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**OBSERVATIONS**

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ON

**OCCURRENCES IN THE RIVER PLATE,**

AS CONNECTED WITH THE

**FOREIGN AGENTS**

AND THE

**ANGLO-FRENCH INTERVENTION.**

Translated from the Spanish.

*H. Schönbald.*

"Il primo de' nostri doveri si è l'amore  
della verità, e la fede in essa."  
Silvio Pellico—Dover. degli Uomini.

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In the number of the Foreign Agents, spoken of in the following pages, are not to be included those who conducted the affairs of France in the River Plate, from 1838 to 1840. Those functionaries, really clear-sighted and upright, always told their government truly and honourably, what Rosas and his system were. But as they, properly speaking, filled the place of *belligerents*, their information was liable to the objection of partiality. We therefore make these worthy Agents an exception,

Mr. Griffiths, the *English Consul* in Buenos Ayres, also deserves to be mentioned as an honourable exception, and we have much pleasure in making this declaration: but the presence of a Minister residing in that Capital has probably neutralized the effect which his informations might otherwise have produced.

Rosas and his System. — The Foreign Agents. —  
Commodore Purvis. — Manuel Oribe. — The  
"British Packet" and "Gaceta Mer-  
cantil" of Buenos Ayres.

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A heavy charge will ever lie against the greater part of the Agents who, for twelve years past, have represented Foreign Nations in the River Plate. It may be that some among them are influenced by participation in the passions, which the fierce struggle that devours us engenders, and that they, at this moment, think lightly of the responsibility which rests upon their honour, their public station and their sentiments as men. It may be also that some foreign Governments do no *even yet* comprehend the careless or culpable conduct of their representatives, because, having no other organ but these same persons, through which to become acquainted with our countries, they naturally receive vitiated information from vitiated minds.

But a day must come when passion will be silent, when truth must force itself even into distant Cabinets, when all—a like the representatives and the represented—will be forced to acknowledge the weight and the justness of that charge. Let us explain.

Twelve years ago Rosas decidedly threw off all restraint, in order to establish in the River Plate a system of Government, whose foundations are ignorance and falsehood, whose means have constantly been corruption, outrage, spoliation and death, and whose end is the eternal annihilation of every germ of morality, civilization, and advancement; in order that he may govern without restraint in this region, as his prototype, Francia, did in Paraguay.

The eulogies of his hired parasites, the unmeaning verbiage with which they have attempted to disguise his enormities, could never deceive any man of rectitude or of judgement. The language of facts silenced mere words.

All literary and scientific establishments, all charitable institutions have ceased to be maintained by the Government: the former have remained closed for many years, the latter are kept up only by private charity. The portrait of Rosas, received at the doors of the Temples by surpliced priests: has been a hundred times borne, amidst chaunts and incense, to be placed at the very side of the Tabernacle. The entry into the Temples, the communion of the church, has been denied to those who were classed as *Unitarians*; their extermination has been preached from the pulpits, as an evangelical virtue, and a christian obligation. General confiscations, and the sale, at the lowest price, of the confiscated property, have been published officially by the press. The immense fortunes with which men have suddenly appeared, who but the day before were poor and even without property of any kind, and the sudden indigence of families but a short while before opulent and respected for their conduct, publicly announce corruption and violent changes of property. The heads of unarmed and wellknown citizens, have been paraded about, hung in carts, or have been exposed to the public gaze on the butchers' stalls; nay more, official discussions have been carried on with a French Admiral, invested with a high diplomatic character, whether one of these heads, thus cut off, was French or Spanish. That of Zelarayan, brought from the plains of the South, has been exposed in Rosas' saloon, in presence of his family; and Lucio Mancilla, his brother-in-law, invested with the rank of General, has insulted Mr. Mandeville, the Minister Plenipotentiary of England, by shewing him the *salted ears* of Colonel Borda, remitted by Manuel Oribe, from Tucuman.

The Representatives of civilized and christian Nation have witnessed all these facts; they dare not deny them. These facts revealed, with frightful eloquence, a system of perversity and of crime, which no words could colour over. Those Agents have seen this system in all its deformity, they have fully comprehended its whole tendency; they have felt horror in their hearts, when the idea may have entered their heads that such a system of government might, by possibility, be established in their own countries.

And they have kept silence notwithstanding, and have shewn observance and respect to the founder, to the sustainer, to the bloody representative of the execrable system!! No European Press, not even that of free North America, has transmitted to the world a single denunciation of such

enormous crimes, resting upon the authority of an accredited agent. So far from this, the voices which some of them have raised have always been in favour of the man and of the system.

Sir Woodbine Parish, the first who has been guilty of this crime, misled the opinion and the feelings of his Government and of his Nation, by a book, the more dangerous because the many falsehoods which it involves, as much in what it suppresses as in what it relates, make their appearance covered over with a style of moderation, and with a semblance of impartiality and candour. (1) Admiral Mackau, an eyewitness of the massacres of October 1840, did not scruple to defend obstinately, before the French Nation, the man who cast in his face, at the very moment he was negotiating with him, the head of Varangot; and John Henry Mandeville, the British Plenipotentiary, authorizes, if he does not direct, the weekly publications of the *British Packet*, a concern belonging to an Englishman, which, in the english language, outrages all his fellow countrymen, because they claimed, from the Commander in chief of the forces of their Queen, that protection which the law of nations cannot give them, under the arbitrary rule of ring-leaders, who recognize no law; whilst he publishes, without remark and in form of approval, the already condemned circular of the 1st April, in which Oribe sentences foreigners resident in Monte Video to confiscation and to death.

This is what the foreign Agents have done on every occasion when they have raised their voice. Europe has to confess with shame that, at the end of twenty years, the period (2) during which it has maintained Consular and Diplomatic Agents in the New American States, it has de-

(1) "Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, by Sir Woodbine Parish, London, 1838." *This book has been received with some favour in England; it does not deserve it. It contains not a few false statements in point of fact, and many false explanations of certain facts. It is, moreover, a party production; in which the author has taken care, with culpable solicitude, to pass over in silence the names of the persons who did all that he himself recognizes as good, noble, advanced and civilizing, whilst he every moment repeats with high eulogies the name of Rosas and his deeds. We hope some time or other to be able to publish, for English reading, a detailed impugnation of this book. At present we shall confine ourselves to the consideration of only some samples of it.*

(2) *The first European Power that recognized the independence of these New States was England, which did so in 1823.*

rived no service, no real advantage from these Agents, neither for the policy of its Cabinets, nor for the encouragement of the industry or commerce of the countries which maintain them.

Without comprehending,—for they never took the trouble to study them,—the causes of the anarchy and disorders which they witnessed, they have laid down, as a primary principle, that it is impossible to govern these countries but by an iron despotism, which they have decorated with the name of a *Strong Government*. First their blindness, and afterwards the compromises into which they fell, have urged them to support the empire of the despots, to give credit to the horrible system of “extraordinary powers” by procuring for it the sympathies of the European Governments; and when the corrosive action of this irresponsible and brutal system has annihilated commerce, has caused riches to disappear, and has decimated the consuming population, then—even then—the Foreign Agents have deceived their Governments and their fellow countrymen with false explanations of these results, which were beginning to call the attention, by injuring the interests, of the manufacturing centres of Europe.

This assertion requires proofs. We will not waste our time by seeking these in what Admiral Mackau caused to be published by his Aide-de-camp, Page, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, nor in what he himself afterwards said in the Tribunal of the Peers, in order to justify the treaty which obtained for him a seat in that House: we shall take them, especially, from Sir Woodbine Parish's work. And we prefer this, not only because it is the most weighty and authoritative publication which has been issued hitherto, by Diplomatic Agents, upon the River Plate, but also because it is written by an Englishman and to be read in England, the commerce of which is the most extensive and valuable that is carried on in this region.

We take Sir W. Parish's own statements. According to him, the English (1) importations into the River Plate, taking their value in pounds sterling, and estimating them in each series of years at the yearly average, were on the following scale:

From 1822 to 1825.....	£ 909,330 yearly.
“ 1829 to 1837.....	“ 643,291 “
Difference.....	£ 266,039 per an.

(1) Those of other countries were naturally in the same proportions.

Sir Woodbine Parish calls the four years of the first period, *years of peace*; and they were, actually, those of the greatest prosperity of Buenos Ayres, those of its political, mercantile and even literary splendour, under Governments which established the Representative System, which decreed religious toleration, which founded Banks and public schools, which consolidated the general debt of the country and created public stocks for its payment.

But Sir W. Parish gives no classification to the nine years which compose the second period; as if he were afraid to declare to the world that these years of falling off, and of retrogradation, belong all of them to the Dictatorial and irresponsible Government of Rosas. The unquestionable result is, that during the years of the Dictatorship, the importations were almost one third less than in the years of the Government of order and civilization. But Sir W. Parish has taken particular care to conceal the origin of this difference, and not to tell the English people what was the system of Government in Buenos Ayres, in each of the periods which he compares. And of what use to the manufacturers and producers of England was the knowledge of the facts, if they were left in ignorance of the causes which produced it?

Sir W. Parish presents further another comparative statement of the importations into our River, of cotton, linen, woollen and silk fabrics, in the following terms:

	From 1822-to-25 Yearly average in yards.	From 1834-to-37 Yearly average in yards.
Cottons.....	10,811,762	18,151,764
Linens.....	996,467	1,176,941
Woollens...	139,037	100,183
Silks.....	16,612	15,047

The author calls attention to the *almost doubling* of the importation of *cottons*; not knowing, or taking care to conceal, that this is a most eloquent proof of the impoverishment of Buenos Ayres; since it is an increase of importation of the fabrics consumed principally by the poorer class; whilst the woollens and silks, which form the consumption of families in easy circumstances, diminished not a little in the years of the Dictatorship of Rosas. This fact is still more remarkable, because in the latter of the two periods compared the population of Buenos Ayres had diminished immensely; in so much that the greater consumption of cottons by a diminished population shows clearly the retrogradation and poverty of the population which remained

The book of the English Diplomatist reveals to us another truth, which saddens the mind and the heart; and perhaps for this reason he contents himself with expressing it also in the cold language of arithmetical figures. We speak of the consumption of *arms and munitions of war*. In 1830, when Rosas had but just risen to power, and had not yet developed his system of extermination, the value of the arms imported from England was . . . . . 158 £ sterling

In 1831 . . . . .	443	"	"
" 1832 . . . . .	345	"	"
" 1834 . . . . .	it rose to . . .	3,035	"
" 1835 . . . . .	6,388	"	"

Thus, while, under the deadly system of Rosas, the consumption which reveals the riches and the civilized taste of nations was diminished, that of the instruments of destruction and death which the protégé of Sir Woodbine Parish sowed throughout the whole Republic, in order to decimate the population, received a prodigious augmentation. Not an observation, not a single word has this fact of horrible eloquence, called forth from the author; and perhaps he would not even have mentioned it, had not *arms and ammunition* figured in a general statement of importations. Nor let it be said that he could not descend in this book to such minutiae; for the knowledge of that fact was somewhat more important to the English Government and Nation, as well as to humanity at large, than the notice detailed, with great prolixity, by Sir W. Parish, of the industry displayed by the ants in order to eat the sugar and sweetmeats in his house, notwithstanding all the precautions he could take.

But the Diplomatic author now arrives at a point in regard to which he can be allowed no pardon, no excuse. He acknowledges that, while Monte Video was in the hands of the Portuguese and Brazilians, *its commerce was extremely insignificant*; (page 350); that this commerce increased rapidly after the independence of the Banda Oriental, and that "Monte Video has become a sort of entrepot for the supply of the Argentine Provinces, as well as of a portion of the neighbouring Brazilian population in the Rio Grande; and to such an extent, that the importations of foreign goods there were valued at no less than 3,000,000 in 1835 and had reached 3,500,000 hard dollars in 1836; whilst the exports were nearly equal in amount, and now constitute an important proportion of the returns in the general account of the trade with the River Plate."

"The amount of the imports into the port of Buenos Ayres has been diminished in proportion."

Here we have presented in contrast the two markets of the River Plate; here is a declaration, by a Public Agent of England, and in the irresistible language of Official Statistics, of the great falling off of the commerce of Buenos Ayres, from 1829, and the prodigious augmentation which that of Monte Video received during the same period.

But Sir Woodbine Parish, obliged to explain this interesting phenomenon to the producers and manufacturers of his country, gives them, as its only reason, the independence of the Banda Oriental, and the lowering of the import duties in Monte Video: a reason, not only bare and deficient, but false in its very essence, because the duties were as high in Monte Video as in Buenos Ayres. But not a word does he say upon the mode in which the two countries whose commerce he compares are governed; he passes by in studied silence the fact that this decay of commerce begins at the same time with the irresponsible and bloody government of Rosas, continuing along with it; and the advance of Monte Video took its rise and keeps pace with the Constitutional, responsible, illimitably free and open system, under which the country has been governed, since its independence.

This Sir W. Parish has passed over in silence; this, the only thing which it was his *obligation* to make known to the English people and Government; in order that, knowing the true cause which was acting towards closing the market of Buenos Ayres against the industry and the productions of Britain, it might apply the remedy, before the evil should arrive, as it has now arrived, at its height.

Enough of examples.—What Sir W. Parish has done in his book has been done by the Foreign Agents in general, who, at different periods, have resided in the River Plate. And for the same reason, their governments and their countries have lived in complete ignorance of what really is the diabolical system of this new personification, who has come to occupy, in the 19th century, the foremost post among the tyrants, whose biographies compose the Martyrologies of Nations. The cries of his victims, the appeal which they have, at different times, made to civilized and christian Powers, have wanted authority and have been taken for the lying expression of party hatred, because they were at variance with such authorities as the book written by Sir W. Parish; or at least with, the approving silence of Foreign Agents. This is a most bitter truth, one that has been felt, and felt most palpably, by all who have spoken of the enormities of Rosas beyond the theatre in which he is committing

them. They have always been met with the argument that no Foreign Agent would reside near such a Government, nor would fail to denounce such shocking barbarities.

And, in truth, they never have denounced them.— They have seen the facts, they have comprehended well the system, they have condemned it with horror; but, intimidated or fascinated at the sight of the man who filled them with horror, not one can be named who has dared, hitherto, to proclaim aloud in the presence of the criminal, a truth which all felt, which it was of much interest to the world should be known, and which they were bound to reveal, in their loudest and most energetic tones.

Both their honour and the duties of their stations made such a course obligatory upon them.

Causes easy to be comprehended render the South American States peculiarly adapted to receive the influx of European industry and capital, and to become, like those of North America, people and enriched by European immigration; whilst they are already most extensive markets for giving an outlet to the productions of ultramarine industry, and to furnish to foreign manufactories the raw materials which they consume. Hence the immense difference, in their nature, between the political and diplomatic relations of the European States with each other, and those of the same States with what was lately Spanish America. Immigration and commerce form the fundamental bases of the latter, nor can there be any discussion with us of those questions regarding balance of power, political influence, commercial or manufacturing competition, and rivalry in colonial products, which form the subjects of the former.

But immigration and commerce naturally bring in their train the accumulation of large numbers of persons and values of capitals, belonging to foreign countries, the preservation and advancement of which demand, as a primary and necessary condition, public peace, inviolable security to persons and property, and a rational liberty to labour and commerce. Europe has a right to demand these conditions from the American Governments, but it is also her duty to protect amongst these new States, by the weight of her civilizing influence, the Governments which shew themselves to be interested in promoting the civilization and improvement of these countries. This, and not threatenings or force ill applied, is the only just, moral and certainly efficacious means, of protecting the population which they send to America.

And, newthertheless, the very reverse is what has been done hitherto. The European Governments have exacted from those of our American States that they shall observe, towards foreigners, the conditions of peace and respect for property and per-

son; whilst, at the same time, they have maintained with all their influence and power Governments whose system is habitual warfare, the breach by the armed hand of all recognized rights and of every principle of civilization, the unbridled will of an individual, instead of the established authority of the law; and which proclaim, as *the American system*, hatred to foreigners, and the pretension to bring them under the same discretionary rule to which they subject their native inhabitants. (1)

And whom shall we blame for such monstrous aberrations in the Policy and in the conduct of the European Cabinets? Whom, but their representatives in these remote countries? Is it to be believed that Rosas and his system would have obtained, for so long a time, the support, the respect, even *the toleration*, of the first Governments of Europe, if the voice of their Agents in Buenos Ayres had confirmed officially the horrible truths, which all, but they, proclaimed? Can it be credited that Governments whose subjects flock in numbers to these regions, whose commerce demands an incessant consumption and rich

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(1) *This trick of the American system has found acceptation in no point of America, except in the Empire of Brazil. Yet, that country is precisely the one where it ought to have found it least; because, of all the American States, Brazil is the only one which has connections with Europe founded in family relationship and political system; and it is the one which possesses, the most firmly established, constitutional and free government, founded upon the principle of legal order; a principle the most diametrically opposed to that of the extraordinary powers without which Rosas declared officially that he could not govern. A thousand times it has been asked in Brazil,—by the press and in the Tribune,—what is this American system which Rosas proclaims? Of what does it consist? What are the elements that constitute it? To what object is it directed? No one has ever answered a single one of these questions; all repeat the words, without perceiving that they have no meaning; that it is a current lie. The American system of Rosas is declared in the orations of his deputies, made when they were occupied with the Anglo-French Mediation;—Hatred of the European solely because he is not an American; the instinct of the savage to hunt down the civilized man.*

*And Brazil commits a greater mistake than any other power in extending its sympathies to Rosas. Interests of the moment,—even these but ill understood—blind it to the future, cause it to disacknowledge engagements which it stipulated to perform, and make it separate itself from its natural allies. But short will be his life who does not live to see the Empire awakened from its illusion.*

markets, would have tolerated in silence a system which closes against them one of their most advantageous markets, if their Agents had told them, "Proscription and the scaffold (1) have decimated what was formerly the consuming population in Buenos Ayres; confiscations have impoverished that part of it which has not emigrated: the mad expences of an unjustifiable civil war, and of two foreign wars, intentionally provoked by Rosas, have annihilated the value of the circulating medium; the *internal* debt, which in 1827 did not amount to 13½ millions dollars, had risen, ten years afterwards, to very nearly 36 millions: (2) war occupies all the hands which formerly prepared, collected, conveyed, and delivered to the European the produce of the country; the foreigner lives as much without the protection of his standing as the native, for no law can give protection where the will of him who governs is officially declared to be the only law: this system."—(pay attention, for this point is worthy of it)—"has now lasted fourteen years!; every day it is proclaimed that *now* its fruits of peace and order are about to be reaped; and every day its termination is further and further off, because each fresh act of violence, each confiscation, each butchery, augments the hatred against it, and the thirst for vengeance. Put an end to this system, you who have the power to do so!"

Oh! it is beyond a doubt. The European Cabinets would long ago have stopped this unbridled torrent of barbarism, if their representatives had spoken to them in such language as this! We have a clear proof of this truth, in the determination, lately and tardily adopted by England and France, to make a point of terminating this war of extermination and shame. The enormities of the system have attained to such an excess that they cannot now be concealed in any part of the civilized world; individual interests, mortally wounded, have found an echo in all the markets, in all the producing and manufacturing centres, and the Cabinets have seen, at last, that that which their Agents represented to them as the lies of party hatred, is *truth*. For this reason they at length decided to put an end to this strife.

And what was, even then, the conduct of the Agents who in Buenos Ayres represent those two Cabinets? In order to

(1) *I beg to correct the author. Rosas does not stand upon the ceremony of a scaffold.—Translator's note.*

(2) *See Sir W. Parish pp. 384 a 386. The public funds which represent the consolidated internal debt, amounted to 13,360,000 dollars in September 1827; and at the beginning of 1837 they amounted to 35,917,166 dollars. In crease in ten years: 22,557,160 dollars.*

judge of it, let us but regard their own official deeds; it is these that speak; they dare not tell us that we are departing from the truth.

They offer to Rosas the conjoint mediation of the two first Powers of Europe. He had a right to decline acceptance of it; and he might have done so without offence, with decency and decorum. But that would have been to imitate civilized governments; it was necessary not to belie the barbarism of his system, and Rosas rejected the mediation by means of the note of the 18th October 1842; the only document in the annals of diplomacy conceived in that style of indecent phrensy in which Rosas speaks to the *coriphei* of his *Mar-horca club*; a document, in which one of the Governments to which the mediation is offered, and which the mediators recognize as constitutional, legal and friendly, is treated by the other with all the abuse and filthy epithets which compose the dictionary of the rabble of Buenos Ayres; a document, which any diplomatist, out of self respect, was bound to reject as a gross insult: and which, nevertheless, was admitted without any observation, and afterwards officially published by Rosas, as a monument of his most insolent effrontery, and of the most humble endurance on the part of the Diplomats who admitted it.

This insult was too little; Rosas chose that his repulsion of the mediation should be accompanied also with contempt and menace, this was still more in conformity with his system. He passed his correspondence with the mediators to the assemblage of abandoned men whom he calls Representatives of the Province, who, as a thing of course approved, his conduct and decreed him a *vote of thanks*.

Whilst these Representatives were vomiting forth abuse and menace against foreigners, in orations which Rosas took care to publish officially, the populace of Buenos Ayres, headed by the Police, and with the military music of the troops of the line, paraded the streets of Buenos Ayres, uttering cries of "Death to foreigners, and to the friends of Rivera," threatenning the former, and passing intentionally by the doors of the Mediating Ministers. (1)

That it was Rosas who ordered and directed these insults, these threats—the common formula of Governments of Terrorism and Crime—was a fact evident to all men; nay the Mediat.

(1) *All these facts are proved by the notes of Messrs Mandeville and De-Lurde, of the 18th November 1842, published officially in the Gaceta Mercantil of 15th December. In it are to be found also all the documents belonging to this disgraceful negotiation.*

ing Plenipotentiaries themselves acknowledged and declared that they considered this to be the case. Mr. Mandeville, in the complaint which he made in his note of the 18th November, said, that the assemblies of people which perpetrated these acts, *went accompanied by civil and military employés*; that, "if these acts had proceeded only from the populace of the city, he would not have troubled the Government about the matter; *but they were permitted in the presence of servants of the Government*, whose duty is to restrain and repress these popular demonstrations of *ferocious vengeance against innocent foreigners*." The same ideas in other words were expressed by the Count De-Lurde in his note of the same date.

It was not less notorious that these threats and insolence were directed especially against the Mediating Ministers. This was clear from the fact that the Police directed the populace to pass by the Houses of the Legations; and this the Ministers themselves acknowledged. Mr. Mandeville said in his note: "There were vociferated cries of death to foreigners and to the friends of Rivera, *in which class the Mediating Powers, as friends to both Parties, must be included.*"

It was therefore clear to demonstration, recognized officially, that the spontaneous kindness, always honourable and human, with which England and France had offered their mediation to stem the torrent of blood which is suffocating these miserable nations, was received by Rosas as an act of hostility, and answered by gross insults and haughty threats, against the ministers charged with this mediation and the subjects of the nations which offered it. What more eloquent revelation could we seek for, of what the system of Rosas is? What more justifying circumstance for putting a restraint upon this insolent ringleader, and teaching him how he must treat with civilized men and nations?

But no; the English and French Agents contented themselves with laying a petition at the feet of the minister of Rosas, praying that these unworthy scenes should not be repeated; and even in this they were careful to express their confidence in *the high position and integrity of Rosas* and in *the frank and benevolent explanations which they had received from him* on other occasions. In Monte Video, where the liberty of the pen is a constitutional truth, one of these same Agents had formerly complained of articles published in the "National" against French policy, and the Government had the culpable complaisance to withdraw from the newspaper its protection and support, by a public decree. In Buenos Ayres, where no one dares to make a single movement without the permission of the Dictator, civil and military employés head the dregs of the populace, and march out for the purpose of insulting and threat-

ening, at the very doors of their houses, the Plenipotentiaries of France and England, and not a single remonstrance against these employés, not a single request that their crime should be chastised, not a demand of satisfaction, *even verbal*, appears to have been made by these high personages, the custodiers in the River Plate, of the honour of two great nations!

More than this; they *officially* acknowledge that the insults to the friends of Rivera were insults to themselves, who, as Mediators, were friends of that magistrate; and they receive, notwithstanding, the indecent note of the 18th of October, in which Rivera and *his friends* are spoken of, by Rosas, in language suitable only for the brawls of an ale-house!!

Shortly after came the disastrous battle of the Arroyo Grande; the risk which Monte Video ran was evident; the official duty of the two Agents was stronger than their sympathies,<sup>(1)</sup> and they passed the famous note of the 16th of December, announcing to Rosas that the French and English Governments wished the war to be terminated, and demanding from him an *immediate* cessation of hostilities, and that his troops should not go beyond their own territory. To both requisitions Rosas answered, by passing the Uruguay, and attacking Monte Video. The authors of that note kept silence, and far from opposing since then, the slightest obstacle to the operations of the Dictator, they took care, very particularly, if not openly, not to thwart them in the least, under the pretext of a neutrality impracticable, indecorous and manifestly contrary to the intimation of the 16th of December.

It was in these circumstances that there appeared in the River Plate the only Public Agent, who has, up to this time, presented an honourable exception to the conduct which we censure in the others. Commodore Purvis, without any call from Mr. Mandeville,—for the latter did not even give him official notice of his note of the 16th of December, which might have rendered necessary the employment of force,—understood that in the River Plate there were British interests to protect, British honour to maintain, demands of civilization and of humanity to fulfil, and bent his course spontaneously from Rio de Janeiro to Monte Video.

Commodore Purvis was completely a stranger to the quarrel, and to all the events of the River Plate. Residing habi-

(1) *We would not willingly fail in Christian charity even towards Mr. Mandeville. All the circumstances of the case, however, go to indicate that he acted, on this occasion, only in obedience to express orders, which he durst not disobey.*

Translator's note.



tually in Rio Janeiro, where it is at present the fashion to praise Rosas, if it may be supposed that he was at all biassed, it must have been in favour of the Government which he heard eulogized. But he arrives at Monte Video, he sees things himself, he examines them with cool impartiality, and his reason, his conscience, his feelings and his honour,—all unite to condemn the system of a tyrant who, in his judgement, threatens to annihilate for ever, in this vast and exceedingly rich Region of the River Plate, all the elements of order, of tranquillity and of riches, sufficient to attract to it foreigners from all parts of the world.

With no other guide but the truth, an upright judgment and a sound heart, Commodore Purvis easily comprehended the tendency of the system of Rosas, he comprehended *the motive* and *the object* for which the Government of his Queen resolved to put an end to this strife; but he did not comprehend, and we believe he never will comprehend, the *Diplomatic Logic* of the authors of the note of the 16th of December, who, after having declared in it that England and France had resolved not to be neutral, pretend that they must observe a strict neutrality.

In the view of such a manifest contradiction, Commodore Purvis took the common sense plan of ruling his conduct by *the official Notes* rather than by *the private hints* of the Minister of the Queen in Buenos Ayres. The latter merely expressed the ideas of *the individual*, whilst the former manifested the resolutions of *the British Government*.

Taking as his starting point *the official note of the 16th of December*, Commodore Purvis announced on the 17th February to General Brown, Commander of the flotilla of Buenos Ayres, that, as a British subject, he must abstain from taking part in this war, because his doing so was contrary to an act of British Parliament.

This step was nothing more than a *natural* consequence of the official Note of the 16th December; nevertheless, if we are at liberty to found a belief upon data of much weight, the Minister of the Queen in Buenos Ayres looked upon that step with indignation and offence; and the "British Packet," the organ and defender of the Minister, as well as the "Gaceta Mercantil," censured it in unmeasured and most bitter terms.

All the arguments, however, by which the *English periodical of Rosas* attempts to prove that the Commodore made a wrong application of the act of Parliament, and gave it a retroactive effect, fall to the ground upon a simple reading of the first words of the British Commander's note to Brown, and upon the application of a single reflection to them. The Minister of the Queen,—her only accredited Agent in Buenos Ayres,—had just declared *officially* that the will of his Sovereign was that the war should cease and that Rosas should commit no

further hostilities. The Commodore immediately said,—Since such is the *manifested* will and interest of the Queen, every English subject who takes part in this war, acts contrary to the will and the interest of his Sovereign,—and he intimated to Brown, an English subject, that he should not take a part in it, mentioning, expressly and clearly, that the motive of his prohibition was the declaration of the Queen through Her Minister. This was the tenor, this was the only meaning of the Commodore's note, and in order to deny its correct application of the English law, it is necessary to deny the existence of the declaration of the will of the Queen, made on the 16th December; and this, unhappily for the "British Packet" and its patrons, cannot be denied.

Neither Guise, nor Cochrane, nor any of the English Naval Commanders, mentioned in the periodical of Rosas, nor General Brown himself, ever were in the situation in which the latter *now is*; none of them ever served *against the interests of the British Government, officially manifested*: to none of them, consequently, had the act of Parliament any application.

And we would here ask—not of the "British Packet" because its editor has abdicated in favour of Rosas his faculty of thinking and answering—we would ask of General Brown himself: If tomorrow orders should arrive from England for carrying into effect its armed intervention in the question of the River Plate; and open hostilities should break out between the Argentine and English flags, would General Brown serve under the former against the latter? If—what, frankly speaking, to the honor of the old sailor, we do not believe—if he should so serve, would not any English Commander in Chief be justified in treating him as a pirate? We do not doubt that Brown himself would answer us, that he would never serve against the country of his birth, and that he would become liable to the almost penalties, if he did so.—The "Gaceta" itself acknowledges the same by implication.

Well then; hostilities have not broken out and therefore Commodore Purvis has not proceeded *to acts* against General Brown; but the will and the interest of English Government, that this war should terminate, are declared, and therefore the Commodore has notified Brown of the provisions of the English law, in order that he may not serve against the desires and interests of his Sovereign.

If there be an *error* in this step of the Commodore—for nothing more can possibly be imputed to him—the basis of the error is the official note of the 16th of December.

The Commodore also declared, as the "British Packet" and the "Gaceta Mercantil" affirm, that he would not permit hostilities from the squadron of Brown against the city of Mon-

tevideo, because the latter contains an immense amount of English property, and many English subjects, to whom he owes protection, and these would suffer considerably from those hostilities, and both periodicals style this *a breach of neutrality*.

In the first place, a month before Commodore Purvis arrived in the River Plate that intimation had been made to Brown by the French and English Commanders on the station, by order of the Ministers in Buenos Ayres. The whole population of Montevideo remembers well that, when the notice of the intimation of the 16th of December arrived here, that prohibition was made known to Brown, and he answered that for the present he did not come to commit hostilities against the town. It was not, therefore, Commodore Purvis who first established that prohibition. It existed when he arrived, and it existed *only as a consequence of the official note of the 16th of December*; why then view it now as a novelty introduced by the British Naval Commander? Is this acting with good faith?

In the second place, the flotilla of Buenos Ayres is commanded by an Englishman; many of the captains of the vessels are Englishmen; Englishmen form the greater part of its effective crews, and therefore, on this ground alone, the Commander of the English forces was under the obligation, towards his own Government, of preventing a flotilla composed of such materials from committing hostilities which would deeply endanger English lives and properties.

In the third place, those who bring this charge of violation of neutrality forget that the Minister of England had *officially* declared on the 16th of December, that his government did not mean to remain neutral; that it was determined to put an end to the strife, and that it demanded the *immediate* cessation of hostilities. This *Official note* was the only legitimate and secure basis for the conduct of the Commodore; and in conformity with it, it is evident that he did not break a neutrality which the Minister had declared his Government did not mean to observe: and that he hindered one part of the hostilities which the Minister demanded should cease. This conduct, in the eyes of every really impartial man, is in conformity with truth and with the logic of rectitude and of a sound judgement, although it may not be accordant with the artificial *logic of Diplomats*.

The repulse of the partial blockade attempted by Rosas, is another of the acts which the partizans of the Dictator censure in the Commodore, and one of the most justifiable of that Commander. We pass over at present—because we are not thoroughly acquainted with them—the other reasons upon which he founded his opposition to that useless hostility; and we fix our attention again upon that primary one of all, which admits of no tergiversation; on the official note of the 16th December.

What! was the Commander in Chief of the English forces, after seeing that official intimation, to consent that a squadron officered and manned, for the most part, by Englishmen, should cut off the provisions from a place, where hundreds of Englishmen have their residence and their business? And could he consent to it, when it was *an evident fact* that such hostility, limited to the prohibition of *fresh* provisions, did not in the least weaken the military force of a place abundantly supplied with every other kind of provisions?

We cannot quit this subject of the blockade, without bringing to judgment, before the opinion of all who may read this pamphlet, the conduct of the English and French Ministers in Buenos Ayres; and we trust that they will be condemned with more reason than the British Commodore.

Rosas had prohibited on the 9th of March the introduction of fresh provisions into Monte Video, and committed the fulfilment of this order to the Commander of his naval forces. The English and French Plenipotentiaries then presented a *memorandum* to Rosas, proposing to him that that prohibition should not be applied to merchant vessels coming from beyond seas, "on condition that the Consuls and Commanders on the Station in Monte Video should employ all the means that might be in their power to hinder the merchant vessels of their respective nations from occupying themselves in the coasting traffic of bringing provisions and arms to this place."

This extraordinary novelty, hitherto unknown in the Law of Nations, would not be credited, were it not to be seen set down in the official note of the Minister of Rosas to the Commander in Chief of his naval forces, under date of the 29th of March, in which he expressly quotes the memorandum of the Plenipotentiaries.

These Gentlemen, who preach up a strict neutrality, propose to Rosas that his blockade, or prohibition of provisions, shall not be effected by the Squadron of Buenos Ayres, which is expressly forbidden to hinder the entrance of the merchant vessels who might bring provisions; but by the neutral Consuls and Commanders on the Station, to whom is entrusted the care of preventing, by all the means in their power, the introduction, in the vessels of their respective countries, of the articles prohibited by Rosas!!

The Plenipotentiaries of England and France have invented this new system of blockade, expressly in favour of Rosas, who insults them with scorn, and who rejects with contempt the demands of their Governments. They free the Buenos-Ayrean squadron from the trouble and care of stopping provisions, they take from the Government of Monte Video the means of protecting the expeditions destined to break the bloc-

kade ; because, if the trade in provisions is put a stop to by the neutrals, it is clear that the Government could not use against these the hostile measures which it would against the forces of Rosas, in order to protect those who might endeavour to escape their vigilance. Such was the conduct of the Ministers who signed the note of the 16th of December, of those who proclaim neutrality.

The memorandum is founded on the desire of avoiding to neutrals the inconveniences of a visit from a blockader. But if the blockade were legal, the neutrals ought to submit to all its inconvenience: if it were not, the Plenipotentiaries were *obliged* to reject it entirely. But to recognize the blockade, and to procure its being enforced by neutrals, under pretence of avoiding its inconveniences to them, was an act of hostility on the part of the Ministers, against the Government of Monte Video, a thousand times more unjustifiable than that which it is alleged has been committed against Rosas by Commodore Purvis, in not allowing the hostile measure to be carried into effect.

Rosas is incapable of telling the truth, neither when he speaks nor *when he is silent* ; it is the basis of his system. Thus the "Gaceta" and the "British Packet," which have filled so many columns with censure of the acts of Commodore Purvis, have taken especial care not to mention, for any thing at all, the note of the Minister Mandeville, of the 16th December. That official document is the starting point, the basis of the defence, the justification of the conduct of the British Commander: to consider this conduct independently of that note, is to accuse the effect and to conceal the cause; it is to proceed with falsehood ; to endeavour to deceive, not to convince. But these two journalists, and Rosas, whose submissive organs they are, deceive themselves most miserably, when they conceive all the world to be so blind as not to observe the cheat. It may be that Mr. Mandeville is now sorry for having established in this question the very important precedent of the 16th December ; but he did establish it, *referring expressly to the orders of his Government* : so let him adopt its natural consequences, and take the responsibility which belongs to him alone.

But the conduct of Commodore Purvis very soon appeared justified by a fact which certainly will not be without its results, and in which the civilized Governments of the whole world will have a new proof of that ferocious system, which there still are some who have the impudence to defend publicly. We speak of *the Circular* of the 1st. of April, which we shall now consider only in relation to the Public Agents and to the British Commodore. Oribe, claiming with puerile silliness the title of *Legal President of this Republic*, declares to these functionaries that he will

not recognize the character of foreigner in those subjects of other nations who may have used their influence in favour of the Montevidean Government, or taken part with it; and announces to them, in that ribald language of blood which characterizes the documents of Rosas, that he will treat those foreigners as enemies in their persons and in their properties. The consonance of this ferocious threat with the exterminating conduct of the forces which Oribe commands, the tone of the document, the indefinite nature of the crime which it threatens to punish, the arbitrariness of the classification of the supposed delinquents, and the horrible penalty attached to them, raised against the abominable document the unanimous deprecation of all classes of the population of Montevideo. He who denies this, knowingly denies an acknowledged truth. The very friends of Oribe set down the circular as a piece of stupid imprudence, and the Minister Mr. Mandeville called it an "unwarrantable document."

This imposed some *duty* upon the Public Agents to whom it was directed. We do not pretend to say that all of them were bound to regard it (as every where beyond this confined sphere, it will be regarded) as the delirious raving of the sanguinary fever of a tyrant: but we do pretend that it was a duty incumbent upon Public Agents, who by the fact of their being accredited to the Government of Montevideo, recognize its legitimacy, and whose Sovereigns have celebrated treaties with it, not to consent, in silence, to receive from a private individual a communication officially denouncing this same Government, near which they reside, as *infamous, rebel, and savage*. They were called upon, *as the least they could do*, to manifest in some public manner, that they did not acquiesce in such a proceeding; for, from the moment the Government became aware that such a communication, *from its enemy*, had been received by the Agents who reside near it, it had a right to be informed as to how they regarded it. Amongst these the French Consul had a special duty ; because Oribe addressed him, claiming a character which the French Government had *officially* declared, through the organ of the Count De Lurde, that it could not recognize in Oribe.

But neither the French Consul, nor any other foreign Agent, with the exception of the English, opposed the slightest obstacle to the Circular; all were dumb before the frantic menace; all tacitly sanctioned the unprecedented pretension.

Only the Acting Consul General of Great Britain, and the Commodore who commands its forces in this River, felt all the injustice, all the violence of the outrage, all the crime

against humanity, which the circular involves; they alone comprehended that the honour of their posts, the security of their fellow countrymen, the explicit declaration of their own Government, and the respect due to that of the Republic, all concurred to impose upon them the duty of branding with the stamp of their indignant reprobation that act of presumption and of blood; and of exacting positively its public retraction.

They did so; and it has been here, and will be still more throughout all the civilized world, a mark of honour for these two functionaries, worthy to represent a free people. The conduct of Commodore Purvis, on the occasion of the circular of Oribe, is the point which more directly connects him with the principal object of this little work; because it forms a contrast, unique, and most honourable, with that which, for twelve years back, has been observed by the foreign Agents in regard to the system of Rosas.

The British Sailor, called upon to oppose the daring pretension contained in the circular, is the first who openly, in the presence of Rosas, of his Lieutenant and of his forces, has officially and under his signature, qualified the system of that tyrant as the interest of the human species demands that it should be qualified. He is the first who has had the firmness to declare before the world a truth which all the other Public Agents have felt the same as he, but which none had dared solemnly to declare.

Yes; no man of honour but must feel that *the violence* displayed in the circular of Oribe, *the cruelty* of the threat which it contains, and *the language* in which it is couched, "would disgrace even the petty States of Barbary;" none can be ignorant that, *the extreme penalties* which it fulminates, and *the undefinable nature* of the offence to which it applies them, "are unfounded on any principle of justice, or rights of a lawful belligerent;" and all feel that that rage for confiscation and murder is "corroborative of the spirit of atrocity and cruelty in which this war has been carried on, and which has drawn upon it the reproaches of the whole world." All are aware of it, they feel it; but all have abandoned to Commodore Purvis alone the energy and the honour of declaring this truth; and Commodore Purvis has accepted with pride the high position which all have ceded to him.

The parasites of Rosas have felt the death blow which this lofty declaration of the truth gives to their system of falsehood and crime, and they have burst out against it in the "Gaceta" and the "British Packet."

They pretend that Commodore Purvis was not competent to judge of the character which Oribe attributes to himself of *Legal President*; and this charge proves nothing but

the want of discretion and good faith in the advocates of Rosas. The Minister of the Queen in Buenos Ayres had expressly declared to the Dictator that England did not recognize the pretension of Oribe to the Governorship of the Republic; that same Minister had just celebrated a treaty with the Oriental Government, which was ratified by General Rivera in person, in his character of President of the Republic; and after these acts, how is it possible to deny to Commodore Purvis the right of rejecting in Oribe a character which his Sovereign rejects in him? Or could he recognize two Presidents of the Republic? Above all, that Oribe is a *Pretender* supported by the arms of foreigners, is not an opinion; it is a *fact*; and no one is incompetent to judge of facts. The writers of Rosas add that the Commodore, *with a little reflection*, would have abstained from casting in Oribe's face the atrocity with which he carries on the war, because the events on the other side of the Indus are still recent, and will serve to return his argument. The Englishmen here, as well as in their own country, and the Government of England, will know how to appreciate the character of an Englishman who can print such an argument in the English language; the task, fortunately, does not belong to us; but it is our part to remark, that the argument of the "British Packet" amounts to a positive confession of the atrocities of which Rosas and his subalterns are accused, and that the crimes which might have been committed in the Afghanistan will never excuse the crimes which are committed here, nor seal up the lips of a man of honour from denouncing them.

As for the rest, let the "Gaceta" and the "British Packet" save themselves the trouble of defending the horrible system of their Patron; we have here Oribe, at the gates of Monte Video, charged to give the lie by his actions to all who may endeavour to defend him with words. It is scarce a fortnight yet since his troops took eight prisoners, belonging to the Corps of French volunteers, who were *beheaded* in the act, their butchers carrying off the heads: and this very week the same scene was acted over again with other prisoners. This takes place under the eyes of thousands of foreigners dwelling in Monte-Video who see the *mutilated trunks of the prisoners that Oribe takes*: what argument of the "Gaceta" or of the "British Packet" will prove that this is a lie?

The "Gaceta," in order to condemn Commodore Purvis, has written an immense article, the undigested and ridiculous production of some of those moth eaten men of letters, whose whole science is confined to turning over volumes, without reading more than the paragraphs which they pilfer. We have, heaped up in it even to nausea, the doctrines which every novice knows, in order to prove what is neutrality and what the

rights of belligerents according to the Law of Nations. We shall not do such a silly thing as to answer it; but we will submit to the judgment of men of sense a general observation, which comes apropos to our subject.

Rosas invokes to his support the principles of the Law of Nations; he wishes neutral Nations to allow him the full liberty of action which belongs to a belligerent, whilst he recognizes no principle, and admits no right, as a restraint upon his conduct. He destroys the countries in which he makes war, he cuts the throats of the prisoners that he takes, even those to whom he promises life in formal capitulations; and he proclaims in all his documents, the extermination of his enemies. We would here ask; can the belligerent who acts in this manner, who places himself beyond the pale of the Laws of Nations, can he invoke in his favour the rules and principles which give support only to those who in their turn observe them? No, never! and now that public writers have been quoted, we will observe in our turn, that all who bear this name raise their voice energetically against those tyrants,—scourges of humanity—who govern as Rosas governs; that all declare them beyond the protection of the right of Nations, and all authorize the extermination, *by any means*, of such enemies of the human race.

This is the position in which Rosas stands with respect to the Law of Nations; and he and his accomplices, before invoking in their favour the principles of that universal law, must prove that they are not guilty of the enormous crimes which deprive them of its protection.

To return to the Circular of Oribe. The British Commodore, obliged to protect against it the subjects of his nation, who claimed protection from him, demanded peremptorily that it should be withdrawn, and that he should guarantee English life and property. Oribe is a disciple of Rosas; he is a follower of his system; he is haughty and ferocious only against the weak, he sheds the blood only of those who do not defend themselves; but, when he encounters energy and firmness, he humbly bows his head and puts on the appearance of yielding, until he has it in his power to take his revenge. He submissively withdrew his circular, and promised to treat British persons and property *according to the law of Nations*. We do not know in what light Commodore Purvis has looked upon this last answer of Oribe; but the "British Packet" and especially the "Gaceta" of Buenos Ayres, have taken upon themselves the task of shewing that Rosas, upon whom Oribe depends, far from holding the circular as withdrawn, maintains that the British

subjects resident in Montevideo have *already* fallen under the penalties which it fulminates.

In any way, the fact is that Oribe neither has given, nor can give a guarantee, neither to Commodore Purvis nor to any other person, whether as a private individual or in his public character. *His deeds* are a demonstration of this truth.

Oribe, when he really had the character of President of the Republic, renounced that dignity in the presence of the General Assembly, through his note of 23d October 1838. The ground which he assigned for this act was "his conviction that his remaining in power *was the only obstacle* in the way of restoring to the Republic the tranquillity which it so much needed." He added that he acted thus, because it was demanded by "the peace of the country, and from the consideration that the giving up of personal interests is a sacrifice due to the general good."

After such a solemn declaration, made upon his honour, and under his signature, we see this same man demanding, with arms in his hands, the power which he renounced; and so far from thinking that this is *an obstacle in the way of the tranquillity which the Republic needs*, so far from *giving up the personal interests of his ambition as a sacrifice to the general good*, he leads into his native country foreign armies, he devastates its fields and destroys a whole city, which he did not even know, for it has been raised since he left the country.

Now then; the man who in this manner belies what he affirmed under his signature in presence of the representatives of the nation, does he deserve to be believed when he says in a note addressed to a foreign Commander, that he will respect British lives and properties?

Even this is little. It was Oribe who commanded the army which, by order of Rosas, levelled with the ground the Argentine Provinces. Under his orders Don Angel Pacheco acted, and he sent him to subdue the Province of Cuyo.

Pacheco had an action with Colonel Acha, who not being able to hold out, capitulated, *stipulating expressly for a guarantee for his own life and that of his soldiers*. This is proved by the official notice of the officer who received Acha's surrender.

Well then: this Pacheco, the same who is now here in front of Monte Video under the orders of Oribe, and who was so then also, kept Acha in his power, after his capitulation, more than thirty days, at the end of which he ordered his decapitation and communicated officially to Rosas this frightful crime!!

Well then, we say again; will they who coolly cut off the head of a man who had surrendered, under the guarantee of

his life, after keeping him a prisoner for a month, respect a simple and *ambiguous* promise, to treat foreigners, against whom they entertain a *declared* hatred, in accordance with the Laws of Nations? Woe to him who shall lay himself down to repose in the security of this! Thirteen years ago, Rosas, as a commentary upon the treaty which he made with General Lavalle, and which he afterwards violated in every article, proclaimed this maxim: "Men do not make treaties with tigers; they set traps for them, and when they fall into them, they kill them!" And the author of this doctrine invokes in the "Gaceta" the Laws of Nations! We call the promise of Oribe ambiguous, and every one must see that it contains an evident quirk; he only obliges himself to treat British subjects *according to the Laws of Nations*. But Oribe understands that the Laws of Nations authorize him to decapitate his prisoners, he has just done so to eight of those very foreigners, and two days after signing that guarantee. The "Gaceta Mercantil," the direct organ of Rosas, treating of this very subject, has just affirmed with the greatest coolness, that the Laws of Nations authorize even a war of extermination, (1) and Oribe, according to this doctrine, will confiscate British property, and put to death those who he may deem guilty, maintaining that this is *in accordance with the Laws of Nations*. If the reader does not believe this, let him ask Oribe, Rosas, the "Gaceta" or the "British Packet" if they think they offend against the Laws of Nations when they cut the throats of their prisoners, and they will coolly answer "No!" But why insist longer upon this demonstration? The "Gaceta" and the "British Packet" sustain as legitimate, and even as a *protection* to foreigners, the Circular of Oribe, and pretend that Commodore Purvis has abused his power in reclaiming against it; Oribe depends upon Rosas; and Rosas, after the former had given his promise and withdrawn his Circular, persists in maintaining the doctrine and the threats of that document. Where then is the guarantee?

We repeat we do not know in what light Commodore Purvis will look upon this subject, but we ardently desire—we even venture to hope—that he will understand thoroughly the captious cheat contained in Oribe's answer, and that this incident will serve to procure a benefit which humanity loudly demands. We shall explain ourselves. Commodore Purvis is the first who, to Rosas' face, has characterised as it deserves the horrible system of that tyrant. He is also the first who has—as we are give to understand—used his endeavours for the good of humanity, towards the regulation of this war of extermina-

(1) See the *Gaceta Mercantil* of 3rd May current.

tion and scandal, until the moment shall arrive for bringing it to a close.

Foreign Agents have also this other charge against them. In Greece, in Spain, in whatever part the unbridled fury of petty tyrants without religion and without law has remorselessly poured forth the blood of surrendered enemies, and declared as its only laws of war, those of the black flag and indiscriminate massacre, the European Cabinets have interfered to restrain that fury. In many cases they have not gone so far as to insist that the contest should cease; but they have demanded that it should be regulated, that the world should not be horrified, nor offence given to Him who from on high directs it, by horrible and useless butcheries; that the dagger of the assassin should not shed the blood which Providence has preserved from the steel of the combatant; that the war, in short, should be subjected to those principles and rights which mitigate its necessary ravages. Such an interference has been frequent, and is always humane, noble, and necessary.

But amongst us, in this unhappy region of the River Plate, the will of one single man strikes off heads by the hundred, makes a war in which cities and the dwellers in them are exterminated, shoots in a single morning in the centre of the Capital, Buenos Ayres, seventy two Pampas Indians, of those to whom he himself gave arms, shoots in one day, in his camp, more than twenty of the principal inhabitants of Cordova, whom Oribe sent to him from that province, amongst these three ancient and respectable priests, cuts the throats of his prisoners on the field of battle, publishes amongst the expences of the National Treasury sums of money paid to those who cut off the heads of such and such a one (1); and the foreign Agents see this, yet they make not a movement to intercede for the benefit of humanity, they do not demand of him to regulate the war,—to preserve his character of belligerent, but to lay aside that of public murderer.

Not a step have the foreign Agents taken as yet in this way; all appear to have abandoned to the noble British Sailor the honour of promoting this work of humanity an christianity also. We hope that he will persevere in it with the

(1) In one of the Nos. of the "Gaceta Mercantil" of the month of October 1840, which we regret we have not at hand, there is a statement of expences, in which there figures an entry that says. "To the Justice of Peace of Quilmes (we believe) to deliver to the two men who cut off the head of the savage 'unitarian Galindez....' This Gaceta was laid before Admiral Mackau who was then going to Buenos Ayres.

firmness and the faith which spring from the consciousness of a duty. Let him not be held back by the frantic clamour of the paid scribblers of Rosas, nor the icy indifference of the Diplomats; the former bully from cowardice, they have no energy save that of fear; and as for the latter, it is of high importance that the world should see who it is that refuses, (if there are any such), after being invited, to assist in the holy object of regulating a war of extermination.

Yes! let Commodore Purvis persevere in his noble endeavour; let him call to his support all who, on both banks of the River Plate, represent civilized Governments; those who follow him will share the honour and the lustre cast by the mere attempt upon all who make it; whilst the whole world will mark with an indelible stamp those who refuse to engage in the holy task.

Rosas will not yield; he will insist that he has a *right* to cut the throats of those who surrender; the "Gaceta," the acknowledged organ of the Dictator, already intimates as much. No matter; it is necessary to show more firmness in insisting upon what is right, than the bad show in insisting upon crime. This very thing will accelerate the fall of that horrible system of blood, this very thing will show with the utmost clearness the culpable toleration with which the Agents who have resided near the Dictator have always looked upon him.

Even now, in the moment we are writing, a fac has just taken place which ought to have called forth already serious remonstrances from those who signed the note of the 16th December, but which appears to have passed without their having even noticed it. We speak of the new insurrection in Corrientes.

Fourteen years has Rosas been trying his system against, as he says, a *handful* of revolters, whom, nevertheless, he has been unable to conquer in all that time. He gains on the 6th of December, a battle which lays at his feet on the 14th, the whole province of Corrientes, the one which had offered the strongest resistance to him. The first use which he makes of his triumph is a resolution of the so styled Representatives of the conquered province, investing their governor with discretionary and arbitrary power, *for the unceasing persecution and absolute annihilation of the unitarians, and for drawing closer the perfect harmony of federal principles and procedure with all the Provinces of the Confederation.* The Governor thus authorized, fulminates, on the 20th of March, a horrible decree of proscription, confiscation and death against the conquered. (1)

(1) Both documents are to be found in the "Gaceta" of 20th April last.

And what has been the result of the continuance of this barbarous system? Ten days after the decree was published, on the 1st of April, began a new insurrection in the province; on the 12th it was already general, and the Governor who issued the decree, and the representatives who gave him his dictatorial power, fled to seek protection from Rosas. This has been the result: a new war which is but beginning, a new necessity for arms, for ruin, for blood, and this *at the end of a fourteen years' trial of the system.* Well then; do not the Agents who signed the note of the 16th December think it is now time to say: *Enough?* Do they not think that this career, thus continued, is an endless one? that the longer it lasts it will be every day the more ferocious? Do they not see that the Rio de la Plata is marching by this road to the same state in which Paraguay now is? Do they not see that nations who receive, as the price of their submission, wholesale confiscations and murders must and will rise a thousand times, although a thousand times they should be re-conquered, and will fight on in desperation without ever coming to an end? Or do they pretend that these nations *ought* to consent submissively to have their throats cut, as the only means of ingratiating themselves with their murderous dictator?

We almost inclined to think that such is the case, when we see the ill-repressed indignation with which the "British Packet", the organ of Mr. Mandeville, blames Commodore Purvis for having prevented Monte Video from being already in the power of Oribe, which, according to the English journalist, and the "Gaceta", would have terminated the war, the very thing that the British Government desires. No, certainly not—for the honour, for the interest of England and of humanity,—this is not the means of terminating the war which the mediating Powers desire: the note of the 16th December gives the lie to the false assertion of the British Packet; the Minister, Mr. Mandeville, said the very reverse of what the paper, which is the organ of the same Minister, now says. So far from the British Government desiring that this war should be terminated by the subjection of Monte Video to the devastating power of Rosas, the Minister of the Queen demanded, on the 16th December, that the troops of the Dictator *should not pass the Argentine frontiers:* that they should not bring to this city of Monte Video, the rich emporium of commerce, the centre of civilization and of wealth, the barbarous system which has annihilated Buenos Ayres. Such was the declared intention of the British Government; an intention which very ill agrees with the termination of the war desired by the British Packet, and perhaps also by its acknowledged patron.

Commodore Purvis, if he had prevented Monte Video from falling into the hands of Oribe and Rosas, would have done no more than to fulfil the plain desires of his Government, and act strictly in accordance with the intimation of the 16th December. In it the English Government said to Rosas, "you shall not invade Monte Video." An English Commander, having in his power the means of preventing the invasion, would, in preventing it, have merely given fulfilment to that official intimation of his Government.

But Commodore Purvis has not done this, and the "British Packet" and the "Gaceta" bring against him, on this point, a charge as false as all the preceding ones. He has not done it, and perhaps Mr Mandeville has to bear the blame that the force which the gallant sailor commands has not been applied here in the way in which the intimation of the month of December demanded that it should be applied.

We speak at present merely to the fact. Oribe has not taken the city of Monte Video because he could not and cannot take it; because he has too few means for carrying through the enterprise, and too much cowardice to attempt it. Before Commodore Purvis arrived in the River Plate, the trenches were dug and the wall raised which engirdle Monte Video; there were mounted on it many of the guns which now defend it, and the day that Oribe appeared on the Cerrito, there were drawn up on that line of fortifications *six thousand infantry*. From that day to this, Oribe has never made the *slightest attempt upon the city*: we defy any one to say when he has made *so much as a demonstration, even to reconnoitre*, not to speak of attacking our line. If he has not done even this, how do they presume to affirm that he has not taken the town because of Commodore Purvis! Or what *assistance* has this Commander given to those who defend it! He is of too frank and open a character to have given it secretly; had he seen proper to give it, he would have done so in the light of day and with the same frank energy, with which he stamped his brand upon the black Circular of Oribe.

It is that General who, by his cowardice and incapacity, has allowed the place to be fortified; it is his want of skill and resolution which have given time to General Rivera to organize before his eyes, forces of cavalry superior to his own, and which hold him now closely hemmed in; it is these which have given opportunity for the display, within the town, of that prodigious activity which has raised fortifications for the occasion, formed corps of troops of the line, and organised a numerous militia; which has mounted and placed in battery *more than one hundred and twenty pieces* of artillery, taken from among the posts in the streets; that acti-

vity, in short, which has astounded Oribe, disconcerted Rosas, and broken the power of both.

Commodore Purvis has had nothing to do with all this. It is true—and we acknowledge it with the highest pleasure,—it is true that the measures which he has taken in consequence of Mr. Mandeville's note of the 16th December and in defence of his fellow-countrymen, have operated considerably in favour of the Government; just as Rosas has derived material support from the *memorandums* of Mr. Mandeville, from his conduct since that intimation, from his neglect of the petitions of his fellow-countrymen, and from his incomprehensible disagreement with Commodore Purvis. But the favourable influence of those measures was neither calculated nor intended as an *undue* breach of neutrality; it was an accidental and inevitable consequence of these measures (1). Nay more,—many of them can be imputed to no one but Manuel Oribe himself. What provoked the proceedings of Commodore Purvis on the occasion of the circular of the 1st of April? What, but that monstrous document, *unwarrantable*, even in the opinion of Mr. Mandeville.

We must bring to a close this little work, already much longer than, when we began it, we had any idea of. We have denounced in it—with the truth which our conscience dictates to us—the conduct of the Foreign Agents with respect to Rosas and his system. As we have rested all we have said upon *facts and official documents*, we hope that it will produce, wherever it may be read, the effect which is always produced by **THE TRUTH**, even upon those who must suffer from it.

This effect, as soon as the truth is known, will be that of causing to be understood throughout the whole world the anti-social, irreligious system, annihilative of every principle of order and prosperity which is personified in John Manuel Rosas; to bring down upon that colossus of crime the reprobation of all upright and truth-loving men, of all civilized and

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(1) *They were serviceable to the Government almost solely by creating confidence in the public mind, especially among the English residents, the principal capitalists of Monte Video. We may observe that, had Commodore Purvis had any undue desire to thwart Oribe, he was not without a most justifiable ground in the very considerable destruction of English property by the latter, both in the neighbourhood of the town and out in the country. If it was the part of H. M.'s Acting Consul General to make the reclamations, it belonged of course to the Commodore to enforce them, and there would have been nothing unfair in his doing so on the instant.—Translator's Note.*



christian Governments; to form against him a league of universal opinion, which shall brand him as a declared enemy of God and the human race, which shall mark him out as a tyrannical usurper of power which is not his, and deprive him of the considerations and the treatment of which only those men and those Governments are worthy who respect the universal law; a league of civilization and of humanity which shall rescue the miserable Capital of Buenos Ayres and the desolated Argentine towns, from the bloody sway which is going on biting itself with human heads; and break in the hands of the public murderer the dagger with which he menaces and destroys.

So far as this we hope the power of truth will reach. No party hatred moves our pen; no one can deceive himself so far as to suppose it. Rosas is not the head of a party, he represents no political principle, he does not even take the trouble to mislead people so far as to make them believe that he represents one; his now worn out standard of *Federation* deceives none. We who oppose him are not a party; as little are the rabble hordes who support him; we struggle against him as we would against a universal calamity. We are certain—certain from the conviction of mature reflection—that we shall conquer the soldiery with which Rosas has invaded us; but were the victory already won, and peace re-established between the two Governments, we would still speak as we speak now. For it is not the present aggression which we combat; it is the system, it is the wickedness, the falsehood, the thirst of destruction that constitute it; and against that system we demand that a crusade of civilization and virtue should be raised, which shall annihilate and scatter to the four winds of heaven the very elements of that barbarity and crime.

In demanding this, we do not trust to the force of our words; we trust alone in the lofty power of TRUTH.

THE END.

