

British Packet

AND

ARGENTINE NEWS.

Nº. 563.]

BUENOS AYRES, SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1837.

[Vol. XI.

BUENOS AYRES.

MANIFESTO

Of the causes which justify the declaration of war by the Argentine Confederation against the Government of General Andres Santa Cruz, styled President of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation.

(Continued from our last.)

The deposition of Colonel Roca confirming that of Balmaceda, goes back to the period when General Santa Cruz in 1832, made to Alvarado the first overture of his plan, proposing to him to undertake in conjunction with the Argentine emigrants a reaction in the Republic, for which purpose he would furnish arms and a monthly subsidy of seven thousand dollars. The celebrated unitarian Don Manuel Diaz, thwarted the realisation of this proposal by disparaging remarks on General Alvarado, and suggested General La Madrid to substitute him. This diversity of opinion which extended to the emigrants frustrated for that time the projected aggression, whereupon General Lopez asked for warlike stores and arms which he received from General O'Connor, and he was moreover furnished by the Governor of Chichas with a false passport for Chili which might serve to conceal his destination.

Notwithstanding the great efforts which the agents of General Santa Cruz made to disguise their manoeuvres, there were not wanting faithful Americans equally determined to reveal them. The Governor of Potosi thought he could conceal the origin of the aid granted to Lopez, by incasing outside the Park the armament and warlike stores, which were designed for him; but the Government of Tucuman was soon informed, that in the house of Colonel Vera in the city of Potosi, the armament and stores were packed up which José Frias conveyed to Tucuman to deliver to Lopez. The depositions of Vicente Gomez and of Gregorio Perez, taken in the city of Tucuman, on the 3rd and 8th of August 1835, confirm the fact, with this notable circumstance, that this same Perez had been the man who aided to cause the material for the expedition against Tucuman.

None of the incidents necessary to give a perfect knowledge of this insidious plot failed to contribute to confirm the opinion entertained by the Government charged with the Foreign Affairs of the Republic, but what tended more to corroborate it was the deposition of Clemente Garay, on the 8th February 1836: this individual who was in the most intimate confidence of the late ex-General Lopez, in addition to the confirmation of what has been before related, made the frank avowal that the invasion was concerted with the President of Bolivia. Likewise the retired Colonel of the royal army Fernando Aramburu, on being arraigned, endeavoured to excuse his connivance with the invader Lopez, by a letter from Colonel Geronimo Villagra of the escort of General Santa Cruz, who interposed with Aramburu the influence of their old acquaintanceship, in order to induce him to identify his ideas with those of the leader Lopez.

About a month after a fresh incursion to Catamarca had been announced by Colonel Balmaceda in the deposition which has been referred to, the ex-Commandant General Figueroa appeared in Antofagasta, he having been joined in the territory of Bolivia when on his march with the horses, by other individuals determined to revolutionise the said Province. The agents of the Governor of Potosi, neglected nothing to fulfil their commission, and it is owing to their efficiency that Figueroa was not the only one implicated in the design to overturn order in that Province, and it is owing likewise to the mischievous influence of the Prefect of Potosi, that the Governor of Tucuman had to take the field in order to suppress the insurrection by sacrifices of blood and treasure.

Those who expect to find in the dignity of a Supreme Magistrate and in the honor of the Magistracy, a secure pledge of respect to the laws of morality and decency, cannot but recognise an odious exception in the conduct of General Santa Cruz and his agents, in regard to the Argentine Confederation. It will always be difficult to establish the degree of extremity to which the aberrations of the Chief of a State may reach, when hesitating between his ambition and his conscience, between crime and his reputation, he finds himself obliged to condense a veil in order to screen himself from public animadversion and reproach. Such was the dilemma to which General Santa Cruz was reduced by Lopez's

invasion of Tucuman, patronised by himself and his Lieutenants. The triumph of this ill-fated Chief would have served to postpone the charges of the Republic against his protector, but Lopez defeated, Santa Cruz was obliged to have recourse to extravagant fictions in order to prevent remonstrances and beguile the people with the appearance of a false neutrality.

The news of the disastrous result of the attempt of Lopez had scarcely arrived at Potosi, when the Prefect Hilarion Fernandez, hastened to direct the Government of Chichas, in February 1836, that if by any accident Lopez and his companions returned, he should arrest them and send them prisoners at the disposal of the Prefecture, since he was surprised to learn that they had abused the generous hospitality shown them. The Vice President of Bolivia confirmed this resolution on the 19th of the same month, and affording profound grief on seeing the honour of that Government compromised, he ordered the Prefect to satisfactorily evince the unalterable neutrality of the Bolivian Cabinet in the domestic questions of the Argentine Republic.

This stratagem which might be well confounded with the most miserable and vulgar intrigues, would not be sufficiently dissembled in the opinion of the Vice President of Bolivia, unless it were accompanied by insult and disrespect to the Argentine Authorities, in order to withdraw attention from the agency of Bolivia in the last incursion of Lopez. The ministerial journal of 27th March of the said year, took upon itself this task, and heaping up in a cruel diatribe against the Governments of the Confederation gratuitous offences and acrimonious reflections, it reproached & scolded them, endeavouring to deceive the good sense of the country with the cunning of the most refined hypocrisy.

This is not the time to comment upon the policy of the Bolivian Cabinet, which the country will know how to define, but may it not be asked of the Chief of Bolivia, whether before the incursion to Tucuman he was ignorant that the Lopezes, Balmacedas, and other tenacious unitarians, were comprised amongst the emigrants whom the Bolivian Government promised to withdraw from the frontier?—Could General Santa Cruz and his Pro-Cousal have forgotten, that the Argentine Confederation having punctually complied with the request of Bolivia respecting the removal of the emigrants dangerous to the peace of that State, the duty of a faithful return was urged upon him? Were not the aspirations of the ex-General Lopez, his turbulent character, and his ambition, known to the Government of Bolivia? And how is it that he is kept on the frontier surrounded by his revolutionary clients, and tolerated after the solemn and repeated protests of the Argentine Government. Where is neutrality! What becomes of justice and honour!

The small number of the invaders and the severity of their warlike materiel, serve as the only substitutes to the organs of the Bolivian Government in order to destroy the idea of its being an accomplice in such criminal manoeuvres; but time has shown that it has been a principle of the policy of that Cabinet to accumulate sufficient combustible in order to introduce anarchy in the adjoining Republics, with the view of prolonging division and uncertainty. As if the complete victory of one party who might organise them were an insurmountable obstacle to the ambition of the Bolivian Chief, he has only thought of civil war, because destruction was his object. The application of the same policy has been repeated in the anarchical expedition against Chili; and since no one can doubt the origin of that attempt and the means employed to consummate it, it is necessary to recognise in it the same spirit which animated General Santa Cruz in the incursions to this Republic, and give the evidence of facts as the only answer to such pitiful apologists.

Scarcely were the hopes of General Santa Cruz frustrated on the northern frontiers, when the fruits of his insidious plots on the east of the Argentine Republic began to ripen. The influence of General Santa Cruz could not be practical in the Oriental State of the Uruguay, unless the legal order which it enjoyed were replaced by an anarchical Chief in close relations with him, who should openly favour his designs. The conspiracy of 1836 prepared this change, and when that Republic reposed under the shade of its institutions, the latter were suddenly attacked & the Chief of the rebellion was seen in the field surrounded by the principal unitarians fellow labourers of General Santa Cruz. Then the Government charged with the Foreign Affairs conceived it

to be its duty to place the sword of the Confederation in the scale of the legal Government, and Providence protecting the defenders of the laws, permitted a new and terrible lesson to the anarchists. Thanks to the foresight and sacrifices of the Argentine Government, the tempest which rolled over the Republic was quelled and General Santa Cruz again saw himself checked in his malignant enterprise.

The injuries inflicted on the Republic are not limited to the conspiracies promoted and protected by General Santa Cruz. Argentine property on the frontiers of Bolivia has been likewise attacked and plundered. The laws of the Province of Salta have also been set aside by the interposition of a Bolivian force who trespassing the line of division, has penetrated without disguise into the territory of the Republic. The Government will cite facts which cannot be denied, and it will be the duty of impartiality to assign them the place which belongs to them among the flagrant abuses of power, and among the scandalous violations of the law of nations.

The Marquisate of Yabi, situated in the territory of the Republic, was invaded in 1834 by Bolivian troops; and on the 8th of July of the same year, the outrage was consummated by the imprisonment of the Commandant of La Puna, and by the plunder of a quantity of money, which by a decree of the 4th of May 1834 of the Legislature of Salta, was deposited in the hands of the subdelegate of the said section. The Major Commandant of a squadron of Cavalry of Tarija, accompanied by other officers of the same Province and unitarian emigrants from Salta, were charged with the execution of the pillage which by surprise and in the midst of peace was realised with impunity.

There was a litigation before the tribunals of Salta between Fernando Canpro resident in Bolivia, and Pedro Nobasco Uribe, respecting the provisional possession of the Marquisate of Yabi, or valley of Yapi, the rents of which were to be deposited until the right of possession in favour of one or other of the litigants should be declared. The Marquisate is situated within the limits of said Province, which fact cannot be questioned; and with this conviction the Legislature of Salta urged by the exigency of a grave compromise, thought proper to direct by an act passed on the 3rd of May 1834, that the product of the rents of the ex-Marquisate of Yabi should be placed by order and on account of the Government in the public chest by way of a deposit to be returned to whomsoever from the issue of the pending cause it should prove that the estate belonged.

The subdelegate of La Puna at that period Don Cirilo de Alvarado had it in charge to see the law fulfilled, but when he retired with security on the authority of the Republic, and the sacredness of his domestic asylum, he was assaulted in the middle of the night on the 8th July of the aforesaid year, by a band of Bolivian troops commanded by Don Manuel Asoategui brother-in-law to Canpro, and by Major Vasquez, Commandant of a squadron of Cavalry of Tarija, who were accompanied by a Captain of that same Province, Don Manuel Molina, and three emigrants, Don Damián Ibarra, Francisco Pedrosa and Henrique Salazar.

Before the party arrived at the house of Alvarado, the military Commandant of La Puna Don José Gabriel Ontiveros, and the territorial judge Don Luis Parades, were seized by surprise bound and insulted and made to follow the invaders, and witness the spoliation of more than five thousand dollars which Alvarado was obliged by force to deliver, being part product of the rents collected and part his own property. Having made this prize the invaders fled to Bolivia, shutting up Alvarado and tying the other two. They were however pursued as far as that Republic by the Commandant as soon as he regained his liberty, and they owed their safety to the respect with which that Chief regarded the line of division between both States.

This violence and outrage were from their nature so public that the unfortunate General Latorre, Governor of Salta, conceiving that he ought not to await the reclamation of the Government charged with the Foreign Affairs, hastened himself to acquaint General Santa Cruz with the offence committed, and to demand the restitution of the sum taken by main force in the territory of Salta; but instead of redress, which was never obtained, he saw it confirmed by public report in Bolivia, that that Chief repeated without disguise his decision to refuse all communication with the Argentine Provinces, for causes highly humiliating to the Confederation.

A long interval had not elapsed when General O'Connor sent by General Santa Cruz to the north of Oruro, despoiled some individuals of the lands of which the Government of Salta had some years before made grants to them, in order to put in possession of said lands other inhabitants of Bolivia. O'Connor likewise appropriated to himself those which in payment of arrears the Bolivian Government had assigned to him, and he took possession of the territory from the opening of Cañais in the Cerro Niguanza to the Rio Bermejo. The representations made by the owners, who with their titles of the grant claimed their property of the said Chief were unavailing; they were declared null, and the inhabitants of Itan and of Carapara lost by the interference of the Bolivian Authority beyond its frontiers, the patrimony of their children. The Government of Salta again demanded of General Santa Cruz reparation for this injury without obtaining any explanation.

To judge by the policy of the Bolivian Chief since 1831, with respect to the Argentine Confederation, it was not to be expected that he would abandon the disdainful indifference with which he listened to their most just demands; but scarcely had it suited him to show his zeal in the protection of some men, who had sought an asylum in Bolivia, augmenting the number of the enemies of the Republic, which he made an exception to his general conduct, and on the 9th of November 1835, his worthy Lieutenant, the styled Vice President of Bolivia, the constant echo of that Chief, addressed the Government of Tucuman, demanding the persons of Jose Antonio Rosendo and Cornelio Hoyano, as having been apprehended in the jurisdiction of Antofagasta. The Government of Tucuman nobly fulfilled its duty combating in its answer some particularly incident, and referring for the principal points to the authority charged with the Foreign Affairs.

If the succession of events under the fatal administration of General Santa Cruz had not amply revealed his persevering machiavellism against the Confederation, the demand of Rosendo would merit to be numbered amongst the proofs of a morbid zeal for territorial immunity, or of the ignorance of the limits assigned to the laws of asylum by the consent of nations. But the protection of one of the authors accused of the sanguinary and horrid scene at the Barranca Yaco, of the instigator of a tragedy at which humanity blushes; the protection of this notorious criminal by the Bolivian Government, is unfortunately the luminous consequence of the systematic hostility of General Santa Cruz to the present political order of the Republic.

Santa Cruz as fertile in the means of conflagration as unfortunate in his dark manœuvres, presented to the Republic at every step the most unequivocal proofs of his double dealing and perfidy. Refusal is claimed for having been apprehended in Antofagasta, on the same spot where the expedition of Figueroa and his accomplices was organised against Catamarca, and after a show is made of philanthropy of principles and the immunity of that canton is set forth, a new conspiracy appears in it of the Figueroas, the Plasas, Cordova, Santos, and other unitarians, who in the presence of the Bolivian authority threatened with arms in hand the Province of Catamarca, and obliged the inhabitants of Calchaqui to take the field. And still the immunity of its territory is invoked by the Government of Bolivia! Still it is attempted to protect in it the criminals whom the laws and malediction of the Republic pursue!

The Government charged with the Foreign Relations of the Republic is far from even acknowledging that the runaways were apprehended in the Bolivian territory, since that the reports received until the present time are contradictory; it only declares that although it were so, the Argentine Republic had reached that point where all hope of respect for its rights and the laws conservative of peace between adjoining nations, ceasing, the necessity of recurring to arms to render itself justice, commences. In vain had it been urgently demanded that Bolivia should cease to be the focus of tumultuary machinations against the Republic, by consulting that the unitarians should plot against it with impunity. In the midst of the Bolivian Chief's fallacious protests of friendship and peace, incendiary pamphlets were spread abroad, inceptions were concerted, and a permanent conspiracy to disturb the peace of the Republic was kept up. The right therefore of its own preservation peremptorily demanded another line of policy against an unfaithful Government, the instigator and accomplice of civil war in the State. And this same right authorised it to abduct by force the traitor, who under the shelter of the asylum given to him by Bolivia, was secure in continuing his plottings against the Republic.

The constancy of General Santa Cruz in favouring whatever might tend to divide the Confederation, has not been less conspicuous in his inspiring the Bolivians with hatred and dis-esteem for the Argentines. None of those who did not belong to the circle of the chieftain's clique ever found justice in his administration. Inferior in Bolivia to the European foreigners they were frequently outraged and vilified by the subaltern authorities. Their property subjected to heavy imposts, their home without guarantees, and their persons often exposed to the insults of a deluded populace, discover and prove the ill will of an unjust, ungrateful, and procrustean Government; of a Government who finding no honorable pretences to disregard the complaints of the injured, excuses its indolence, with the absence of treaties with the Argentine Confederation, as if the basis of universal justice were subject to conventions,

as if it were lawful to place without reason, the subjects of a friendly nation under exclusive and odious restrictions.

The Custom House regulations regarding importations from the Republic are equivalent to a formal prohibition, and to a decided breaking up of the traffic of three ages. Inequality in imposts involves almost invariably principles of injustice, but when it goes so far as in the case of the Confederation, it evidently conveys the idea of repelling intercourse and commerce. The Government of Buenos Ayres charged with the Foreign Affairs, will not question the right of the Chief of Bolivia to incline by organic measures the balance of trade in favour of its industry and export, but neither can the right be denied to the Argentines to claim being placed on a footing of equality in Bolivia with the subjects of the most favoured nation.

After an accumulation of so many and such protracted injuries, the Government charged with the Foreign Affairs was fully sensible of the reasons it had to take up arms, and combat a power fit to the Argentine Confederation without drawing upon itself the animadversion of the extreme of other nations. The customary remonstrances, the explanations common even amongst nations the least polished had become useless forms, and ungratifying alternatives since there was a want of honour and good faith in the Government of Bolivia. Six years of deceitful assurances had destroyed the confidence which the words of the chief of a State inspire, in whoever little he may be solicitous of his dignity and of his honour.

The Government being reluctantly brought to this painful position, resolved to oppose a patient silence, sacrificing its own feelings rather than denounce to the nation the hostile policy of General Santa Cruz; it preferred the responsibility of a dangerous forbearance, to raising the vengeance of the Republic, and take it from the state of peace of which it had so much need; and it preferred in fine leaving to time the vindication of its rights and the reparation of its injuries, to a premature war, which although provoked by an ambitious and audacious Chief, would certainly become unnecessary when his authority should legally expire.

Nor did the fraternal feeling of the Bolivians towards the Argentine Confederation give room to doubt of their sympathy with our principles; because a nation oppressed and without liberty never makes itself an accomplice in the crimes of its Government. The Bolivians bowing down under the yoke of a military despotism beheld with grief the ties severed which united them so closely with the Republic, and their faithful attachment promised the Government charged with the Foreign Affairs the pledges of a change salutary to both States, as soon as the Presidency of that Republic should be transferred to patriotic and just hands.

General Santa Cruz in his character of Chief of Bolivia was on the other hand too weak to try his power openly on the Confederation without the risk of receiving a terrible lesson. The Argentine name could not sound in his ears without renewing in him the recollection of Pasco and Tucuman, where having been bound twice to the triumphal car of Argentine hosts, and mingled amongst the enemies of the independence of America, he bowed his neck before the standards of the Republic. The Government charged with the Foreign Affairs had carefully estimated the resources of that Chief, and felt assured that prudent counsel would prevent him from going beyond the circle of hypocrisy and intrigue. As soon as the Government charged with the Foreign Affairs became convinced of the impotency of the influence of time and of experience, in order to cause General Santa Cruz to reduce his steps and abandon his hostile plan, it prepared to make him the last notification in order to restrain him in his excesses, when this said General Santa Cruz cut short all pacific views by his criminal aggression against a friendly State, decreed in his cabal and organised in one of the ports of Peru. This scandalous act left it no other alternative but arms, to overthrow a power which was setting itself up with the sword of conquest in hand and threatening the independence of nations. The spirited conduct of the Government of Chili and the noble stand which it has taken in this contest, have awakened the sympathies of the Argentines who have never heard with indifference the cry of liberty against oppressors.

The Government was not ignorant, it is true, that whilst Santa Cruz was employing his intrigues against the Argentine Confederation with the view to create disorder in it, he was seriously engaged in fanning the flame of discord in Peru, in order to enter it under the guise of a pacificator, and realise the obsolete plan of dividing that Republic into two States. It was known that this was destined to serve as the basis of a vast political plan calculated to subject to his influence the destiny of the Confederation, of the Ecuador and of Chili. It was likewise known that attempting to tread in the footsteps of the famous Captain of Colombia, Santa Cruz proposed in the delirium of his foolish pride, to revive the bold design of a South American Confederation. And as if the towering talent and high-mindedness of this chief could descend to him, it was known that this chieftain dared to undertake the enterprise which the immortal and unfortunate General Bolivar saw fall to the ground before the public opinion of America.

But it did not suspect that the treachery or the weakness of the President of Peru would offer a great scope to the unbounded ambition of Santa Cruz. It did not calculate that there could exist a

single Peruvian invested with public power who, in sensible to his honor, would present his country to the foreigner as an humble offering, and aid him to rivet chains on his fellow citizens, terrified and thunder-struck at such great treachery. Such an abuse, such an unexpected crime, is one of those events which linked with ignominious exceptions serve only to bequeath to history an example of monstrous depravity.

Peru being delivered up to the discretion of General Santa Cruz by the treaty of La Paz, and Indians if disembarrassed by a capricious fortune from the resistance offered to him by gallant Peruvians on the fields of Suenabaya and Yancococha, America saw him cast off the mask and set himself up as the disposer of the fate of that Republic. America saw him overthrow its political order, trample upon its fundamental laws, dissolve its social compact, and consume in the flames of victory the constitutional code of the Peruvians. America saw him turn to his own profit the rights of a nation, and with an autocratic power had it over Peruvian liberty.—America has in the seen him tear from his own country its independence, and sacrifice the glories and destiny of the Bolivians to the phantom of a political system, which is nothing else than the image of a degraded and enslaved people.

Ought the Argentine Confederation to remain an idle spectator of so great disasters, and of the aggrandisement of the soldier of fortune, who when confined only to Bolivia, caused the Republic incalculable evils? Shall it be silent in presence of so many excesses and await the fate which in the first days of his triumph, Santa Cruz destined to the State of Chili, letting loose upon it with Peruvian vessels and stores an anarchical expedition for the purpose of preparing the way for his domination? Will not the extension of his power seriously threaten the independence of the Confederation, and shall that which history records as the justifiable origin of complaints and of wars amongst the most civilized nations be viewed without anxiety? The Confederation has for a long time sacrificed its attachment to the independence & unfaithfulness of the Chief of Bolivia, to the desire of preserving friendship and peace with the Bolivians, but rather than share with them their misfortunes, the Confederation will give them the best proof of its attachment by sharing with them in the effort to restore them their independence. Peace with Santa Cruz can be no longer reconciled with the security of the Republic. Since the Confederation cannot terminate its differences with him by the ordinary rules of justice, war is the means which is authorised by the law of nations. As a neighboring and frontier power he has jeopardised by the abuse of force, the liberty, property, life and honour of the Argentines, and the Government could not cover its responsibility were it not to employ the use of arms to restrain him.

To suppress military anarchy in Peru and place Bolivia under shelter from the menacing attitude of a powerful Republic, were the motives which Santa Cruz alleged to pass the Desaguadero. And has this Chief forgotten that he was at the head of the first military insurrection in Peru, when the command was taken from an Argentine General whose services to America, will form some day a brilliant page in the history of the Independence? Has General Santa Cruz forgotten that in 1823, he made this same army, the command of which he reluctantly usurped, serve to subvert the legal Government? Does he not bear in mind that he placed the first Peruvian Congress under restraint, carrying bayonets to their very doors in order that the candidate of the mutineers should be elected to the Presidency? And did not these examples of insubordination and arrogance afford a model to the anarchists whom he pretended to wish to put down?

If the preponderating superiority of Peru, if its population and its resources were such as General Santa Cruz has pretended to justify his policy, the Government charged with the Foreign Affairs will seize this reason to corroborate those which justify the war of the Confederation against the usurper.—Bolivia could not view without uneasiness the Peruvian Republic on account of its power and influence. And shall the Confederation behold with apathy the fusion of his States under the sword of a conqueror? There exists no equality between the forces of Peru & Bolivia; and will there exist any between both these and the Argentine Confederation? The propensity of Peru to aggrandise itself did not promise to Bolivia neither security nor repose; and shall ambition enthroned by victory over both States not inspire apprehension to the Confederation? We appeal to the conscience of the tyrant himself, for even it cannot but recognise our justice.

But what other titles has General Santa Cruz invoked to enter Peru, interfering by main force in the arrangement of its domestic dissensions, and annihilating its political existence? The treaty of La Paz itself scarcely deserved to be recorded in the list of treacheries. In order that it should be valid an effective, it was requisite that the person acting on behalf of Peru, should possess power and authority to divest it of its sovereignty and independence: and no one will be bold enough to sustain such a ridiculous absurdity. General Santa Cruz could not be ignorant of the monstrous illegality of the stipulations of the ex-President of Peru, and nevertheless receiving them as the abdication of a perfect right he reserves them to give an appearance of justice to his conquest, and refusing compliance with a strict duty he omits any notification of the treaty to the adjoining Republics, whose interests were threatened by this clandestine negotiation.

It is true that the principle of popular sovereignty being recognised by the Peruvian people as the only fountain of legitimate authority, that which the Peruvian Convention had deposited in General Obregoso possessed this character; but when the people of Peru declared energetically against him, when they associated themselves with the valiant Chief who with more foresight or more intrepidity first rose against his debased and treacherous Government, and when all the Provinces with the exception of one only withdrew their obedience from him, reducing him to the necessity of seeking the assistance of a foreign force to subvert them, his authority had expired, and every jurisdictional act, every attempt to protect his public existence was a criminal effort to set at naught the decision of his country and to claim it as his will.

In vain would General Obregoso assert the omnipotence of his legal power, in order to found a right to throw himself into the arms of the foreigner, since extraordinary powers whatever may be the emergency from which they are derived, never imply under any political system, the abdication of the right which every nation possesses to regulate itself, its own domestic disputes; they never imply the renunciation of nationality and independence; never the preposterous absurdity of a surrender at discretion to a foreign army in order that it may declare itself the arbitrary disposer of a nation's destiny. Unhappy the nation that would so debase itself! By the mere fact it would forfeit the right of belonging to the great family of civilised nations; and Peru is undeserving of being wronged by denying to its genuine and enthusiastic love of liberty.

General Santa Cruz knew too well that whatever was the origin of his being called in, General Obregoso had not the power to contract for the slavery of his country, which he wilyly betrayed by abusing an authority which even admitting it to be legal, was incompetent to dissolve the fundamental compact of Peru, and parcel it out into two States.

The wily conqueror far from repelling the insult of a perfidious invitation, far from reflecting that America would view his intervention on the basis of the treaty of La Paz as a direct attack on the independence of Peru, only considered that the hour had arrived to gather the fruit of his intrigues, and to turn to his profit the inability of the Peruvian ruler; and resolving to enter by the door opened by treason, he marched by the path of crime to intrude Peru in blood, to raise scaffolds, to mow down on them the heads of its most illustrious warriors, and to level the condition of those who should have the misfortune to obey him. The treaty of La Paz became the plot of the political drama which General Santa Cruz had been preparing for thirteen years: a plan which would have been developed even before the very existence of Bolivia, had not the defeat of Moquegua again immersed him into utility and discredit. The usurper derided the will of the people, because force was destined in his councils to establish the present, and to secure his individual future fortunes.

The Government charged with the Foreign Affairs had not lost sight of General Santa Cruz in his manoeuvres with Peru; it foresaw with too much reason that the premeditated Peru-Bolivian Confederation, would seriously compromise the most vital interests of the Argentine Republic, since for its execution the feeling of those countries had been disregarded, and that the military despotism of the Bolivian Chief would be enthroned. And indeed how could the echo of diminutive assemblies composed of the mere representatives of the victorious Chief be admitted as the expression of the sovereign will of Peru? To recognise as spontaneous acts of the Peruvians the decrees of the Juntas of Huanuco and Suanu, would be to make ostentation of the most ridiculous elements of the representative system. The fundamental law of Peru has been trodden on by individuals without any popular mission, who could scarcely enact the part of an aulic council, chosen to authorise conquest, and to proclaim as the voice of the public the will of the usurper. Nor could Gen. Santa Cruz in any other manner convert Peru into a patrimony of his own.—In no other manner could he submit Bolivia to a like humiliation, insidiously depriving it of its independence.

Since General Santa Cruz has given such glaring proofs of his ambition—since that on the ruins of three Republics he haughtily sets himself up to establish his domination, and at the same time is collecting troops on the frontiers of the Republic, no one will presume to dispute the Argentine Republic the right to hasten to restrain by force of arms, the excesses of a power which has been engaged since its rise in annihilating the Republic, which extends itself by means of conquest, and which has just overturned the political balance of South America.

General Santa Cruz has placed himself beyond the reach of all conciliatory measures. Having systematically converted the public interests to the promotion of his personal aggrandisement, he cannot offer to the adjoining States any secure pledges of a permanent peace, inasmuch as no principle can be durable unless it have for its end the happiness of the people, and be not supported by their sovereign will. General Santa Cruz caressing whatever ambition him, and repelling whatever opposes his extolment, unwittingly proclaims war against the constitutional liberty of the Continent, and by establishing as a dogma the most abominable despotism, forwarms the people of the necessity of guarding themselves.

If the Republic of Bolivia had not been yoked to the car of the conqueror, and losing its independence,

did not form the first step of its tyrant's throne, the Argentine Confederation guarded by the intervening position of that State, were it disposed to make a further show of forbearance, might choose between the alternatives of neutrality or war. But there being established in it a Pro-Consul of the Protectorate, it has become the vanguard of General Santa Cruz, and the sinister policy of his administration is an additional reason why the Republic should at once resolve to trust to force its defence and security.—What can be expected from a Government like that of Bolivia; who at the commencement of February of the present year, despatches an emissary provided with money and means of seduction to raise commotion in Tucuman, and in the following month sends fresh instructions to its public agent to make protestations of its good will and friendship to the Argentine Government?

All paths leading to a frank and dignified arrangement being thus obstructed by the duplicity and bad faith of General Santa Cruz and his minions, the Argentine Confederation is resolved not to lay down its arms until Peru and Bolivia recover their independence so infamously usurped. The prudence with which the Confederation has eschewed war when the offences committed against the Republic were in question, would at the sight of the fatal blow recently struck by the usurper against the sacred rights of Peru and Bolivia, justly merit to pass for pusillanimity.

The Government charged with the Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Confederation, is far from implicating the Bolivians in the hostile encroachments of its Government. The country of the Lanzas and of the Camargos, will behold with indignation the audacity of a Chief who educated in the ranks of the enemies of liberty has derided the patriotic feeling of its sons; a feeling which they gallantly evinced from the first days of American emancipation. And what friend of America will view without horror the autocrat of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, burying in dungeons the most intrepid patriots and calling about him the most notorious & obstinate foes of our political emancipation? What American will not burn with ire when he sees in the organs of the Protectorate, men who were not satisfied with the blood of their fellow citizens, until the last cannon of Ayacucho announced the downfall of the domination of Spain? And these are the lords of the Protectorate! And these are the men who triumphantly parade over the ashes of the martyrs of Independence!

The Argentine Confederation endured injury whilst its forbearance left its dignity and honour unsullied, but this same honour forbids it to join in the train of the despot, when its surffulness would increase his rash ambition. General Santa Cruz shall answer to America for the calamities of this contest. He has offended the Confederation considering it without a Government, because it had not a unitarian one; he thought it weak, because he supposed it divided, and flattering himself with the belief that Argentine valour had been damped from the effects of its past agitations he has finally dared to insult the nation, preparing for it the fate of Peru. It is not then the Confederation which has commenced the war.—General Santa Cruz was the first to attack it; the Confederation defends itself in order to curb his ambition.

The Peruvians and Bolivians will soon learn that he who substitutes by his own authority absolute

power for the temperate exercise of national rights, is unworthy to preside over a Republic; they will know in time that in order not to entail remorse and infamy upon themselves by consenting to their own conquest, they must resolve to restore the empire by reason and of the law. And if it were necessary, that the blood of the Argentines should be mingled with that of both Republics, to none will they owe the glory of this cooperation. The misfortune of the usurper shall then, with grounded arms, leave to proclaim, that the Andes are only a barrier for the slaves of tyranny.

JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS.
FELIPE ARANA.

Advertisements.

TO LET.

IN the Calle de la Federacion, at the house No. 397, two very convenient and handsome apartments, for a single gentleman or otherwise. Those in the house undertake to look after the affairs of the parties who enter the apartments, application to be made as above.

NOTICE.

LONDON PORTER and Brown Stout of a superior quality, per barrel and in single dozens, best old Jamaica Rum, Port Wine in boxes of three dozen and fresh oatmeal and English cheese, to be sold at Charles Zeiglers, Grocery Store, No. 40, Corner of Calle de la Piedad and Calle de la Paz.

Wanted at the same Store, a young lad about 12 or 13 years of age, of a respectable English family.

STORE REMOVED.

MR. HAYTON, has the honor to inform his Friends and the Public, that his Store No. 45 Calle de Cangallo, is removed to No. 68 Calle de la Piedad (immediately behind the Cathedral), where may be found on sale, Levitas, Coats, Jackets, Waistcoats and Pantalons; Beaver Hats from \$30 to \$55, Silk Hats from \$18 to \$20 and for boys from \$15 to \$20; Thread, Cotton, Coloured and elastic Woolen Shirts; Cotton, and elastic Cotton and Woolen Drawers; Suit fronts and false collars; India Silk and also Cotton Handkerchiefs; Cotton night caps; Cravats from \$4 to \$35; Walken and Cotton stockings and socks; Boots from \$25 to \$85; Shoes and Slippers, Braces, Gloves of all sorts, &c. N. B. Mr. H. has just received an excellent assortment of strong English, single and double eye and laced Shoes, the shoes at \$14, and laced shoes (or botines) at \$15; English made Linen Shirts of different qualities; English fine cloth Caps from \$3 to \$12; a few Levitas of gum cloth waterproof; also Ladies's prunella shoes lined with gum.

Orders for Men's clothing received and executed quickly, and on the lowest possible terms.

NOTICE.

THE BUENOS AYRES DIRECTORY FOR 1837, may be had at the *Gaceta Mercantil* office; at the Commercial Rooms, No. 59 Calle del 25 de Mayo; and at Mr. Steadman's Library, No. 30, Calle de la Cathedral.—Price, 5 dollars.

Foreign Merchant Vessels In the Port of Buenos Ayres, on the 1st. of June 1837.		
Vessels and Captain's Names.	Consignees.	Destinations, &c.
British.		
Barque Standard, Polle.....	Parlane, Maclear & Co.....	Loading for Liverpool.
Brig Howard, Beuzley.....	Lafone, Barker & Co.....	Loading for Falknuth for orders.
Schooner brig Detsey Hall, Coaker.....	Brownell, Stogman & Co.....	Loading for Liverpool.
Brig Hebe, Field.....	Anderson, Weller and Co.....	Loading for Falknuth for orders.
Barque Alpha, Turner.....	M'Cracken and Jamieson.....	Montevideo to load for Liverpool.
Barque Ocean Queen, Carnie.....	Thomas Armstrong.....	Loading for Liverpool.
American.		
Barque Chalcedony, Upton.....	Daniel Gowland & Co.....	Loading for Salen.
Brig Olympia, Bishop.....	Daniel Gowland & Co.....	Loading for Havana.
French.		
Ship Constance, Soreau.....	Guerin, Seris & Co.....	Loading for Havre de Grace
Brig Hermine, Soret.....	Guerin, Seris & Co.....	Loading for Bremen.
Brig Uni, Meriel.....	Moscat, Dunoyer and Van.....	Loading for Havre de Grace.
Barque Napoleon, Rabardy.....	Aymes, Brothers.....	Loading for Rotterdam.
Brig Jeanne Estelle, Lamand.....	J. O. Basualdo.....	Loading for Havre de Grace.
Hamburg.		
Brig Johannes, Gagzo.....	C. H. Anderson.....	Loading for Cowes for orders.
Tucuman.		
Brig Esperanza, Shepherd.....	M. S. de la Maza.....	Loading for Cadiz.
Spanish.		
Brig Manuel, Andicochea.....	Zumaran y Tresserra.....	Loading for a port in the Medit' n.
Sardinian.		
Polacra San Antonio, Gallo.....	Dowdall and Lewis.....	Loading for Ports of Spain.
Brazilian.		
Brig Amistad, Araujo.....	M. A. Ramos.....	Loading for Rio Janeiro.
Schooner brig Cacique, Olivera.....	M. A. Ramos.....	Brazil.

Foreign vessel of War.
None



MARINE LIST.



Port of Buenos Ayres.

May 27.—Wind E., heavy rain at night.

Arrived, National zincina Luisa, (106 tons), Manuel Joaquin Ferreira, from Rio Janeiro 14th ult., Montevideo 22nd inst., with 1765 rolls tobacco, 40 barrels sugar, 5 do. starch, to Manuel Acevedo Ramos.

Brazilian schooner brig Cacique, (127 tons,) Joaquin Olivera, from Paragon 1st inst., with yerba, rice, plunk, &c., to Manuel Acevedo Ramos.

British brig Adelaide, (190 tons,) Robert Taylor, from Tarragona 9th March, with 328 pipes, 52 half do., and 56 quarter do. wine, 2 pipes oil, to Thomas Armstrong.

(At night,) American barque Chalcedony, (214 tons,) George Upton, from Salom 12th March, Montevideo 26th inst., with lumber, tea and general cargo, to Daniel Gowland & Co.

Sailed, Spanish brig Paquete Malagueño, José Ramiro, for Montevideo to finish her loading for ports in the Mediterranean, despatched by Zumaran and Yreserra, with 4684 dry hides, 300 salted do., 4 bales with 400 horse hides, 3 do., with 117 dozen slunk calf hides.

Brazilian brig Carolina do Sud, Antonio José Diaz Labrador, for Rio Janeiro, despatched by Manuel Acevedo Ramos, with 2,000 quintals jerked beef, 4000 ropes onions, 6 asses, 400 boxes candles.

May 28.—Wind S. rain all day—hazy.

No arrivals or sailings.

May 29.—Wind S., strong in the morning—rain—hazy.

No arrivals or sailings.

The Carolina do Sud which sailed on 27th, was in sight at anchor this day and yesterday.

May 30.—Wind W., slight rain.

No arrivals.

Sailed, British brig Adelaide, Robert Taylor, for Montevideo, despatched by Thomas Armstrong, with the same cargo she brought to this port.

American ship Brutus, Joseph Adams, for New York, despatched by Zimmermann, Frazier & Co., with 6847 dry hides, 593 horse hides, 9570 horns, 18 pipes with 520 arrs. tallow, 5 boxes indigo, 14 nutria skins, 9 seal do., 11 half pipes and 3 barrels with 283 dozen salted tongues, about 2000 arrobes neat's foot oil in pipes, 22 bales with 812 arrobes horse hair, 4 do. with 193 dozen goat skins, 1 do. with 524 lbs. ostrich feathers, 1 do. with 33 arrobes ox tails, 9 do. with 450 dozen deer skins, 30 do. with 600 doz. sheep skins, 99 do. with 2420 arrobes wool and some return cargo.

Passengers, Messrs. John Harrison Blake, James Ela, John Byers, Alexander Forsyth and Alexander B. Whiting.

May 31.—Wind S.

Arrived, National (late American) schooner Virginia, (102 tons,) Edward Laudman, from Rio Janeiro 12th inst., with 433 barrels and 5 boxes sugar, 50 boxes oil, 452 rolls tobacco, to Poucel & Co.

Sailed, Oriental packet schooner Aguila Scungunda, Manuel Soriano, for Montevideo.

National schooner Star of the South, (pilot boat,) on a cruise in the river.

June 1.—Wind N. N. W.

Arrived, National schooner brig Mary Jane, (118 tons) John Gard, from Patagonia 21st ult., with 400 fanegas salt, to Edward Lumb.

Sailed, Oriental packet schooner Rosa, Juan Bautista Schiaffino, for Montevideo.

June 2.—Wind N. strong.

No arrivals or sailings.

Shipping Memoranda.

Vessels posted to sail.

- On 3rd.—Johannes, for Covas.
- 4th.—Esperanza, for Cadiz.
- 5th.—Standard, for Liverpool.

ARRIVED AT LIVERPOOL.

March 8th.—British schooner brig Salathiel, Bell, hence 23rd December.

Vessels on the berth at Liverpool on 23rd March.

- FOR BUENOS AYRES.
- Brig Thomas Leech, Captain W. Coull, to sail about 29th March.
- Barque Argentina, Kelso, to sail about 3rd April.
- Brig Catherine, B. Hayman.
- Brig Fortuna, Jos. Porteus.

FOR MONTEVIDEO AND BUENOS AYRES

Brig William Waters, Captain W. W. Roe, (late of the Amelia,) to sail about 10th April.

Festival of the twenty-fifth of May, anniversary of the emancipation of this country from the dominion of Spain.

Our account of this year's Fiestas de Mayo, must from necessity be very brief. We will, therefore, merely state that the Plaza de la Victoria was environed with laurel branches, the obelisk in the centre brilliantly illuminated and decorated with flags, colour red, and red white and red. It bore various inscriptions, among them were the names of DORREGO, QUIROGA, SANTOS ORTIZ, and LATORRE. Around the obelisk, were placed pillars with lights and ornaments, and federal flags waved from the houses in the neighbourhood of the Plaza. Two effigies of Lancers with lance in hand, were placed on the exterior of the Police office, flanking a transparency having the inscription, 'La Patria independiente y feliz bajo el sistema federal.'—In the interior of the Plaza there were 'roundabouts,' a 'rompe cabeza' and an arch for the 'juego de sortija.'

On the evenings of the 24th, 25th and 26th May, the public offices and town were illuminated, and military music stationed at the Cabildo, fire works were discharged, and the spectators were numerous. The colours at the fort, marine office, &c., were displayed on the 25th & 26th.

The customary salutes were fired from the fort on the 25th, viz.:—at sun rise, mid day and sun set, also at the conclusion of High Mass at the Cathedral, and at the departure thence of the Government procession. Public business prevented His Excellency the Governor from attending the procession. In it were Don Felipe Arana, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Generals Guido, Pinedo, Mancilla, Rolon, Pacheco, the civil and military authorities; as also Señor Lisboa, Chargé d'Affaires of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil. The troops forming the garrison of this city wore under arms, and formed line from the fort to the Cathedral, attended by their bands.

The congregation at the Cathedral was extremely numerous, the sermon was preached by the 'Provisor Canónico Dignidad' Dr. Miguel Garcia.

On the return of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the fort, he received the congratulations usual to the day, from the corporate bodies, the Inspector General, &c., &c. Señor Lisboa, Chargé d'Affaires of Brazil, spoke in the name of the Corps Diplomatique, stating the satisfaction they felt to see domestic peace consolidated under the system of Federation, adopted by all the Provinces of the Argentine Confederation, and that under the guidance of the Illustrious Chief who now presides over the destinies of the important Province of Buenos Ayres, and directs the Foreign Affairs of the Republic, there was every probability that the Argentine Confederation would soon arrive at that degree of prosperity which the fertility of its soil demands.—The Minister returned suitable replies to the various addresses.

On 26th the female schools of this capital under the superintendence of the Beneficent Society assembled in the Theatre, where premiums were awarded to those of the scholars who excelled in their studies. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and a great quantity of spectators were present. The grenadier company of the Guardia Argentina, was stationed at the door of the Theatre with the regimental band. The orchestra of the Theatre was in the gallery, the National Anthem was sung &c. &c.

The Gaceta Mercantil of Tuesday last, contains the sentence in the criminal cause against the authors and accomplices in the murders of General Juan Facundo Quiroga and his retinue, at Barranca-Yaco in Cordova. We have in our No. 498 given a full account of these horrible murders, therefore any further remarks from us upon the subject would be superfluous. The sentence is that José Viento Roynafé, José Antonio Roynafé, Guillermo Roynafé, Santo Perez, Policiano Figueroa, Cesario Peralta, Basilio Marquez, Fermín Flores, José Maria Juarez, Solano Juarez, Francisco Peralta, Marcelo Figueroa, Mateo Marquez & Marcelo Marquez are to suffer death. They are to be executed in the Plaza del 25 de Mayo, in presence of the troops of the garrison, & their bodies afterwards suspended on a gallows, the four first named for six hours. The twenty five more are to cast lots to determine the seventeen of their number that are to be executed—the remaining eight to be placed to hard labour for ten years. Ten are to suffer different periods of confinement, two have been discharged as having sufficiently expiated their offence by the imprisonment they have undergone, eleven have

been acquitted. Francisco Roynafé has been also condemned to death, but he is absent.

The prisoners are allowed ten days from the promulgation of their sentence, 27th ult., to petition the Government.

Advertisements.

British Subscription Library.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING will take place in the Library on Monday evening next, the 5th inst. at 6 o'clock precisely, when the attendance of the Subscribers is particularly requested, to examine the accounts of the past year; to elect a new Committee; and to decide on what Books should be sold, in conformity with the 11th rule of the Institution.

WM. GILPIN,
SECRETARY.

To Milliners, Dressmakers &c.

RIBBON-WIRE, colours white, straw, pink, and black; Bonnet-wire, best Bonnet buckram, Pastebords for Bonnets, &c. Diamond and drilled-eye needles, sharps, betweens, and blunts. A superior assortment of London made Stocks. For sale at No. 30 Cathedral Street. J. S. 3t.

THOMAS TUCKER,

TAILOR, &c., (FROM LONDON),

No. 56, CALLE DE LA PIEDRA.

BEGS leave to return his grateful acknowledgments to his numerous Friends, for the distinguished favours received since his commencement; and hopes by the most unremitting attention, reasonable charges, and executing their orders in the first style of fashion, agreeable to the latest London mode, and superior workmanship, still to merit a continuance of their favours. He has A SUPERIOR STOCK OF CLOTHS—Blue, Black, Invisible Green, Adelades, and several rich and fashionable shades in Browns, &c. Of Waistcoatings for the Winter, he has just imported (and not to be found in any other Shop) an Elegant Assortment of neat and handsome Patterns, of the best material; likewise Marsella Waistcoating, in great variety—Oxford-Grey, Drab Mixtures, Stripes and Plaid in Cloth, for Trousers; and superior plain and figured Moleskins, for ditto.

Jacketsons, Shooting-Coats, and every other article in the Trade, made in the first London style, and every article charged at the most reasonable price.

** Flannel Waistcoats, Drawers, &c., made in the best possible manner.

William Butler, Tailor.

No. 73, CALLE DE LA UNIVERSIDAD.

RESPECTFULLY intimates to his Customers and the Public in general, that he has just added to his stock an excellent assortment of Cloths, &c. consisting of various fashionable colors for the winter season; and he takes the opportunity of returning sincere thanks to his numerous friends for the very liberal support he has received from them since his commencement in business, and begs to assure them, and all who may favor him with their commands, that he cautions on his part will be wanting to give satisfaction, by having their orders executed in the best style, and at very moderate prices.

PRICES CURRENT.

Doublings, Spanish	130½ a 127 dollars each.
Do. Patriot	124½ a 125 do. do.
Plata macuquina	7½ a 7½ do. for one
Dollars, Spanish	7½ a do. each.
Do Patriot and Patacones	7½ a 7½ do. do.
Six per cent Stock	57½ a 58 do. per ct.
Bank Shares	no demand
Exchange on England	63 a pence per dol.
Do. Rio Janeiro	310 a 320 dls. per prem.
Do. Montevideo	7½ a 7½ per patacon
Do. United States	7½ per U. S. dollar
Hides, Ox, best	33 a 34 dls. p. pesada
Do. country	28 a 30 do. do.
Do. weighing 23 to 24lbs	26 a 28½ do. do.
Do. salted	24 a 26 do. do.
Do. Horse	10 a 11 do. each.
Nutria Skins	4 a do. per lb.
Chinchilli Skins	40 a do. per dozen
Wool, common	9 a 14 do. per arr'ba
Hair, long	55 a 57 do. do.
Do. mixed	31 a 33½ do. do.
Jerked Beef	14 a 16½ do. do.
Tallow, melted	13 a 13½ do. per arr'ba
Horns	129 a 850 per mil
Flour, (North American)	a none
Salt, on board	a none
Discount	1½ a 2 pr. ct. pr. month

The highest price of Doublings during the week, 127 dollars. The lowest price 124½ dollars. The highest rate of Exchange upon England during the week 63 pence. The lowest ditto 61 pence.

PRINTED AT THE MERCANTILE GAZETTE OFFICE, No. 75 calle de Cangallo.

Published every SATURDAY, at No. 59, calle del 25 do Mayo; where Subscriptions and Communications are received by the Editor.

PRICE.—EIGHT DOLLARS, (currency) PER QUARTER.—Single numbers 5 rials.

ALEXANDER BRANDEN, Responsible Editor.