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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE name of COLOMBIA* being new in the list of States, it is necessary to observe, that, general and inclusive as the name seems to be when in any way applied to the continent discovered by Columbus, it is nevertheless now limited to the countries formerly denominated Venezuela, New Grenada, and Quito, distinguishing them not only from the northern part of the American continent, but from the contiguous southern states of Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres.

In constructing a work on this newly constituted state, the materials, on many particular points, have been extremely scanty; and therefore, though the Editor might boast his original views in various parts of the work—as in some of that which immediately follows, or his exclusive possession of official documents—as in the historical and political part, yet he is more anxious to acknowledge his extensive obligations to Humboldt, Depons, and

* In the orthography of this word, the *e* is used very properly by the Government of Colombia, because it is derived from the proper name of the great discoverer, Christopher Colon, which is latinized when changed to Columbus.

others, even by whose language he has profited, unless when its prolixity required abridgment, or its inaccuracy correction; for to him nothing seems less honourable than to deteriorate the language of a writer, in order to conceal obligations to him.

A work like the present indeed, obviously required the aid of compilation as well as of composition, as its whole object is to present to the Reader a greater quantity of information respecting this State, concentrated in one work, than can elsewhere be found scattered through many. For the historical sketch of the Revolution, the Editor is chiefly indebted to his friend Mr Miranda, whose love of liberty is worthy of a sire who fought long, and fell at last in vindicating it, and who was one of the earliest founders of South American freedom.

The liberal Reader will make every fair allowance for the first attempt at constructing a systematic work such as the present.

CONTENTS
OF
THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION.

1. Recognition of Colombia,	<i>Page</i> xiii
2. Loan for Colombia,	xc
3. Colonization in Colombia,	cvii

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

SECT. 1. Its Extent,	1
2. Its Mountains and Valleys,	2
3. Its general Aspect,	7
4. Its Temperature,	13
5. Its Earthquakes and Volcanoes,	14
6. Its Seasons,	16
7. Its Lakes,	19
8. Its Rivers,	26
9. Its Sea, Tides, &c.	30
10. Discovery and History,	32
11. Political Divisions,	39

CHAPTER II.

PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

SECT. 1. Provinces of Venezuela and Coro, . . .	Page 40
2. City of Caracas and La Guayra, . . .	45
3. Other Towns of Venezuela and Coro, . . .	102
4. Provinces of New Andalusia and New Barce- lona,	146
5. City of Cumana,	151
6. Other Towns of New Andalusia and New Barcelona,	179
7. Island of Margarita,	209
8. Province of Maracaibo,	215
9. City of Maracaibo,	217
10. Other Towns of Maracaibo,	226
11. Province of Guiana, or Spanish Guayana,	229
12. City of Angostura, &c.	233
13. Province of Varinas,	247
14. City of Varinas, &c.	254
15. Province of Santa Fé,	259
16. City of Bogota, &c.	264
17. Province of Merida,	269
18. City of Merida, &c.	270
19. Province of Santa Marta,	275
20. City of Santa Marta, &c.	281
21. Province of Carthagena,	283
22. City of Carthagena, &c.	289
23. Province of Darien,	296
24. Province of Panama,	298
25. City of Panama,	302
26. Province of Veragua,	308
27. Province of Choco,	310
28. Province of Santa Fé de Antioquia, . . .	313
29. Province of San Juan de los Llanos, . .	315
30. Government of Popayan,	317
31. City of Popayan, &c.	323
32. Government of Atacames,	326

SECT. 33. Government of Quixos, . . .	Page 328
34. Government of Jaen de Bracamoros, . . .	331
35. Government of Maynas, . . .	334
36. Presidency of Quito, . . .	337
37. Quito, . . .	345
38. San Miguel de Ibarra, . . .	351
39. Otabalo, . . .	352
40. Latacunga, . . .	354
41. Riobamba, . . .	356
42. Chimbo, . . .	360
43. Guayaquil, . . .	361
44. Cuença, . . .	371
45. Loxa, . . .	373
46. Official Statement of the Population, and Dis- tribution of the Representatives of the Con- gress of Colombia, . . .	375

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY IN GENERAL, AND THE SPANISH POPULATION IN PARTICULAR.

SECT. 1. Their Amount, Distribution, &c. . .	377
2. Their General Civilization, . . .	385
3. Marriages, and Children, in Colombia, . . .	395
4. Public Education in Colombia, . . .	405
5. State of Mind in Colombia, . . .	425
6. Religion, . . .	452
7. State of Manners in Colombia, . . .	454
8. Manners at Caracas in particular, . . .	466
9. Manners at Cumana, &c. in particular, . . .	493

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN POPULATION.

SECT. 1. Their General Description, &c. . .	501
2. The Chaymas, . . .	513

SECT. 3. Pariagotoes,	.	.	.	.	.	Page 533
4. Guaraons,	.	.	.	.	.	535
5. Guayquerias,	.	.	.	.	.	538
6. Quaquas,	.	.	.	.	.	540
7. Cumanagotoes,	.	.	.	.	.	541
8. Caribbees,	.	.	.	.	.	543
9. Goahiros,	.	.	.	.	.	545
10. Salivas,	.	.	.	.	.	551
11. Gusmos,	.	.	.	.	.	554
12. Yaruros,	.	.	.	.	.	555
13. Muyscas,	.	.	.	.	.	556
14. Muzos,	.	.	.	.	.	558
15. Sambos,	.	.	.	.	.	559
16. Food of the Indians,	.	.	.	.	.	563
17. Marriages,	.	.	.	.	.	614
18. Dress,	.	.	.	.	.	621
19. Manner of Life,	.	.	.	.	.	634
20. Arts,	.	.	.	.	.	636
21. Religion,	.	.	.	.	.	640
22. Wars,	.	.	.	.	.	648
23. Civilized Indians,	.	.	.	.	.	650
24. Missions,	.	.	.	.	.	662

INTRODUCTION.

IN this part of the Work, the Editor proposes to consider in succession three great and important subjects:—the Recognition of Colombia by the States of Europe, and particularly by Britain;—the Loan lately raised for that country in London;—and the immense advantages which it presents to Colonists from Britain.

SECTION I.

RECOGNITION OF COLOMBIA.

HERE we may preliminarily observe, that no idea sufficiently extensive can be formed of the mineral and agricultural riches buried in these immense regions, owing to the darkness with which a despotic government has surrounded their inhabitants. They are known only in a general way. The diversity of their climates, however, the numerous rivers which intersect them, the excellence of the productions above alluded to, the great extent of their coasts abounding

with ports, their geographical situation which approximates them so much to Europe,—every thing combinés to convince us of the great advantages which individuals, possessing capital, liberal ideas, and commercial activity, would reap in course of time from their intercourse.

The climate of most of those extensive countries is salubrious and pleasant; the soil is in most places fertile, and in some so varied, that it nurses every plant, from the pine-apple and the indigo of the burning zone, to the moss and the lichen of the remotest north; the mines, too, are rich to a proverb; and the facilities for commerce (whether on account of being washed by the Atlantic and the Pacific, and thus having access alike to the arts of the East and the West, or on account of the mighty rivers which roll their tides for thousands of miles) are greater than those enjoyed by any other regions of equal extent.

Well might the Abbé de Pradt, to whom gratitude is due for his efforts on the subject of South America, exclaim, "Let us not dispute the fact, but candidly confess, that, as yet, America is discovered only in name, and geographically. The treasures it contains are still buried riches, which its freedom alone can discover to the Old World. When we yield to the contemplation of those blessings with which the independence of this immense continent will overwhelm the universe, the imagination is sterile to conceive, and language too weak for their description!"

Their independence once established, the Colombians will not delay opening a trade with Japan, China, and India. Their coasts, bordering on the Pacific Ocean, give them great advantages in such a trade over European nations. Porto Bello and Nicaragua will be, in some years, the staples where all America bordering on the Atlantic, and probably Europe itself, will go to purchase Indian merchandise. This change in that great trade will produce one as considerable, in the relative wealth and power of states, as that of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. The Americans themselves will take to Bengal and China the metals which they furnish to Europe for maintaining this trade. The day when commerce shall take this new direction, and that day is not so distant as many suppose, will be that of the independence of the nations of Asia as well as of America, not to mention those innumerable advantages which necessarily result from unshackled commerce. The Americans of the United States have carried on the East India trade, for more than fifteen years past, with greater relative profits than the English. Those of Colombia will have only a third of the distance to sail, and will navigate on cheaper terms.

Nor is this all. The Atlantic will be joined to the South Sea by more than one canal. Nine easy communications between them are pointed out by M. de Humboldt, in his political essay on New Spain. Since 1788, boats have sailed up

through the ravine of La Raspadura to Choco, by which they have passed from the Pacific Ocean into the Sea of the Antilles. A canal across the Isthmus of Panama, would be a matter of no great difficulty. An isthmus of only thirty miles between two oceans, cannot be an insuperable barrier to the inventive genius and perseverance of man in the present age; and the ground is generally thought by late travellers to be more suitable for an enterprise of this kind, than the academicians have reported.

To this industry of commerce it may be objected, that indolence and procrastination are faults of the South American character. On this very account, however, it is, that the country offers the greater encouragement to European knowledge and activity.

Unhappily the policy of the cabinet and the interests of the merchant are but too frequently separated; nor were they ever more at variance than in this instance they have been.

Let us examine the policy on which this may have been founded, and consider the advantages which the Recognition of Colombia would afford to Spain, as well as to the other European nations.

I. A STATE remote as Spain is from her former colonies, cannot govern them well. Of all the forms under which despotism can wither the liberties, drain the wealth, and consequently paralyze

the industry of man, the vice-regal form is the most obnoxious. "The sun is light and warm, but the shadow is dark and cold," says the old proverb, in which Musselmaun have declared their opinion of the direct government of the Kaliph and the delegated government of Pashas; and what became a proverb under the crescent, might also have become a proverb under the cross. The real monarch, if he be hereditary, feels toward his kingdom as a proprietor toward his estate: the love of his own offspring (a love which even the tiger feels) conspires with his natural feeling of justice, and even comes in the place of that feeling, should it be wanting, to wish to continue the prosperity of his people. The viceroy, on the other hand, is a tenant at will: he accepts his office for the love of gain; and, like all other tenants at will, he strives to make the most of his time. These propositions have had ample demonstration in the conduct of the Spanish Viceroys in South America; and the demonstration may yet be found in the state of the country.

When distant colonies, moreover, become populous and revolt, they are always lost to the parent state. She is generally soon beaten by land; and her blockade by sea is contemptible. In the case of Spain and her former colonies, let any one take the map, and run his finger from the Colorado to the Marañon, (even omitting the few patches that are British), and from Puerto San Francisco, round by Cape Horn, to the estuary of the Plata:

Let him count how many miles—how many degrees—are in that line of coast; let him take note of the creeks, and bays, and gulfs, and navigable rivers of great length, that are formed around them; and then let him count the number of ships that would be required for the complete blockade of such a coast. The fact is, that to talk of such a thing is equally absurd and dangerous—dangerous, because of the enemies which Spain would by its means raise up, and the small power that she has of contending with those enemies. If she were fool-hardy enough to do so, then must she determine to lose both the sovereignty and the trade of South America by the same policy. By such a proceeding she could hurt only herself. Colombia and the other new states have nothing to fear at her hands: they have beaten her already both by sea and by land; and if she is to have any thing to do upon the waters, we “guess” it would be as well not to molest the ships of Jonathan. It is no doubt galling to the pride of the Spanish monarch to be obliged to doff the proud addition of “King of the Indies;” but he should remember that our late sovereign got rid of the equally absurd addition of “King of France,” after France had become republican. We think that Spain should in the same quiet way doff all her pretensions to lands which no longer suit her; and that she should especially take care not to quarrel with her neighbours upon grounds so frivolous. She

has the certainty of loss before her, without even the probability of gain.

According, then, to the opinions of many persons most conversant with the affairs of Spain and South America, it would appear to be the true policy of Spain to abandon even the show of hostile proceedings,—fairly and freely to make those concessions, the withholding of which seems now to be reduced to a matter of form (since the power of enforcing an opposite system no longer exists),—and by these means to secure to herself the advantages which a similarity of habits and customs in her colonies for centuries must have created; and which are only likely to be lost by a too fixed adherence to the determination of refusing a formal recognition of their independence.

This is the decided opinion even of the most enlightened Spanish writers, whom we shall now quote.

We first extract a few passages from the “*Representacion al Soberano Pueblo Español, sobre la Emancipacion de sus Colonias,*” by M. Llanos.*

Of the unfitness of any one government for both these countries, he says—“The immediate and necessary inference which results from the nature of civil liberty, under the above principles, which are the only ones justified by our constitution, is, that no one community can have any power over the property or legislation of another community; not even when both may be united by a representation, just, equal, and adequate, unless nature have also united them, so that the ends for which all governments were created, may be carried into effect without the least prejudice to liberty. This will be

* Just published by Baldwin, Cradock and Joy.

best explained by an example.—The object of every just and well regulated government is the general good. To govern well, consists in providing with exactness for all the wants of a people, in anticipating their inclinations, in administering justice with impartiality, and in remedying all the accidents, civil or natural, that may happen in a state; in a word, in watching over their preservation, safety, and happiness. In the case of Spain and its colonies this is utterly impracticable, not even admitting in our congress their representatives, because it is not in the nature of things, that, placed at the distance of one or two thousand leagues, the representatives of the colonies in union with those of the mother-country, (the greatest part of whom are perfectly ignorant of the nature of the soil of those regions, of the character of their inhabitants, of their wants which are exposed to a thousand sudden and natural changes, and of their inclinations, which must of necessity alter with circumstances), could act with the celerity and judgment which would be required to acquit themselves of the duty for which they were convoked."

Of their injury to Spain, and her incapacity to defend them, he says—"Another very common error is, that—the colonies form a part of the power of Spain.—Well considered, we shall find it quite the reverse. Spain within her fine and fertile territory is impregnable; but possessed of the Americas, she resembles a body bending under an enormous weight, and having its members scattered over the whole globe. The body cannot move without the assistance of the members, and the members have no strength without the body. Thus it is, that, when the mother-country is attacked, she can hardly sustain the shock; nor can she then draw from her colonies a single soldier, or a single shilling:—but if there be a war, and her colonies are attacked, then is she obliged to send fleets and armies to their assistance, and on their arrival there (that is, if they have the good luck to get so far) they find the mischief already done, and themselves no longer wanted."

Of her incapacity to recover them, he says—"Spaniards! let us not feed our minds with chimeras. Where are our vessels of war, our transports, our sailors, our soldiers, our arms, our ammunition, our money to buy all these things? Can we flatter ourselves that we can send thither forty, thirty, twenty, ten, or even five thousand men? And even granting we could send these different numbers multiplied all by each other, of what use would they be against several millions? At most, they would delay for an instant their independence; but the fire which would secretly burn within their bosoms, would keep alive the desire of freedom and that of vengeance; and

at the moment least thought of, the instruments of despotism would fall a prey to just resentment. But, is there among you any who is ignorant that the Independents have more soldiers, a better navy, and more credit than ourselves? Who does not know, that once having credit they also have all they can wish for?—While the Spanish bonds for the last loan were at 62 in this country, those of Colombia were as high as 113, that is, nearly the double. And can we even think of conquering those whose credit would enable them to form an armada capable of penetrating to Cadiz? What delirium! But should any of my countrymen be ignorant of this, they all surely must know, that the United States of North America have acknowledged the independence of those of the South; and that every thing conspires to shew that the English cabinet must shortly follow their example. Thus shall we lose even the advantage of a commercial treaty!"

On the same subject, M. Moreno Guerra, in his *Manifiesto á la Nacion Española*, * writes as follows:—

"The liberal men of Europe expected, that, after such a glorious revolution, the Spanish Government would have acted towards America in a manner becoming the generosity of Spaniards, and of a free and enlightened government,—a mode of conduct which might have secured the union of at least a part of it with Spain: but, fortunately for America, the genius of its independence disposed things differently. The Congress began by granting to the Americans a ridiculous representation; appointing for them (as if doing them a great favour) only thirty substitutes to represent them in the Cortes! addressing to them manifestoes in which both offers and threats were held out. The minister of this branch, Don Antonio Porcel, (whose strength of mind, although by no means great in state affairs, is, nevertheless, greater than some might imagine in what concerns his own affairs), did not wish the matter intrusted to him to be lost upon his hands. He maintained the Cortes in the delusion till then existing, and he procured himself the appointment of counsellor of state; by which means he withdrew from that field, from which he foresaw that he would not come out victorious, had he continued fighting. The Cortes continued looking upon the Revolution of America as a chimera; they reckoned upon that country as confidently as upon one of the provinces of Spain itself; and the most ridiculous motions were

* Just published by Baldwin, Cradock, & Joy.

made and carried. We heard, for instance, of the establishing of universities at Cordova de Tucuman, and at Monte Video, and similar absurdities: all was, however, accorded to, in the idea of persuading the people that that country was still under our dominion; and the greatest care was taken to prevent any one from speaking of the true situation of America; for, according to some, who in their own minds passed as very clever politicians, it was wrong to open the eyes of the people. For my part, I doubt whether any liberal writer was ever of opinion that its representatives ought to deceive them, or keep them in ignorance.—Thus it was that ended the labours of the first legislature of the year 1820.

“During the interval that elapsed from the first to the second session of the year 1821, a multitude of men, interested in the continuance of the contest between the Spaniards and Americans, arrived in Spain from those regions. They affected to despise those who had put them to flight; they came preaching war, but not one of them would enlist to go and make it; and they all asked for recompenses, and the arrears of the pay which they said was owing to them. They talked of the national honour, the better to gain proselytes; confounding their obstinacy and want of reflection with ideas which they were incapable of cherishing or understanding. They met, however, with men of fantastic ideas, and full of credulity, who, seeing these new comers bring with them sufficient to treat their friends (for, like Verves in his government of Sicily, they had not lost their time), thought it possible for them to do the same.

“A part of the Congress having already imbibed a hatred against the Americans, and judging from the two memoirs of Forcel and Cuadra, where that was represented as won which they were on the point of losing, began to participate in the personal affections of those who had selected the Spanish Government to be the instrument of their private vengeance. General Morillo found not only defenders but panegyrists, not merely among men who took the title of *liberales*, but among the legislators, and in the bosom of the Congress. I demanded the trial of a man who was returning to Spain, after having lost an army, a viceroy, and a general government. I received only bitter denials; and, instead of applying the law to him, he had hardly arrived when he was invested with the government of the capital, which seemed only to be waiting for him! I require only one moment of reflection from thinking beings on all these manœuvres, the road through which he returned, the persons he saw, and his connexion with Montenegro.

“I believe that the question about America can turn only upon two hinges,—either the Americans wish to be united to

Spain, or the Spanish Government has the power to oblige them to be so. The rapidity with which the emancipation of that continent has been accomplished destroys entirely the first part of this proposition, as well as all that has been said about the pretended adhesion of the Americans to the government of the mother-country. As to the second part, let us turn over the leaf—all those who can see or hear need not be told any thing further to know the truth; and, if that will not do, let me refer them to our arsenals, funds, &c. &c.

“It was in this state of things that the envoys for Colombia presented themselves to treat with our Government; and, instead of seizing this opportunity for reaping the greatest advantage possible, it seemed as if discord had actually taken possession of the minds of those who ought to have rather listened to the good of the country than to the wish of exercising a base revenge. But that will certainly happen, as long as those who hold the reins of government do not divest themselves of their natural prejudices, and do not place themselves in a sphere above the little passions which agitate the generality of the vulgar: when, on the contrary, they join an interested party, or have not in themselves the necessary knowledge to fulfil the duties attached to their offices, they become then the toys of those whom they have chosen for their private counsellors. Mr Pelegrin believed that Valladolid de Mechoacan was in New Grenada—Mr Pelegrin is the minister for the colonies—the advisers of Mr Pelegrin are the advocates for the war with America. What could be expected to happen?

“The envoys presented to the ministry the object of their negotiation, laying down, as the foundation of it, the independence of those countries. I will not say whether they ought or ought not to have adopted that proposition; but I will here maintain, that they ought to have given a prompt and decisive answer to it, terminating the affair with the frankness becoming the Government of so generous a nation as the Spanish, instead of the contemptible conduct adopted by the ministry,—a conduct which must always throw a discredit, if not on the nation at large, at least on an infinite number of Spaniards, who are at the mercy of those who differ from them in opinion. To hire writers to ridicule and insult the Americans, when even in the bosom of our Congress we had a great number of them, and to calumniate them by absurd invectives, injurious to the nation itself, by supposing that the Americans bribed it with their gold to act just as they pleased, (and that at the very moment of the American Revolution, when minds were in such fermentation),—I really cannot guess, where our ministry had studied such a policy.

"Many have presented written plans on the means of pacifying America; but until this moment we have not seen any treatise on free-will and necessity, which tends to prove that the Americans must incline in favour of the Spanish Government, (they have indeed done enough to give them an aversion to it); nor have we seen any one who offers money, soldiers, or vessels. They only spread a thousand calumnies, lies, sarcasms, gross insults, and most ridiculous and contradictory news."

Again:—"And how did the Extraordinary Cortes open their sessions? By striking the last blow at the separation of America, and by excluding the substitute deputies, whose presence in the Congress served still to sustain the credulity of some of the inhabitants of America. What a contrast does this act present with the conduct of the same Congress at the moment of their installation in 1820! They then legalized the representation by substitutes; and, indeed, under such circumstances, it was what a legislative body ought to have done, although the mode of election was certainly not what it ought to have been on the part of the executive power. They did not comply with the protestation which Don Francisco Carabaño, deputy for Venezuela, made, in which it was affirmed that such mode of election was illegal: it was ordered to be printed, and deposited in the archives, and he himself obliged to obey the order. They then found legal reasons to oblige the substitutes to sit; and now they also found reasons to exclude them. To pretend that America is a part of Spain, and to give it no representation, is a jargon incomprehensible to me, which can exist only when the passions, not reason or law, decide the fate of nations. It is a manifest contradiction of the constitution itself; and, in taking it as the foundation of the following argument, I wish to know what reply can be made to it.

"Buenos Ayres, for instance, is Spanish territory; so says the constitution (Art. 10.): this, together with the other territories, compose the Spanish nation (Art. 1.): this nation ought to be represented in Cortes by all her deputies (Art. 27.); so that a part of it which is not represented, either because they do not grant it that right, or because its representatives are driven out, must, of course, remain out of the nation. This reasoning will be still more evident, if we do but consider that this non-represented part not concurring to make the laws, these cannot be binding, for laws are made by the Cortes (Art. 131.); the Cortes are an union of all the deputies of the nation (Art. 27.); the nation is the union of all the Spaniards of both hemispheres (Art. 1.): hence it follows, that, by all

of them not assisting in the formation of the laws, there can be no laws for those who are not present ; and if the reason why those are not present be, that the rest of the nation excludes them because they do not like them, it is then evident that their wish is, that they should form no part of the nation. Either Buenos Ayres belongs to the Spanish nation, or it does not belong to it ; if it does, then it ought to have representatives ; if it will not admit its representatives, then it does not wish Buenos Ayres to be a part of the nation, and therefore, it cannot belong to it ; in a word, by abandoning its revolutionized territories, Spain forfeits all claims to them, and they can belong only to those who occupy them. It follows, from all that has been said here, that the emancipation of America is a very constitutional act ; and that those who have employed themselves in proving the contrary, as they say, by the principles of the constitution, have only been making use of sophisms and declamation, controverting points of right, when it was no more than a point of fact :—and there are men who give the name of learning to such nonsense !”

And again :—“ Let us tear off the veil which base and deceitful motives had thrown before our eyes, to prevent the affairs of America from being examined. That part of the world which once belonged to Spain, does, in fact, belong to it no more. This event, so important to all Europe, requires an absolute change in our policy, in our finances, and in all the branches of our administration ; for, to reason from fact, a government which has lost three-fourths of its resources, must reform the three-fourths of its expenses, without which the injury will rebound upon itself, and it will without remedy be ruined.

“ It is indispensable that reason, impelled by necessity, should occupy the place of obstinacy, especially when there is no other remedy left. One only presents itself capable of stopping the evils which the fatal war of America has given rise to in Spain ; that is,—the recognition of the independence of these regions.

“ We shall be able to derive more benefit from treaties than from war, which, with us, is purely nominal ; although we experience heavy losses through it, without any of the compensations which any other kind of war affords. During that time our adversaries get skilled and inured to arms, and having already made every sacrifice which, in the beginning, renders that scourge so fatal to the human race, they are the better enabled to wage war, even at the expense of Spain, than ever they were ; augmenting their naval forces by seizing upon ours, and with the help of these destroying even our coasting trade, by sending fleets to block up our ports.

" Spain, driven for ever from the shores of America, has no means of returning there. Divided in its interior, destitute of influence without, deprived of the mines of Mexico and Peru, where could she obtain soldiers for distant expeditions? how could she meet the expenses of armaments necessary to reconquer what she has lost?

" The ports, the harbours, and the fortified places, are in the power of the Americans; all the emblems of European supremacy have disappeared. The lions and the towers of Castile have given place to the colours of independence and liberty. In these vast countries, which were so long the source of Spanish greatness, and the theatre of foreign domination, there remains nothing but the scattered bones of the warriors who were sent to oppose themselves to our destinies. On every hand nascent states are forming, founded upon the same bases, equally favoured by nature, powerful in resources, confident in a future which cannot deceive them. The climate alone would protect them against rash invasions, if the tried courage of the inhabitants did not offer the best of all guarantees.

" Amongst these states rises that of Colombia: twelve years of an implacable war could not subdue her, nor even slacken her march. Colombia has gathered the fruit of her noble exertions—she is free, sovereign, and independent. Very soon all these new states will form a complete solemn association, and will fix with common accord the basis of that grand confederation, against which every foreign attack would be more absurd than dangerous. The coalition of the rest of the civilized world would, if it were possible, miscarry before this barrier.

" Thus arrived at the point where she finds herself assimilated in fact and in right to all existing nations, wishing to live amicably with all people, America has only to obtain her recognition by the great family of which she forms a part, and to which her association cannot fail to offer many advantages.

" It is with this view that the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Colombia has the honour to address his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to communicate to him the intentions of his Government.

" The Republic of Colombia is established, and its Government is in full activity. Spain no longer possesses any thing upon its territory; and an army of 60,000 men, supported by an army of reserve of the same force, secures the existence of Colombia.

" The Republic has every characteristic of all the recognized Governments upon earth; she does not ask of any of

them by what means, or by what right, they have become what they are—they exist: this is all that concerns her to know. Colombia respects all that exists; she has a right to reciprocity: she demands it; and this demand is dictated neither by interest nor by fear; either one motive or the other is unworthy of a generous and free nation.

“Who could make an attack upon her? who could either add to her wealth or diminish it? of whom has she need? and among all the nations known, where is there one that does not aspire to establish commercial relations with her? Colombia has an intimate consciousness of her strength. If she invites all nations to share the treasures which nature has lavished upon her, it is rather from a sentiment of generosity than a spirit of calculation.

“Whoever will approach Colombia with pacific and benevolent intentions, may draw in full security from the common source of our riches. Such is the single basis of the relation which we are desirous to have with all the people of the earth—cordiality, liberty, reciprocity. The jealousies, the distrust which formerly separated the various nations, and armed them one against another, are banished from the legislation, as well as from the spirit of our fellow-citizens. We will never falsify the philanthropic principles for which blood has flowed in such abundance upon the field of battle and the scaffold.

“But after having thus fulfilled all her duties with regard to other nations, Colombia owes it to herself to require that her own rights be equally recognized. Colombia holds her possessions from no person: she has originated herself, and reckons upon her own means of support. Independent, strong, free, and invulnerable, she obeys no sentiment but that of general benevolence; she aspires to render the relations of all those who will treat with her easy, amicable, and useful.

“An extensive and rich continent, inhabited by civilized people, cannot remain foreign to the rest of the world: it would always be difficult to conceive relations durable, advantageous, and such as the interest of commerce requires, between states of which the governments do not recognize each other reciprocally.

“These unequivocal principles, these powerful considerations, impose upon the undersigned the obligation of communicating to his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs the intentions of his Government, which are as under:—

“1st, That the Government of Colombia acknowledges all existing Governments, whatever may have been their origin, or whatever their form.

" 2d, That it will not have communication except with such Governments as acknowledge Colombia.

" 3d, That commerce, admission to the harbours, and remaining in the country, with liberty and protection, are assured to the people who belong to any country that has acknowledged Colombia.

" 4th, That the same ports are shut, and privileges refused, to the people of nations that do not acknowledge Colombia.

" 5th, That there shall be a delay of admission to the ports of Colombia proportioned to the delay of acknowledgment.

" 6th, That measures will be taken to exclude merchandise from all countries that shall refuse to acknowledge, or delay acknowledging, the Republic of Colombia.

" The undersigned, in communicating to his Excellency the sentiments and principles of his Government, urges the necessity of a prompt reply. His Excellency is too enlightened not to perceive the motives of such a demand on the part of a Government, whose seat is at so great a distance; and which being occupied at the same moment with its interior organization, and the establishment of its foreign relations, cannot admit either the delays or the minutiae of proceeding, of which it believes that, according to ancient usage, it might avail itself in these new circumstances, and of which the novelty even is an additional motive for desiring the prompt solution, which Colombia looks for with equal confidence in the enlightened views of the Government of * * * * * and its own strength.

" The undersigned eagerly embraces this opportunity of representing to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs the assurance of his highest consideration.

(Signed) " F. A. ZEA."

" *Paris, April 8. 1822.*"

No respectable British Journal made injurious comments on the preceding Note. This was reserved only for the French papers. We shall lay before the reader both these specimens of absurdity, and our reply to the same.

On the circular of Mr Zea, the Drapeau Blanc of the 19th April contains, among others, the following observations :—

" The author of the Note," says this paper, " begins by saying, that the whole universe had heard of the great con-

test of the Colombians with their former masters, the Spaniards.

"The whole universe!" says the Drapeau Blanc, "that is saying a great deal. I interrogated my washerwoman at Boulogne, and my cheese merchant at Viry, and they humbly confessed that they had never heard of the great contest which had shaken the universe.

"In a word, it is too much for Colombia to threaten the whole world with being excluded from its ports if it does not acknowledge its independence; because it is probable that the Colombians have more need of commerce with the world, than the world has need of commerce with them.

"After having given our opinion on the Note of Mr Zoa, we declare that we do not confound with the republican diplomatist, that illustrious learned man, that distinguished literary character, in a word, that man as worthy of universal esteem for the extent of his knowledge as for the amiableness of his character, the softness of his manners, and the brilliance of his genius. SALGUES."

On this we observed, at the time of its publication, as follows:—

The first point in this tirade (which we have greatly abridged) deserving a serious reply, is that where the Republic is said to threaten the world with being excluded from its ports if its independence is not acknowledged; and as if it had made the assertion,—that the world has more occasion for trade with Colombia, than Colombia has for trade with the world. Now, there is no threat in merely saying, in the name of the Republic, and to the whole world, what every independent man in trade says,—I will deal with you all on fair and reciprocal terms, or I will not deal at all. Every man in trade is absolutely understood to say this to the whole world; but who takes that for a threat, when it is only establishing a rule, or promulgating a principle? Would it be well to say to him who advertises goods for sale on certain conditions, that he defies the world, and that the world can do without him? Assuredly the world can do without the trade to Colombia, or to any particular country; but is Colombia, or any other country, to give other nations permission to trade on that account? Had this capital specimen of wit, humour, and ribaldry, been intended for a blow at the legitimate monarchs of France and Spain, who recognized and made a treaty with the North Americans, when their insurrection was but begun, when British troops were besieging their towns, and British ships blockading their ports, it would have had some meaning. But the

bridging to remembrance the unexampled cruelties of the Spaniards, when they invaded a distant country, and hunted the innocent natives with blood-hounds, is really a bitter sort of reminiscence; and the Legitimates of France and Spain have no reason to thank M. Salgues, whose zeal is productive of such sarcasms and reproaches. Louis XVI. gave legitimacy the severest blow it ever had, when he assisted the Americans at the beginning of their revolt; and, to add to the disgrace, he did not do that with a view to assist men struggling for liberty, but to injure the legitimate monarch of England. All this M. Salgues unwittingly, or insidiously brings to mind. In seriousness, the cause of the very legitimate king of Spain, and the conduct of his predecessors, can never gain any thing either by ridicule or argument, for both the one and the other recoil on themselves. The history on earth which paints a nation in the blackest colours, is that of the Spanish conquest of America. An attempt to wipe out the stain must be useless. It is indelible; and it is known to all the universe, except perhaps to the cheesemonger, the washerwoman, and the learned Monsieur Salgues. But the real explanation of M. Salgues' rage is this:—Like many mistaken Frenchmen, he thinks France has lost her liberty under the Bourbons and the bayonets of England; and he is vexed that any other nation should pretend to be freer, for that is, in other words, to be greater, than France. To his jaundiced view, the wings of the French eagle appear to be cut for ever,—the very stumps to be lopt,—it flaps in the dust,—its eye is dim and sunk,—and when a rky enters there, which shows it those young and free and happy beings, whom it could in its strength have made its victims, it can in its weakness only shriek, like M. Salgues, from rage and despair. But let M. Salgues console himself—France never was destined to be free. It is natural to a Frenchman to creep. He loves always to be upon his knees,—at home, to his maltresse,—abroad, to his Grand Monarque or Empereur. A chain of iron, or a chain of flowers, it matters not which, but a chain of some kind, he will have to dance in. Even Napoleon would have had him free; but then he could not have danced or crawled in chains; so he made Napoleon a Grand Monarque—an Empereur; and both floundered and fell in the dust together. So said Napoleon himself to his traitorous Senate, when he had fallen; and surely M. Salgues will believe him. May we presume to inform M. Salgues, that the British Government has, by a recent act, recognized the flag of Colombia; and so M. Salgues may dance on, either to *Vive la Carmagnole*, or *Vive Henri Quatre*, as he and his friends may happen to prefer either.

Having defended the Note of Mr Zea against the attack of the Drapeau Blanc, we have a few words to say to the Journal des Debats.

Let us briefly state the grounds upon which that paper calls upon France,—upon Europe, still to regard as colonists, and dependants of Spain, the inhabitants of wide and distant lands, who have won freedom by their swords, and who are now building her a temple of legislation.

They are these:—The Governments of Europe cannot treat with, and consequently cannot recognize Colombia as independent; because, 1. "They are ignorant of the Revolution in South America;" 2. "Colombia has only 8000 or 10,000 troops;" 3. "Colombia borrows money, and pays the interest regularly at London;" 4. "The limits of Colombia are not known;" 5. "There is no federation among the several States comprising Colombia."

We have never seen any thing pretending to be logic, which was at all equal to this. There is no strength in the individual parts; and the way in which they are put together, makes the one weaken the other. If the Governments of Europe know not of the political existence of Colombia, how come they to designate the number of her troops, or her want of boundaries, or the absence of federation? If it be true, that the Governments of Europe are ignorant of the existence of Colombia, there is not one word more which their abettors can add on the subject. Granting the truth of this first position, therefore, reduces all the others to mere conjectures,—conjectures as idle as if the writer had gone about to quarrel with the kingdoms of the moon and the dog-star. But how comes it, we would ask, that the Governments of Europe are ignorant of the existence of Colombia? And are we to take the declaration according to the common sense of mankind, or according to the etiquette of courts? If the former, then the good old maxim is reversed. That maxim bore, that "there was no royal road to knowledge:" we must now give that up, and say, "knowledge has no road to royalty." We always thought, that the hatred of the freedom of the press, which has long been shown by *les grandes monarches*, had had reference to *la grande nation*; and we should never have dreamt that it was for behoof of *le grand monarch* himself, had it not been so set down in a journal whose every line is weighed in the balance of royal approbation. We admire the candour of this admission; but we doubt its policy. What! shall the Journal des Debats say, in plain terms, ay, and that too *avec privilege du roi*, that the King—

that the Court of France is ignorant of a Revolution, the result of a war which has lasted longer than the siege of Troy itself? This cannot be the meaning. It must therefore be, that the information, though true—though clear and common as the sun at noon-day, has not come in that stateliness of form, and that accordance with the old notions of legitimacy, which it would be seemly in a king to receive. We regret that it should not have so come; but though this be an age in which continental kings or courts are peculiarly prolific, we have not heard of their bringing forth a single free state. There was, therefore, no alternative but to lay the fair foundling of the Andes at the portal of legitimacy,—and though the lofty inhabitant may with perfect justice deny her consanguinity, we do not see how he can dispute her existence, or even deny protection to her, without proclaiming himself at once to be defective in head and in heart. The position, however, presents no substance upon which an argument can infringe: no man ever cut asunder a cloud, or knocked down a shadow. Mr Zea may say to the Journalist, as Macbeth did to the ghost,—

"Thy bones are marrowless; thy blood is cold;
Thou hast no speculation in those eyes,
Which thou dost glare with."—

"Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

The serviles of France, therefore, know not Colombia. But, no, that is not the way to account for the sublime ignorance of the *Journal des Debats*. The writer in that illuminated paper has approached too near to the sapphire blaze of the great Bourbon, and, like our Milton,

"Dazzled with excess of light,
Closed his eyes in endless night."

III. This just demand of the Colombian Government, was first acceded to by the Government of the United States.

The following is the message transmitted by the President of the United States to the House of Representatives:—

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 of 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 honourable 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 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 greatest 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 the 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 December 17. 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 a small portion only, which is blockaded in two fortresses. The provinces of the Pacific have likewise been

very successful. Chili declared its 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 movements 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 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 Government have a claim to recognition by other powers, which ought not to be resisted. Civil wars too often excite feelings which the parties cannot controul. The opinion entertained by other powers as to the result, may assuage those feelings, and promote an accommodation between them, useful and honourable 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 neighbours, 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 measures 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 favour 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 exception, 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 some time 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.

Accompanying the message of the President of the United States, was the following Report:—

Department of the State.

Washington, March 7.—The Secretary of State, to whom has been referred the resolution of the House of Representa-

tives of the 30th of January last, requesting the President of the United States to lay before that House such communications as might be in possession of the Executive from the agent 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 show 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 honour of submitting to the President the papers required in that resolution.

The communications from the agents of the United States are those most recently received, and exhibiting their views of the actual condition of the several South American revolutionary Governments.

With regard to Colombia, the following is the contents of the papers alluded to:—

Republic of Colombia.—There is an important despatch from Mr Brent, Charge des Affaires of the United States, dated Madrid, July 10. 1821, giving an account of the temper of the Spanish Cortes and Executive, respecting the privileges of the American provinces, and of the plan proposed for satisfying their demands. The following paragraph is worthy of attention:—

“ On the 9th instant, I received a note from M. 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 be immediately accomplished. He spoke of the ignorance of this country of the real state of South America, of their illiberality and their prejudices, with warmth; and particularly so of the expression of the King in his speech respecting South 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 favourable as could be desired. He was perfectly justified, I said, in relying upon the good disposition 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 proofs 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 acknowledgment 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; he 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 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 the Congress, it was impossible for me to foresee; whether they would consider it a favourable moment for doing that which was so much desired, was a point I could not resolve.

" In this interview, M. 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."

This statement is followed by a letter, dated Washington, February 29. 1821, from Don Miguel Torres, agent of the Republic of Colombia to the United States, to the Secretary of State, Mr Adams, requiring the recognition of Colombian independence.

In a subsequent paper, from the pen of the same agent, the following magnificent description is given of the power and capabilities of Colombia, as a reason why its independence should be recognized, and its friendship courted:—

"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 valour 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 17 exterior batteries, all taken by assault,—and the reduction of the fortresses of Carthagena and Cumana.

"Some idea may be also formed of the degree of splendour, power, and future prosperity of the new Republic, by considering it placed in the centre of the universe, with an extent of coast of 1200 miles on the Atlantic, from the Orinoco to the Isthmus of Darien,—and of 700 miles on the Pacific Ocean, from Panama to Bahia de Tumbez, 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 Maracaibo, the Magdalena, the Cauca, and the Atrato, which all empty into the Atlantic, render Colombia the most favoured 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 cacao, coffee, indigo, tobacco of Varinas, and some 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."

The final and decisive United States' report now follows:—

Report on the Recognition of the late Spanish Provinces in America.

House of Representatives, March 19.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the message of the President, concerning the recognition of the late Spanish provinces in America, and the documents therewith communicated, having examined the same with the most profound attention, unanimously report,—

That the provinces of Buenos Ayres, after having, from the year 1810, proceeded in their revolutionary movements without any obstacle from the Government of Spain, formally declared their independence of that Government in 1816. After various intestine commotions, and external collisions, those provinces now enjoy domestic tranquillity and good understanding with all their neighbours; and actually exercise, without opposition from within, or the fear of annoyance from without, all the attributes of sovereignty.

The provinces of Venezuela and New Grenada, after having, separately, declared their independence, sustained, for a period of more than ten years, a desolating war against the armies of Spain, and having severally attained, by their triumph over those armies, the object for which they contended, united themselves, on the 19th of December 1819, in one nation, under the title of "The Republic of Colombia."

The Republic of Colombia has now a well-organized Government, instituted by the free will of its citizens, and exercises all the functions of sovereignty, fearless alike of internal and foreign enemies. The small remnant of the numerous armies commissioned to preserve the supremacy of the parent

state, is now blockaded in two fortresses, where it is obnoxious, and where, deprived, as it is, of hope of succour, it must soon surrender at discretion. When this event shall have occurred, there will not remain a vestige of foreign powers in all that immense Republic, containing between three and four millions of inhabitants.

The province of Chili, since it declared its independence, in the year 1818, has been in the constant and unmolested enjoyment of the sovereignty which it then assumed.

The province of Peru, situated, like Chili, beyond the Andes, and bordering on the Pacific Ocean, was for a long time deterred from making any effectual effort for independence, by the presence of an imposing military force which Spain had kept up in that country. It was not, therefore, until the 12th of June of the last year, that its capital, the city of Lima, capitulated to an army, chiefly composed of troops from Buenos Ayres and Chili, under the command of General San Martin. The greatest part of the royal troops, which escaped on that occasion, retreated to the mountains, but soon left them to return to the coast, there to join the royal garrison in the fortress of Callao. The surrender of that fortress soon after to the Americans, may be regarded as the termination of the war in that quarter.

When the people of Peru found themselves by this event free to express their will, they most unequivocally expressed it in favour of independence, and with an unanimity and enthusiasm which have no where been excelled.

The Revolution in Mexico has been somewhat different in its character and progress from the revolutions in the other Spanish American provinces, and its result, in respect to the organization of its internal government, has also not been precisely the same. Independence, however, has been as emphatically declared, and as practically established, since the 24th of August last, by the "Mexican Empire," as ever it has been by the republics of the south; and her geographical situation, her population, and her resources, eminently qualify her to maintain the independence which she has thus declared, and now actually enjoys.

Such are the facts which have occupied the attention of your Committee, and which, in their opinion, irresistibly prove that the nations of Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, Peru, and Chili, in Spanish America, are, in fact, independent.

It now remains for your Committee to examine the right, and the expediency, on the part of the United States, of recognizing the independence which those nations have thus effectually achieved.

In this examination, it cannot be necessary to inquire into the right of the people of Spanish America "to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, that separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them." The right to change the political institutions of the state has, indeed, been exercised equally by Spain and by her colonies; and for us to deny to the people of Spanish America the right to independence, on the principles which alone sanction it here, would be virtually to renounce our own.

The political right of this nation to acknowledge their independence, without offending others, does not depend on its justice, but on its actual establishment. To justify such a recognition by us, it is necessary only to show, as is already sufficiently shewn, that the people of Spanish America are within their respective limits exclusively sovereign, and thus in fact independent. With them, as with every other Government possessing and exercising the power of making war, the United States, in common with all nations, have the right of concerting the terms of mutual peace and intercourse.

Who is the rightful sovereign of a country, is not an inquiry permitted to foreign nations, to whom it is competent only to treat with the "powers that be."

There is no difference in opinion, on this point, among the writers on public law; and no diversity, with respect to it, in the practice of civilized nations. It is not necessary here to cite authority for a doctrine familiar to all who have paid the slightest attention to the subject; nor to go back, for its practical illustration, to the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. Long since, the chiefs of those conflicting houses alternately triumphed and ruled, and were alternately obeyed at home and recognized abroad, according as they successively exercised the power without demonstrating the right:—monarchies have become commonwealths or republics, and powerful usurpers have been recognized by foreign nations, in preference to legitimate and powerless pretenders. Modern history is replete with instances in point. Have we not, indeed, within the brief period of our own remembrance, beheld Governments vary their forms and change their rulers, according to the prevailing power or passion of the moment; and doing so in virtue of the principle now in question, without materially and lastingly affecting their relations with other Governments? Have we not seen the Emperors and Kings of yesterday receive, on the thrones of exiled Sovereigns, who claimed the right to reign there, the friendly embassies of other powers, with whom those exiled Sovereigns had sought

an asylum,—and have we not seen to-day those Emperors and Kings, thus courted and recognized yesterday, rest of their sceptres, and, from a mere change of circumstances, not of right, treated as usurpers by their successors, who, in their turn, have been acknowledged and caressed by the same foreign powers?

The peace of the world, and the independence of every member of the great political family, require that each should be the exclusive judge of its own internal proceedings, and that the fact alone should be regarded by foreign nations. "Even when civil war breaks the bonds of society and of government, or, at least, suspends their force and effect, it gives birth in the nation to two independent parties, who regard each other as enemies, and acknowledge no common judge." It is of necessity, therefore, that those two parties should be considered by foreign states as two distinct and independent nations. To consider or treat them otherwise, would be to interfere in their domestic concerns, to deny them the right to manage their own affairs in their own way, and to violate the essential attributes of their respective sovereignty. For a nation to be entitled, in respect to foreign states, to the enjoyment of those attributes, "and to figure directly in the great political society, it is sufficient that it is really sovereign and independent; that is, that it governs itself by its own authority and laws." The people of Spanish America do, notoriously, so govern themselves, and the right of the United States to recognize the Governments which they have instituted, is incontestable. A doubt of the expediency of such a recognition can be suggested only by the apprehension that it may injuriously affect the peaceful and friendly relations with the nations of the other hemisphere.

Can such an apprehension be well founded?

Have not all those nations practically sanctioned, within the last thirty years, the very principle on which we now propose to act; or have they ever complained of one another, or of us, for acting on that principle?

No nation of Europe, excepting Spain herself, has, hitherto, opposed force to the independence of Spanish America. Some of those nations have not only constantly maintained commercial and friendly intercourse with them, in every stage of the revolution, but indirectly and efficiently, though not avowedly, aided them in the prosecution of their great object. To these, the acknowledgment, by the United States, of the attainment of that object, must be satisfactory.

To the other nations of Europe who have regarded the wants occurring in Spanish America, not only without inter-

ference, but with apparent indifference, such an acknowledgment ought not to be offensive.

The nations who have thus respectively favoured, or never opposed, the Spanish American people, during their active struggle for independence, cannot, it is believed, regard with dissatisfaction the formal recognition of that independence by a nation which, while that struggle lasted, has religiously observed, towards both the conflicting parties, all the duties of neutrality. Your Committee are, therefore, of opinion, that we have a right, on this occasion, confidently to expect, from what these nations have done or forbore to do, during the various fortunes of the civil war which has terminated, that they will frankly approve the course of policy which the United States may now think proper to adopt in relation to the successful party in that war. It surely cannot be reasonably apprehended, that nations who have thus been the tranquil spectators, the apparent well-wishers, if not the efficient supporters, of this party, and who had not made the faintest attempt to arrest its progress, or to prevent its success, should be displeased with a third power formally recognizing the Governments which, owing to that success, have thus been virtually permitted, or impliedly approved, in acquiring the undisputed and exclusive controul of the countries in which they are established. It is, therefore, on the consistency, as well as on the justice, of those nations of Europe, that we may confidently rely, that the simple recognition, on the part of the United States, of the necessary effect of what has already been done, will not be considered as a just cause of complaint against them; while the interested and immediate agents, who have been directly and actively engaged in producing that effect, have neither been opposed nor censured.

Your Committee, therefore, instead of seriously apprehending that the recognition, by the United States, of the independence of Spanish America, will be unacceptable to those nations, are not without hope, that they may practically approve it, by severally adopting a similar measure. It is not, indeed, unreasonable to suppose, that those Governments have, like this, waited only for the evidence of facts, which might not only suffice to justify them, under the laws and usages of nations, but to satisfy Spain herself, that nothing has been prematurely done, or which could justly offend her feelings, or be considered as inconsistent with her rights. As their motives for not having hitherto recognized the independence of Spanish America, may thus be supposed to have been analogous to our own, it is permitted to presume, that the facts and reasons which have prevailed on us no longer to hesitate,

will, confirmed as they are by our example, have a like influence on them.

No nation can entertain a more sincere deference for the feelings of Spain, or take a more lively interest in her welfare, than the United States. It is to this deference, too evident to be doubted or misunderstood, that ought to be ascribed the hesitation of this Government, until now, to yield to the claims of Spanish America, although these claims were in perfect accordance with our own principles, feelings, and interests. Having thus forbore to act, even at the hazard of having those principles and feelings misunderstood on this side of the Atlantic, we have, as your Committee believe, given at once satisfactory proofs of our disinterestedness and moderation, and of our scrupulous respect to the principle which leaves the political institutions of every foreign state to be directed by its own view of its own rights and interests.

Your Committee have been particularly anxious to shew, in a manner satisfactory to Spain herself, that the measure which this Government now proposes to adopt, has been considered with the most respectful attention, both in relation to her rights and to her feelings.

It is not on the laws and usages of nations, or on the practice of Spain herself on like occasions, that your Committee have relied for our justification towards her.

The fact, that, for the last three years, she has not sent a single company of troops against her trans-atlantic colonies, has not been used as evidence of their actual independence, or of her want of power to oppose it. This fact, explained as it is by the public acts of Spain herself, is regarded by your Committee as evidence only of her policy.

The last troops collected at Cadiz, in 1819, which were destined to suppress the revolutionary movements in Spanish America, not only rejected that service, but joined in the revolution, which has since proved successful in Spain itself. The declaration of the leaders in that revolution was, that "Spanish America had a right to be free, and that Spain should be free." Although the Constitution, which was re-established by that revolution, guaranteed the integrity of the Spanish dominions, yet the principles on which the Constitution was founded, seem to discountenance the employment of force for the accomplishment of that object, in contempt of the equal rights and declared will of the American portion of the Spanish people. The conduct of the Government, organized under that constitution, has uniformly been, in this respect, in conformity to those principles. Since its existence, there has not been even a proposal by that Government to

employ force for the subjugation of the American provinces, but merely recommendations of conciliatory measures for their pacification.

The answer of the Cortes, on the 10th of July 1820, to the address of the King, furnishes conclusive proof of this policy.

"The intimate union," says this answer, "of the Cortes with your Majesty; the re-establishment of the constitution; the faithful performance of promises, depriving malevolence of all pretext, will facilitate the pacification of the ultra-marine provinces, which are in a state of agitation and dissension. The Cortes, on its part, will omit no opportunity to propose and adopt measures necessary for the observance of the constitution and restoration of tranquillity in those countries, to the end that the Spain of both worlds may thus form a single happy family."

Although the ultra-marine provinces are not here encouraged to expect absolute independence, yet they are no longer treated as vassal colonies, or threatened with subjugation, but are actually recognized as brothers in the great constitutional and free family of Spain.

A report made to the Cortes, on the 24th of June 1821, by a Committee appointed by that body, not only manifestly corroborates the policy above stated, but sufficiently intimates, that the recognition of the independence of South America, by Spain herself, had nearly been the measure recommended by that Committee.

The report avers, that "tranquillity is not sufficient, even if it should extend throughout America, with a prospect of permanency: No; it falls short of the wishes of the friends of humanity."

In speaking of the measure demanded by the crisis, it says, that this measure was not only warmly approved by the Committee, but, at first, entirely assented to by the ministers with whom it had been discussed, and failed only to be proposed to the Cortes, "by these ministers having, on account of peculiar occurrences, suspended their judgment." It speaks of this measure as indicative of a new and glorious revolution; that it was demanded by America, and the true interests of the Peninsula; that from it Spain might reap advantages which otherwise she could never expect; and that the ties of kindred and the uniformity of religion, with commercial relations, and those emanating from free institutions, would be the surest pledge of mutual harmony and close union.

Your Committee do not feel themselves authorized to say, positively, what that measure was; but they do not hesitate

to declare their entire conviction, that no measure short of a full unconditional independence, could have deserved the character, nor been capable of producing the effects ascribed to it.

It is, therefore, sufficiently manifest, that Spain, far from wishing to call into action her means of prosecuting hostilities against the people of Spanish America, has renounced even the feelings of an enemy toward them; and, but for "peculiar occurrences," had been prepared, nearly a year ago, to consent to their independence.

She has not only practically discontinued, and even emphatically deprecated, the employment of force to restore tranquillity to Spanish America, but she has declared, that even universal and permanent tranquillity there, falls short of the wishes of the friends of humanity.

While she appeals to "the ties of kindred," she undoubtedly feels them; and if she has not abandoned her desire, so often avowed, of mere constitutional union, and equal commercial intercourse with her former colonies, as between provinces of the same empire, a union and an intercourse which intervening Andes and oceans seem to render highly inconvenient, if not utterly impracticable, she evidently refers the accomplishment of this desire to the unawed deliberations, and to the congenial and kindred feelings of the people of those colonies, and thus substantially acknowledges their independence.

Whatever may be the policy of Spain, however, in respect to her former American colonies, our recognition of their independence can neither affect her rights nor impair her means in the accomplishment of that policy. We cannot, for this, be justly accused of aiding in the attainment of an independence which has already been established without our assistance. Besides, our recognition must necessarily be co-existent only with the fact on which it is founded, and cannot survive it. While the nations of Spanish America are actually independent, it is simply to speak the truth to acknowledge them to be so.

Should Spain, contrary to her avowed principles and acknowledged interests, renew the war for conquest of South America, we shall indeed regret it, but we shall observe, as we have done, between the independent parties, an honest and impartial neutrality; but, on the other hand, should Spain, faithful to her own glory and prosperity, consent that her offspring in the New World should enjoy the right of self-government, equally with their brethren in the Old, we shall sincerely rejoice; and we shall cherish with equal satis-

factions, and cultivate with equal assiduity, the friendship of regenerated Spain, and of emancipated America.

Your Committee, in justice to their own feelings, and to the feelings of their fellow-citizens, have made this declaration without disguise; and they trust that the uniform character and conduct of this people, will save it from all liability to misinterpretation.

Happy in our own institutions, we claim no privilege; we indulge no ambition to extend them to other nations; we admit the equal rights of all nations to form their own governments, and to minister their own internal affairs as they may judge proper; and however they may, in these respects, differ from us, we do not, on that account, regard with the less satisfaction their tranquillity and happiness.

Your Committee having thus considered the subject referred to them in all its aspects, are unanimously of opinion, that it is just and expedient to acknowledge the independence of the several nations of Spanish America, without any reference to the diversity in the forms of their governments; and in accordance with this opinion, they respectfully submit the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the House of Representatives concur in the opinion expressed by the President, in his message of the 8th March 1822, that the American provinces of Spain which have declared their independence, and are in the enjoyment of it, ought to be recognized by the United States as independent nations.

Resolved, That the committee of ways and means be instructed to report a bill appropriating a sum not exceeding 100,000 dollars, to enable the President of the United States to give due effect to such recognition.

MESSAGE from the PRESIDENT of the United States, transmitting, in pursuance of a resolution of the Senate, of the 25th instant, sundry papers relative to the Recognition of the Independence of the South American Colonies.

"I transmit to the Senate, agreeably to their resolution of yesterday, a report from the Secretary of State, with copies of the papers requested by that resolution, in relation to the recognition of the South American provinces.

"JAMES MONROE."

"Washington, April 26. 1822."

Department of State, April 25.

"The Secretary of State, to whom has been referred a resolution of the Senate, of this day, requesting the President to communicate to the Senate any information he may have, proper to be disclosed, from our minister at Madrid, or from the Spanish minister resident in this country, concerning the views of Spain relative to the recognition of the independence of the South American colonies, and of the dictamen of the Spanish Cortes, has the honour to submit to the President, copies of the papers particularly referred to.

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

TRANSLATION.

"DON JOAQUIN DE ANDUAGA to the SECRETARY of State.

Washington, March 9. 1822.

"SIR,—In the National Intelligencer of this day, I have seen the Message sent by the President to the House of Representatives, in which he proposes the recognition, by the United States, of the insurgent governments of Spanish America. How great my surprise was, may be easily judged by any one acquainted with the conduct of Spain towards this Republic, and who knows the immense sacrifices which she has made to preserve her friendship. In fact, who would think that, in return for her cession of her most important provinces in this hemisphere; for the forgetting of the plunder of her commerce by American citizens; for the privileges granted to her navy; and for as great proofs of friendship as one nation can give another, this executive would propose that the insurrection of the ultra-marine possessions of Spain should be recognised? And, moreover, will not his astonishment be augmented, to see that this power is desirous to give the destructive example of sanctioning the rebellion of provinces which have received no offence from the mother-country,—to whom she has granted a participation of a free constitution,—and to whom she has extended all the rights and prerogatives of Spanish citizens? In vain will a parallel be attempted to be drawn between the emancipation of this Republic and that which the Spanish rebels attempt; and history is sufficient to prove, that if a harassed and persecuted province has a right to break its chains, others, loaded with benefits, elevated to the high rank of freemen, ought only to bless and embrace more closely the protecting country which has bestowed such favours upon them.

"But, even admitting that morality ought to yield to policy, what is the present state of Spanish America, and what are its

governments, to entitle them to recognition? Buenos Ayres is sunk in the most complete anarchy, and each day sees new despots produced, who disappear the next. Peru, conquered by a rebel army, has near the gates of its capital another Spanish army, aided by part of the inhabitants. In Chili, an individual suppresses the sentiments of the inhabitants; and his violence presages a sudden change. On the coast of Firma also the Spanish banners wave; and the insurgent generals are occupied in quarrelling with their own compatriots, who prefer taking the part of a free power, to that of being the slave of an adventurer. In Mexico, too, there is no government; and the result of the questions which the chiefs commanding there have put to Spain, is not known. Where, then, are those governments which ought to be recognized,—where the pledges of their stability,—where the proof that those provinces will not return to a union with Spain, when so many of their inhabitants desire it; and, in fine, where the right of the United States to sanction, and declare legitimate, a rebellion without cause, and the event of which is not yet decided?

“ I do not think it necessary to prove, that, if the state of Spanish America were such as it is represented in the Message; that, if the existence of its governments were certain and established; that, if the impossibility of its reunion with Spain were so indisputable; and that, if the justice of its recognition were so evident, the Powers of Europe, interested in gaining the friendship of countries so important for their commerce, would have been negligent in fulfilling it. But seeing how distant the prospect is of even this result, and faithful to the ties which unite them with Spain, they await the issue of the contest, and abstain from doing a gratuitous injury to a friendly government, the advantages of which are doubtful, and the odium certain. Such will be that which Spain will receive from the United States, in case the recognition proposed in the Message should take effect; and posterity will be no less liable to wonder, that the power which has received the most proofs of the friendship of Spain, should be the one delighted with being the first to take a step which could have only been expected from another that had been injured.

“ Although I could enlarge upon this disagreeable subject, I think it useless to do so, because the sentiments which the Message ought to excite in the breast of every Spaniard can be no secret to you. Those which the King of Spain will experience at receiving a notification so unexpected, will be doubtless very disagreeable; and at the same time that I hasten to communicate it to his Majesty, I think it my duty to protest, as I do solemnly protest, against the recognition of the

governments mentioned of the insurgent provinces of South America, by the United States, declaring, that it can in no way now, or at any time, lessen or invalidate, in the least, the right of Spain to the said provinces, or to employ whatever means may be in her power to reunite them to the rest of her dominions.

" I pray you, sir, to be pleased to lay this protest before the President; and I flatter myself that, convinced of the solid reasons which have dictated it, he will suspend the measure which he has proposed to Congress, and that he will give to his Catholic Majesty this proof of his friendship and of his justice.

" I remain, with the most distinguished consideration, praying God to guard your life many years, your most obedient humble servant,

JOAQUIN DE ANDUAGA."

" JOHN Q. ADAMS, Secretary of State."

The SECRETARY of State to the MINISTER from Spain.

" Department of State, Washington, April 6. 1822.

" SIR,—Your letter of the 9th March was, immediately after I had the honour of receiving it, laid before the President of the United States, by whom it has been deliberately considered, and by whose direction I am, in replying to it, to assure you of the earnestness and sincerity with which this Government desires to entertain and to cultivate the most friendly relations with that of Spain.

" This disposition has been manifested, not only by the uniform course of the United States, in their direct political and commercial intercourse with Spain, but by the friendly interest which they have felt for the welfare of the Spanish nation, and by the cordial sympathy with which they have witnessed their spirit and energy, exerted in maintaining their independence of all foreign controul, and their right of self-government.

" In every question relating to the independence of a nation, two principles are involved; one of right, and the other of fact: the former exclusively depending upon the determination of the nation itself, and the latter resulting from the successful execution of that determination. This right has been recently exercised, as well by the Spanish nation in Europe, as by several of those countries in the American hemisphere, which had for two or three centuries been connected as colonies with Spain. In the conflicts which have attended these revolutions, the United States have carefully abstained from taking any part; respecting the right of the nations concerned in them to maintain or new organize their own political constitutions, and observing, wherever it was a contest by arms,

the most impartial neutrality. But the civil war in which Spain was for some years involved with the inhabitants of her colonies in America, has in substance ceased to exist.

"Treaties, equivalent to an acknowledgment of independence, have been concluded by the commanders and viceroys of Spain herself, with the Republic of Colombia, with Mexico, and with Peru; while in the provinces of La Plata, and in Chili, no Spanish force has for several years existed to dispute the independence which the inhabitants of those countries had declared.

"Under these circumstances, the Government of the United States, far from consulting the dictates of a policy questionable in its morality, has yielded to an obligation of duty of the highest order, by recognizing as independent states nations which, after deliberately asserting their right to that character, have maintained and established it against all the resistance which had been, or could be brought to oppose it. This recognition is neither intended to invalidate any right of Spain, nor to affect the employment of any means which she may yet be disposed or enabled to use with the view of reuniting those provinces to the rest of her dominions. It is the mere acknowledgment of existing facts, with the view to the regular establishment, with the nations newly formed, of those relations, political and commercial, which it is the moral obligation of civilized and Christian nations to entertain reciprocally with one another.

"It will not be necessary to discuss with you a detail of facts, upon which your information appears to be materially different from that which has been communicated to this Government, and is of public notoriety; nor the propriety of the denominations which you have attributed to the inhabitants of the South American provinces. It is not doubted that other and more correct views of the whole subject will very shortly be taken by your Government; and that it, as well as the other European Governments, will shew that deference to the example of the United States, which you urge as the duty or the policy of the United States to shew to theirs. The effect of the example of one independent nation upon the counsels and measures of another, can be just only so far as it is voluntary; and as the United States desire that their example should be followed, so it is their intention to follow that of others upon no other principle. They confidently rely that the time is at hand when all Governments of Europe friendly to Spain, and Spain herself, will not only concur in the acknowledgment of the independence of the American nations, but in the sentiment, that nothing will tend more

effectually to the welfare and happiness of Spain than the universal concurrence in that recognition. I pray you, sir, to accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

"DON JOAQUIN DE ANDUAGA,
"Envoy Extraordinary," &c. &c.

To conclude our insertion of official papers, we here give the Spanish manifesto on the subject, together with the reply which it received at the time of its appearance.

MANIFESTO which circulates at Madrid, and which presents the views of the Spanish Government for conciliating its interests with those of the other European nations, and with the true advantages of the Spanish American provinces.

His Catholic Majesty, in calling the attention of his august allies to the state of the revolted provinces of Spanish America, deems useless and unseasonable the examination of the causes which excited in those regions the desire of separating themselves from the mother-country. It is enough for his Majesty to be convinced, that it was neither the abuse of power nor the weight of oppression which inspired the desire of this separation; and that a disunion so melancholy between the members of the great Spanish family, has been the effect of extraordinary circumstances, and of the terrible crisis which Spain encountered in protecting its throne and dignity from the rapacity of foreign domination.

Since that epoch of glory and misfortune the political aspect of various of our ultra-marine provinces has often varied. Military successes have been divided between the contending parties; the cause of the insurgents has assumed a different face in each of the chief portions of the Spanish American continent; and his Majesty endures the poignant distress of seeing those interesting regions exposed to all the evils and all the dangers inevitably attached to a revolution.

His Majesty desiring ardently to terminate this painful situation of anxiety and uncertainty, and to execute the benevolent disposition of the Cortes, has appointed commissioners, who, by proceeding to the insurgent regions of America, are to hear their propositions, to transmit them to the Spanish Government, and to establish a frank and sincere correspon-

demerit, the object and the results of which will be the advantage of Spaniards in both hemispheres.

Never were transactions more important, but, at the same time, never will a Government in similar circumstances shew more integrity and sound faith. His Majesty cannot persuade himself that the interests of the provinces beyond seas are opposed to those of European Spain; and this sentiment, worthy of his paternal heart, urges him to seek the means of reconciling the common advantage, and inspires him with the consoling hope of finding them.

His Catholic Majesty carries his views to a more distant horizon, and considers this question as a European question. A long space of time elapsed before the beneficent effects of the discovery of the New World were felt in the Old: nobody could foresee them or calculate upon them; it was an immense, unknown, and unbounded career which determined their extent. His Majesty thinks the same thing may be said about the great events which agitate America, the effects of which must necessarily influence the fate of Europe even in a very rapid manner. It is impossible to calculate either the degree of this influence, or the alteration which it must produce in the mutual relations of the two worlds; but his Majesty is not afraid to affirm, that the transaction which will fix the fate of the Spanish American provinces, and arrest the blind and impetuous course of revolution, will be one of the greatest blessings for the civilized world.

Wants, commerce, habit, and relations of every nature, have multiplied the ties which unite two hemispheres; and it may easily be conceived that a vast continent, drawn into a conflict of the passions, and become the theatre of a revolution, the end of which is not seen, must exercise a pernicious influence on the political and moral relations of Europe, which is beginning to repose after thirty years of convulsion.

There are perhaps superficial minds who see a consolidated nation, and a solid and stable government, in each of the provinces which have declared their independence, and who, without regard to obstacles of every nature, to the principles of public right, and the most known maxims of the law of nations, think that a province legitimatizes its independent existence, and acquires the right of being recognized as a state by other powers, by the simple fact of its being detached from that of which it formed a part.

But a sad experience has demonstrated to governments the lamentable effects which such an overthrow of principles produces. They foresee the consequences of its propagation, as fatal to legitimate governments as to the integrity of nations;

and they examine to the bottom the consequences which would be occasioned in Europe by a sanction of the indefinite right of insurrection demanded for America by some persons.

Thus, then, his Catholic Majesty not only deems interested in this question the nations who possess ultra-marine colonies, to which the same theory may be applied which it is wished to legitimize in the Spanish American provinces, but it considers this affair as being intimately connected with those guardian principles which form the safety of governments, and the guarantees of society.

All other considerations disappear in presence of the latter ; and therefore his Catholic Majesty does not wish to recur to the less important reasons which, in ordinary times, policy employs for the support and the defence of justice.

In further looking at the question under a new point of view, Spain presents in all her relations new and powerful motives for determining other powers to preserve the strictest impartiality regarding her. Exempt from every kind of ambitious pretensions, placed relatively to other nations in an inoffensive position, and exclusively occupied with the establishment and consolidation of her internal happiness, she cannot provoke the jealousy of rivals, nor excite a desire to dismember different parts of the monarchy with the object of weakening her. Spain, whatever may be her force, cannot menace the repose or the safety of other nations ; but, rich and flourishing, she may have an advantageous influence in preserving the equilibrium of the powers. An instinct of honour and integrity had united the unknown elements of her force ; and engaged in the most unequal struggle, she afforded time to the continent to rise against the common enemy, and destroy his oppressive yoke. This one fact renders every other reflection and commentary useless ; it is sufficient to inspire interest in favour of a magnanimous nation, and to announce that its influence shall be always beneficent and never offensive. This is the position which nature and policy assign to Spain among the nations. European governments acted upon this great political principle when they saw the colossal power of Spain destroyed, which during two centuries had alarmed Europe. After a long conflict, it was considered how to fix the lot of this kingdom, which was looked upon as connected with the federative system of Europe ; and at that time the advantage was foreseen of consolidating its power by securing for it in America a *point d'appui*, which, by increasing its consequence, rendered it better calculated to maintain the equilibrium of the European political balance.

This consideration of the general interest appeared so important, that Spain was bound not to alienate in any form the smallest portion of her territory in America; and to render possession of it still more secure and inviolable, at the same time that it took away all motive for distrust, she renounced the power of granting to other nations, by any means, or under any pretext whatever, the advantage of trading in those regions.

Time has nevertheless produced on this point a very important change. A less restricted policy, changes occurring in commercial relations, the notification of economical principles, and a multitude of other combined causes, have convinced Spain, that to aspire to a preservation of a commercial monopoly, which formerly had been regarded as the principal bond of union between the two great parts of the Spanish monarchy, would be as injurious to the interests of the Peninsula as to those of the American provinces.

On the contrary, his Catholic Majesty thinks that there are no durable ties except those that are founded on common interests; that peninsular Spain can obtain commercial advantages by her industry; and her marine, without aspiring to an exclusive privilege; that new wants and new desires, the consequence of civilization and riches, render necessary to the provinces beyond seas a more frank and liberal system; and that, instead of struggling uselessly against the mercantile system, which exercises such influence on the political system of modern nations, the true interest of Spain consists in adopting this spirit as a useful ally, and not in converting it into an irreconcilable enemy.

To obtain so important results, all the laws and arrangements made posterior to the restoration of the constitutional government, have had a tendency, beneficent, generous, and favourable to the colonization of foreigners in Spanish America, and the freedom of commerce with those distant regions. The trial made in the island of Cuba has been sufficient to demonstrate, that their interests, those of Spain, and in general those of other nations, coincide in the same point.

His Catholic Majesty, by this simple and natural means, has removed the only obstacle which could prevent the most complete union between the policy of Spain and that of other cabinets. A government that is solid and stable, recognized, and the faithful observer of treaties, is disposed to negotiate with insurgent provinces of America, and offers to other nations the greatest commercial advantages. It would be impossible to point out (though the question were reduced to

simple calculation of interests) an object which could serve as the counterpoise in the opposite scale.

Civil war and anarchy, which are often the consequence of revolution, and more particularly when, as in America, its elements are heterogeneous and opposite, are assuredly not calculated to increase the exchangeable productions of a country, nor to attract foreigners, by offering them that safety which leaves no doubt, and which is the soul of commerce; neither can vacillating governments do it, precarious in their nature, and without guarantee, which cannot themselves assure the advantages which they themselves present. Buenos Ayres, abandoned to itself, has endeavoured in vain for the last 12 years to consolidate a government. The wretchedness and depopulation of the provinces of the Main, instead of advancing, have removed to a greater distance the epoch of their prosperity and their riches. In affairs of this nature, it is useless to oppose vague and indefinite hopes to certain and known results.

But it appears that a new calamity has arrived to increase the evils which might have been foreseen. The insurrection on the American continent has favoured piracy on the sea. General commerce begins to feel the want of security, and the dangers of this war, which knows no other laws than those of self-interest, and pillages indiscriminately the industrious citizens of all nations.

Thus by an admirable concatenation of facts, every thing concurs to demonstrate the utility, nay, even the urgency, of a definitive arrangement in an affair which has so vast and profound ramifications; and every thing contributes to press upon the Spanish Government the folly of retarding, through any secondary motive, a transaction so important.

His Catholic Majesty, in entering upon this frank and amicable negotiation with the insurgent provinces, expects, with the greatest confidence, to find in all governments that circumspection and that reserve of conduct, prescribed by justice, recommended by policy, and inspired by sentiments of impartiality and good-will.

When the Spanish nation endeavours to put an end to this domestic misunderstanding, the same inviolable respect which she professes for the rights of other nations, inspires her with the just confidence of being treated with similar consideration and regard. She cannot even suspect, on the part of those who desire to preserve friendship and good understanding, any step hazarded, which might suppose the question already resolved, the decision of which belongs to Spain alone, in making use of her legitimate and recognized rights, which she has

never renounced. In this state of things, the steps taken to engage different powers in a recognition of the independence of the insurgent powers of America, will present, on the contrary, a solemn occasion to sanction the fundamental principles on which the integrity of territory, the repose of nations, and the public morality of governments are founded.

The text and spirit of treaties, the good faith which ought to reign between powers in amity, the conviction of a duty equally supported upon a general and temporary policy, the real welfare of the insurgent provinces, and even the general advantage of all the powers, afford to his Catholic Majesty as many guarantees that his laudable desires will find among his august allies the most favourable and most friendly reception.

REPLY.

THE importance of this document consists in its being an authentic and official explanation of the feelings of Spain on the subject of her former colonies; but of the purposes which it seems designed to answer we should be uncandid if we affirmed, that either of them has a probable chance of success, inasmuch as the first is, to prevail upon the colonists to reimpose upon themselves that yoke which they have actually shaken off in spite of the resistance of the Spanish armies; and the second is, to dissuade or determine the Powers of Europe from recognizing their (already accomplished) independence. Had we been asked three or four years ago what our wishes were with regard to the future relations between Spain and the trans-atlantic provinces, we should perhaps have expressed a desire for the continued integrity of the whole Spanish empire, on condition of seeing established such a government as would consult the undoubted interests, and command the free confidence of the people of South America, and of their Mexican neighbours: but that day is past and irrecoverable. Indeed, so long back as whilst the Cortes were assembled at Cadiz, there arose the strongest causes of apprehension, that in principle the separation was even then complete. The deputies for Spanish America were considered an heterogeneous and not half-naturalized body. They could obtain nothing for their constituent nations beyond sea; the concessions which they solicited, as due to Spanish America on the clearest grounds of policy, right, and friendship, were refused in an arbitrary and monopolizing spirit, little differing, if at all, from that which had governed the ancient councils in the days of Philip II. It was not a question, therefore, very likely to be settled in a satisfactory manner by this or that set of advisers

of the crown of Spain ; the temper of the Spanish nation generally was averse to such an abandonment, or even to such a relaxation of the old colonial system as had become, through the change of times, the single expedient for averting an appeal to arms, between those who felt that they had a right to ask for much and those who fancied themselves strong enough to give way in nothing. It is obvious, when war was once declared against the colonies by Spain, and Morillo dispatched with a powerful army to reduce them, that the mother-country had risked all upon that solitary stake. So long as Morillo could fight, nay, even when more than half vanquished by the colonists, the preliminary article in every overture to peace was a demand of their unqualified submission. Force, then, has failed ; and, as in all such cases, it is now idle for Spain to negotiate on any terms short of a distinct acknowledgment of the absolute sovereignty of these victorious states. The manifesto which leads us into these observations, dwells much on the impossibility of prolonging a connexion which is not founded on the common interest of the parties,—a just remark ; and the revolt of the Spanish colonies (as well as of the British some 40 years before) would be a proof of it if any were wanting. The king is made to express keen anguish at seeing these fine countries a prey to all the “ ills and dangers inseparable from a revolution.” But, say the provinces, our revolution is ended :—our sufferings and dangers are no more, since we overcame your troops, and have assumed the power of promoting our own views of our own commercial interests. So, where the manifesto states the king’s conviction that the South Americans have the same interests as the Spaniards, it will unquestionably meet the reply, that it was his Majesty’s persuasion of their having opposite interests, which induced him a few years ago to coerce them by the sword ; and that after such an experience of his practical construction of the doctrine for which he now takes credit, they would rather be left to judge for themselves hereafter, to what extent the interests of the Spanish nation do really coincide with theirs. We cannot yield our opinions on public law to the reasoning of the manifesto, where it impugns the well-known and essential principle, that in most instances a government *de facto* may be rightfully recognized by others. Instead of danger and confusion resulting from this maxim, we cannot help seeing in it a powerful instrument for the restoration of order and tranquillity amongst mankind ; nor do we conceive how the recognition of the South American colonies by Europe, which it is the business of the manifesto to deprecate, can much more compromise the principles of lawful government, or indeed the welfare of Spain

herself, for which we entertain a sincere and respectful solicitude, than could our acknowledgment seven years ago of the Belgic States, as constituting an independent kingdom, on the ground that in the sixteenth century they had been vassals of the Spanish crown. It is not, indeed, for us to judge how far the menace implied towards the close of the manifesto, may operate against the impending recognition of South America by the European powers. If any forfeiture of the friendship of Spain, or, still more, any active manifestations of displeasure on the part of a brave and allied nation, were to be the consequence of a step which seems prescribed to foreign governments, as much by their duty as by their indisputable policy, there is no people, we are sure, would regret more deeply than the English, an event so unfortunate and unlooked for; but the obligation to public liberty, to international law, to the interests of universal commerce, and to the wants and sufferings of our own country, is one which no deference to the punctilious or irritated feelings of a friend, however estimable, can exempt the British Government from discharging. It is further certain, that ere one twelvemonth shall have elapsed, Spain herself will see the question in the same light in which it appears to others, and follow the example of that course which she herself was an agent in compelling England to adopt with regard to the States of North America.

WE are now free to reflect on this important subject, and on the conduct of the United States in relation to it. On a subject so sublimely interesting to every individual, whose imagination and whose heart is not "cold as the rock on Torneo's hoary brow," we cannot think without emotion, or give expression to our thoughts, without having recourse to glowing terms; yet we cannot but admire the sober and restrained language of this great national document—the President's message; and we cannot but be assured, that its effect on every European reader will correspond with the stirring spirit of the subject,

rather than with the subdued tone of the expression. To our minds, the subject can never be suggested without awakening our recollections of the cruelties, massacres, and devastations, which the thirst of gold, unrestrained by religion or law, inflicted on those loveliest portions of our globe; and without conjuring up, in bright contrast, the public virtues, social harmony, and confirmed happiness, which the dauntless patriots of the present day have ensured for millions yet unborn. Perish the counsels that would frustrate a prospect so dear to every uncorrupted heart!

There is policy, as well as justice and good sense, in this step on the part of the Americans. It may serve to warn the powers on this side the Atlantic, that there will be found among the Republican nations of the West, an alliance as durable, and as well deserving of the name of "Holy," as that lately formed among the Emperors of the East; and it will let Spain see, that she can gain nothing by exercising towards those free governments which have arisen out of her late colonies, the same tardiness which was evinced in recognizing the independence of the United States. The Republic of Colombia is established beyond the power of question; and therefore the sooner that all receive and cherish it as a branch of the family of free states the better.

As men, and as Britons, we must, therefore, hail the freedom of this most interesting portion

of the New World, now established beyond the power even of question.

As men, we rejoice that liberty has built for herself another temple; and that, come the worst that may in the Old World, let even Turkey and Greece fall into the hands of Russia, and the same vast and half-civilized power invade the other nations of continental Europe, both from the north and from the south, still the lovers of freedom shall find a home in the New World; and the beacon-fires of Cotopaxi and Chimborazo shall invite and light to a place where those may yet nurse the sciences and the arts, whom luxury would consign to be sold with the soil, and be debased till they should learn to return thanks for the application of the knout. The Plata, and the Orellana, and the Orinoco, may be the emporium for the ships of other nations, when events such as those which, by turns, have made the commerce of Syria and of Carthage, of Constantinople and of Venice, be remembered but in story, may have sealed up the most bustling ports of Europe, changed their merchants into beggars, and their rulers into tyrants.

When liberty sets up her standard in a country, especially in one comparatively new, we feel particular satisfaction in observing the shades of ignorance and superstition which had been forced upon its infancy, fading away. In the case of the whole western world, they must fade. There is something new, and green, and fresh, in all

that is American,—something which repels the cold and shackling despotism of the East. It has been observed, that the tide of human emigration, like that of the waters of the sea, is from the east to the west; and it may also be observed, that as the progress of the light of day is westward, so is that of knowledge and freedom. As, when the cold grey of twilight has dyed its segment in the eastern sky, and when damp and mildew are falling upon the eastern plains, we turn with fondness to the glowing tints of the west, and think of those abodes whose gates are opened by the star of Even to admit the brightness of the sun; so do we turn, with regret no doubt, but still we turn, from the once light and lovely regions of the East, to those which are beginning to glow in the West. We turn from where the dark cloud of superstition is overshadowing, and the damp and mildew of slavery is blighting, to where the ardour of the sun of liberty is dissipating the last cloud of superstition, and drying up the last drop of the cold dew of slavery: just as, in the natural world, we look through those openings in the drapery of heaven through which glory appears behind glory, in endless succession, where we picture the fairy scenes that lie beneath; and we do more than hope that the light is not only beaming upon those happy regions, but that from them it shall be sent forth to re-illuminate the East.