



GOD CARETH FOR THE POOR.

Oh! speak not of their homely toils, their slow corroding cares;
Say not that dreary joyless days and anxious nights are theirs;
Peace oft deserts the palace-gate to seek the cottage door;
Contentment loves the lowly roof—God careth for the poor.

Is not the wealth of Nature theirs?—the flowers of varied dyes,
The silver stars, the towering rocks, the blue and sunny skies;
The twining boughs their canopy, the mossy turf their floor;
Say, need they pine for gilded halls?—God careth for the poor.

They never chide Time's lagging course, nor wish the moments spent;
Turning from music, flowers and books in peevish discontent;
Viewing past pleasures with disdain, yet covetous of more:
They know not vexed satiety—God careth for the poor.

And deem not that dull-ignorance obscures their simple lot;
The light of knowledge penetrates the lone sequestered cot:
None vainly need the tidings of salvation to implore;
The Gospel cheers the humblest hearth—God careth for the poor.

His precepts are before them, and his eye is o'er them still;
They have earth's blessings to partake, earth's duties to fulfil:
The heaven that smiles above them may be theirs for evermore;
Faith tells them of the promised land—God careth for the poor.

And never shall we scornfully their homeliness deride,
And never shall we judge them by the world's false code of pride,
If rightly we have read and prized that Book of sacred lore,
Which shows to us how lovingly God careth for the poor.

—Keepsake, 1846.

MEXICO.

RECENT changes and revolutions are again attracting the attention of political observers to the shores of the Mexican Gulf. The late overthrow of Santa Anna, the decision of the question long pending between the Republic of Mexico and the United States of the north, as to the annexation of Texas, and the contingency of war or peace in regions which have so many claims on the attention of Europe, combine to revive no small portion of that keen interest which, twenty years ago, was felt when the fancied El Dorado was laid open to the enterprise of Europe, and seem to show that a new page of the many-leaved volume of the future is unfolding. The mighty current of human action sets in with increased volume and intensity towards the west and south of the American continent. At the present moment, therefore, we persuade ourselves that we shall render no unacceptable service to our readers, by throwing together such information as we have been able to collect, on the present state and prospects of a country which, in spite of modern tourists, still remains in many respects a *terra incognita* to the mass of readers. This we shall preface by a succinct view of the leading events of Mexican history, from the outbreak of the revolution, interweaving such considerations of a more general kind as the subject may naturally suggest.

In thus restricting the range of our speculations, we are well aware of the sacrifice we make, in foregoing themes which have a perpetual and unfading charm for those who love to linger on the storied memories of the past. A more tempting task might be to recall our readers to the days of the pilgrim of Palos, who explored the awful mysteries of the ocean stream, till he found "a temperate in a torrid zone."

The feverish air fann'd by a cooling breeze,
The fruitful vales set round with shady trees;
And gaudy men, who danced away their time,
Fresh as their groves, and happy as their clime.

Nor less pleasing would it be to make our canvas gorgeous with the barbaric splendours of the Indian monarchy and hierarchy, to retrace the career of Cortes and his adventurous cavaliers, and to tell

Of the glorious city won
Near the setting of the sun,
Throned in a silver lake:
Of seven kings in chains of gold.—

These are themes whose romantic interest awakens a never-failing response in the imagination at all times, and which with the youth of modern Europe rank second in fascination only to the fairy tales and national legends which are the time-consecrated food of juvenile fancy. But leaving such splendid scenes to Irving and Prescott, to whom they rightfully belong by the double tenure of indigenous association and prior occupancy, let us proceed to our own more sober, but, perhaps, more useful task of sketching the development of that society which, in the sixteenth century, was founded by the sword of Castile, amidst the ruins of the Aztec Venica.

Mexico, from its advantages of situation, its endless diversity of soil and climate, and its capacity of sustaining an immense population, would seem to be a land destined by nature to play no humble part in the affairs of the world. In the hands of a stirring and warlike race, the country would in fact afford the military key to both divisions of the American continent; for, from her mountain-throne she overlooks the vast levels of Texas and the United States, while by the way of Guatemala and across the Caribbean Sea, the forces of a strong and compact state might dominate the feeble and divided communities of the South. She is seated on the great table-land formed by the Mexican Andes, which, springing from their southern roots in the Isthmus of Panama, stretch their vast system of ridges and valleys over the whole breadth of the country, as far as to the mouth of Rio Bravo, and then receding to the west and north, traverse the length of the continent to where the towering peaks of the St. Elias glitter in their gorgeous icy robe, beneath the rays of the Arctic sun. The belt of coast which intervenes on each side between the mountains and the sea, forms a sure bulwark against foreign aggression, interposing by its tropical climate, and the diseases thence generated, to which the European falls a helpless prey, insurmountable obstacles to the passage of an army. Defended by resolute spirits and energetic hands, such a country would be impregnable, and even with the listless and indolent race by whom it is held, would be found no easy conquest to an invader; for though the opinion which is sometimes hazarded may be well-founded, that a modern Cortes might repeat the march from Vera Cruz to Mexico, he

would find that on arriving at the capital, he was but on the threshold of his undertaking; even if his army had not long before melted away in the pestilential levels of the sea-coast. The Alpine conformation of its tropical region presents in its numberless terraces and valleys, elevated plains, and deep-sunk slades, that wondrous variety of climate and scenery which it has tasked the pens of all geographers and travellers to describe, with every shape of wildness, grandeur, and luxuriant beauty that can fill the fancy or charm the eye. Amid the mountain heights, from which spring the fire-born cones, with their stainless cinctures of perennial snow, we find the forests of Scandinavia reproduced; further down on their slopes, the delicious climate of Southern Europe, yielding in abundance the grain that nourishes the life of man, and the rare and exquisite fruits that crown its enjoyments—the grape, the orange, the olive, and the lemon; whilst at the base of the giant hills, the rich soil teems with the coffee-plant and the sugar-cane, and glows with the dazzling colors of the tropical flora. The European race which occupied the empire of the Aztecs was in fact conducted by the dispensations of Providence into a country which exhibits in many respects the natural counterpart of their own. In the Spain of the New World; the same physical features which characterised their ancient dwelling-places, appear, though on a far wider and more magnificent scale. The lofty sierras and tablelands, once forest-clad though now treeless, of Castile, the net-work of ridges and stream-fed dales which interlaces the territory of Biscay, the fertile vegas and sterile wastes which bask under the suns of Andalusia and Granada, all find their likenesses in that region of America which the first discoverers, struck with the resemblance borne by its shores to those they had left behind, greeted with the appellation of New Spain.* The parallel holds good, and will probably continue to do so, in the moral as well as the physical features of the picture presented by modern Mexico; for the populations of its various provinces show differences of character and manners no less striking than are remarked at the present day in those of Old Spain. These are partly called forth by climate and situation, but their most fertile source is no doubt the greater or lesser proportion in which the intermixture of Indian with European blood has ensued. There results from the diversity of character to which we allude, and still more from the difficulties of communication and the weakness of the general government, an interprovincial isolation of the same kind with that which prevails so remarkably in the mother country, and exercises on its political changes and revolutions an influence still plainly appreciable.

It will assist our readers in forming a more accurate idea of the physical conformation of the Mexican territory, and its infinite variety of climate, if we subjoin to the general view we have ourselves attempted to present, some well-digested and able observations on the subject by Mühlentfordt:—

Although the mountain-chain of Mexico appears to be one and the same with that which, under the name of the Cordilleras of the Andes, intersects all South America, from south to north; yet its structure on the north and south of the equator is entirely different. On the southern hemisphere we see the Cordilleras everywhere furrowed, lengthwise and crosswise by valleys, which seem as if they have been formed by a forcible severance of the mountains. Here we find tracts perfectly level at a great absolute elevation. The richly cultivated plain around the town of Santa Fé de Bogota lies 8700, the high level of Coxamarca, in Peru, 9000, the wide plains about the volcano of Antisana, 13,429 English feet above the sea. These elevated flats of Cundinamarca, Quito, and Peru, though quite level, have an extent of no more than forty-two square leagues; difficult of ascent, separated from each other by deep valleys, surrounded by lofty peaks, they have no connexion with each other, and offer but trifling facilities to internal communication in those countries. In Mexico, on the contrary, we find the main ridge of mountains itself forming the table-land. High-raised plains, of far greater extent, and equally uniform, lie near together, stretching from the 18th to the 40th parallel of latitude, in unbroken succession, overtopped only by individual cones and lines of greater altitude. The direction of the table-land determines, as it were, the whole course of the mountain-chains. The craters, of 16,000 to 18,000 feet high, are partly scattered on the table-land, partly arranged in lines, whose direction is not by any means always parallel with the general track of the Cordilleras. In Peru, Quito, Cundinamarca, as observed, the lofty platforms are divided by cross valleys, whose perpendicular depth amounts sometimes to 4500 feet, and whose steep precipices are only to be climbed by travellers on mules, on foot, or carried on the backs of Indians. In Mexico, on the other hand, the table-lands are so continuous, that from Tehuantepec to Santa Fé, in New Mexico, nay, even into the territory of the United States' wheel-carriages might roll.

Ascending from Tehuantepec, on the Pacific coast, which is but 118 feet above the level of the sea, the table-land stretches from Oajaca to Durango, at an elevation of 6000 to 8000 feet,† its surface intersected by ridges which run from 9000 to 11,00 feet in height, while above this only isolated mountains ascend. Beyond Durango, in the territory of New Mexico, towards Texas on the one side, and the head of the Californian Gulf on the other, the general level of the ground rapidly sinks, the Sierra Madre or mother-ridge, known further northward as the Rocky Mountains, stretching away in solitary grandeur.

Conformably to the law of nature, which makes the climatic effect of an elevation of 3000 feet, equal to a difference in latitude of ten degrees, we find in Mexico all imaginable variations and shades of climate, piled above one another, as it were, in stories; and may in a few hours, often several times in the course of a day's journey, descend from the world of hyacinths, mosses, and lichens, from the region of ever-benumbing cold, of perpetual snow and ice, into that of ever-dissolving heat, where the inhabitant goes naked, his brown skin anointed with grease, to make it less sensitive to the sun's burning rays, and dwells in bird-cage-shaped huts, open to the air. . . . Situations more or less sheltered from the wind, especially the north-west wind, more or less exposed to the influence of the sun-beams; greater ap-

* Describing the voyage of discovery made by Guizalva, along the Mexican coast, De Solís tells us: "Some one of the soldiers then saying that this land was similar to that of Spain, the comparison pleased the hearers so much, and remained so impressed on the memories of all, that no other original is to be found of the name of New Spain being given to those regions. Words spoken casually are repeated but by chance; save when propriety and grace of meaning are perceived in them, to captivate the memory of men." (Conquista de Mexico, l. i., c. 5.)

† To this general statement, of course, exceptions may be pointed out. Thus the valley of Toluca, near Mexico, reaches an average elevation of 8500 feet.

proximation, to the west coast, where the air is perceptibly milder than on the east; want or abundance of wood and water; are all circumstances, which modify the temperature, in the most surprising manner, at the same height above the sea and in the same parallel.

The colonial system of Spain was one of the most curious engines of oppression ever devised by human avarice and rapacity; its only palliation, perhaps, is to be found in the ignorance and folly of the Spanish rulers; from the days of Philip II., who squandered the resources and ruined the prosperity of Spain herself. The nineteenth century found the same maxims and principles in vigour, which had prevailed under the most cruel and imbecile of the successors of Charles V. Not only were the interests of the colonists sacrificed, in every point, by a political exclusiveness, which practically interdicted to every American the exercise of any but the most inferior offices in the public service—a spiritual tyranny, which threatened with the penalties of the Inquisition all freedom of thought or speculation—and a commercial monopoly enforced with such unrelenting rigour, that the punishment of death was denounced against all who were detected in trafficking with foreigners, whilst the vines and olives of Mexico were rooted out, that its inhabitants might be compelled to draw their supplies from Spain; and the wheat which the colonists of La Plata were forbidden to export, was applied to fill up marshes in the vicinity of Buenos Ayres. These things, and much more of the like sort, might have been borne, but the bitterest fruits of tyranny are not always political grievances. To be a native of American soil stamped the brand of social degradation, even on a man who traced his descent from the conquerors; the Creoles were regarded by the Europeans much as the free-coloured population of the United States now are by their white countrymen. Even ties of blood could not overcome this insensate prejudice, which led often to the disinheritation of a son by a father, in favour of some adventurer from Europe. For the Indians again were reserved the dregs of the cup of oppression! In the continental provinces they were too numerous to be extirpated, as in the Spanish West India Islands; there they continued to form the bulk of the population. In Mexico, it is calculated that four-sevenths are Indians, two-sevenths persons of mixed blood or mestizoes, and only one-seventh whites. They were reduced by the system of repartition among the landed proprietors to a bondage, of which the negro slavery of the present day exhibits no inexact parallel;* but they cherished the memory of the greatness of their race, and a vengeful sense of the sufferings they had so long endured. At this source, too, it was fated that the Erinnyes of retribution was to light her torch.

It was the crafty policy of the Spanish court to retain the Mexicans in a state of intellectual childhood, teaching them to look upon Spain as the sovereign power of Europe, and keeping them studiously in ignorance of the very existence of other nations.† Yet they had long entertained the design of throwing off the Spanish yoke, and waited but the opportunity of effecting their design. We have the testimony of Humboldt in his "Essay on New Spain," as to the existence of discontent among the higher classes, and the American General Pike, who travelled through the northern provinces in 1807, speaks still more strongly of its diffusion and intensity among the inferior clergy and the officers of the provincial army, who were debarred by the accident of birth from all chance of promotion to the higher grades. Insurrections and isolated revolts had not been wanting in the course of the two centuries and a half which had elapsed since the conquest. Such was the revolt of the Indians in the north-western provinces during the latter half of the last century; and the insurrections of Mexico in 1624, 1692, and in 1797, under the vice-royalty of Count Galvez, whose conduct in several particulars, notwithstanding its apparent zeal in its suppression, gave the greatest umbrage to the Spanish court, and is said to have resulted after his recall, in his death by poison. In such a state of society as we have described, the materials of explosion were rife, and a concurrence of extraordinary events, which had their spring in the ambition of Napoleon, at length sounded the knell of Spanish domination in America. The renunciation of the crown of Spain by Charles IV., and his son Ferdinand VII., into the hands of the French emperor—that basest of treasons, unparalleled even in the annals of royal infamy—and the subsequent invasion of the Peninsula by his armies, were the signal of a general fermentation throughout all the transatlantic dominions of that country. Spain being now left without a regular government, propositions were made by the Creoles for the formation of executive juntas, and the assembly of provincial congresses, to act in the name of the absent sovereign, and to strengthen the hands of the mother-country in its struggle against foreign aggression, which were in some instances favorably listened to by the viceroys. The old Spaniards beheld with alarm the awakening sense of popular rights and the national spirit which these proceedings evinced; the Audiences, or supreme courts, charged among other functions to watch over the interests of the crown, became the organs of the Europeans, and strenuously resisted the efforts of the colonists to assert their right of sharing actively in the vindication of Spanish independence against French invasion. Had Spain at this time possessed public servants with heads and hearts competent to appreciate the justice and expediency of a conciliatory policy, the enthusiasm of the Creoles might have been diverted to her own service; and the latent desire of independence, to which, undoubtedly, the movement above-mentioned was in part to be ascribed, might possibly have been extinguished by judicious concessions. But this was not to be looked for, save in a

* "All the property of the Indians, moveable and immovable, was considered as belonging to the conquerors, and only a very limited allotment, of 600 yards in diameter, was conceded to them for a residence in the neighbourhood of the newly-built churches. At a time when it was gravely disputed whether the Indians were to be counted among reasonable beings, it was believed that a benefit was conferred upon them by placing them under the guardianship of the whites. During a succession of years the Indians, whose freedom the king had fruitlessly promised, were the slaves of the whites, who appropriated them indiscriminately and frequently quarrelled about their right. To avert this, and, as it imagined, to give the Indians protectors, the court of Madrid introduced the *encomiendas*, by which the Indians, in divisions of several hundred families, were assigned to the soldiers of the conquest and their descendants, or to the jurists sent from court to administer the provinces, or counterpoise the encroaching powers of the viceroys, and other favorites. A great number of the best commanderies were given to the convents. This system did not improve the condition of the Indians; it fettered them to the soil, and their labour was the property of their master." (Mühlentfordt, i. 233.)

† In 1823 Ballock found it difficult to persuade the natives that England, France, Germany, Holland, and Italy, were anything else than so many paltry provinces, with Governors set over them by the King of Spain. (Travels in Mexico, p. 53.)

few isolated instances, among men hardened in the traditions of a depraved despotism, and practised in all the mysteries of fraud and corruption under the flagitious administration of Godoy. A striking observation of the Duke of Wellington's is on record, to the effect, that in all his extensive experience of Spanish official men, acquired during the Peninsular war, he met with hardly a single man, whose abilities rose above the meanest order of mind, or who possessed a respectable share of political knowledge. If such men there were, their influence was neutralised by the swarm of court-drones and noodles by whom they were surrounded. The prevalent feeling of the Spaniards towards their American dependencies may be gathered from the fact, that in the Cortes of 1812 there were many orators who denied the colonists to be superior in any respect to brutes, or entitled to any better treatment, and found not only patient hearing, but favour and applause in that assembly. Whatever administrative talent the Spaniards possessed, indeed, seems to have been employed in the colonies. Iturrigaray, Venegas, and Calleja, were men far abler than any of those who composed the government of the mother-country at the same time. Many of their measures were conceived with a skill and executed with a vigour, unknown in the contemporary annals of Spain; and such state-papers of the colonial government as we have seen (for instance, "Calleja's Report on the State of Mexico in 1814") are far superior to those which emanated from the Central Junta and the Regency.

Iturrigaray, the vice-king of Mexico had gained great popularity among the natives by his conciliatory demeanour throughout the pending crisis; and was disposed, from whatever motives, to accede to the demand of the Creoles for the convocation of a Mexican Cortes. He is said to have suspected the fidelity of some of the Spanish officials around him, and looking to the shameful desertion of the national cause, of which so many examples had been witnessed in the Peninsula, and the intrigues of French emissaries in America, it is probable he might have good reason for suspicion. His claim to be regarded as the sole depository of the royal power and authority, gave great offence to the Audiencia, and the European faction pretended that he favored the natives from a desire to make himself an independent sovereign.* However this may have been, the Audiencia determined to have him arrested and deposed; and on the night of the 15th of September, 1808, accordingly, a band of Europeans, chiefly merchants, entered his palace, and seized his person as he lay in bed. After a short confinement in a neighbouring convent, he was removed to Spain, and the Audiencia invested with the vice-regal functions Lizania, Archbishop of Mexico, whose vacillating and feeble policy, tended only to exasperate the eagerness of the Mexicans for the contest which it was now evident had become inevitable.

Two years elapsed from the date of Iturrigaray's arrest, during which the absence of any concessions on the part of the government, and the insolence of the Europeans, aggravated the irritation produced by that event among the natives. An extensive conspiracy against the Spanish dominion was organised, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics and lawyers, with some military men. Dr. Hidalgo, curate of the small town of Dolores, was the leader of the conspiracy in the province of Guanajuato, which with that of Mechoacan or Valladolid, continued throughout to be the main support of the insurgent cause. Hidalgo was an intelligent, and, for his country and profession, well-informed man; enterprising, and of an austere turn of mind; of engaging conversation and manners, some of his chroniclers tell us, yet showing himself both cruel and vindictive in the sequel. He had private as well as public injuries to avenge, for having, among other projects for encouraging the industry of his parishioners, formed large plantations of vines, he had the mortification of seeing them rooted out by order of the government. The viceroy obtained information of the plot, and issued orders for the arrest of Hidalgo, with his associates Allende and other Creole officers in the garrison at Guanajuato. Hereupon the daring priest resolved instantly to raise the standard of revolt. On the 16th of September, 1810, he commenced the struggle by the seizure of seven Europeans resident in the town of Dolores, whose inhabitants, mostly of Indian descent, immediately joined his banner. The news of the outbreak spread like wildfire, and was hailed by the Indians of the neighbouring territory as the dawning of their deliverance from their ancient oppressors. For them, it seemed, the day of retribution was come, and they obeyed with eagerness the call which their leader addressed to them for a sanguinary vengeance. In less than a fortnight 20,000 joined him—a proof of the intolerable nature of the sufferings under which they had so long groaned, and of the tenacious memory of wrong which distinguishes their race, impassive and resigned in outward seeming. To the incitement of patriotism and the prospect of revenge were added the figments of superstition; and the Virgin of Guadalupe, under whose standard they marched, was invoked as the patroness of their cause, and the guide of their arms. Hidalgo was soon joined by two Creole regiments, and found himself strong enough to march upon Guanajuato. This city, the second of the kingdom of Mexico, and the depository of immense treasures, the produce of the neighbouring mines, fell an easy prey into his hands; the Europeans, with not a few of the Creoles, who made common cause with them, were put to the sword, and their property given up to plunder. So eager were the Indians in the work of destruction, that in less than twenty-four hours, not one stone of their houses was left standing. An enormous booty, to the amount of five millions of dollars, rewarded the zeal of the insurgents, who committed many excesses which their leader made no attempt to restrain. Like the *Jacquerie* of France, the Indians were infuriated by the thirst of vengeance, and Hidalgo was but too well inclined to give loose to their passions.

Various reasons have been assigned for the conduct of the rebel leader in encouraging the outrages which an ignorant and undisciplined rabble, such as that which followed his banner, is always prone to commit. Resentment for his personal

* It was at least not from any natural aversion to arbitrary measures, for in his former post, of Administrador de Obras Pias, or steward of pious donations in Mexico, the severity of his exactions gave rise to loud complaints.

† Iturrigaray was released by the Central Junta, afterwards arrested by the Regency, and again set at liberty by a decree of the Cortes. This did not save him, however, from being condemned by the council of the Indies, in a residential, to a ruinous fine of 284,241 dollars, which absorbed all his capital. His wife, who was afflicted with palsy, and family, were reduced to absolute destitution in the town of Jaen, where they resided.

grievances may have had its share; a powerful motive was supplied in the first instance by the wish to commit his followers irrevocably in the struggle with the Europeans. To these we may add the sanguinary instinct which the Spaniard has always betrayed in civil dissensions; more remarkable with that nation since the times of Ferdinand and Isabella than in days more ancient, and, perhaps, derived from the Arabs, so long the denizens of their soil.* Hidalgo's war-cry was "Death to the Gachupins,"† and he scrupled not to act up to its fearful import. One of the darkest tragedies of the revolution, was the massacre shortly afterwards perpetrated by his orders at Guadalajara; here the Europeans, to the number of 100, were shut up in convents, and conducted at the dead of night, in parties of twenty and thirty, to lonely places amidst the hills lying round, where they were despatched by the steel or the club, the use of fire-arms being forbidden for the sake of secrecy. But cruelty is always as impolitic as it is inhuman, and Hidalgo soon found that he had committed a fatal and irremediable error. The Creoles of wealth and influence, connected, many of them, by ties of affinity with the old Spaniards, were alarmed and disgusted by proceedings which outraged humanity, and seemed to menace with ruin all the possessors of property; the old Spaniards were reduced to despair, and seeing war to the knife proclaimed against them, were not slow in resorting to retaliatory measures, which equalled or surpassed those of the insurgents in atrocity.

In Felix Maria Calleja, the military commandant of San Luis Potosi, to whom the new viceroy, Venegas, committed the charge of suppressing the rebellion, they found a hand ready to execute whatever their direst malevolence could prompt. He was a soldier of fortune, who had passed his life in the military service of the crown in America, where, by the vigour of his operations, and the relentless spirit in which he crushed disaffection, he approved himself a worthy disciple of the school of Cortes and Pizarro. He knew and cared little for any other rule of government than the sword; the "extermination of the disaffected," and the reduction of the country to order by the establishment of martial law, was the "heroic remedy" which he ceaselessly urged on the adoption of the Spanish government. Hidalgo, with an army of more than 50,000 men, Indians, with the exception of the Creole regiments already mentioned, armed principally with bows, clubs, slings, and such other weapons as are used at times when "furor arma ministrat," had advanced upon the capital, but shrank from attack, defended as it was by 7000 regular troops and numerous batteries. On a disorderly and ill-conducted retreat, he fell in with Calleja's force, composed almost entirely of Creoles. The fidelity of these to the royalist standards, in a contest with their countrymen, was doubtful; and, but for the imprudence and mismanagement of the insurgents in precipitating hostilities, the result of the ensuing battle, fought on the 7th of November, in the plains of Aculco, might have been very different. The royalist troops are said to have wavered in coming into action, and would probably have refused to open their fire on the opposite ranks. But the unwieldy array of the rebels, struck with terror at the spectacle of a regular army, arranged in five columns, performing its evolutions with silent and orderly celerity, fell into confusion on their approach, and fired upon them at random. This insult provoked the Creole troops to take a bloody revenge, and from the day of this battle their line of action was decided against the rebels throughout the whole of the first period of the revolution. The latter fought with desperation, the Indians rushing with their clubs upon the bayonets of the regulars, and, so ignorant were they of the nature of artillery, trying to stop the mouths of the guns with their straw hats. They fell in heaps; in the battle and pursuit, not less than 10,000 perished. Calleja re-entered Guanajuato after an ineffectual resistance from a part of the rebel army under Allende. His stay there was signalised by a tragedy equaling in horror any that can be found even in the blood-stained annals of Spanish warfare. The populace of the town, furious at their desertion by Hidalgo's troops, had wreaked their rage on a body of 239 Europeans, the survivors of their first assault and capture of the place, who were put to death to a man. Calleja exacted a terrible retribution by the decimation of the inhabitants of this unfortunate town. Without believing the incredible tale of Robinson, that 14,000 of the inhabitants had their throats cut in the great squares, while its fountains ran with blood,—though Mayer and other recent writers have been incautious enough to repeat the statement,—we may conclude that the amount of carnage was sufficiently great to glut even the wolfish appetite of the Spaniard, and almost to rival the atrocities of Cortes at Cholula.

Hidalgo, after his defeat, had occupied Guadalajara in the western country, in defence of which he resolved to make another stand against Calleja. With this view he fortified the bridge of Calderon, about fourteen leagues north-east of the city, on the road by which the royalist general was approaching from Guanajuato. It is thrown across a branch of the Rio Lerma, a swiftly-flowing stream, with precipitous banks and hills rising upon the side of Guadalajara. Here Calleja attacked the insurgents on the 16th of January, 1811. They fought gallantly and repulsed several assaults, but, being thrown into confusion by the explosion of an ammunition waggon in their ranks, and having their flanks turned by the royalist cavalry, were in the end completely routed. Their army broke up. Hidalgo, Allende, and the other leaders, endeavoured to gain the frontiers of the United States, but being betrayed by one of their adherents, were taken and shot at Chihuahua.

Morelos, also a Creole ecclesiastic, was the next leader of the revolutionary troops, whose movements he conducted with greater forecast, skill, and success, than his predecessor. He disciplined his troops, and showed more of forbearance and humanity than belonged to Hidalgo. Fortune smiled for a considerable time on the patriot cause. Collecting a consider-

* The Audiencia of Mexico, in their memorial to the Cortes (paragraphs 40 and 41), attributed "the ferocious spirit that characterized Hidalgo's rebellion, exemplified in the massacres of Guanajuato, Valladolid," &c., to the motive of getting into his hands the resources of the Europeans; as if he could not have obtained them but by wholesale shedding of blood. "Without the riches of Europeans, he could not pay his own debts, much less undertake an expensive war; without these same riches as a bait, he could not gratify that thirst for plunder which possessed the immense legions by which he was followed." But the Spaniards have generally shown themselves incompetent to conceive the attainment of a political object, without the most violent and extreme means. So far they have not even yet shaken off barbarism.

† Gachupin, a nickname for a European Spaniard, from the Aztec word, gatzopin, a being, half man, half horse, applied by the Indians to their conquerors.

able force in the south-west territory, he advanced to Cuantla, within thirty miles of Mexico. It is an open town, but by availing himself of the advantages of the ground, and constructing trenches, and barricades, he rendered it defensible against attack, and was enabled for more than two months to resist all the efforts of Calleja to dislodge him. After a resistance signalised by many brilliant acts of heroism, want of provisions forced him to evacuate the place. In Puebla, Oaxaca, and the south and west, however, he retained the ascendancy for some time, defeating several Spanish divisions, and reducing Acapulco after a six months' siege. A congress of representatives of the Mexican people met at Chilpancingo, in September, 1813, under his protection, and issued the declaration of Mexican independence. With 7000 men and 100 pieces of artillery he arrived before Valladolid, intending to besiege it. His lieutenant, Matamoros, imprudently ordered a review of the troops within half a mile of the town. The gallantry of Iturbide, then a colonel in the royalist army, improved the opportunity by a sally which threw the insurgents into confusion. A party of confederates arrived at the moment to the assistance of Morelos, whom his troops unfortunately mistook for enemies. Iturbide immediately charged them in flank, and put them to the rout with great slaughter. Another defeat by the same officer, completed their disorganisation. Matamoros was taken prisoner and shot, and after a year of ineffectual struggles against the tide of adverse fortune, which everywhere overwhelmed the arms of the patriots, Morelos shared the same fate. A Mexican historian relates a curious anecdote of Calleja, who had now replaced Venegas in the vice-royalty. He visited Morelos in disguise, while a prisoner in the cells of the Inquisition, and being entreated by the vice-queen to save his life, is said to have replied that he would do so, were he not afraid of being dealt with in the same fashion as Iturrigaray.

Morelos was the main stay of the patriot cause, and had he been duly supported by the Creoles, would, no doubt, have achieved the independence of Mexico. After his death, in December, 1815, the insurrection lingered on for two years more, reduced to a partisan war, conducted in different provinces under Guerrero, Victoria, Bravo, and Teran, all able and active chiefs of the guerilla school. But there was no unity or concert in their operations, and the isolated successes which they obtained led to no general result of importance. The congress was hunted from town to town, and finally from one hiding-place to another, by the Spanish troops, till it was dissolved by General Teran, who found it impossible to satisfy the pecuniary demands of its members. Calleja's unsparing hand had all but crushed the rebellion, which was now in a great measure confined to the Baxio, or central plains of the middle provinces. In 1819 occurred the expedition of the younger Mina, who had borne a gallant part in rescuing Spain from foreign domination. But he arrived at the most unfavorable moment, when the cause of those he wished to aid was at its lowest ebb; and he failed to rouse the sympathies of the Mexicans, for he came to proclaim the constitution, not independence. Disembarking at Soto la Marina with 400 men, chiefly English and Americans, he was joined by a few Mexicans, and effected a remarkable March of nearly 700 miles in thirty days over a most difficult country, fighting three actions on the way. Arrived at the Baxio, he found the various parties of insurgents scattered over that wide district, acknowledging the authority of Padre Torres; the elder chiefs of the insurrection having disappeared, except one or two who continued a precarious resistance in the desert fastnesses of the eastern and western coast. This man, who exercised absolute sway over the husbandmen of the Baxio, was one of the selfish and greedy tribe of public robbers, in whom all revolutions are more or less fertile. His sole aim was to enrich himself by rapine and extortion, and such was his disregard of the interests of those whom he professed to protect, that under pretence of cutting off the enemy's supplies, he laid in ruins, one after another, the towns and villages of the district over which he tyrannised. With such co-operators as these, the fate of Mina's expedition may be guessed. An overwhelming force was sent against the insurgents; their strongholds were reduced by siege, and Mina, falling into the enemy's hands, met the same fate which had overtaken Morelos and Hidalgo.

Apodaca, who had succeeded Calleja in the vice-royalty, was disposed to milder measures, and the work of pacification appeared to be completed by the indulgence or amnesty granted to the insurgents, on condition of their return to obedience. In the autumn of 1819, he wrote to the home government that he would answer for the safety of Mexico without a single additional soldier being sent out, as the kingdom was perfectly tranquil and submissive to royal authority. But though active revolt was thus at an end, the spirit of independence, far from being extinguished, had gained strength from its enforced restraint; as the subterrene fire gathers force and volume from the pressure of the superincumbent mass. The establishment of the constitutional system in 1812 allowed a short interval of free discussion, during which a tide of liberal opinion had rushed in, whose influence soon pervaded all classes of society. The insurgents who had laid down their arms under a guarantee of the indulgence, labored in secret to make proselytes; the Creole troops were gradually gained over, and the patriots, with an immense accession of strength, prepared to seize the first favorable conjuncture for a new rising. They had not to wait long. In the autumn of 1819, an army of 18,000 men was assembled at Cadiz, destined to rivet the chains of the Americans. It was placed under the command of Calleja, who since his recall had been created Count of Calderon. But the soldiers beheld with dread and discontent the prospect of embarking for the scene of that fatal warfare, from which so few who took part in it ever returned, and disaffection soon became general in their ranks. Riego seized the opportunity to proclaim the constitution on the 1st of January, 1820, marched at night to Arcos de la Frontera, Calleja's head-quarters, and made him prisoner with the chiefs of his staff.

The re-establishment of the constitution in Spain led to its second promulgation in Mexico. Apodaca, however, openly showed his hostility to the new system, and a plot was speedily formed under his auspices and those of the heads of the Mexican church, for the restoration of absolutism. Iturbide, the same officer who had defeated Morelos, and been mainly instrumental in upholding the Spanish sway, received a commission to put himself at the head of a small body of troops on the western coast, and proclaim a return to the old state of