exasperated almost beyond endurance by his cruelty, and yet utterly deprived of all means of redress. The city of Ascencion became shrouded in gloom; the houses, with doors and windows always closed—business suspended, and no sounds of domestic comfort or social hilarity to dispel the awful stillness caused by the darkness of despair—seemed only to contain the contemplated victims of the *Supremo*. Ten years before his death, "the prisons were groaning with their inmates; commerce was paralyzed; vessels were rotting on the river banks; produce going to decay in the warehouses; and the insolence of his soldiers was systematically encouraged as the best means of striking terror into the hearts of the crouching and insulted citizens; distrust and fear pervaded every habitation; the nearest relations and dearest friends were afraid of each other; despondency and despair were written on every countenance you met; and the only laughter heard in the city was that of Francia's soldiers over their revels in the barracks, or in their exultation over the affronts offered to unoffending citizens as they were openly deprived of their property in the streets."*

These revolting facts being thus established by the testimony of eye-witnesses, how shall we assert, with the hope of belief, that they were but as the opening act in the great drama of tyranny to be enacted during the subsequent period of his Government? As familiarity with vice and blood hardens the heart—as man with no earthly affections to soften and guide; to make him, by the hourly anxieties of his own soul, feel for the tribulations of his fellow-man—or, as the tiger, which, having once tasted *human blood*, will have no other, so was Francia in the latter years of his life. Isolated by his fears from all society but that of an old negro woman, he examined suspiciously his simple food, and even made his own cigars for fear of poison; and he spent his wretched nights in a room, barricaded like a dungeon, with loaded pistols on his pillow, and surrounded by a guard. From the narrative of the brothers Robertson, it appears that Francia had quarrelled with his father long before his elevation to the dictatorial power. "They spoke not, met not, for years; at length the old man was laid on his deathbed, and before rendering up his great and final account he earnestly desired to be at peace with his son, José Gasper." The obdurate son refused, and the old man's illness was increased by the horrid apprehension that his soul would be lost if he left the world without a reconciliation with his first-born. He sent some of their mutual relations to expostulate with the heartless tyrant, and they implored him to receive his dying parent's benediction. He refused again. They told him that his father believed his soul could not reach heaven unless it departed in peace with his son. Human nature shudders at the final answer which that son returned: "Then tell my father that I care not if his soul descends to hell."

This fact portrays, with revolting force, the monstrous depravity of Francia, and is sustained by a large variety of other instances related by the same authors, proving him to have been, perhaps, the most cruel despot which the world has ever known. And yet the inhabitants of Paraguay, with whom the present writer has largely conversed upon the subject, declare, with one voice, that the narrative of the Messrs. Robertson falls short of the reality, and by no means represents the tyrant in colors sufficiently dark to a faithful picture. No wonder that the malediction uttered against his dying parent cleaves to his own name and memory, in the bitterest denunciations of all his countrymen! For, in truth, he made Paraguay a scene of bloodshed and of misery, of tyranny more absolute and of slavery more complete, than any ever presented to us in the history of the world. Almost every man of any standing was first robbed of the means of subsistence, then banished, imprisoned for life, or shot—so that no one might remain to alarm his apprehensions, or conspire against his unlimited authority; and the few patriots who survived this reign of terror fled to the interior, and silently awaited from the hand of Providence an opportunity to rise up for the regeneration of their country. At length their weary hopes were fulfilled. The tyrant died at the age of eighty-two, leaving a tumultuous horde of savage soldiers to prey upon the people; a country impoverished of its precious metals to the last degree; not a dollar in the treasury, or a public or private paper of his administration unburnt. Even his silent secretary, though unharmed by the people, and living in security with his family, committed suicide fifteen days after his death.† Thus lived the tyrant, and thus he passed away, leaving a blank indeed in the history and hearts of his countrymen.

His death-scene, it may perhaps be interesting to relate. Attended during his last illness only an old woman and a native doctor, he was at length told by the physician that his condition was hopeless, and that he had better call on some one to administer to the welfare of his soul. Upon mention of a priest, which Francia hated above all things, he leaped from his bed in a paroxysm of rage, and, snatching his sabre, pursued the panic-stricken and retreating doctor to the door of his chamber. Here his strength failed him; he stumbled and fell; that floor was his death-bed, for when raised from thence nothing but the corpse of Francia remained—a fitting and unpitied ending for such a life!

The news of his death spread slowly, as if people feared to believe such welcome tidings, or dreaded that some fresh plot might be devised to ensnare the trembling inhabitants. But while they were in this confused state, like men just awakened from a deep slumber, ere yet they had had time to collect their ideas, the alcalde ordered him to be buried in the accustomed form. A funeral sermon was preached in the National Cathedral, with masses to assist his soul to heaven; when the congregation present, had they given utterance to their thoughts, would have expressed as much indifference about its welfare as he did, whilst living, for his father's.

It is proper to mention here a fact, strongly characteristic of the Paraguayan people, and which speaks volumes for their character. Instead of following the customary impulse of mankind, who usually indulge their vengeance upon the memory, and even the corporeal remains of their deceased tyrants, the very first Congress after Francia's death decreed a maintenance for his illegitimate daughter and his sister, that they might not suffer from the poverty entailed upon them by his unnatural neglect. Nor can any State paper or other document emanating from an official source in Paraguay be found, reflecting in terms of harshness upon his awful administration.

The duty to the dead disposed of, next came to be considered the situation of six hundred starving, naked, and vermin-polluted prisoners, confined in the jails of the capital, victims of despotism. Previously, however, some of the military chieftains had come to the natural conclusion, that as their head had gone, after having set them such a lucrative example, they would strive to perpetuate the system, or at least secure the remainder of the spoils. But at the sight of those poor prisoners, among whom many recognised, even through the filth that clothed them, wives or children, friends, parents, or husbands—many of them unwashed or unshaven through a confinement of twenty-two years—the long tyranny was ended, and the resolution was unanimous among the leaders of the people that Paraguay should never again be enslaved.

The Alcalde Pereira assumed the reins of Government, as the first step in the new order of things. But some of the soldiers, not liking the arrangement, thought to help themselves to a leader in one of their own captains. Commotions arose in Ascencion on this account, in which there was some bloodshed; the prime mover was finally taken and shot, and two influential men, Don Carlos Antonia Lopez and Don Mariana Roque Alonzo, nominated and called together, in 1841, a Congress of Deputies to consider the public welfare. By this Congress the consular form of government was adopted, and two consuls were elected to serve for two years, of whom the first was the Señor Lopez, and the second Señor Alonzo. A general amnesty was declared; public and private confidence were restored; the people again gave utterance to their thoughts and feelings without fear or apprehension, and the stilled and stagnant nation-heart throbbed aloud its song of joy in the security of freedom. A gradual distribution of the soldiery took place, and they soon lost the feverish impulses of their military character in the peaceful occupations of the citizen.

The first duties of the consuls were to declare the Republic free and open to foreigners and commerce, and make such regulations with their neighbors of Brazil and Buenos Ayres as would ensure the recognition of its independence; this being imperatively necessary to secure an egress to the ocean by way of the Paranà river, the natural and only commercial highway. To this end, in 1842, Don Andres Gill was sent as a commissioner to Buenos Ayres to make a treaty with General Rosas. He was also charged with an application to the Government of the United States to recognise the independence of Paraguay, and proceed thereafter to such measures as would naturally follow; and he was subsequently directed to forward this application by the United States Consul in Buenos Ayres. This was the first request of the kind ever made by the Paraguayan Government to any independent Power beyond the confines of South America, and we beg the reader's especial attention to the fact; because it is our design to point out the danger which the neglect of our Government must incur of driving this important and rising Republic into the arms of England and France, if they are compelled to despair of our friendship and sympathy.

Every obstacle was thrown in the way of Señor Gill's success by the arbitrary tyrant of the Argentine Republic, and finally a new and absurd claim was advanced—that Paraguay, by faith of a treaty made in 1811, belonged to the Argentine Confederation. It seems enough to condemn this pretence that, from the period when the yoke of old Spain was broken, and during the whole thirty-five years of Francia's administration, no one had ever heard of it. And, notwithstanding the pertinacious efforts of the hireling writers, whose talents are under the control of General Rosas, and who have labored of late years to establish this claim, we should assuredly think it deserved nothing better than contempt, did we not know that many sensible persons in the United States, reading only his side of the question, place full confidence in it. It is high time that this glaring imposition should be exposed, and he no longer suffered to delude the public.

The only ground for this preposterous claim on the part of General Rosas is the treaty of 1811, to which we have already adverted. By the treaty itself we learn that it was made during the struggle for independence against the mother country, and that it was simply for mutual aid and support against the common enemy. The fifth article of this very document distinctly recognises the independence of Paraguay, and the whole paper is formed in the style and after the manner of treaties between independent Powers.* No other treaty exists or ever has existed between the two countries up to the present period. But it has been said by one high in place in our own country that Buenos Ayres certainly had an equitable lien upon the territory of Paraguay, because she made no efforts in the cause of national independence, but availed herself of all the results arising from the severe struggle of her neighbor. This is conclusively answered by the historical fact already related, that the only army ever sent against Paraguay was by Buenos Ayres—that it was defeated—and that the Generals Yegros and Cavellero, on their return with their victorious troops to Ascencion, by their own act and in a single day overturned the colonial authorities and established a free junta in the place thereof: by which deed Paraguay, though more tardy in her revolutionary movements than Buenos Ayres, in reality far outstripped her in the race. The object of Gen. Rosas in misrepresenting the matter is perfectly manifest. He is determined, if possible, to subject the navigation of the river Paranà, which is the life-blood of Paraguayan commerce and prosperity, to such laws and restrictions as he chooses; and compel it to use Buenos Ayres as a port of entry, instead of passing it by for the far superior harbor of Montevideo. But as, by the rules of national law, he cannot do this while Paraguay maintains her national independence, therefore he pretends that she is one of the States of the Argentine Confederation, and consequently subject to the despotic sway of the man whom her Rancho hordes have placed at their head.

During these unforeseen difficulties, which Sr. Gill in vain strove to surmount, a Congress of Deputies had reassembled at Ascencion, charged with the duty of framing a written constitution, and a conformable system of State Government. In the latter part of 1843, this constitution was published at the capital, and under its provisions Don Carlos Antonio Lopez, the senior consul, was elected President for ten years from the first of January, 1844. We must revert, however, to a most important act of the Consular Government, and from which our paper will derive its chief interest.

By an extract from despatch No. 28 of the then United States Consul at Buenos Ayres, and under date of November, 1843, it is stated that "the Government of Paraguay, being now consolidated with its President and legislative body, a friendly understanding with the United States is much desired, and will be advantageous to the citizens of the United States whose trade may be with that country. The Government of Paraguay are more anxious that their principal and most friendly relations should be with the Government of the United States, as the treaties which exist between most of the South American Republics and Great Britain give the idea that they look to the latter as their principal support. It was therefore that her Britannic Majesty's envoy, Mr. Gordon, was coldly received, and the Government of Paraguay so anxious to cultivate the most friendly feelings with that of the United States before all other nations." With this despatch was sent and received the following application of the Paraguayan Government:

"To the most Excellent Consul General of the United States near the Government of Buenos Ayres.

"FOREIGN RELATIONS,

"ASCENCION, PARAGUAY, AUGUST 28, 1843.

"The Supreme Government of the Republic of Paraguay has the honor to address his excellency the Consul General of the great North American Confederacy, near the most excellent Argentine Government, in order to make known to him that the extraordinary General Congress of this province, which met on the 25th of November last, explicitly declared the independence of the nation, as required by the unanimous vote of the people, and established the flag which is to cover the trade on sea, as well as the other national vessels of this Republic. The Government of the undersigned, impressed with the duty of communicating this happy event to friendly nations, feels the utmost pleasure in fulfilling this most agreeable duty with regard to the representative of the most happy and liberal nation of the New World; and they at the same time hope that he will take the annexed document into consideration, and will present and recommend them to the attention of the National Government of the United States, to the effect that we may receive through you, sir, the acknowledgment of our independence, and the other acts which may follow.

"Deign, sir, to accept the sincere sentiments of our consideration and high esteem.

"CARLOS ANTONIO LOPEZ,
"MARIANO R. ALONZO."†

The foregoing document, so well worthy of immediate attention, was quietly laid upon the shelf and forgotten by Mr. Tyler and his State Secretary Calhoun, until the request of an unknown and humble individual to be sent to Paraguay removed it from its dusty repose during the first days of the present Administration.

The mention of the British agent, Mr. Gordon, in the despatch of the United States Consul, brings us to an explanation of his mission, and the momentous events to which it contributed. A year previous to the establishment of a Constitutional Government in Paraguay, the British Minister resident at the Court of Brazil, with the wisdom that so eminently characterizes the diplomatic surveillance of that nation, sent the Secretary of his Legation over land to Ascencion, to learn something of the Government and productions of the newly-opened country, and report accordingly. Mr. Gordon consequently went to Paraguay; but his overtures were treated with indifference and his propositions with neglect, because it was to us, and not to Great Britain, that the hopes and feelings of the young Republic were directed. Though treated personally with the hospitality of the country, he made himself so obnoxious, by the overbearing insolence of his manners, and by an injudicious interference with the prejudices of the people, that he was ordered to leave the territory in twenty-four hours, and was kept for five days on board of a small vessel in the Paraguay river, waiting for a fair wind. But Mr. Gordon had gained the information he wanted; and the attention of his Government was forthwith more immediately directed to the rich, fertile, and densely populated valley of Paranà, with a careful eye to the securing this new accession, for the benefit of those manufacturing and commercial energies from which England has so long drawn the materials of her colossal power.

Though it is hard indeed to fathom the mysteries of South American diplomacy, still we will endeavor to decipher it, as connected with the Anglo-French operations in that quarter of our continent bordering upon the La Plata. In 1845, at the opening of Parliament, British merchants of London and Liverpool, and British manufacturers of Manchester and Birmingham, petitioned the Queen of England to force the navigation of the river Paranà; "for the commerce of Paraguay, in a few years, could be made second only to that of Her Majesty's East India possessions." The numerous French inhabitants of Montevideo had also been petitioning, during some two or three years, for the interference (unlawful though it should be) of the mother country against the attempt of Rosas to conquer the land of their adoption. Consequently, from one motive and another, we find, in the summer of 1845, the Anglo-French intervention and the blockade of Buenos Ayres fully effected, without any cause for a declaration of war; and the old continental system of paper blockade placed on all the circumjacent coasts, to the utter contempt and destruction of neutral commerce. The vacillating and insincere conduct of England and France in these affairs has rendered those nations obnoxious and ridiculous to the American world; and Rosas has fairly gained no advantage over the subtle and well-sustained policy of General Rosas. It is found that Buenos Ayres must be conquered to get to the China-like wealth of Paraguay; but her people are not opium-eaters, nor is she an Algiers, with only the Mediterranean to cross for the Gaul to find his colonial home. It is, however, a country which, under its present rule, defied the French for three long years, and still defies the combined forces now wasting their treasure upon a bootless mission. Strange that the character of her despotic Governor could not have been sufficiently studied to have prevented the scenes enacted there within the last two years! Certain it is, that hitherto the efforts of England and France have produced nothing beneficial to themselves. So far from it, indeed, that the intervention, tired of the useless and interminable expense attending it, seems now about to abandon the blockade, and leave to the future and to struggling Paraguay the question of the navigation of the Paranà.

We must not be understood as upholding the cause of General Rosas in any part of his *American* policy. This, as an adherent of freedom, we would consider treason to justice and to truth. But we must praise his successful opposition to *European* illegal and presumptuous interference with his national affairs, under reasons calculated to delude the American world, and which are utterly false and hypocritical. *We only ask Americans to draw the distinction between his acts towards the neighboring American States, and his determination to resist the encroachments of that monarchical system of the balance of power, which seeks to extend itself even here upon our own Continent.* This is a distinction which letter writers and American diplomatists seem unable to perceive: the one class being so hostile to Generas Rosas as to praise the intervention; while the other are so warmly his friends, and so strongly opposed to England and France, that they consider Paraguay, Monte Video, and Brazil all inimical to the interests of the United States, merely because these nations have rights to join and preserve against the exactions which geographical position gives General Rosas power to enforce against them.

But let us revert to the affairs of Paraguay. Señor Gill returned to Ascencion from his fruitless mission in 1843. He succeeded in bringing with him a printing press and some skilful workmen, so that by these means, if none other could be gained, Paraguay might communicate with the world. This gentleman, in re-introducing, after a lapse of nearly one hundred years, this most important means of improvement, deserves the everlasting gratitude of his countrymen.‡ A periodical, "El Paraguay Independiente," was forthwith undertaken, and its first thirty-two numbers were occupied with a historical narrative of the controversy with Buenos Ayres, from the earliest declaration of liberty to the conclusion of Señor Gill's mission. The whole tone of this periodical, so unlike the lunatic ravings of antagonistic papers in general throughout Spanish America, is dignified in the extreme; and all its statements are fortified by proofs, instead of resting upon mere assertion. From the most careful examinations of these proofs, we have felt abundantly satisfied that the truth and justice of the question are on the side of Paraguay.

We have already stated the unsuccessful results of Mr. Gordon's overtures, and the strange neglect which the application of the youthful republic received from ourselves. In the mean while her government, having become consolidated, was recognised by the Republics of Bolivia, Peru, and Uruguay, and by the Empire of Brazil, which latter has a Chargé d'Affaires residing at Ascencion. It is an indisputable fact that Paraguay has been, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, independent for thirty-five years—that she is capable of preserving her independence—and that it has been recognised by all the neighboring nations except Buenos Ayres. Why then should not our Government perform the same act of justice, instead of waiting to receive her example from England and France, in matters strictly American? As to the absurd claims of General Rosas, he might as well advance a title to the contiguous territory of Chili, with which he is always quarrelling. It is true that we have never acknowledged separately the independence of any of the countries which have arisen into independent Powers out of the same state of colonial vassalage; but by the act of making treaties with them, we have done the same thing, and in so doing have assumed a prouder position before the world than we are ever likely to do again. Sad for us—and disgraceful to our foreign reputation was the day, when so-called democratic misrule abandoned, from motives of party animosity and mortified pride, the sublime system spread forth to the gaze of wondering Europe by the administrations of Messrs. Monroe and J. Q. Adams. As for the consequences which this determined want of national consistency has entailed upon us, we purpose to state them briefly in the close of our present communication. The picture, we believe, has never before been presented to the public in the same light; but nevertheless it is painfully correct.

The noble rivers that intersect South America in all directions, exceeding even those of our own country, have ever been the bone of contention among them: and we fear that their difficulties on this score will continue to exist, until the principles of a more enlightened policy are understood and adopted. It is for the purpose of introducing and strengthening these principles, which this nation has probably established in a far greater degree than the rest of the world, that we think it devolves upon our Government to meditate between them. For considering that, in the earlier days of their struggling, likely, we regarded them as in a manner under our protection and advice, we ought certainly to have the best prospect of proposing our friendly counsels with the highest advantage to all parties.

Brazil has been violently accused by the Argentine prints with being the sole cause of the Anglo-French intervention, which she, by a circular despatch, has fully denied. But this, so far as it concerns ourselves, is a small matter, for she has not had any influence with Buenos Ayres from the period of her earliest history until the present time; and, for the last four or five years, has been continually on the eve of an open rupture with her. All the neighboring countries of South America are in the same situation with respect to Rosas. Hitherto, England and France have retained a predominant influence; the former, particularly, having completely taken the place which we once held, and afterwards forfeited by our own negligence. But now, of course, hardly a trace of this influence of England and France remains. Of the three great commercial nations of the world, the United States alone stands at least uncompromised by any hostile attitude. In difficulty with the other two, it naturally became the object of the Buenos Ayrean Government to make the people believe that the Government of the United States was strongly opposed to the blockade instituted by the combined Powers; and to such an extent was this attempt carried, that the United States were even represented as ready to interfere *vi et armis* to prevent it. The grievous disappointment which the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres felt upon the arrival of Commodore Rousseau in February, 1846, with only a sloop of war and a small brig, when they had been led to suppose, by more dishonorable means than we care to enumerate, that his instructions were to insist upon the blockade being raised as a violation of neutral rights, and an interruption to American commerce unauthorized by the laws of nations, caused a re-action of feeling exceedingly hostile and detrimental to our countrymen. It is said that this delusive hope was carefully fostered and strengthened by the course of the United States Chargé d'Affaires, who was understood to have become strongly attached to the views of the Dictator Rosas.

It is quite notorious, as an acknowledged principle of our Government, that the interference of any European power with the affairs of the American continent is to be regarded with a jealous eye. It is also equally certain that this Anglo-French intervention has been particularly so regarded, for it was wanting in justice—the first element to its success. This knowledge led the Argentine Government to look to us for our good offices; and, in order to obtain them, to make continually the most extravagant demonstrations of friendship and esteem *on paper*, but sadly deficient in every thing like real sincerity. These our Government have listened to, so far as to fail in providing proper security to our citizens residing in Buenos Ayres, by exacting prompt payment of our claims in that quarter, hitherto entirely unsettled; and to throw Paraguay overboard, treating her with neglect, and leaving her without the support which she would morally receive, if a great commercial nation like our own had recognised her independence, and proceeded to the other acts which would naturally follow, viz. making a treaty of commerce and amity with her, establishing diplomatic relations, and consequently demanding a free passage by the way of the river Paranà to her ports. This would have been a simple act—one easy of accomplishment, and required by justice.

We have endeavored to prove that the well-known richness of Paraguay, as first officially made apparent to the British Government after the death of Francia, by the mission of Mr. Gordon, was the *primum mobile*, joined with the petitions forwarded to Parliament, which impelled them to their interference with the affairs of the La Plata: though, in reality, Great Britain has turned a longing look in that direction for nearly forty years. This is further borne out by the fact, that several steamers and other vessels of war ascended the river to Corrientes, a distance of about seven hundred miles. These vessels convoyed, in September, 1845, a fleet of some eighty sail of all nations, but by far the greater part under the English flag, by way of giving precedent in favor of the right of free navigation demanded by Paraguay; still doing so in a round about way, without acknowledging her independence, which was the only proper preliminary. President Lopez, desirous of preventing the influx of spies and agents of the numerous conflicting nations and parties on the confines of his country, removed his custom-house from the Villa del Pilar, (or Neembuco,) to an island at the junction of the Paranà and Paraguay rivers: at the same time professing his ardent desire to see all well-disposed foreigners in the pursuit of their lawful affairs in his country. This movement manifested a sound and wise policy, which cannot be too highly commended.

A month or two previous to this removal of the custom-house, the writer arrived in Ascencion as United States special agent. What were the results of his mission still remains a profound mystery: for neither has any public mention been made of it, nor any official action as yet been had upon it. It seems to be in the category of many other things imperiously demanding the attention of our Government, but as yet swallowed up either in the "war for the succession," or the war of Mexican spoliation.

Paraguay having been neglected through a long time by those to whom she had a right to look for far different treatment, felt herself compelled to resort to such means as were in her power to accomplish her end. Beholding her just claims to independence seemingly abandoned by all the world, she saw herself left either to perish within her borders, or some other mode of finding an outlet to the ocean; but on the eve of signing an offensive and defensive treaty with the province of Corrientes, which had risen in pretended rebellion to the authority of Gen. Rosas, the signatures were delayed by the President when he heard of the expected arrival of the U. S. special agent, in the present hope that at length some substantial aid was at hand to help them in their desperate situation. But when President Lopez learned that, *at that late day, the United States had only authorized their Envoy to ascertain whether it was advisable to recognise* the independence of his country, he hastily and with feelings of the bitterest disappointment, signed a treaty which our Government, as if anxious to throw all possible difficulties in the way of the Paraguayan people, has declared to be a serious obstacle to their success. And yet the event soon proved that the treaty was a mere snare of Gen. Rosas. The province of Corrientes was induced to make violent professions of hatred towards his tyranny, and a consequent display of sympathy in the compulsory durance of Paraguay. Commissioners were appointed to carry these sentiments to President Lopez, and to offer the assurance that Corrientes was ready to make common cause with Paraguay in favor of her independence. The treaty to which we have alluded was the result of this proposition. It ended in a combined declaration of war against Gen. Rosas, and a manifesto was published, setting forth the reasons. Nevertheless, it was declared that this war was not so much against their brethren, the Argentines, as against the despotism of one man—their dictator; for that he, by the arbitrary enactions of his tyranny, had forbidden them the use of their own water for a highway, and had denied them their rights as an independent nation. Far more cause for such a war had Paraguay against Rosas than ever we had against Mexico.

But it has been stated that Paraguay, whilst in her transitive state, as it were, had no right to make common cause with Corrientes, and thus virtually interfere in the domestic affairs of a neighboring State; and hence it is ingeniously inferred that, while she was thus at war with Buenos Ayres, it would be impossible for our Government to recognise her independence without violating our amicable relations with Gen. Rosas. We confess our incapacity, however, to understand such reasoning; for the right of Paraguay to be acknowledged as an independent Republic existed *anterior* to her treaty with Corrientes, and our acknowledgment of her independence neither involves our approbation of that treaty, nor could our disapprobation of that treaty take her right to such acknowledgment away. Suppose that, during our own revolutionary struggle, the province of New Brunswick had pretended to sympathize with us, and that a treaty, offensive and defensive, had thereupon been signed, would any man living presume to say that such a compact could have neutralized our causes of complaint, and destroyed our right to national freedom? As little reason can we see in the idea that our acknowledgment of Paraguayan independence could properly affect our amicable relations with Buenos Ayres. No such result was apprehended, when not only France, but Spain, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, acknowledged the United States, while yet the contest of actual war existed with the mother country. No such result was apprehended when our Government acknowledged the independence of Buenos Ayres and the other South American States, without waiting for the consent of Spain. No such result was apprehended when we assented to the independence of Texas, without asking leave of Mexico; and yet the right of Paraguay stands on clearer grounds than any of these, because she never was subject to the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres, either *de jure* or *de facto*. So that we cannot discover the slightest basis, in justice or in reason, for the hypothesis, that her claims must be questioned and virtually denied, because her acting Government accepted the offer of Corrientes, and declared war against the despotic power which not only refused to acknowledge her independence, but also deprived her of the navigation of the highway for her commerce with the nations of the world.

But, even if it be granted that Paraguay committed an error in accepting the overtures of Corrientes, on what principle of justice should this mistake operate to the advantage of her adversary, when there is the strongest ground for believing that Rosas himself caused her to be deluded into the act by the grossest deception? The tale is but one link in the chain that binds nearly twenty-five degrees of latitude under his faithless dominion. The facts are these. In prosecution of the treaty stipulations, troops were sent to Corrientes. We saw them set out with every joyous anticipation, little expecting that they were intended to fall into the tyrant's snare. United to an army of several thousand Correntinos under Gen. Pax, the troops of Rosas attacked them: when, behold! at the *first charge* Gen. Don Juan Madariaga, who had signed the treaty at Ascencion as commissioner for Corrientes, suffered himself to be taken prisoner, together with all his troops; and his elder brother, the governor of the province, declared for Rosas, leaving the Paraguayans deserted and betrayed to the mercy of their enemies. Happily, however, they were able to make good their retreat without loss. No doubt exists, amongst those immediately concerned, that Rosas, in conjunction with the brothers Madriaga, concocted this shameful piece of treachery.

It might seem to argue a "want of modesty and duty" if we should discuss on this occasion the details of our own mission. We trust that time will bring them before the public in their proper shape, and mean while we shall confine ourselves to those topics which involve the character, not of individuals, but of our country, and to which the proprieties of official reserve can have no relation.

It was on the 8th of November, 1845, that we arrived in Ascencion. During our stay there the battle of Obligado was fought in the river Paranà, between an overwhelming force of the Anglo-French intervention and the army of Gen. Rosas. It was decided in favor of the Europeans after nine hours' hard fighting, and the Paranà was at length, by the life-blood of many Argentines, temporarily opened to the world. Under these auspices, as we have mentioned, a fleet of some eighty sail, chiefly English, ascended to Corrientes, and the French steamer of war "Fulton" and some agents of the intervention on board entered the river Paraguay, and passed to within nine miles of Ascencion. The agents communicated with the Paraguayan Government, and also brought with them some agents of the city of Montevideo. Being wanting in the first requisite to treat, viz. credentials from their sovereigns, President Lopez heard all they had to say, but replied nothing in return. His Government looked with distrust upon the intervention, and steadily refused to hold any treaty with it until, as a preliminary step, the independence of his nation had been recognised by the sovereigns of England and France. But it was only at this time, when they had sought him in his own ports with flattering promises, that he made the same requisitions of those great nations which, as we have seen, he had anxiously though vainly presented to the United States more than two years before. The Ministers of the intervention, Messrs. Ousely and Deffaudis, provisionally granted the demand, subject to the ratification of their respective home Governments. What action they have taken upon it we are not informed. We presume it will be a stroke of policy for them to confirm it, and thus completely outwit the United States, as since 1829 they have ever done in their diplomatic relations with all parts of South America.

The French steamer of war "Fulton" is the only steamboat that has ever penetrated so far into the interior of South America. She, therefore, naturally excited a degree of wonder but little inferior to that of the western Indians, when, overwhelmed with the misfortunes of their race, they thought the Great Spirit had visited them as a Fire King in his wrath. But let us mention a simple incident, very significantly illustrative of the feelings of the Paraguayan Government toward the intervention. For the first time in the annals of her political history the Paraguayan flag had been saluted in their own waters by this steamer; but no member of her Government accepted the invitation to visit her, nor did any one belonging to the first families of Ascencion so far gratify their longing curiosity. And yet they are perfectly aware that it is only by vessels built after a similar manner that they can ever gain that power and commercial prosperity so ardently desired, the capabilities for which they so eminently possess, and whose returns they so justly deserve. This steamer received on board, however, the Senors Jovellanos and Gonzales, as passengers to the city of Montevideo, where they arrived in the last days of March, 1846. They were the confidential agents of the Paraguayan Government, to return the civility shown to them by that city; though we shrewdly suspect that the design of sending agents from Montevideo originated with the Ministers of the intervention to ensnare Paraguay. But if it were so, it failed of its intended effect, for they were specially instructed not to enter into any negotiation until after the full recognition of their national independence.

Here ends the writer's personal knowledge of events in that quarter of our continent, as he returned to the United States via Rio de Janeiro at this time. Since then he has received no intelligence except through the medium of contradictory newspaper accounts, in which the wilfully perverse statements of the Buenos Ayrean press form by far the larger share. In reference to this public press it is proper to state that General Rosas, with characteristic acuteness, has made it the organ of his Government, and from the amount of talent employed and the vast sums paid to the writers it has naturally held much sway over the public mind in every quarter. His "Archievo Americano" is published in Spanish, English, and French, the three different languages side by side, and it is forwarded to all parts of the world as the highest organ of conclusive political information. The minor periodicals, such as the "Gazeta Mercantil" and the "British Packet," the former published in Spanish, the latter in English, are equally and fully under the absolute control of the Dictator. In fact, the press of this unfortunate city, like all things connected with a Government founded in bloodshed and anarchy, and conducted by tyranny, has become so wedded to lying and hypocrisy *that they are now but two in one*. The amount disbursed by Rosas during the last year for the support of his press appears by the published account to exceed the expenses of the whole civil list. No Government is too sacred for his low and disgusting abuse, and we regret to say that his method of whipping into the traces resident diplomatists is no less effective than original. Much of this have we known within the last eight years, in which the representatives of the United States, forgetting their position and country, have simply become tools and playthings of the despot. It is painful in the extreme to be obliged to revert to these things; but it is a duty to speak, at least in general terms, that our countrymen may know how they stand abroad. We seem to be finally awaking to a just sense of the blessings of so-called democratic rule at home; let us assist the progress of truth with what we know of its various ramifications in other parts of the world. We are well aware that this system of Rosas has found a foothold in this country, England, France, and elsewhere; and that in all these nations there are public newspapers in his pay, and faithful propagators of whatever falsehood, either in print or by correspondence, may reach them from Buenos Ayres. But notwithstanding this array of the means which a blood-stained despotism places at his disposal, Gen. Rosas must soon learn that others, beyond his control and independent alike in the maintenance and publication of their opinions, will give a truthful narrative of himself and his administration. The writer has not forgotten the large share of detraction and abuse which has been meted out to himself, because he has refused to submit his sense of duty in behalf of Paraguay to the dictation of Gen. Rosas: and the facts of the case he may feel himself called on to disclose in due time. Meanwhile, the reader who desires to see some account of Gen. Rosas and his Government may be referred to Col. King's "Argentine Republic." We cannot, indeed, endorse all the deductions of this author in the latter part of the work, but we believe the main incidents to be correct; and some of them we know transpired during our sojourn in the Rio de la Plata in 1840–'1–'2.

It may be proper to notice, in this connexion, a letter which appeared in the New York "Courier and Enquirer" of the twenty-second of May last, under date of the twenty-fifth of March from Buenos Ayres. It is there stated that "Paraguay, under the imitator of the tyrant Francia, (Lopez,) will be probably during his lifetime a sealed country;" and the inhabitants also have no very polite terms applied to them. Now we do not hesitate to say that this representation is thoroughly erroneous. So far from seeking to keep Paraguay a sealed country, we have shown, throughout this communication, that it is the most determined desire of her Government to gain an intercourse with the world; and we have ourselves seen and furnished to our State Department a decree, declaring that all privileges will be granted to foreigners in Paraguay which are possessed by the natives to prosecute their lawful designs, and publicly inviting them to come to the Republic, and instruct the inhabitants by their superior knowledge. The letter in the "Courier and Enquirer," we doubt not was the work of one of those who are either themselves deceived, or who attempt to mislead the people of this country.

A short narrative of the history of South America, as connected with England for the last twenty-five years, may not be uninteresting, to assist us in illustrating the extent of the guardian care with which our rulers have watched over American interests and property since the commencement of President Jackson's Administration.

That the United States, first and far beyond every other nation, felt a deep interest in the success of the Spanish colonies in their struggle for independence; that she invited England to co-operate with her in recognising the independence of Buenos Ayres as early as 1818; that England was then engaged in playing a double game of deep subtlety with the "Holy Alliance" concerning these same colonies, and gave no respectful attention to the invitation; that this nation, foremost and unaided, and with the sympathies of the monarchical world against her, in 1822–23 did recognise the Spanish colonies, under the auspices of those great and patriotic men, Monroe, J. Q. Adams, and Clay, as free and independent; and, finally, that Great Britain, envious of our bright fame and ponderous influence in those regions of America, thereupon determined the course of her policy, and instantly followed in our footsteps. All these are unquestionable historical facts, and need neither elucidation nor comment from us. It is true the egotistical Canning placed on record a statement of his own that "he had called a new world into existence to balance the old;" but this has long since ceased to be remembered, save as one of the inflated self-eulogizing boasts of an administration desirous to retain its power, and, for that purpose, ready to utter any convenient absurdity.

Though evidently sensible of the extravagance of Mr. Canning's declaration, we propose to show that Great Britain, by actively taking advantage of her immense means, did all in her power—if she could not deprive us of the glory of the first movement—to render it practically true. In the prosecution of these designs she has, in all cases, overthrown the superior influence which this nation, prior to the administration of President Jackson, and at the time of the *Congress of Panama*, universally held with those new and feeble Powers; and that she has moulded them, both in diplomatic treaties and commercial relations, almost wholly to her own purposes. In conclusion, we shall present a short summary of our principal argument, in connexion with a statement of our peculiar advantages in those regions, and then we shall take the liberty of suggesting how, in our opinion, we can regain an equivalent for what we have lost by our supineness and utter sacrifice of patriotism to party.

Mr. Canning, immediately *after* his extraordinary statement that "he *had* called a new world into existence," ordered abroad, through all parts of South America, numerous agents, deeply infected with the Foreign Secretary's enthusiasm on this subject, who already, before their outset, were disposed to report favorably, and were also directed to report quickly. Upon these reports treaties were immediately made with the new nations; commercial energy and capital were employed to an immense amount in all parts of the continent, and, independently of the partial construction of many articles in the treaties, almost countless sums of money were eagerly advanced to the different Governments to cement the *bonds of friendship*, while, in reality, with the usual foresight of the British Cabinet, all this was well calculated, when the day of payment should come, to prostrate the weak beneath the strong, the debtors beneath the creditors, and compel them to sue for mercy at the feet of their complete masters. In confirmation of this, witness the treaty of 1826 between England and Brazil, so odiously foreign to the increasing sugar interests of the latter that she, the weaker party and the immense debtor, has declared it at an end, and will not accept any proposition as yet made by the British Cabinet. But England wants the fertile island of Santa Catharina, abounding in coal, as the payment of her debt; and already speaks of taking it! Let us also adduce the third article of the treaty of 1826 with Buenos Ayres, wherein it is declared that all vessels of his Britannic Majesty shall have liberty to enter, for the purposes of commerce, all harbors, bays, *or rivers* where other foreign vessels are or may be permitted to come. Under this article Brazil, Paraguay, and Montevideo, all *foreign nations*, but all owning extensive possessions on the mighty rivers which form the Rio de la Plata, must either be debarred from their self-evident rights or England, with her overwhelming financial power, must sweep them all from out their own waters. And it is a fact of great portent that this treaty, unlike all the other British commercial treaties with America, *contains no article providing for its termination* upon notice of either party. His Britannic Majesty's Government well knew *they* would never desire to end it, and if they did, they could soon find a pretext—a course by no means so easy to the weaker party. Yet Gen. Rosas, notwithstanding a blockade of two years, the open fight of Obligado, and many other acts of a like nature, dares not retort upon England her own system of declaring all existing relations broken by any hostile act, but leaves *in statu quo* a treaty which must always continue to distract those blood-stained but beautiful countries, that she may reap, sooner or later, the harvest of her political philanthropy. In fine, there is not an independent nation of this continent, except our own and Paraguay, that is not in debt to England beyond the hope of redemption, or even the probability of paying the interest; still pay-day must come some time or other, and it behooves us to watch the *modus operandi*. Already we perceive the method of these plans in a universally predominant influence of Great Britain over ourselves in all parts of foreign America; and though they have been taught, by sad experience, that in their eagerness to build this fabric of anticipated power, they had reared it on a basis too unsteady for so vast a superstructure, yet they doubtless expect in due season to find the reward of their governmental loans, of the millions expended in the mines, and of the manufactures shipped so far beyond the amount required for the consumption of the country.

In another way has this "El Dorado" of British hopes reacted, not only upon themselves, but collectively upon all commercial nations; for they created a feeling of importance much greater than that to which these infant Governments were properly entitled. Seeing themselves hurriedly courted with every expression of lasting esteem and confidence, blinded as they were by the diplomatic intrigue and practical tact of the greatest nation of the world, they naturally fancied themselves *conferring favors*; consequently they adopted, in many cases, a high-handed and fluctuating policy, and, by their injudicious and ill-timed laws, hampered commerce, retarded the progress of the public welfare throughout every section of Spanish America, and violated, without fear of reproach, public and private engagements.

Meanwhile what has been the course of these free and generous United States? After the completion of the proudest monument yet reared to our fame in the recognition of the Spanish colonies, and the firm stand which compelled all Europe to regulate their early intercourse with Southern America by our own maxims, the wheel of party politics took another turn, and our vantage ground was most unwisely abandoned. The *Congress of Panama* affords conclusive evidence that these nations *then* properly regarded the importance of our early friendship, and deemed us their natural advisers, for we were *invited* to teach and to guide them. Whether the long train of evils which, for centuries to come, will leave their traces behind them, would have been averted by carrying out the noble and grand but perfectly practicable views of Messrs. Adams and Clay, is a question which we leave to the awakening sense of patriotism now happily prevailing amongst us. Truly we hope, when peace shall again bless our country, that our Government will offer the friendly mediation which was once requested, and which may not yet be too late. The knowledge of a multitude of evils entailed upon all parts of America by disorders which we might have prevented, and for which, to a certain extent, we are fairly accountable, demands an effort at least to make the most ample reparation in our power.

In further illustration of our argument we would ask whether the United States Government has attended to the ordinary interests of our citizens in many parts of South America? Have we a treaty with Buenos Ayres? Have the many claims due to our countrymen in that State been adjusted? Have we had or do we now hold a treaty with the Republic of Paraguay? Above all things, has our Government, in the great majority of cases, sent such men for diplomatic residents as were qualified by their abilities, patriotism, and wisdom, to uphold the dignity of our nation? It is surely time that these questions should be put to the dominant party. Again: how does it happen that the present chief expounder of our constitution, after once plainly *opposing* the principle of Mr. Monroe in reference to the interference of Europeans on our continent; and then, in his inaugural address, as plainly *adopting* it, still fails to carry it out as it was originally intended? It is a melancholy fact that "the same men differ from themselves at different times. Temporary delusions, prejudices, excitements, and objects have irresistible influence in mere questions of policy. And the policy of one age may ill suit the wishes or even the policy of another." We cannot be, therefore, one of those who deem mankind infallible, and charge a want of consistency upon a statesman as a crime. Therefore, if Mr. Polk will justifiably carry out the great principle which he formerly opposed, but now admits, we for one will rejoice at the change. As for the mischiefs produced by the party to which this gentleman belongs, their opponents are not accountable before the tribunal of history. We may have our part in the miseries, we can have no part in the gilt or the dishonor. We have also another reflection to make for the comfort of our South American claimants, that if "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," justice deferred and rights withheld will always enhance the price at which safety and peace must in the end be purchased.

The advantages we now possess to correct these evils are numerous and manifest. With Brazil England has quarrelled about the formation of a treaty to replace the one of 1826. The breach is also more bitter on account of the grand imposition of her attempt to stop the slave trade. The lately acquired influence of France is against her. The Anglo French blockade and the obnoxious treaty of 1826 between England and Buenos Ayres, added to the murder (for no war has been declared) of hundreds of her citizens; these things, if they move not the flinty heart of her tyrant, have at least rendered the name of Englishman most obnoxious to her people. Contrast with all this the ardent devotion which Paraguay feels towards our institutions, and the proportionate dislike of the snares of monarchical influence which the sad experience of her neighbors has given her; consider, in addition, the hopeless debt and consequent oppression in one form or another, under the apprehensions of which all the nations of South America, except Paraguay, so heavily labor, and our view into the future of what we can and ought to do becomes clear and distinct.

It seems very evident that the true policy of our Government towards Paraguay is to grant without delay her request to be admitted into the family of nations. For declining to enter into the ordinary bonds of friendship and commerce with her we surely have no reasonable pretext whatever. In fact, by our suicidal delay we are only depriving ourselves of that strong position which her application to us, first of all the Powers of the world, undoubtedly gave us, and which her liberal feelings towards us would easily enable us to retain. Should she from necessity be compelled to shield her weakness and inexperience under the strength and knowledge of the monarchies of England and France, she must do so under their own grasping restrictions and at a serious sacrifice of independent feeling. Then, as with her neighbors, if we are ever to recover the ground of which European policy will have deprived us, it must naturally be through a long struggle with our determined rivals and a full return to the system so clearly set forth in the instructions of Mr. Adams to Mr. Anderson. Indeed, we can neither imagine nor desire a more thoroughly noble exposition of our duty to these still struggling nations than is found in that sublime State paper. The beneficial results which must naturally accrue to us from the entertainment of just and liberal views in their behalf are perhaps with many a subject of but little interest through lack of information. We purpose, therefore, in a future communication, more fully to explain the present system by which Paraguay is governed, and also to mention the chief points of commercial importance to us in her natural productions and social position.

Though upon the Procrustean bed of so-called Democratic principles the policy of our country hitherto has in vain sought repose, yet we look with hope to the future. There are still many who remember that "Government is a practical thing made for the happiness of mankind, and not to furnish out a spectacle of uniformity to gratify the schemes of visionary politicians. The business of those who are called to administer it is to rule, and not to wrangle. It would be a poor compensation that we had triumphed in a dispute whilst we had lost an Empire; that we had frittered down a Power and at the same time destroyed the REPUBLIC."*

*Burke *apud* Story.

## REMINISCENCES OF NAPOLEON.

FROM BLACKWOOD'S REVIEW OF MONTHOLON'S WORK.

NAPOLEON sometimes told interesting tales of his early career. One of those, if true, shows how near the world was to the loss of an Emperor. After the siege of Toulon, which his panegyrists regard as the first step to his good fortune, he returned to Paris, apparently in the worst possible mood for adventure. He was at this period suffering from illness. His mother, too, had just communicated to him the discomforts of her position. She had been just obliged to fly from Corsica, where the people were in a state of insurrection, and she was then at Marseilles without any means of subsistence. Napoleon had nothing remaining but an assignat of one hundred sous, his pay being in arrear. "In this state of dejection I went out," said he, "as if urged to suicide by an animal instinct, and walked along the quays, feeling my weakness, but unable to conquer it. In a few more moments I should have thrown myself into the water, when I ran against an individual dressed like a simple mechanic, and who, recognising me, threw himself on my neck, and cried, 'Is it you, Napoleon? What joy to see you again.' It was Demasis, a former comrade of mine in the artillery regiment. He had emigrated, and had returned to France in disguise to see his aged mother. He was about to go, when stopping, he said 'What is the matter? You do not listen to me. You do not seem glad to see me. What misfortune threatens you? You look to me like a madman about to kill himself.'

This direct appeal awoke Napoleon's feelings, and he told him every thing. "Is that all?" said he; opening his coarse waistcoat, and detaching a belt, he added, "here are thirty thousand francs in gold; take them, and save your mother." "I cannot," said Napoleon, "to this day explain to myself my motives for so doing, but I seized the gold as if by a convulsive movement, and ran like a madman to send it to my mother. It was not until it was out of my hands that I thought of what I had done. I hastened back to the spot where I had left Demasis, but he was no longer there. For several days I went out in the morning, returning not until evening, searching every place where I hoped to find him."

The end of the romance is as eccentric as the beginning. For fifteen years Napoleon saw no more of his creditor. At the end of that time he discovered him, and asked "why he had not applied to the Emperor?" The answer was that he had no necessity for the money, but was afraid of being compelled to quit his retirement, where he lived happily practising horticulture.

Napoleon now paid his debt, as it may be presumed, magnificently; made him accept three hundred thousand francs as a reimbursement from the Emperor for the thirty thousand lent to the subaltern of artillery; and, besides, made him director-general of the gardens of the crown, with a salary of thirty thousand francs. He also gave a government place to his brother.

Napoleon, who seems always to have had some floating ideas of fatalism in his mind, remarked that two of his comrades, Demasis and Philipeau, had peculiar influence on his destiny. Philipeau had emigrated, and was the engineer employed by Sir Sydney Smith to construct the defences of Acre. We have seen that Demasis stopped him at the moment when he was about to drown himself. "Philipeau," said he, "stopped me before St. Jean d'Acre; but for him I should have been master of this key of the East. I should have marched upon Constantinople and rebuilt the throne of the East."

This idea of sitting on the throne of the Turk seems never to have left Napoleon's mind. He was always talking of it or dreaming of it; but it may fairly be doubted whether he could ever have found his way out of Syria himself. With his fleet destroyed by Nelson, and his march along the coast—perhaps the only practicable road—harassed by the English cruisers; with the whole Turkish army ready to meet him in the defiles of Mount Taurus; with Asia Minor still to be passed; and with the English, Russian, and Turkish fleets and forces ready to meet him in Constantinople, his death or capture would seem to be the certain consequence of his fantastic expedition. The strongest imaginable probability is, that, instead of wearing the diadem of France, his head would have figured on the spikes of the seraglio.

Suicide is so often the unhappy resource of men indifferent to all religion that we can scarcely be surprised at its having been contemplated more than once by a man of fierce passions exposed to the reverses of a life like Napoleon's. Of the dreadful audacity of a crime which directly wars with the Divine will, which cuts off all possibility of repentance, and which thus sends the criminal before his Judge with all his sins upon his head, there can be no conceivable doubt. The only palliative can be growing insanity. But in the instance which is now stated by the intended self-murderer there is no attempt at palliation of any kind.

"There was another period of my life," said Napoleon, "when I attempted suicide, but you are certainly acquainted with this fact." "No, sire," was Montholon's reply.

"In that case, write what I shall tell you; for it is well that the mysteries of Fontainbleau should one day be known."

We condense into a few sentences this singular narrative, which begins with an interview demanded by his marshals on the 4th of April, 1815, when he was preparing to move at the head of his army to attack the allies. The language of the marshals was emphatic.

"The army is wearied, discouraged; desertion is at work among the ranks. To re-enter Paris cannot be thought of; in attempting to do so we should uselessly shed blood."

Their proposal was his resignation in favor of his son.

Caulaincourt had already brought him the Emperor Alexander's opinion on the subject. The convoy had thus reported the imperial conversation: "I carry on no diplomacy with you, but I cannot tell you every thing. Understand this, and lose not a moment in rendering an account to the Emperor Napoleon of our conversation and of the situation of his affairs here; and return again as quickly, bringing his abdication in favor of his son. As to his personal fate, I give you my word of honor that he will be properly treated. But lose not an hour, or all is lost for him, and I shall no longer have power to do any thing either for him or his dynasty."

Napoleon proceeds. "I hesitated not to make the sacrifice demanded of my patriotism. I sat down at a little table and wrote my act of abdication in favor of my son." But on that day Marmont with his army had surrendered. The allies instantly rejected all negotiation after this decisive blow in their favor. The act of resignation had not reached them, and they determined on restoring the old monarchy at once. On this the desertion was universal, and every man at Fontainbleau was evidently thinking only of being the first to make his bargain with the Bourbons. Napoleon, as a last experiment, proposed to try the effect of a war in Italy. But all shook their heads, and were silent. He at length signed the unequivocal abdication for himself and his family.

"From the time of my retreat from Russia," said he, "I had constantly carried round my neck in a little silken bag a portion of a poisonous powder which Ivan had prepared by my orders when I was in fear of being carried off by the Cossacks. My life no longer belonged to my country; the events of the last few days had again rendered me master of it. Why should I endure so much suffering, and who knows that my death may not place the crown on the head of my son? France was saved."

"I hesitated no longer, but, leaping from my bed, mixed the poison in a little water, and drank it with a sort of happiness."

"But time had taken away its strength; fearful pains drew forth some groans from me; they were heard, and medical assistance arrived. It was not Heaven's will that I should die so soon—St. Helena was in my *destiny*."

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* Robertson's Francia's Reign of Terror, vol. 1.

† The only instance of suicide known in Paraguay for a century.

* See "Registro Diplomatico de Buenos-Aires," B. Ayres, 1825.

† We are not accountable for this translation, having never seen the original.

‡ Both banks of the river Paranà, as far as its junction with the Paraguay, belong to Buenos Ayres.

§ The first printing press on the American continent was established at Ascencion in 1619 by the Jesuits. The types were of wood.