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LONDON:

EDWARD STANFORD, 6, CHARING CROSS.

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A BOLD and difficult enterprise it was for Spain to attempt by a handful of men to subject to her domination the vast continent of South America. Dealing with men as yet in the infancy of civilization, her first thought was to render the people submissive to her will, and by assuming an absolute right of property, both in the land and its inhabitants, she proceeded at once to make use of native labour in extracting gold and silver from the bowels of the earth. It was early, among the first expeditions to America, in 1516, that Diaz de Solis, a noted pilot of Castile, first entered the Rio de la Plata, that majestic river which, commencing its course with a breadth of about one hundred and fifty miles, marches onward far into the interior, till, on meeting the Uruguay, it

takes the name of the Parana, and afterwards still farther rising for one thousand miles and receiving innumerable tributaries, ascends yet more till it joins the Paraguay. But when Sebastian Cabot and his companions first attempted to establish a permanent occupation in the territory of La Plata, they found the migratory tribes not easily subjected by force of arms, and after a vain expenditure of life, and years of disastrous conflicts, the Spanish governors came to the conclusion that the only chance of success rested in the use of the moral influence of religion; and that proselytism, which in the mother country had been used so effectively, could possibly, beyond the sea, also best spread the terror of the Spanish name. A proposal to that effect was therefore made to the Court of Spain, and on the 8th of December, 1609, the Jesuits first sailed for La Guayra.

The colonial policy of Spain, wherever she planted her flag, consisted in transplanting thither pure and simple all the institutions of the mother country. If any departure was made from them, it was in favour of absolutism. The Spanish colonial administration was entrusted to a supreme authority—viz., the Council of India sitting at Madrid, which derived its power from the king only. The colonies were

governed by viceroys, representatives of the monarchs, who were chief of the civil and military administration, and justice had for it organs the *audiencias* which were both colonial tribunals and councils of the viceroys. But close as was the political bond between new and ancient Spain, still closer was the religious bond which united them. Catholicism, with its imposing exterior, its hierarchy, its convents, and its inquisition, was declared the only religion of the country. Immediately on their arrival the Jesuits established in the territory of La Plata a kind of theocratic government, and an ecclesiastical sovereignty was erected which, though professedly subject to Spanish authority, in fact usurped the entire government of the country. A collision afterwards ensued between the Governor and the Jesuits, and they were exiled. But it must be admitted that, by an abundant resort to superstitious fears and threatening, the constant inculcation of principles of obedience to authority, and the patient teaching of the arts of life, the Jesuits succeeded in rendering the Paraguayans not only docile and industrious, but even submissive and obedient to authority.

For a considerable time the whole territory of La Plata formed only one Spanish province, but in

1615 Governor Saavedia represented that the territory was far too large for one single governor, and the province of Paraguay was consequently divided into two provinces—viz., that of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata—the province of La Plata to comprise Buenos Ayres, Entre Rio, Corrientes, Santa Fé, and all that forms at present the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, and the province of Paraguay to possess all the territory not specially designated for the new Government, both provinces being completely independent of each other, and administered by governors nominated by the Spanish Court, but both dependent on the viceroyalty of Peru, with Buenos Ayres for their capital. It was found, however, that even this viceroyalty was too large, and in 1776 the provinces of La Plata were constituted into a separate viceroyalty.

Thus matters continued till 1810, when a revolutionary movement against Spain broke out in Buenos Ayres, and a Government Junta was installed. The Junta addressed itself at once to Paraguay, asking her adhesion and co-operation in the revolution, and the governor submitted the question to the council; but they resolved that whilst Paraguay would continue in friendly relations with Buenos Ayres, they would prefer waiting the decision of

Spain before taking any action in the matter. Buenos Ayres, not satisfied with this decision, attempted, by a military expedition, to compel Paraguay to follow her rebellion, but she was defeated in the attempt.

Meanwhile, however, the sentiment of freedom spread itself in Paraguay also, and in the following year (1811), by a pacific revolution, in which Dr. Francia took a prominent part, she declared her independence from the mother country, and her own separate supremacy as regards Buenos Ayres. The Junta of Buenos Ayres immediately welcomed Paraguay as an independent state, and on October 12th, 1811, a convention was signed between them by which the independence of Paraguay was recognised, and the two States agreed to defend each other in the maintenance of the new order of things. Soon after, however, when Paraguay found it necessary to seek the assistance of Buenos Ayres to repel an invasion of Portuguese troops, it was in vain that she pleaded the treaty stipulation, and she was left to her own resources. Paraguay thereupon declared the treaty violated, and in order to concentrate the power in responsible hands, the junta was replaced by two consuls, one of whom was the celebrated Dr. Francia. Once more, then, Buenos Ayres sent a mission to

Paraguay, inviting her to take part in a congress about to be held to sanction a general constitution, but the offer was rejected by Paraguay, and from that time Francia assumed alone the dictatorship of the Republic.

Francia was a singular man. Well educated, first as a theologian, then as an advocate, and eminently a business man, he was grave and absolute. A disciplinarian of the strictest school, he subjected everything and everyone to his firm dictation. He was not long in power before he changed the entire machinery of government, and by his rule of terror and isolation he succeeded in effectually separating Paraguay from the rest of the world. During the whole time of his dictatorship, no person was ever allowed to leave Paraguay, and no one who once entered it was permitted to get out of it again. Paraguay was to be self-sufficient; her agriculture and industry were to satisfy all the wants of her inhabitants, and it was only by a special licence by his own hand that the most insignificant relations of trade were permitted to be carried on with Brazil. He filled the prisons with the most respectable citizens. Without friends and without counsellors, no one dared to speak to him, and after having kept the country in perfect

subjugation for a quarter of a century, he died in 1840.

A new era was then inaugurated in Paraguay, and now, for the first time, the people began to breathe an air of freedom. In March, 1841, two consuls were again elected for three years, viz., Don Carlos Antonio Lopez, and Don Mariano Roque Alonzo, and one of the first measures of the new government was at once to open the ports of Paraguay to foreign trade. In 1844, the fundamental law of the Paraguayan Republic was again sanctioned by a formal congress, and the executive power was entrusted to a president instead of two consuls, Lopez, the senior consul, having been called to the office. A difficult task it was, certainly, for President Lopez and his coadjutors to establish the government of the country on a free and yet safe foundation, after so long a period of misrule and absolutism, yet in a comparatively short time the rights of the citizens were abundantly secured, and the country was placed on friendly relations with foreign powers, both in America and Europe. President Lopez was most anxious to be at peace with Buenos Ayres, but Rosas was a great hindrance to the establishment of friendly relations, and a rupture ensued, which was happily

ended by the mediation of the United States. When Rosas, however, fell, the independence of Paraguay was formally recognised by the Argentine Republic. In 1854 and 1857, President Lopez was re-elected, and great was certainly the progress he could at each period report in every department of the State. Thus matters continued till 1862 when the President died, and was succeeded by his son, Don Francisco Solano Lopez.

Whilst these changes were taking place in Paraguay, nearly all the other States of South America had asserted their independence. As we have seen, Buenos Ayres took the initiative by setting up a junta acting in the name of the King of Spain in 1810, and finally declared her absolute independence in 1816, and Paraguay followed in an immediate and complete declaration of independence in 1811. Then Uruguay, or The Banda Oriental, proclaimed her independence in 1814, and afterwards Bolivia, in 1826, whilst Brazil also asserted her independence from Portugal in 1821. We might certainly have expected and desired that the Spanish colonies, which by almost similar means gained their freedom from the mother country, would, like the States of North America, have made common cause in the difficult task of achieving a definite and settled position as

free States, and striven together towards their mutual protection and common advancement. But the reverse has unfortunately been the case, and it was long before the different States could define their proper boundaries, and agree on a proper form of government. Unfortunately, too, nearly every one of these States harboured some political chief, most unscrupulous as to means, rude, and even savage in behaviour, who, under the sacred shield of liberty, committed everywhere the greatest atrocities. The names of Rosas, Oribe, Flores, and many others might have figured with greater propriety among the Bravoes of the middle ages than in our own time. Still, after some difficulties, matters were arranged. Buenos Ayres, which formed now the capital of the Argentine Republic or Confederation, the Republic of Uruguay, and that of Paraguay, all became settled governments, and Sovereign States and their external relations were established by treaties of friendship and commerce.

As far as Paraguay is concerned, she concluded treaties with Brazil, the Argentine Confederation, the United States, France, Prussia, Italy, and the United Kingdom, and these treaties provided for the freedom of navigation of the Paraguay and Parana; equality in matters of commerce and navigation between natives and foreigners; the nomination of

consuls; permission of trade to neutrals in time of war, with the exception of contraband of war; obligation to pursue pirates; exemption of forced military service; free transit by river with the Brazilian Provinces, &c., &c. Some questions of boundaries remained to be settled between Paraguay and Brazil and the Argentine Republic, but the settlement of them was deferred by common accord, and the questions were not pressing.

This was the state of things in La Plata before the present war commenced. What has occurred to disturb the peace? A difficulty has arisen between Brazil and Uruguay. For some time past the latter country has been the scene of civil war between two parties, the Colorados and the Blancos, Venancio Flores being the chief of the Colorados, and Aguirre, the late president, the chief of the Blancos. When Aguirre was chosen president, Flores contested his right, and by force of arms he strove to dispossess him of his seat. Unable, however, to effect his purpose in a direct manner, he tried to obtain help from neighbouring states. Bordering upon Uruguay there is the large province of Rio Grande do Sul, which was once an independent State, and had even enjoyed freedom from internal slavery. When, however, the Brazilian re-conquered it, an end was put to all

freedom, and the black population, which ill-endured the yoke of their owners, fled in large numbers to Uruguay. This continued for some time. They tried to promote a kind of fugitive slaves' law; but it only proved a perpetual source of disquietude between the two countries, especially since the Brazilian proprietors did not hesitate to follow their slaves on Uruguayan territory. The Brazilians were, indeed, not satisfied even with seizing their own slaves. They frequently made incursions into Uruguay, and, under the name of *Californias*, such adventurers went on pillaging farms, stealing cattle, and even kidnapping free men from Uruguay to Rio Grande do Sul. It is impossible to exaggerate the terrors in which the Orientals were placed at the announcement of such irruptions. Even the Brazilians themselves who inhabited the country saw with apprehension and dismay the approach of such *Californias*. In fact, the proprietors of Rio Grande seemed determined, little by little, to make of Uruguay a Brazilian colony.

It is quite possible that the Uruguayans now and then invaded, in return, the Brazilian province in order to take back their own citizens from the hands of the slave-owners; but the fault was evidently altogether on the Brazilian side. Nor were these provocations unconcerted, or the unallowed practice

of private individuals. The chief of these Brazilian slave-owning proprietors, Souza Netto, made common cause with Flores. Brazilian forces openly joined the rebel army, and when the time became ripe for the direct interference of the Brazilian forces, the slave-owner and the rebel chief boldly represented to the Brazilian Government that unless efficient aid was given them the whole province would be revolutionized.

Anyone looking at a map of South America might doubt that Brazil could entertain any design to seek any extension of territory. In truth, that empire is far too large as it is. Yet, just as Russia, notwithstanding the immensity of her territory, seems under the necessity of procuring some outlet for the Central and Southern provinces on the Black Sea; and Germany, for the acquisition of some sea-shore, coveted the possession of the Schleswig-Holstein provinces, so Brazil, mostly all situate in the torrid zone, and with her soil better adapted to the production of sugar, coffee, and tobacco, than to the cultivation of grain or the rearing of cattle, is naturally impelled to seek elsewhere for a territory better suited to her white population, and capable of furnishing the means of subsistence. Possibly the

Brazilian Government may have never been a party to such incursions on Uruguay, and may have never harboured a desire for aggrandisement, and yet the Brazilian population of Rio Grande do Sul may have pursued that policy of colonization which the physical condition of the country seems to dictate. However it be, the Brazilian Government listened to the appeals of Souza Netto and his brother slave-owners, and demanded reparation from Uruguay. Nor was this the first time that Brazil intervened, by force of arms, in the affairs of Uruguay. In 1814 she intervened to prevent Artigas from assuming the dictatorship, and a congress, assembled at Montevideo, decreed the incorporation of Uruguay, pure and simple, with Brazil, under the name of Cis-Platine provinces. Buenos Ayres, however, opposed it, and the independence of Uruguay was proclaimed. In 1828 war again desolated that country, and England intervened, the result of which was that Brazil also was induced to recognise the independence of Uruguay. But in the treaty then concluded the contracting parties reserved to themselves the right of approving the Constitution which the new State might establish, and to intervene in support of the legal Government, should civil war again break out.

This it is that gave a right and an excuse for the Brazilian interventions in 1850 and 1854, and unfortunately the same right was reserved even in the treaties of 1851 and 1859. Accustomed, therefore, to meddle itself with the internal affairs of Uruguay, the Brazilian Government found no difficulty in meeting the wishes of Souza Netto.

Accordingly, on the 18th May, an energetic note was addressed by Senhor Jose Antonio Saraiva to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay. In this note he recalled all the grievances which Brazil at different intervals urged upon the Uruguayan Government, expressed sentiments of sympathy for the sufferings of the Brazilian population in Uruguay, and whilst professing perfect neutrality in the internal feuds of the country, Senhor Saraiva candidly admitted that the Imperial Government could not prevent a certain number of Brazilians taking up the cause of General Flores. Appended to this note was a list of these differences pending between the two Governments, commencing in 1852 and ending in 1864.

Numerous, however, as were the complaints urged by the Brazilian Minister, they did not appear to be of any great importance. Many of them had, indeed,

no real foundation, and others were highly exaggerated. Mr. Letsome, writing to Earl Russell on the 29th April, 1864, with reference to a meeting of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies on the subject, said: "It was stated that a Brazilian, named Nunez, had received 1000 lashes by order of the military commandant of Paysandu. But from a letter of the Brazilian Vice-Consul at Paysandu, and published in the official part of the Government paper, *La Nacion*, it appears that this particular act of violence never occurred." And again: "It was stated that the arms over the Brazilian Vice-Consulate at Tacuarembó had been torn down and dragged through the streets, and that for this insult no redress could be obtained. But, unless I am greatly mistaken, the true state of the case was as follows: These consular arms were torn down by a Brazilian subject, who tied them to the tail of his horse and dragged them through the streets, for which offence he was arrested, and confined in jail till the Brazilian Vice-Consul at Tacuarembó interfered in his behalf, and requested he might be set at liberty." The complaints were, however, numerous, and the Brazilian Minister demanded of Uruguay the punishment of the military and police authorities who committed outrages upon

Brazilian subjects, the arrest and trial of others accused of crimes against them, due respect for the Brazilian Consular agents, and a guarantee for the future protection of Brazilians residing in the Republic of the Uruguay.

In answer to this note, the Uruguayan Minister wrote that he could with as much reason have complained that the civil war in Uruguay had all along been planned in Argentine territory; that he was unwilling that they should criminate each other; but that it seemed all important that the Brazilian Government should use its authority to prevent its subjects doing open war to the Uruguayan Government by giving direct resistance to Flores. The note, moreover, included a list of wrongs and grievances which Uruguay urged against Brazil, which last was quite as long as that sent by Brazil. The correspondence continued some time further, but the conclusion was that on the 4th of August Senhor Sarawa sent to the Uruguayan Minister a final ultimatum in a long and incoherent note, at times respectful and diplomatic, at other times personal and insulting, which ended with a peremptory notice, that if within six days' time a satisfactory answer was not given, the forces of the Brazilian

army were already stationed in the frontiers, and would receive orders to proceed to reprisals.

As might have been expected, Senhor Herrera, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay considered Senhor Saraivà's note of the 4th August insulting to the Republic, and instead of entering into explanations, he returned the letter itself the day after receiving it, stating, among other things, that the note was conceived in such terms, that it could not be preserved in the archives of the Oriental Republic. The Uruguayan Minister, at the same time, suggested that both parties should apply to some foreign government to determine by arbitration as to whether that was an opportune moment for Brazil to apply to the Republic for satisfaction for grievances, the great majority of which, if not all, were of several years' standing. In anticipation of this issue, Senhor Saraivà had appealed to the Government of the Argentine Republic, urging them to unite with Brazil in carrying out a joint intervention in the Republic of Uruguay, with a view to oblige the combatants to lay down their arms, and impartially preside over the election of new authorities in the country. The proposal, however, was not accepted by the Argentine Government, the president having urged that the refusal of the Monte Videan

Government to make peace with General Flores did not give a third power a complete right to interfere, although the interests of the latter might be severely prejudiced by the state of revolution which existed in the neighbouring country. On the other hand, the Monte Videan Government first requested the Paraguayan Government to become the mediator between the republic of Uruguay and Brazil; and then made an offer to Paraguay to enter into a treaty guaranteeing to each other the reciprocal defence and maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of the two States against any unjust foreign invasion or domination; and moreover stipulating "that considering that the island of Martin Garcia might serve by its position to impede or interrupt the free navigation of the affluents of the Plate, in which all the riverain provinces are chiefly interested, the Oriental Republic of the Uruguay obliges itself, being in possession of said island, which it considers as an integral part of its territory, not to make any use of it that might impede or disturb that free navigation, and to co-operate for this same object with the Government of the Republic of Paraguay, that the Government of Buenos Ayres, which now actually possesses it, shall not convert it into a fortress or military post."

These offers were duly communicated by the Paraguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs to Mr. Thornton and his colleagues, showing that Paraguay had no intention to enter into the broil, and complicate matters, but while refusing to take part in the affairs of Uruguay, Senor Berges early declared that the Paraguayan Government could not see with indifference and still less consent that in execution of the alternative of the Imperial ultimatum, the Brazilian naval or land forces should occupy any part of the territory of the Republic of the Uruguay, temporarily or permanently.

Nor can we wonder at this decision on the part of Paraguay. The mouth of La Plata being the key to the possession of all the territory watered by that river, it was but natural to think that the States, whose foreign relations are altogether dependent on the freedom of navigation of that river, would watch with extreme suspicion the movements of any power which might, sooner or later, imperil their own sovereignty. Prominent among these is Paraguay. Brazil has an extensive sea-coast, and the Amazon, which traverses nearly the entire breadth of South America. Uruguay has Monte Video; and the Argentine Republic has Buenos Ayres, with sea-

ports open to the world. But Paraguay is blocked up in the interior, and her very existence depends on the navigation of the Parana and the Paraguay, and on the perfect neutrality of Rio de la Plata. Shut up this outlet,—or what is the same thing, let it become the possession of a power adverse to Paraguay,—and her existence is at once endangered. Hence it is that, as soon as she heard of the demands of Brazil upon Uruguay, Paraguay formally protested against any invasion of that State, and expressly signified that the Government of the Republic would consider any occupation of the Oriental territory by the Imperial forces, for the reasons declared in the ultimatum of the 4th of August, to be injurious to the balance of the States of La Plata, which concerned Paraguay, as being the guarantee of her safety, peace, and welfare.

The following note of Senor Berges to Senhor Lima, the Brazilian Minister, was too decided to admit of any doubt as to the proceedings of the Paraguayan Government:—

“ Department of State for Foreign Affairs,
Assumption, August 30, 1864.

“The Undersigned, Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has received orders from his Excellency the President of the Republic to ad-

dress your Excellency this note, for the following reasons :—

“The Undersigned has received from his Excellency Señor Vasquez Sagastume, Minister Resident of the Oriental Republic of the Uruguay, a note which, on the 25th instant, by order of his Government, he addressed him, inclosing copy of the last correspondence exchanged between the Oriental Government, and his Excellency Senhor Counsellor Saraiva, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, in special mission to the Government of that Republic, consisting of three notes, which are registered under the dates of the 4th, 9th, and 10th instant.

“The important and unexpected contents of those communications have called the serious attention of the Government of the Undersigned for the interest with which it is inspired for the arrangement of the difficulties with which the Oriental nation struggles, to whose fortune it cannot be indifferent, and for the merit which the appreciation of the motives which might have counselled such a violent solution may have for this Government.

“The moderation and prevision which characterize the policy of the Imperial Government gave reason

for that of Paraguay to hope for a different solution of its claims with the Oriental Government; and this confidence was so much the more strengthened when his Excellency Senhor Counsellor Saraiva, and even the Imperial Cabinet, on declining the mediation offered by this Government for the friendly arrangement of those very claims, at the desire of the Oriental Government, qualified it as useless in view of the friendly course of the said questions.

“The Government of the Undersigned respects the rights which are inherent in all Governments for the arrangement of their differences or claims, once that satisfaction or justice is denied, without detracting from its own right to judge of the manner of carrying it out, or the effects it might have upon the destinies of all those who have legitimate interests in the result.

“The alternative made to the Oriental Government by his Excellency Senhor Counsellor Saraiva in his notes of the 4th and 10th instant, is to satisfy his demands within a fixed term of six days, under the threat of using reprisals, in case of refusal, with the Imperial land and sea forces gathered beforehand upon the frontiers of the Oriental Republic, to aggravate the gravity of the measures of the assumed

attitude, which signifies an early occupation of some part of that territory ; whereas its Government does not refuse to attend and satisfy the claims presented, as appears by the note of his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 9th instant.

“ This is one of the cases in which the Government of the Undersigned cannot relinquish the right which belongs to it of appreciating the manner of obtaining satisfaction by the Government of your Excellency, because its effects might ultimately bring about consequences upon the legitimate interests which the Government of Paraguay might have in the result.

“ Painful has been the impression left upon the spirit of the Government of the Undersigned by the alternative of the ultimatum recorded in the notes of his Excellency Senhor Counsellor Saraiva of the 4th and 10th instant, to the Oriental Government, demanding an impossibility, on account of the obstacles which the internal state of that Republic presents, and for the cessation of which neither the prestige of their Excellencies Thornton, Elizalde, and Saraiva, nor the assistance and abnegation of the Oriental Government, have been sufficient.

“ Not less painful for the Government of the Under-

signed has been the refusal of his Excellency Senhor Saraiva of the proposition of arbitration which was made to him by the Oriental Government, moreover when this principle has served as a basis for the Imperial Cabinet in their claims with the British Government.

“The Government of the Republic of Paraguay deeply deplors that that of your Excellency has deemed it opportune to separate itself from the policy of moderation in which now it ought to trust more than ever, after its adhesion to the stipulations of the Congress of Paris ; but it cannot look with indifference, nor much less consent, in the execution of the alternative of the Imperial ultimatum to the Brazilian forces, be they land or marine, occupying any part of the territory of the Oriental Republic of the Uruguay, neither temporarily nor permanently ; and his Excellency the President of the Republic has ordered the Undersigned to declare to your Excellency, as Representative of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, that the Government of the Republic of Paraguay *will consider any occupation of Oriental Territory by Imperial forces for the reasons expressed in the ultimatum of the 4th instant, made known to the Oriental Government by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the*

Emperor in special mission to that Government as an attempt against the equilibrium of the States of the Plate which interests the Republic of Paraguay as a guarantee for its security, peace, and prosperity; and that it protests in the most solemn manner against the act, freeing itself for the future of every responsibility which may eventually arise from the present declaration.

“ Having thus fulfilled the orders of his Excellency the President of the Republic, the Undersigned avails, &c.

“(Signed) JOSE BERGES.”

The Brazilian Government took no notice of this protest, and as the Brazilian forces, on the 12th of October, invaded and occupied Uruguay, Paraguay proceeded at once to take reprisals, first by seizing a Brazilian passenger steamer, and then by occupying the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. The seizure of this steamer, the *Marquez de Olinda*, making periodical voyages from Monte Video to Cuyabà, in the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso, having on board a new president for that province, and several other military passengers, in the port of Asumpcion, almost immediately after informing the Brazilian Minister at Asuncion of the determination of Paraguay to break off

friendly relations with Brazil, has been judged severely. It was rather too sudden and peremptory an act to announce the rupture on the 12th of November, and to seize the vessel on the 13th; but we must remember that the protest of Paraguay, declaring that she would consider the occupation by Brazil of Uruguay a *casus belli*, was dated as far back as the 30th of August, and it was a culpable neglect on the part of the Brazilian Government either to have slighted such a protest, or to have failed to prepare for the result by giving due notice to her Minister at Asuncion. The naval and military forces of Brazil meanwhile pursued vigorously their hostile measures against Uruguay, and short, indeed, comparatively, was the struggle. Yet it is singular, that whilst the Brazilian forces were invading the country, taking Salto and Paysandu, and attacking Monte Video, the capital itself, the Commander was proclaiming that he was *not at war*, but only committing reprisals. The Government troops defended the country as best they could, but they were unable to resist the forces of the Brazilian empire, joined by all the rebels and discontents, under the command of General Flores. The Uruguayan Government, in its spasmodic efforts for existence, sent Dr. Don Candido

Juanicó, President of the Supreme Court of Justice, on a special mission to the Courts of France, England, Italy, and Spain, with a view to secure their friendship and support in the hour of trial. In doing so Señor de las Carreras, the Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a note to the Foreign Ministers at Monte Video, bringing before them the full import of their position.

“Whilst the absolute independence of this country is not insured,” he said, “the peace of the River Plate will be impossible, because the interest of absorption which is engendered in the policy of Brazil and Buenos Ayres—an interest constantly manifested in opposition to what is stipulated and solemnly established in the Convention of the 27th of August, 1828—for such is the primary cause of the commotions and civil wars which for thirty-five years have almost constituted the life of the Republic, the interest, I said, which the neighbouring Governments have in disputing the dominion of this territory will be actively maintained, flattered by the hopes of realization at some more or less distant day.

“That interest it is which has always impelled the Argentine and Brazilian Governments to seek to mix themselves up in the political affairs of the Republic,

involving the parties into which those societies are divided with those which have broken up that of this country. For this it is that according to the colour of the respective Cabinet, such has been the support it has given to one or another party, proposing or making alliances, always agitating, always disturbing, in order to make more easy the predominion, to bring about the annexation, and to cause this Republic to disappear from the catalogue of nations.

“For this it is also, that when there has been a Government which, as in these latter times, has displayed the desire and the will to be national, abstaining from alliances with its neighbours, in order to give to the country a life of its own, independent, they have been seen to combine their policy and their efforts to overturn it and supplant it with the Government of a wild Chieftain, a fatal plant, the enemy of all order, impossible for all regular administration, the ultimate expression of savage life, irregular and anti-Christian.

“To Europe, that cultivates commercial relations with these countries, that has need of consuming peoples to give egress to its productions, the territorial integrity, the independence of the Oriental State, its peace and internal order, are highly interesting, because apart from what is residence, the

second country of thousands of peaceful and laborious Europeans, the conditions of the soil and climate, and the character of the natives, offer great hopes to the industry and commerce of the universe. To Europe, it interests to make effective here the universal principles of law and justice in order to see realized the honest and legitimate aspirations of peaceful and laborious men.

“The triumph of Brazil over the Republic, besides its affecting the integrity of the principles of humanity and justice, is the death of industry and of commerce in this region, where would be supplanted the liberal institutions which govern it by the system absurd, retrograde, anti-liberal, and exclusive, which prevails in the provinces of the Empire.

“The abolition of slavery would be frustrated, and frustrated the noble efforts of England for the liberty of the man of colour, whom justice and humanity shield against the iniquity and usurpation consigned in the Brazilian code.”

Vain, however, were all such efforts with the European Powers. Uruguay was forced to accede to the demands of Brazil, and by a convention signed on the 20th of February, President Aguirre was dis-

placed, and General Flores was installed as President of the Republic.

That Flores received both the moral and physical support of Brazil, was quite evident; but how far the Argentine Republic had also strengthened his position, was not so clear. It was known that Flores and President Mitre had long been in correspondence together, and that arms and ammunitions had been sent to Flores from the Argentine Republic, yet she professed to be quite neutral in the contest. However, Paraguay had soon an opportunity to test the truth of this neutrality. Between Paraguay and Uruguay there is the province of Corrientes; and to proceed to the assistance of Uruguay, the Paraguayans must obtain permission for the passage of troops through these provinces. On the 5th of February, therefore, Senor Berges, the Paraguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs, transmitted a request from his Government to the Minister of the Argentine Government, asking that government to grant permission to a Paraguayan army to cross the territory of the province of Corrientes, for the purpose of carrying on the war which Paraguay had declared against Brazil. In support of such a request, Senor Berges stated that in 1855, when the Brazilian Government sent

a hostile naval expedition against Paraguay, the Argentine Government not only did not prevent that expedition from passing Martin Garcia, and proceeding up the river Parana, but allowed it to be supplied with provisions and other necessaries from the Argentine provinces along the banks of the river. The Argentine Government, however, refused to grant to Paraguay the permission, pleading its desire to maintain a strict neutrality; and as to the precedent of 1855, when the water transit was conceded to Brazil, that was deemed a precedent quite inapplicable, since Brazil was a river State, and besides, that expedition was a pacific one. Paraguay considered this refusal a hostile act on the part of Brazil, and took steps at once to defend her rights. There is no doubt whatever that, supposing the Argentine Republic had been quite neutral in the contest, she would have had an undoubted right to refuse this passage of troops. Wheaton declares this right of passage through neutral territory "an imperfect right, the exercise of which depends on the consent of the proprietor, and which cannot be compelled against his will. It may be granted or withheld at the discretion of the neutral State." But Paraguay had reason to take the refusal in connexion with the

palpable evidence that the Argentine Government had all along made common cause with Brazil and with Flores, both in producing the rebellion in Uruguay, and in making war against the Government of that country as an act of hostility.

Matters becoming thus more and more involved, an extraordinary meeting of the Congress was held at Asuncion on the 5th of March, when a message was read from President Lopez with reference to the war with Brazil, and the state of relations—not very cordial—between Paraguay and the Argentine Republic, and requesting their decision upon the conduct which should guide the Government in the grave emergency. The Congress expressed their entire confidence in the President, authorised him to raise a loan of 25,000,000 dollars for the purpose, and on the 18th March resolved upon declaring war to the Argentine Republic. Consequently, on the 29th March, Senor Berges sent a despatch to Senor Elizalde, the Argentine Minister, in which he complained of the refusal of the request of passage of troops, accused the Argentine Government of complicity in the troubles of Uruguay, and communicated the decision of the Congress in the declaration of war in the following terms:—

"Declaration of War by the Paraguayan Congress.

"In view of the decision of the Special Committee named by the Sovereign Congress to report on the present critical condition of the Republic in the war with Brazil, and on the insolent and hostile attitude of the Argentine Cabinet towards Paraguay and its Government, as shown—

"1st. By the two notes of February 9th, which favour Brazil under the pretence of neutrality by refusing the permission we solicited to march our forces across the frontiers of Corrientes, although the Brazilian fleet had previously used the city and province of Corrientes as a depôt for coal, provisions, &c., in open violation of the pretended neutrality.

"2nd. By the denial of our right to the territory of Misiones between the Rivers Paraná and Uruguay.

"3rd. By the protection now extended a second time by that Government to a revolutionary committee of traitors in the pay of the Brazilian Empire, who enlist foreign mercenaries in the very capital of the Argentine Republic, disgracing the flag of that country and making it subservient to Brazil in the war against Paraguay.

"4th. By the open sympathy of the official Argen-

tine Press in favour of Brazil against Paraguay, and the disgraceful and incendiary publications intended to foment rebellion in this country. And as the exercise of our right in the territory of Misiones will afford the Argentine Government the desired pretext of *casus belli* (which is at present wanting) to make an open alliance with Brazil, while we have abundant proof of the solidarity of the Argentine Cabinet with that Empire to destroy the balance of power in La Plata; and it being incompatible with the security of the Republic and the dignity of our Government to tolerate any longer this immoral and offensive proceeding against Paraguay, in accord with the decision of the Special Committee—

“ The Congress hereby declares :—

“ 1. That it approves the conduct of the National Executive respecting Brazil, in the emergency caused by the Imperial encroachments in the River Plate and the injury inflicted by Brazil on our national honour, and in accordance with the Law of March 1844 the Government is hereby authorized to continue the war.

“ 2. That it declares war to the actual Government of the Argentine Republic, until we receive the proper security and satisfaction for the rights, honour, and

dignity of the Paraguayan nation and Government.

“His Excellency the President of the Republic will make peace with one or other of the belligerents whenever he thinks fit, advising the National Congress as ordained by law.

“4. Let this be communicated to the Executive.

“Congress Hall, Asuncion, March 18, 1865.

(Signed) “JOSE FALCON, *Vice-President.*”

This declaration of war was followed by immediate acts of hostility. The province of Corrientes was occupied, steamers were seized, and the war was carried forward along the river Paraná. Here, again, a charge is made against Paraguay for having resorted to such measures of hostility before any official notice of the declaration of war had been received by the Argentine Government. How stands the case? The Paraguayan Congress met on the 5th March; on the 15th they decided on the declaration of war; and on the 29th Senor Berges communicated the same in a despatch to the Argentine Minister. All the proceedings were public. They were not done in a corner. The declaration of war was duly chronicled

in the newspapers, yet the seizure of the Argentine steamers did not take place till the 13th April.

In olden times a formal declaration of war was deemed necessary, and the practice was to send heralds-at-arms, announcing the commencement of hostilities; but the present usage is simply to publish a manifesto within the territory of the State declaring war, announcing the commencement of hostilities, and the motives for resorting to them, which manifesto is communicated to the Government of all friendly Powers. A due notification of the commencement of hostilities is certainly necessary both to the Power with whom the difference has arisen, and to all other Powers, in order that they may prepare themselves for the impending change; but in the present state of intercourse and communication, with newspapers reporting everything, with resident ambassadors always watching and reporting on the political condition of States, and with the practice of each Government of communicating from time to time to its own ministers abroad the position of any question at issue, a sufficient method of publication is always afforded. Care should be taken, certainly, not to presume too much upon this general knowledge as regards vessels at sea in distant regions; and no seizure or hostile acts should be resorted to against merchant ships,

ignorant of the existence of a state of war. *But* when a sufficient time has elapsed, and the means of communication are open to both countries, it may, of course, be supposed that due instructions have been sent by the party against whom a state of war has commenced. In this case the fault must lie altogether with the Argentine Government, in not giving due publicity to the notification of war sent by Paraguay, since not only was it sent in perfect time, but it is morally impossible either that the despatch of the 29th of March should not have reached him, or that a public measure of such a character should have taken place in a neighbouring State—in Asuncion—for upwards of a month, without its becoming known at Buenos Ayres. As to the objections based upon the Treaty of 1856, which provided that, in case of war, hostilities should not commence till six months after notice—a provision which practically could not be acted upon—that treaty was for six years only, and it had consequently expired in 1862.

As soon as it became publicly known in Buenos Ayres that the Paraguayans had commenced hostilities, President Mitre issued a proclamation, on the 9th of May, in which he declared war against Paraguay, and placed the whole Republic in a state of siege, and on the day after he issued another decree,

declaring all the ports on the littoral of the Republic of Paraguay, and which were occupied by its Government, blockaded. A paper blockade, no doubt, since the fleet of the Republic is far too insignificant to be considered as a blockading squadron. By this time, active co-operation had taken place between Brazil and the Argentine Republic. Four Brazilian gunboats, with a brig loaded with coals, left Buenos Ayres on the 5th of April, that is, eight days before Paraguay had actually commenced hostilities, for the purpose of proceeding up the Parana and blockading the river Paraguay at the Tres Bocas. A delay occurred in consequence of some disagreement between the Brazilian and Argentine Governments as to the respective rights of navigating certain parts of the river; but the fact that the Argentine Government allowed this fleet to sail from Buenos Ayres on such a mission was itself an act of complicity, and of hostility to Paraguay. However, negotiations were opened between the Brazilian and Argentine Governments for a joint action. From the first Brazil did not wish for the extinction of Paraguay, and the incorporation of the same with the Argentine Republic, probably because if thus enlarged it might form too great a counterpoise against itself; but the Argentine Minister did, and Senor Elizalde distinctly said to Mr. Thornton, "that he

hoped he should live to see Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic united in one confederation and forming a powerful Republic in South America." Forthwith the Argentine and Brazilian naval forces went up the river for the purpose of establishing the blockade of all the ports on the littoral of the Republic of Paraguay, and at the same time General Flores, being now fully reinstated as President of Uruguay, proceeded to Buenos Ayres on board a Brazilian war-vessel, with a view of carrying out negotiations for the formation of a triple alliance between Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and the Oriental Republic of Uruguay for prosecuting the war against Paraguay, and on the 1st May a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between them on the subject.

The Legislative Chambers of the Argentine Republic were afterwards convened, on the 1st of May, when the President read a message giving particulars of the state of relations of that Government with the Governments of Brazil and Paraguay, and the result was that the Chambers sanctioned three laws relative to the war, viz., one which approved the treaty of alliance concluded with Brazil and the Banda Oriental; another which authorised the President to contract a

loan in London of 12,000,000 dollars; and another which declared the Argentine provinces in a state of siege.

The war in La Plata, thus extended, has become an armed league against the existence of Paraguay, and with very unequal forces it is very difficult to say what may be the issue of the conflict. Looking at this question from an European point of view, it is evident that there are many points involved in which all civilized powers are alike interested. First among these is the maintenance of the freedom of navigation of the River La Plata. What is the history of this question? We all know that Brazil and Buenos Ayres have never been friendly to such freedom. The free navigation of the affluents of the Plate was proclaimed by General Urquiza after his complete triumph over Rosas, in August, 1852; and in September, Buenos Ayres rebelled from the Argentine Government, and revoked its freedom. Again in 1853, the Argentine Confederation signed two treaties of navigation with France and England, declaring the freedom of navigation of the affluents of La Plata for all flags, and what has Buenos Ayres done? In September, 1853, she again protested against these treaties. As to Brazil, she has never been friendly to free navigation. In 1825 Brazil proposed to Buenos Ayres to divide the monopoly of the navigation of the

affluents of La Plata, and later still she addressed the same proposal to Paraguay, but she never proposed or favoured the idea of complete freedom, and to this day the navigation of the Amazon is shut up to the whole world. Paraguay has entered into treaty obligation with Britain, France, and other nations, for the freedom of navigation of the Paraguay River, and such freedom is safe in her hands, since, as we have already said, her very existence depends on that freedom. It is quite otherwise with Brazil and the Argentine Republic.

Next there is the question of slavery. Hitherto Uruguay formed a barrier to the extension of internal slavery in the River Plate territory. Let Brazil take permanent possession of that State, and have supreme influence in her government, and slavery will sooner or later be practically extended to that country also. Only quite recently a proposition was made in the Brazilian Senate for the partial abolition of slavery, a proposal indeed quite unworthy of the great object in view, but it found no supporters. The Government has certainly abolished the Slave Trade, but men of colour within the empire are still held in a state of slavery. The contract of labour is little understood among the great masses.

Then there is the question of finances. We have seen

that both Paraguay and the Argentine Republic had given power to their respective Presidents to contract loans. Paraguay is not likely to be in the European market, but the Argentine Republic looks to London for it; and M. Riestra, the Vice-Governor of Buenos Ayres, has been sent on a special mission to this country for the purpose. How does the matter stand as regards Argentine finances? Buenos Ayres is, since 1824, indebted for 1,000,000*l.*, for which all the goods, revenue, lands, and territory of the formerly independent Republic of Buenos Ayres are pledged; and we know what difficulties the bondholders had to secure the large amount of interest due, the payment of which was suspended for so many years. What is singular in this loan is, that whilst the amount was lent for the benefit of the Argentine Republic, as a nation, the bonds are simply municipal bonds of Buenos Ayres. The loan which M. Riestra is empowered to raise is to be negotiated in bonds of the Argentine Republic; but he cannot offer more than a nominal security to the lenders, the whole revenue of the Republic received at Buenos Ayres in shape of customs duties being entirely absorbed by the local budget of this Province under the convention of 1859, concluded between her and her sister provinces by the mediation of Paraguay. This con-

vention, it is true, was concluded to be binding for five years only ; but we fear very much that it was embodied in the amended constitution according to M. Riestra's own inspiration, so as to render it a perpetual obligation contracted towards Buenos Ayres by the rest of the Argentine Republic. And if it be said that it is not so, then the holders of the bonds of 1824 will find it very difficult to get the interest of their money, since in that case Buenos Ayres will be left with a revenue far short of her requirements. In any case, nothing could be better calculated to sustain and animate a policy of war and aggression than the lending of money to belligerents. For ordinary wants, these States would be quite able to provide the necessary funds out of their ordinary revenues. It is only when they are engaged in wars and mutual destruction that they need to seek the help of other countries. We cannot help feeling that a serious moral obligation rests on our capitalists in these matters ; and Mr. Cobden forcibly urged it upon them when, some years ago, an Austrian loan was in the market. "Happily," he said, "by the ordinance of Divine Providence, war is in its nature self-destroying, and if a country engaged in hostilities were left to itself war must have a speedy termination. But this system of foreign loans for warlike purposes, by which

we are invited to pay for the arms, clothing, and food of the belligerents, is a system calculated almost to perpetrate the horrors of war; and they who lend money for these purposes are destitute of any one excuse by which men try to justify their own consciences—the resort to the sword. They cannot plead patriotism, self-defence, or even anger, or the lust of military glory. No! but they sit down early to calculate the chance to themselves of profit and loss in a game in which the lives of human beings are at stake. They have not even the pleasure, the savage and brutal gratification, which ancient and pagan people had, when they paid for a seat in the amphitheatre to witness the bloody combats of gladiators in the arena. It should be borne in mind by capitalists everywhere, that there are times when it behoves them to remember that property has its duties as well as its rights, and that they who forget their duties are running the risk of endangering their rights.”

It is indeed much to be regretted that countries so greatly favoured by position and productiveness, and which might take a high rank among civilized states, should so often be engaged in mutual warfare, which periodically destroys all they have gained after years of steady progress. The five states whose relations

we have just described, occupy a large area of upwards of 4,000,000 English square miles, with most excellent soil, and abounding in natural riches. The whole of the Pampas, or of that portion of the country south of the Andes, is one vast plain, watered by magnificent rivers, rich in vegetation, and invaluable for pasturage. First among these states is certainly Brazil, with an area of upwards of 3,000,000 square miles, and a population of about 8,000,000. She is by far the largest power in South America. Her ports are extensively resorted to, and her productions are rich and varied. Yet the population is quite disproportionate to the area, the proportion being only 2·5 persons for every square mile, and in some provinces less than one person. And some of her largest provinces in the interior have no outlet in the Atlantic. The people, moreover, consist of three races with very little homogeneity between them, such as the white, of Portuguese origin, the black, of African origin, and slaves, and the red being aborigines or Indians. The revenue and expenditure are well balanced, but the internal and foreign debt is considerable. The Brazilian debt on the 31st December, 1863, was as follows :

*Loan of Foreign Funded Debt.**

	Original Nominal Capital.	When Due. Year.	Amount in Circulation.
1824 ...	£3,686,200	... 1864	... £2,358,600
1839 ...	411,200	... 1869	... 325,200
1843 ...	732,600	... 1864	... 362,000
1852 ...	1,040,600	... 1882	... 890,000
1859 ...	508,000	... 1879	... 427,200
1863 ...	3,855,300 3,855,300
For Don Pedro II. Rail- way Company, 1858	1,526,500 1,323,300
For Pernambuco Rail- ways and other Cos.	1,373,000 1,278,600
			£10,820,200

Internal Debt.

National Funded Debt	\$69,658,000	000	... 7,836,525
In Great Book	137,553	445	... 15,413
In Provinces not in Great Book	220,477	323	... 24,804
Debt anterior to 1827 just inscribed	108,743	139	... 12,234
Treasury Bills to April 30, 1863	6,576,000	000	... 738,800
Government Paper Money in circu- lation, March, 1863	35,340,469	000	... 3,975,802
Public Deposits	1,767,345	521	... 198,826
Orphan Fund	9,161,904	342	... 1,029,469
Dead and Absentees' Fund	3,056,698	716	... 342,878
Passive Debt	1,477,177	105	... 165,627
			14,340,378

The army in the budget for 1863-64 was fixed at 14,000 men for ordinary wants, and 25,000 for extra-

* The Foreign Debt is from the Almanack of Gotha for 1865; the Internal Debt from Mr. Haywood's paper, derived from the annual report of the Minister of Finance (Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. xxvii. p. 256).

ordinary cases; the marines at 3,000 and 5,000 respectively. The fleet consisted of 16 sailing vessels, and 22 steamers. In 1862-63 the value of imports was £11,145,000, and of exports £13,779,000.

The Argentine Republic include also a large tract of land embracing more than 600,000 square miles, with a population of about 1,200,000, a fourth of whom are Indians. It embraces Buenos Ayres, Entre Rios, Corrientes, Misiones, Santa Fe, Cordova, San Luis, Mendoza, San Juan, Rioja, Catamarca, Santiago, Tucuman, and Salta. Considerable jealousy, however, exists between the different provinces and Buenos Ayres, which is decidedly in advance of them for commerce and civilization, and they have seldom continued long in harmony. The annual revenue of the Republic amounted in 1860 to 3,000,000 piastres, and the public debt in 1863 was, external debt £2,264,100 sterling, and internal debt 98,542,490 piastres. The amount of paper money in circulation was 351,377,656 piastres. The army consisted only of 6,000 men, and the national guard of Buenos Ayres 6,000 more. The fleet consisted of only seven small steamers, and six still smaller sailing vessels.

The Republic of Uruguay is comparatively small,

with an area of about 70,000 English square miles, and a population of 240,000, but she has suffered much from war and internal feuds. The public debt, which in 1853 amounted to 40,000,000 piastres, has since increased considerably, Brazil having exacted that the expenses of her interventions in 1851 and 1854 should be covered by a loan, the interest of which to be charged on the customs revenue. Uruguay has, moreover, an external English debt of £80,000.

Paraguay has a large area of 600,000 square miles, with a population of only about 1,500,000; the population consisting principally of a mixed race of Spanish and Indian origin. Up to the last edition of the "Almanac de Gotha," Paraguay was perhaps the only country of which it could be said "that it had no public debt." How far this distinction will be preserved it is difficult to say; but it is a great advantage to her to be able to enter into the present contest unburdened. The great majority of the population is engaged in agriculture, yet the commerce of the country has increased considerably in late years, and is yet susceptible of vast increase. Her productions are numerous. She has indigo, cochineal, caoutchouc, hemp, gums, tobacco, wax, and dye plants. She has iron and copper, and she has the "yerba," or

the Paraguayan tea, of which she exports large quantities. The strange and arbitrary policy of Francia and the Jesuits has rendered Paraguay the subject of romance and mystery, but she is no longer the victim of Jesuitical and despotic rule. She has nobly asserted her independence and sovereignty; she has zealously entered in a path of progress and advancement, and nothing could be more unjust than to visit the present Government with those charges of tyranny and exclusiveness which became the former rulers.

The presidentship of General Lopez, both elder and younger, has been marked by an enlightened, liberal, and progressive policy. The constitution is jealously maintained. Writing of the present condition of Paraguay in the "*Dictionnaire Général de la Politique*," par M. Maurice Block, M. Reybaud, an eminent writer said:—

"L'avènement au pouvoir de Don Carlos Antonio Lopez a été pour le Paraguay, une immense amélioration que son fils, plus dégagé des traditions de Francia et mieux porté vers la civilisation de l'Europe qu'il a visitée promet de continuer. Don Antonio a gouverné le Paraguay avec douceur et sa justice patriarcale a été plein de mansuétude. De la politique extérieure de Francia, il n'a gardé que l'idée bien

arrêtée de maintenir l'autonomie du Paraguay, et de le préserver contre les tentatives d'envahissement de ses turbulents voisins. À aucun prix, il n'a voulu rentrer dans le giron déchiré de l'ancienne Vice-royauté de Buénos Ayres, et changer l'ordre et la prospérité dont jouissent ses compatriotes pour la décevante unité des Provinces Argentines, unité féconde seulement en luttes civiles sans fin. Mais ce qui a été son œuvre personnelle, ce qui demeure son titre d'honneur, c'est la pensée qu'il a eue, qu'il a menée à fin, de demolir la muraille de Chine que Francia à l'exemple des Jesuites, ces devanciers, avait élevée autour du Paraguay. Grace à la persistance qu'il a mise à conclure avec la France, l'Angleterre, les Etats-unis, le Bresil, &c., des traités de navigation et de commerce, l'isolement du Paraguay a cessé, et la voie est ouverte par laquelle la civilisation doit entrer avec l'action commerciale dans ces contrées lointaines."

