

Cup. 405. c. 60.

THE TWO DICTATORS

Rodriguez de
FRANCIA AND ROSAS.

THE SYSTEM OF THE FORMER AS ADOPTED
AND OPENLY SUPPORTED

BY THE

DICTATOR OF BUENOS-AIRES.

MONTE-VIDEO.

1846.



An Article which appeared a few months ago in the Official Gazette of the Government of Buenos-Ayres, in praise of the policy of isolation pursued by the late Dr. Francia, President of the Republic of Paraguay, has called forth some observations on the part of the intelligent Editor of the *Comercio del Plata*, a Monte Videan Journal distinguished for the talent with which it is conducted, and equally so for the moderation of its language.

These observations so entirely coincide with the opinions of all those who have impartially viewed the policy of General Rosas, Governor of the Province of Buenos-Ayres,—who, on the arrival of Mr. Hood, aware of the favourable sentiments of the latter gentleman towards himself, conceived that he could then with impunity eulogize and imitate the system of Government of the late Dictator of Paraguay,—that we cannot but think it a matter of the highest importance to call attention to the subject.

To all, those who wish to form a just idea of the designs of General Rosas against European commercial intercourse with the River Plate, we recommend the perusal of the following translation of the Article in the *Gaceta Mercantil*, reprinted from the *Archivo Americano*, a publication in the Spanish, French, and English languages, conducted under the immediate supervision of the Buenos-Ayrean Government, together with a translation by ourselves of the observations above mentioned of the *Comercio del Plata*.

Monte Video, 26th of December 1846.



Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.



(From the *Comercio del Plata* of the 3rd, 4th, & 5th of August 1846.)

The Dictator of Buenos-Ayres has at last decidedly thrown off the mask. His *Gaceta* of the 23rd of July contains a complete exposition of his political creed, and the revelation of the final object to which his persevering labours of sixteen years have been directed. His designs have only been announced hitherto by his deeds;—deeds which he took care to disavow and deny even whilst he was carrying them into effect: his denials have now come to an end; his words, his publicly declared doctrines, are in perfect harmony with his deeds.

There is no one who has not drawn a comparison between Rosas and Dr. Francia; there is no one who has not looked upon the stupid and brutal tyranny of the latter as the model followed and cherished by the former; there is no one who has not foreseen that Rosas would, if it were in his power, reduce Buenos-Ayres to the same state of isolation and primitive barbarism as that to which Francia reduced Paraguay. Well, this, which was furiously denied by the hired writers of Rosas, now appears solemnly acknowledged in the Article of his Official *Gaceta* which we publish in the present number.

It is known what abuse Rosas has made of the Press in order to mislead opinion, to pervert belief, to accustom the people to the doctrine of irresponsible dictatorship, to excite local prejudices and hatred against Foreigners to their highest pitch. Of all these productions we know of few—perhaps none—more remarkable than this Article for its audacity and its tendencies. The monstrous system of the Dictator of Paraguay, condemned by the irrevocable sentence of history and of universal opinion, as the most stupid and sanguinary tyranny of modern times, is defended by Rosas in his Article with all the energy of a sectarian, and with all the zeal of one fighting to found a doctrine. The bloody executions of the epoch so appropriately called the *reign of terror* Rosas excuses or denies: the gloomy personal policy of Dr. Francia he admires as the work of a rare and profound genius; the purely material life, concentrated within the family circle, to which the Paraguayan despot reduced the whole population, which he first decimated, is described as a *peaceful life, one of prosperity and of happy tranquillity*: the isolation and non communication with the whole world, which has thrown Paraguay a full century behind in the career of civilization, and rendered barren its most fertile sources of wealth, is praised as the state most suitable for that nation, in order to deliver it from anarchy and from the intrusions of Foreigners. In a word, it is sufficient to read that article, to observe its method, and the disposal of its different parts, in order to comprehend at one view the whole design of Rosas in dictating it, viz; to exculpate and defend his own past crimes, while he pretends to speak of those of Francia; to prepare men's minds for excesses yet to come by, making an apology for them in anticipation, under the pretext of eulogizing the policy of his Paraguayan Instructor. Strike out from the arti-

cle of the *Gaceta* the name of Francia, substitute that of Rosas, and it will be seen that all the rest, the whole without exception, exactly corresponds to the dictatorship which now crushes the Argentine people.

Rosas has put his own doctrines into the mouth of Dr. Francia, thus falsely leading to the belief that they were taught by the latter. Francia acted, but he never spoke or wrote. He had of course his motives and his objects, but he never expressed or communicated them to any person whatsoever. It is easy to presume the former and conjecture the latter, judging by his deeds, exactly as is now the case with respect to Rosas; but it is not true that this cunning and false despot has read in any document, or gathered from any tradition, the doctrines which he places in the mouth of Francia. Following up his system, which he has never lost sight of, of saying things while he appears not to say them, he has made an extensive declaration of his doctrine, of his scheme of policy, through the mouth, now sealed in death, of Dr. Francia: every one will understand that it is Rosas who speaks; but the latter will be able to say, if it suits him, that it is not he, but Francia of Paraguay.

Observe with what art he repeats in almost every paragraph of the Article his two favourite ideas; 1.^o that the necessity of repressing anarchy justifies the horrible despotism which he and some ignorant presumptuous persons in Europe call a *strong government*; and 2.^o that it is necessary to withdraw these countries from all foreign influence and communication. It is well known that the pretended fear of anarchy is the pretext which Rosas alleges as an excuse for not divesting himself of the monstrous discretionary power which he holds, and for never fulfilling the promise, a hundred times made by him to the Argentine people, of calling together a general congress. As respects Foreigners,

the principles which he proclaims are entirely in conformity with his deeds. Speaking always through the mouth of Dr. Francia, Rosas declares "his design of isolating himself in order to preserve these countries from the great inconveniences produced by foreign ambition;" he announces that "if his genius is rare, his policy is profound, being based upon a knowledge of the social state and customs of his fellow-countrymen, and on the design of preserving them from the frightful convulsions of anarchy, the ravages of war and from the dreaded preponderance, which in the midst of these scenes of violence some strong powers of Europe *might seek to attain.*" Lest this should be insufficient for his being perfectly understood, Rosas, putting in Francia's mouth that which he never said, observes to us "that, wisely calculating the advantage which foreign ambition would derive from such a state of things, *it is necessary to raise a barrier between America and European ambition; and to watch the proper opportunity for opening commercial intercourse founded on true reciprocity.*"— He wishes all to be well aware that in his opinion "the treaties of the weak with the strong are premature" and that "the strong powers of Europe first come to establish a mercantile conquest, in order afterwards to bring their cannon into play."

Here we have the real, the deep rooted idea of Rosas, to close the country entirely against Foreigners, to cut off even commercial connection, reserving to himself the calculation of *the proper time for establishing them; in a word to raise a barrier between America and European ambition* by reducing Buenos Ayres to the state to which Paraguay was reduced by the tyrant whose policy he defends, and praises, and adopts as a model.

We will not proceed further without mentioning a

circumstance which reveals the full scope of the Dictator's intentions in making this bold declaration of his principles. An arrangement with England and France was pending; Rosas was lavishing on Mr. Hood hollow pretences of friendly and peaceful sentiments, in which he always abounds, and surrounding the person of this gentleman with the most ultra attentions. It was necessary however to give Mr. Hood to understand that those *accidental* demonstrations infer no change in the *fixed* policy of Rosas, lest that foreign Agent should fall into the very mistaken belief that the Dictator was disposed to entertain sentiments of good will and cordial friendship towards Europe. It was for this reason that, in presence of Mr. Hood, even while the conferences of peace were being held with the European Powers, Rosas came forth publicly and solemnly upholding the doctrine of isolation and of complete separation from Europe, accusing her of ambition, and of cloaking her views with the garb of commerce. A pretext was wanting to cover the unseasonableness of so strange a publication: some articles on Paraguay had been published in the *British Packet* long before the arrival of Mr. Hood, which were extolled but not refuted by the *Gaceta*: they were now disinterred and their refutation was undertaken, solely out of compliment to Mr. Hood, and in order to give him an earnest of the sincerity of the friendly sentiments professed towards him by Rosas. Certainly the choice of opportunity could not have been more eloquent.

On the other hand, the barrier of respect for the opinion of the world being once broken, so far as to undertake the defence of the system and policy of the Dictator of Paraguay, it is clear that only by the profession of a cynical contempt for truth could the disgraceful task be fulfilled. Thus Rosas dares to invoke, as a proof of the excellence of the system, the results which

were obtained from it, and the esteem and respect in which he says that the Paraguayans hold the memory of Francia. Esteem and respect indeed! Let Rosas go and question the Paraguayans one by one, and he will hear only an unanimous cry of execration of the memory of the odious tyrant. The free communication which has existed for some time past between Paraguay and Corrientes, and above all the multitude of individuals who descended the River Parana in the late Convoy, have spread abroad an accurate knowledge of events in that distant country. This very circumstance of the opinion of the people on the memory of the Dictator has been the special object of our investigation; we have been universally and unanimously assured that two impressions only respecting Francia still exist among the people of Paraguay,—the deepest hatred, and habitual terror of his tyranny. This we can affirm as an undoubted fact. Rosas cannot produce a competent witness to the contrary. Nor can aught else be believed without outraging human nature. No: the people of Paraguay detest and curse the memory of their executioner, as the people of Buenos Ayres now detest and curse Rosas, and will continue to curse and detest his grave when the strongest of all hands shall have buried him therein. He wishes perhaps to cheat his own conscience, and those feelings of remorse which cannot fail at times to disturb his sleep, by supposing that a savage and gloomy tyrant can be an object of the people's love. No: the same breath which extinguishes the life of a tyrant closes the lips of his flatterers; and then is raised the voice of the oppressed to demand justice on the ashes of the criminal.

With respect to the results, Rosas only could have the effrontery to invoke them in support of the system of Francia. This is openly to challenge the opinion of the whole world; to place oneself in opposition to evi-

dence; to call darkness light. For nearly thirty years did the despotism of Dr. Francia weigh upon Paraguay: such a period is more than sufficient for a system of Government to produce its effects: what did the Dictator leave behind him on his death? A people with natural dispositions to acquire knowledge; with a desire of becoming educated; with an anxious wish to better their social state; to raise themselves to the level comparatively low, of the other American Nations; without any means however of satisfying their noble aspirations; and obliged now to commence the career pursued for these thirty years by their neighbours. The people of Paraguay found themselves on the death of Francia in nearly a primitive state, without education, without elementary schools, without commerce, without industrious occupations, not having made a single material improvement in their settlements, without any one thing whatsoever appertaining to the social condition of a nation which pretends to be called civilized. This was certainly not their own fault, but that of a political system which suffocated their better dispositions, and reduced them to an unconsciousness of all excepting sensual faculties. Such are the results which Rosas has the effrontery to invoke.

Contrast with Paraguay any nation governed on a system opposed to that of Dr. Francia. Not to mention the United States, which doubled their population, and increased their power and wealth a hundredfold, while Paraguay was retrograding to a primitive state; let us take only Montevideo, and compare its situation in 1843, when Rosas sent Oribe to ruin it, with its position thirteen years before, when it declared its independence. A thousand times have we made this comparison, expressing in ciphers the results, representing the imports and exports of her trade; the movement of her shipping; the increased value of fixed pro-

perty in the Country; the extension of the City, its buildings, and its wealth; that of the working population, &c. &c. We will not now repeat these numerical statements, which are known to every one; but we will remark that Montevideo in thirteen years, under a system of entire constitutional freedom, which gave the fullest possible scope to commerce, immigration, and foreign intercourse, made that wonderful progress which the invasion of Rosas came to check, while Paraguay, after thirty years of an irresponsible dictatorship at home, and the most complete isolation from foreign intercourse, found itself thrown back in poverty, absolutely destitute of every thing. Such are the results.

It does not enter into our present plan to point out the innumerable falsehoods with which the defence of Dr. Francia's system published by Rosas in his *Gaceta* is filled. Many of them relate to accidental circumstances, and a detailed refutation would carry us too far. Thus, for instance, Rosas affirms that Francia *abolished slavery in Paraguay*, whereas it exists to this day; he declares that the late Dictator was in the habit of *entering into familiar conversation with the people until the day of his death*; a ridiculous falsehood, intended probably as an insult to the people, who never approached, without trembling, the square in which the tyrant lived; who closed their doors and windows when the drummers of the Dictator's escort announced his approach; and to this day keep up the custom of taking off their hat when they pass by the Government house. There are a thousand similar misstatements which we have no time to refute, because our attention is called to matters of greater importance.

Rosas with studied repetition states in his article that Dr. Francia never separated Paraguay from the Argentine association, that *he declared a thousand times*

that he was disposed to continue in union with the other Provinces, and even "that he himself would go and represent Paraguay in the Argentine Congress." All this is directly opposed to the truth; and the latter assertion is such a monstrous absurdity that it can scarcely be treated of seriously. The deeds and the declarations of Francia prove beyond all doubt the falsehood of the assertion of Rosas. If these *thousand declarations* which he speaks of have any existence, how is it that the *Gaceta* has not quoted a single one? Where, in what document, on what occasion, did Dr. Francia declare that he was disposed to join the Argentine association? There does not exist anywhere such a declaration; there does not even exist the slightest indication of it, while on the contrary there are abundance of deeds and documents which undeniably prove the reverse.

Since the year 1813 the Argentine government were so convinced that Paraguay was not willing to form part of the *United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata*—as they were then called—that they despatched a commissioner to the Junta, which at that time held the reins of government in Assumption, with the sole object of prevailing on them to send their deputies to the general Assembly of all the Provinces. The instructions given to that commissioner, who was D. Nicolas Herrera, after recommending to him every kind of effort for the attainment of that object, directed him that, "In case, contrary to their desires, the Junta should refuse to send deputies to the Assembly, the idea might be adopted of deciding them at least to send a deputy to the government." All the efforts of Dr. Herrera failed, through the obstinate determination of Dr. Francia not to unite Paraguay with the other Provinces. That far seeing man, who, from the moment of his being called to power, conceived the project of ma-

king himself exclusive master of it, caused to be adopted on the 12th of October 1814 a plan of his own for the creation of a government of two Consuls: These entered upon their functions on that very day; and six days afterwards, on the 19th of October, *D. José Gaspar de Francia Consul of the Republic*, and his colleague *D. Fulgencio Yegros*, addressed to the Buenos Ayrean Commissioner the following note:

“ With respect to the object of your Commission, which you stated to this Government on your arrival, it is the will of the Supreme Congress of the Province not to send at the present time deputies to the Assembly sitting at Buenos-Ayres.”

The proposal to send a Commissioner to the government of Buenos-Ayres met with a similar repulse; and *Dr. Herrera* had to leave Paraguay *in fear for his own life*; such was the excitement raised, by *D. Francia* alone, against the union with Buenos-Ayres. If the autograph correspondence of *D. Nicolas Herrera*, which was in our hands, had not disappeared in the loss of our papers in 1842, we would have copied the account, which we have read in it, of the last days of his residence in Paraguay. *Rosas* must have an official copy of it in his archives: he can contradict us by producing a copy of it, should we not adhere to the truth.

Francia's term of consulship expired a year afterwards, and what *Rosas* calls the *popular election* took place, which created him dictator *for three years*; an election neither more nor less free than that which gave to *Rosas* a similar discretionary power *for five years*. *Francia* exercised it for twenty five years, although it was given to him for three only; *Rosas*, though he was invested with this power for five years only, has already held it for more than twelve.

The election of *Francia*, effected by a Congress at whose door there was a numerous *guard of honor*,

who surrounded the church where the deliberations were held, when *Francia* grew tired of waiting for the election, took place in October 1814. From that time onward, the Dictator, so far from even thinking of changing his measures with respect to the union, occupied himself constantly in widening the gulph of separation. Even from the time of his election as Consul he called Paraguay not a *province*, but a *Republic*: afterwards, and during the whole of his dictatorship he never varied the name. We read *Republic of Paraguay* in all the documents of *Francia's* time; to the *Republic* he gave a new flag, arms, and a new seal—the very same which is preserved to this day, on the margin of which we read *Republic of Paraguay*.

These are historical facts of indisputable authenticity: not the slightest trace is to be found in any of them of the desire of union which, according to *Rosas*, was declared a *thousand times* by *Francia*. What single document can the *Gaceta* oppose to these facts?

As a great recommendation of the Dictator of Paraguay, that paper informs us that *Francia* had a high esteem for the Government of *Rosas*, so great that to it are owing the lively and profound impressions which prevail in Paraguay in favor of the latter. That *Francia* should sympathize with *Rosas* is as natural as that the latter should sympathize with him. Tyranny is a brotherhood like any other; all tyrants like and imitate each other, as long as they do not come in contact, and cannot stand in the way of each other's ambition. It was natural that the Paraguayan Despot should feel affection for his Buenos Ayrean disciple: but, if the people of Paraguay in general know of the existence of *Rosas*, it is only to detest him cordially, because they are so taught to detest him by a Government which they love, and which justly abominates *Rosas*.

The system of *Dr. Francia* in Paraguay could not

cause either civil wars in its territory or disastrous collision with foreigners. The people whom it reduced to servitude passed immediately from a state of colonial vassalage under the despotism of Dr. Francia, which was a thousand times worse, never having had an opportunity of acquiring the knowledge of a better state, nor time to create for themselves all the advantages resulting from the free exercise of the faculties of man and from his relations with his fellows, inhabiting other countries. Such a people it was easy to subject without meeting with internal resistance. As to the exterior, the mere geographical position of Paraguay removed it from contact with Foreigners: the number of the latter in the country must have been very inconsiderable; foreign interests very limited; the hand that could repress the injuries and violence committed against them was so distant that it had not the means of punishing: therefore collision with Foreigners was impossible.

From the situation of the country and the operation of completely opposite causes the system of Dr. Francia established by Rosas in Buenos-Ayres inevitably produced opposite results. Eternal intestine wars and unceasing disputes with foreign powers must naturally be its effects; this must necessarily be the case as long as that existence shall continue.

And it is for this very reason that the exposition which Rosas has just published in his *Gaceta* saddens and oppresses us, because it points to a futurity of interminable war in the River Plate.

In order to realize the idea which Rosas praises in Dr. Francia, and which he proposes to carry out,—the idea of “isolating these regions by raising a barrier between America and European ambition,” and of giving to Buenos-Ayres that *peaceful life of happy tranquillity* which, by his account, Francia gave to Paraguay, he must indispensably annihilate, in the first

place, all the interests which now exist there, both national and foreign. Without this, so long as mutual communication and commercial intercourse shall continue free; while their interests have that necessary connexion and dependence which are the results of that commercial intercourse; and while Foreigners, at least, since natives now cannot, have a protection against the abuses of arbitrary power, it is entirely impossible to reduce Buenos-Ayres to the state to which Francia reduced Paraguay.

Rosas, in the mean time, who advances inflexibly towards his object, will continue as hitherto attacking those interests, which will necessarily resist, and hence the constant struggle which has existed since Rosas came into power, and which will continue while he continues in his system. It is not to be expected,—nay more, it would be wrong to expect—that men who are despoiled of their property, who see it pass by violence into other hands, and who find themselves deprived of all the rights of social man, should cease to resist the power which thus oppresses them. Neither is it possible that the foreigner who thus established himself in a lawful manner in these countries, and created for himself valuable interests in them, should willingly submit to lose these, to give up the connexions he has already formed, and to abandon these countries for ever. He will remain in them; Rosas on his part will continue to attack him, as an obstacle to the execution of the idea which absorbs him, and which he has now declared. Such is the inextricable position in which Rosas has placed himself, both with respect to his countrymen and to Foreigners. Can aught else be expected from it but civil war and foreign collision?

And of course it is not for Buenos Ayres alone that Rosas prepares this dark futurity. The Oriental State cannot help being involved in it. The invasion

under which it is now suffering is but a part of the execution of the general design. Rosas has now seen by his experience in 1840, as well as by that of the present epoch, that, while one bank of the River Plate is governed on principles opposed to his, the execution of his plan of isolation cannot be realized. The peaceful but irresistible influence of commerce and of wealth which would be developed in Montevideo; and the point of refuge, the favourable situation for repairs and victualling which Foreigners would always find in this Country, would be insuperable obstacles to the plan of Rosas. He knows it, he has seen this, and therefore he has laboured, and will labour with untiring energy, to remove these obstacles, by bringing the Oriental State into conformity with his own system. For this purpose he assisted the military revolution headed by general Lavalleja in 1832, furnishing that chief from Buenos Ayres with sixteen cases of arms and a considerable quantity of ammunition, drawn from the arsenal of that city, and sent in the Argentine Smack—*Invincible* which was taken by the forces of the Oriental Government on the coast of Maldonado, in September of that year. For this purpose the Government which commanded in Buenos Ayres on account of Rosas—while the latter was carrying on his campaign in the desert, which he undertook with no other object but that of having a large army at his disposal—again fitted out and assisted general Lavalleja, who, when defeated, had taken refuge there, and launched him again into this territory in March 1834. For this purpose the same Rosas assisted Oribe in 1836, by garrisoning Paysandú with a battalion of Argentine infantry. For this purpose he sent Echagüe in 1839 with one of his own armies, which was routed at Cagancha, and for this purpose he has again sent Oribe, at the head of another army also his, with which he reckoned upon

definitively subduing the Republic. What Rosas has done hitherto he will continue to do, and we shall have a permanent state of warfare until he obtains the obedience of Montevideo, as he has obtained that of Cordoba and Santa Fé.

Such is the inevitable prospect held out to the River Plata in the declaration of principles made by the Dictator in his *Gaceta* of the 22nd of July: we would earnestly desire that this paper, the production of Rosas himself, should be carefully studied, that the importance which it in reality possesses should be attached to it by every one and every where, since it would be the height of simplicity to suppose that it has been published so extemporaneously without any special object.

loosely submitting the Republic. What honor has
this title to be well known to do, and we shall find
a permanent one of war, only to obtain the ob-
ject of Montevideo, as he has obtained that of Co-
lorado and Santa Fé.

Such is the inevitable prospect held out to the
River Plate in the declaration of principles made by
the Dictator in the course of the 25th of July, we
would earnestly desire that this paper, the production
of whose spirit should be carefully studied, that the
importance which it in reality possesses should be ap-
preciated by every one and every where, and that it
be the right of all to be able to suppose that it has been
published in an extraordinary manner without any special
object.

It is not necessary to say that the Dictator's policy
is not only in itself a violation of the principles of
justice and equity, but also a violation of the principles
of the Republic. It is not only a violation of the prin-
ciples of justice and equity, but also a violation of the
principles of the Republic. It is not only a violation of
the principles of justice and equity, but also a violation
of the principles of the Republic. It is not only a viola-
tion of the principles of justice and equity, but also a
violation of the principles of the Republic. It is not
only a violation of the principles of justice and equity,
but also a violation of the principles of the Republic.

loosely submitting the Republic. What honor has
this title to be well known to do, and we shall find
a permanent one of war, only to obtain the ob-
ject of Montevideo, as he has obtained that of Co-
lorado and Santa Fé.

(From the "Gaceta Mercantil" of the 22nd of July.)

The intelligent editor of the *British Packet*, in the articles he has published on Paraguay, undertakes to place in their true light the affairs of that province. He certainly shews with powerful arguments the just titles and unequivocal rights asserted by the Argentine Government; but, at the same time, adopting the opinions of Mr. Robertson, he regards Dr. Francia's policy of isolation in an odious point of view. In this respect, and without taking upon ourselves to defend the administrative acts of Doctor Francia in reference to Paraguay, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that his policy of isolation was productive of more evil than good to Paraguay, inasmuch as Dr. Francia, in preserving it from the conflagration which was raging around it, never severed the political and natural ties which unite that province to the Confederation, nor acted in a manner at variance with the disposition and peculiar situation of the Paraguayan people. Our convictions in this respect are different from those of our esteemed contemporary, and we will give the reasons on which we found them.

First of all, it is necessary to remark, that the history of the memorable events which have taken place since the 25th of May, 1810, goes unequivocally to prove that the Banda Oriental, now the independent Republic of the Uruguay, immediately joined its voice and energies to those of Buenos Ayres, the capital then of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate. If indeed the power of Spain and the influence of her deep-rooted domination opposed strong obstacles in some sections of the continent to the American cause, the Oriental people always upheld it, combating in a manner at once decided and courageous against the injustice of Spain and the invasion of Portugal. The Banda Oriental rendered itself conspicuous in seconding the efforts of Buenos Ayres. In Montevideo the public feeling was evinced, although the Spanish power succeeded in suffocating it for a short period. The inhabitants of the country districts rose up, and vanquishing the force which oppressed them, formed a connection with the general government established in Buenos Ayres. Generals José de Rondeau and José de Artigas directed that struggle of American liberty. Assisted by the forces of Buenos Ayres, they crossed the Uruguay and assembled together the numerous divisions of Oriental patriots, who were fighting for the American cause. The victory of Las Piedras made them masters of all the country up to the very walls of Montevideo, and the general go-

vernment then established in Buenos Ayres, was solemnly acknowledged throughout the country. The whole Oriental campaign maintained itself from that period on the same footing of national union as Entrerios, Corrientes, Santa Fé and other provinces of the Argentine Republic.

The necessity of assisting the liberating army of Perú compelled the Argentine Government to withdraw the troops from the siege of Montevideo. General Artigas maintained himself, notwithstanding, at the head of the Oriental militia, always with assistance from Buenos Ayres, until shortly afterwards an army marched hence under the command of Don Manuel Sarratea. Then, the Spanish squadron off Montevideo having been captured by the Argentine, the place surrendered to the valor of the united Orientals and Argentines, under the command of General Alvear. A lamentable contest then commenced between the patriots; but it turned upon the form of government, and the national bond always remained subsisting until 1828, when the independence of the Oriental Republic was established.

These facts shew that the Banda Oriental promptly responded to the call of America, and continued to do so, from 1810.

With respect to Paraguay the *British Packet* clearly shews that it always remained indissolubly united to the Argentine nationality, and likewise entered into the solemn and conclusive treaty of the 12th October, 1811; but it strongly censures Dr. Francia's policy of isolation, adopting what the English writer, Mr. Robertson, has published against that ruler of Paraguay. The reasons given by Mr. Robertson solely consist of a bitter and sarcastic censure of the Paraguayans, notwithstanding that he himself gives us to understand that they could not be very far advanced in the theories and institution of the representative system, under the Jesuitic regime. Be the fact what it may in regard to the greater or less severity of Dr. Francia's administration, it is nevertheless true that his policy of isolation preserved Paraguay, and that that country was not in the least degree prepared for the development of a system of complete representation and unrestricted liberty; whilst it appears from Mr. Robertson's exaggerated descriptions themselves, that Dr. Francia enjoyed the greatest popularity among his fellow countrymen.

The Jesuits originally established in Paraguay a particular organization of the Indian tribes under the denomination of *reductions*. The influence of this regime had left deep impressions. Besides, the topographical position of the country, with interior departments, traversed by vast rivers, covered with impenetrable forests, and surrounded by wild tribes in the midst of extensive deserts—could it, perchance, render attainable, in that state of society, a system thoroughly liberal? On the other hand, the policy of isolation pursued by Dr. Francia, who never declared the separation of Paraguay from the national union with the Argentine Confederation, preserved that province from the ravages of anarchy and from the calamities of war.

Dr. Francia's design was to keep Paraguay unscathed until the time of the complete pacification of the neighbouring provinces, when he might open an intercourse with them, without danger and without the difficulties entailed upon the latter by foreign ambition. No one

could blame him, and much less the Paraguayans, for acting in this manner.

Dr. Francia at the period designated by Mr. Robertson, was the most distinguished man in Paraguay for his civic virtues, his talents and his vast acquirements. If some have censured him with acrimony, others have stopped to study the circumstances and the relative nature of the measures he adopted in order to save Paraguay, and have not felt themselves called upon to concur in the enormity of the accusation brought against him for his policy of isolation.

Dr. Francia, when he commenced exercising his unlimited authority,—public opinion having declared in his favour,—preserved all in the enjoyment of peace and comfort. Seeing that anarchy and war afflicted the provinces of Buenos Ayres, Entre-Rios, Corrientes and Misiones, as well as the Banda Oriental, he cut off all intercourse with them, and freed Paraguay from numerous evils, and from foreign interferences. If his disposition was rare, his policy was profound, based upon the knowledge of the social state and habits of his fellow countrymen, and upon the idea of preserving them from the frightful convulsions of anarchy, the ravages of war, and the dreaded predominancy which, in the midst of these turmoils, might be sought by some strong powers of Europe. Pursuing this plan he isolated himself, seeing that the different governments of the Argentine Republic rose and fell with the waves of anarchy. He was afraid of being involved in it; but he never declared the separation of Paraguay from the national union, nor dissembled his opposition to Spain.

His enemies have denounced him as a sanguinary tyrant, escorted by *shirri*, surrounded by instruments of death and torture, and taking delight in tormenting the Paraguayans, but these imputations are contradicted by the results of his administration and by the notorious fact that the Paraguayans, far from execrating his memory, honor and venerate it. The convictions of a people whose good qualities cannot be disputed by any one, are of some more importance than the private opinions of a writer who found Dr. Francia's system revolting, because he judged it in an absolute manner, and did not consider it in its relative goodness, and in the results of tranquillity and peace which it produced for the province of Paraguay during a long period.

In the midst of this isolation Dr. Francia received and assisted several travellers who went to Paraguay for scientific purposes; and if he detained M. Bonpland, it was because he believed him to be a secret agent of France, under the guise of a naturalist, for exciting the minds of the people in favour of an European monarchy.

The attachment of Dr. Francia to the American cause was always unequivocal and honest; and the European intrigues he discovered, contribute to confirm him in the idea of his policy of isolation.

As regards the administrative acts of Dr. Francia, it is necessary to examine them in all their details and circumstances, in their necessity and results; and one will be inclined to admire that singular and profound genius, since Paraguay, who knew perfectly well his acts, has justified him even after he ceased to exist, and still ho-

nours his memory. Certainly she is the most competent judge of his domestic administration; and if Dr. Francia's system was revolting to the generally received political ideas, it is likewise indisputable, that, if he be judged by the results and by the testimony of the Paraguayans, it will be seen that this ruler found himself placed in such special and grave circumstances that they did not allow him to establish a system of imitation, but compelled him to appeal to the originality of his genius in order to confront them. Thus it is, that he himself, in the political catechism which he placed in the hands of the Paraguayans, developed that fundamental idea of his system, by explaining that "it would last as long as it was useful and agreeable to the wants of society." At the same time he abolished slavery in Paraguay without attacking private property; he suppressed tributes; he declared public offices to be rotatory; and expressly taught the Paraguayans that the greatest enemies they had to fear were European ambition and anarchy.

The system of finance established by Dr. Francia was simple and pure; his disinterestedness was notorious, and the frugality of his life singular.

He always considered the bond of national union between Paraguay and the Argentine Confederation to subsist, at the same time that he avoided to leave the isolated position in which he deemed it necessary to maintain himself during the anarchy and war by which he was surrounded. This is the more evident inasmuch as Dr. Francia spurned the suggestions of the court of Portugal that he should come to an understanding with it respecting a plan for the separation of Paraguay from the Argentine union, and the establishment of an intercourse with Portugal. He likewise baffled in an able manner the astute officiousness of the British Cabinet, and shewed a determined disposition to counteract the attempts he apprehended on the part of the French government.

In this manner he preserved Paraguay in happy tranquillity and in a situation to abandon its isolation at the period of the general pacification of the Argentine Confederation to whose national union it belongs, and to which it is of necessity called as well by its political obligations as by its own convenience and geographical position.

Dr. Francia has been strongly accused on account of the executions decreed by him in the early days of his administration, on occasion of the conspiracies hatched against public tranquillity and against the very life of the supreme ruler. But no one has denied the reality of those crimes which produced the painful necessity of repressing them; and, on the other hand, it is a notorious fact in Paraguay, that Dr. Francia was always sparing in those executions,—commuting capital punishment for imprisonments of more or less duration.

In spite of the intrigues of the Governor Velazco to divide Paraguay and deliver it up to the Portuguese domination, the Paraguayans declared, in 1811, for the union with Buenos-Ayres and the other provinces of the ancient Spanish Viceroyalty. The Paraguayan citizens, who appeared at the head of this popular movement on the 15th May, 1811, were Don Pedro Juan Caballero and Don Fulgencio Yedros; but the chief director in reality was Doctor Gaspar José de Francia. Don Francisco Agüero addressed strong reproofs on

the part of the province to the Governor Velazco for having attempted to separate it from the common cause; and the people compelled him to send a despatch to the Portuguese General Don Diego de Souza, who was in the Banda Oriental, refusing to allow the entrance of the Portuguese troops which were ready to support Velazco. Dr. Francia was then called to assume openly the direction which up to that time he had held secretly. He was a member and director of the Gubernative Junta which succeeded Velazco; and under the influence and policy of Dr. Francia the treaty of the 12th October 1811 was concluded, which he himself negotiated and signed. By this treaty the province of Paraguay preserved the national union in a free and spontaneous manner: it indissolubly united itself in confederation with the other provinces of the Argentine Republic; and though subsequently isolated, it continued to maintain the common bond.

This Junta was succeeded by the dictatorship of Dr. Francia, created by the Congress of Paraguay. This Congress assembled and deliberated with a very full representation, and without any coercive means having been employed.

From this time the policy of Dr. Francia displayed itself in a manner worthy of being meditated upon in order to judge impartially and coolly.

Seeing the frightful disorder which had sprung up in the ancient Viceroyalty of the River Plate, and wisely calculating the advantage that foreign ambition would derive from such a state of things, he taught in his public documents, in his conversations which he familiarly held with every class of the community, and which he continued to the last moment of his existence, that it was necessary to raise a barrier between America and European ambition, and to watch the proper opportunity for opening a commercial intercourse founded upon real reciprocity. With this feeling the mass of the Paraguayan population are imbued. He inspired and deeply impressed it in them. He was aware that treaties between the weak and the strong were premature, especially in the midst of convulsions and war. Having learned the project that was on foot for establishing European monarchies in America, he strongly declared against it. When intelligence was received in Paraguay of that absurd plan, he emphatically stated on different occasions, that he would prove to America and to the world that he was an American ruler, who would not compromise with European domination, nor ever betray American principles and interests.

He would be ignorant of the state of public opinion in Paraguay and of the dominating idea inspired by Dr. Francia, who should deny that the latter considered his policy of isolation the more necessary inasmuch as he explained to his fellow countrymen, that the strong European power first came to establish mercantile conquest in order to bring next their canons. Dr. Francia's vaticination that European ambition would one day tinge with blood the waters of the Paraná, is also proverbial in Paraguay.

He always kept subsisting the bond of national union established by the treaty of the 12th October, 1811. Far from declaring the independence of Paraguay, he always considered it as a province of the Confederation, and said that it was destined at a future period to

be one of the most influential provinces, and to ward off at the van of all, the encroaching and grasping policy of the Cabinet of Rio Janeiro, which even in the time of Dr. Francia laid claim to some important parts of the legitimate territory of Paraguay.

In the first decade of the emancipation of the Argentine Republic, during the directorship of Alvarez y Tomas, Dr. Francia did not refuse to furnish a contingent of 4,000 men, provided he was supplied with arms and clothing, and the troops were regimented in Paraguay. But the different general governments, from an erroneous policy and serious blunders, far from appreciating Dr. Francia's disposition, uniformly firm against the common enemy, and his anti-anarchical views, acted in a manner rather calculated to occasion apprehensions, well or ill-grounded, to Dr. Francia's government in regard to the tranquillity of Paraguay. Nevertheless, he was persevering in uprooting the Spanish influence, in sustaining his declaration against the domination of Spain: and of his very cooperation a charge is formed against him by his accusers. He entirely destroyed the Spanish influence in Paraguay; and if he is taxed with having had recourse to extraordinary measures, like that of endeavouring to blend the Spanish race by a decree respecting marriages, have not the strongest measures been adopted throughout America in order to extirpate the Spanish influence, manifested by incessant and terrible conspiracies, and repressed with the utmost severity? In Paraguay the executions were few; and there were not the conspiracies, and reactions which in other Hispano-American States have cost so much blood of Spaniards and Americans.

In conformity with the treaty of the 12th October, 1811, Dr. Francia was always disposed to send, on the consolidation of peace and order, the corresponding Deputies for Paraguay to the Argentine Congress; and he was heard to say on several occasions, not only that he was anxious that that period should arrive, but that he would, if necessary, himself represent Paraguay in the Argentine Congress.

Dr. Francia inspired the Paraguayans with an ardent love of country, the most complete self-denial in its service, profound respect for the property and interests of the State; and he himself set the example of these virtues. During his long administration not a single vice or failing sullied his character. Indefatigable and assiduous in labour, he performed immense tasks, from the highest affairs to the lowest matters of detail.

Those who censure Dr. Francia's administration as outrageously tyrannical and oppressive over the people, forget that he kept in Paraguay only small guards of troops without ammunition. One package of cartridges was allotted to each guard: and it used to remain untouched for whole years. They forget that in the whole administration of Dr. Francia, the deserters from Paraguay do not amount to twenty; and that when he closed his career, if he had not been honest and beneficent in his administration, there would not have been heard "instead of songs of exultation, the loud wail of mourning, just as if a national calamity had occurred." The people only weep over the graves of great men, and bless but the hand that confers benefits. This feeling is general in Paraguay.

Doctor Francia left in the public coffers nearly \$300,000, the fruit of the order and economy he established in the management of the scanty revenue of Paraguay.

The present President Don Carlos Antonio Lopez was much recommended by Dr. Francia during his lifetime; and this added greatly to his popularity.

The favourable disposition which Dr. Francia always evinced towards the illustrious Generals San-Martin and Belgrano, was considerably increased towards the administration of General Rosas; and so positive was the regard and esteem he entertained for the latter, that he has left deep and lively impressions among the people of Paraguay in favor of General Rosas.

Notwithstanding the exaggerations of parties interested in ascribing a fanciful condition to Paraguay, this province, according to the last census taken previously to the death of Dr. Francia, had two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, including the reductions of Indians, which the late Dictator organized in an admirable manner. Paraguay, though exempt from the evils of war and anarchy, has not been free from melancholy pestilences and endemic diseases which have thinned its population. Dysentery, which makes its appearance there periodically, has caused nearly 20,000 deaths in the years between 1830 and 1840. In 1844—5 the small pox destroyed upwards of 14,000 people; and the scarlet fever carried off nearly 11,000 in the years between 1836 and 1838.

In Paraguay the very name of "emigrant" is detested; for emigrants are very justly upbraided with having left their own country, either flying from the punishment of the crimes with which they have offended it, or refusing to serve and defend it.