of Ultramar.

But, at present, I see no other remedy for countries actually a prey to rebellion, than the establishment of martial law, until such time as the extermination of the disaffected, and

the reduction of the rest of the inhabitants to order and obedience, entitle them again to enjoy the general laws of the monarchy, and the protecting goodness of the most worthy of Monarchs.

But as the efficiency of this heroic remedy depends principally upon its being supported by a sufficient force, it is absolutely indispensable that from six to eight thousand soldiers should be immediately sent over, as they must be, at all events, in order to avoid the loss of these dominions.

It is true, that this number of troops is not sufficient to complete the work; but if, in addition to them, arms and clothing were transmitted for twelve or fifteen thousand infantry, and six or eight thousand cavalry, I would fill the ranks with men of the country, which would not be a difficult task, as soon as a few examples of severity have struck terror into the minds of the disaffected, and counteracted, or entirely destroyed the pernicious influence of the Corporations.

For this first step the force already indicated will be sufficient, particularly if it be placed under the orders of officers of merit and discernment, who know something more than merely how to manœuvre their troops, and who, by a seasonable combination of justice with severity, energy with prudence, will inspire at once respect, love, and confidence.

It will then be easy to establish respectable detachments at all the principal points, and to employ flying divisions, in order to clear the roads, and to watch over the interests of the farmer, the miner, and the merchant. The villages will then be reduced to obedience; the thousands, who now live by plunder, will be forced again to seek, by their own labour, their daily bread. The muleteer would resume his former employment, which he has now exchanged for that of Insurgent, perhaps from necessity, or despair:—the same will occur with the miners, whose case is similar: capitals will be again invested: the receipts of the Treasury will increase: want will disappear, blood will cease to flow: many of our present opponents will come over to our side: The well-disposed will be encouraged, and the hopes of those fanatics stifled and destroyed, who profess loyalty only to undermine the monarchy with greater security.

When I stated to your Excellency that no other mode than that which I have suggested, remained for putting an end to the rebellion, I did so because I have already tried every other method without effect. A constant Indulto has opened the way for a reconciliation with the Government ever since the first rising of Hidalgo. I have refused to act upon denunciation with a certain knowledge that my having done so was known to the persons implicated, in order to see whether generosity would move them. I have inclined the balance of justice to the side of mercy, in notorious cases of disaffection: I have endeavoured to convert the deluded by representing the evils which they would draw upon themselves by exhausting the patience of the Government: I have used menaces of positive rigour towards the most obstinate, which I have not always carried into effect, because I did not conceive that I had a force sufficient to bear me out in it; and I have employed reason and argument in order to destroy their errors. Nay, more: reflecting that since the Constitution was sworn, it was necessary to observe it, particularly since the natives had shown themselves so much attached to the cause, I made use of this Code in order to gain their good-will, and accommodated myself to the principles proclaimed by the Government which then ruled, and which, whether good or bad, it was necessary to support, in order to avoid positive anarchy.

But all my hopes were vain, since they only liked the Constitution because it was a useful tool. A proclamation which I published on assuming the reins of government, expressing the political principles which I had resolved to pursue, produced no sort of effect; nor was a second manifesto, circulated in June last, more fortunate. It is impossible, therefore, to doubt the nature of the measures by which the rebellious spirit of the country must be quelled.

Notwithstanding the apprehensions which I have thought it my duty to express in the most unreserved manner, with regard to the state of this country, in order the better to enable his Majesty to take the requisite measures for its preservation, I have no hesitation in assuring your Excellency that, whatever changes may occur, Mexico shall not succeed in throwing off the yoke, and withdrawing her obedience to her lawful so-

vereign while I am charged with her preservation, although it should be necessary for me, as a last resource, (which, however, I do not think probable,) to put myself at the head of the whole army, and to lay waste the country with fire and sword, until I had destroyed our infamous opponents, and planted in every corner the standard of the Monarch of Spain.

I have extended this letter much beyond what I intended, but my profound loyalty, and my wish to preserve to my August Sovereign this precious part of his dominions, have compelled me to present to his Majesty, through the medium of your Excellency, a detailed account of the state of New Spain. I have done no more than furnish, at present, a mere sketch of the dangers of its position; but considering that this will be sufficient to enable his Majesty to take the most necessary steps at once, I shall reserve for the next opportunity a detailed history of the rebellion, which shall be accompanied by all the documents necessary to confirm what I have stated here, and shall be compelled to state hereafter, respecting the fatal disposition of the natives. In the mean time, I entreat your Excellency to examine my correspondence with the ministers of War, and of Grace and Justice, in which you will find the same ideas and principles which I have expressed in this letter respecting the new system, and my sad forebodings as to the effects which must be produced by its observance in this country.

It now only remains for me to solicit your Excellency to lay at His Majesty's feet the expression of my unspeakable joy at the happy succession of His Majesty to the Throne, and Sovereign rights of his August Predecessors; my eternal adherence to His Majesty's Royal person and rights, and my determination to sacrifice my life, as a soldier and a subject, in their defence, following as Viceroy the conduct which I observed, in the face of the world, at the beginning of the civil disturbances in the year 1810, when I quitted the command of San Luis Potosi, in order to take the field, and snatching from the bosom of the Insurrection those very men who would have been its most formidable support, but have, in fact, done most towards extinguishing it, I immortalized the brave and loyal warriors of the North by dissipating on the fields of Aculco, Guanajuato,

and Calderon, the tempest which the apostate Curate, Miguel Hidalgo, had raised against the throne of Spain, and proved that the first wish of my heart was the defence of our adored Ferdinand, and the noble ambition of preserving for so worthy a monarch the rich possessions of which he is Lord in this vast continent. God preserve your Excellency, &c.

FELIX MARIA CALLEJA.

Mexico, 18th August, 1814.

PLAN OF IGUALA.

C.

ART. 1. The Mexican nation is independent of the Spanish nation, and of every other, even on its own Continent.

ART. 2. Its religion shall be the Catholic, which all its inhabitants profess.

ART. 3. They shall be all united, without any distinction between Americans and Europeans.

ART. 4. The government shall be a Constitutional Monarchy.

ART. 5. A junta shall be named, consisting of individuals who enjoy the highest reputation in the different parties which have shown themselves.

ART. 6. This junta shall be under the presidency of his Excellency the Conde del Venadito, the present Viceroy of Mexico.

ART. 7. It shall govern in the name of the Nation, according to the laws now in force, and its principal business will be to convoke, according to such rules as it shall deem expedient, a congress for the formation of a constitution more suitable to the country.

ART. 8. His Majesty Ferdinand VII. shall be invited to the throne of the empire, and in case of his refusal, the Infantes Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula.

ART. 9. Should his Majesty Ferdinand VII. and his august brothers decline the invitation, the nation is at liberty to invite to the imperial throne any member of reigning families whom it may select.