

MÁNIFESTO

PUBLISHED

BY THE GOVERNMENT OF COLOMBIA OF THE REASONS IT HAS
TO WAGE WAR AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU.

THE government of Colombia being obliged to employ against Peru the arms that gave it independence and liberty, it owes to public opinion, to the other States of America and to all nations the manifestation of the reasons that cause it to carry war to the territory to which it before carried peace and felicity.

No nation has had the forbearance and moderation which Colombia has practised towards Peru. Provocations, insults, outrages, it has borne everything for the good of peace and to avoid a rupture between States whose existence begins, and whose interests ought to be intimately connected for their defence, for their happiness and prosperity : but the government of Peru, disregarding every consideration, has not ceased its offences, and it is no longer possible to suffer them, without renouncing national honour, and without Colombia rendering itself unworthy of being numbered among the independent nations of the earth.

The eminent services, the heroic sacrifices which Colombia has rendered and made to liberate Peru from its ancient masters, from the disloyalty of its sons, from civil war, disorder and anarchy, are well known. When everything was lost in Peru, when no hope of salvation remained to it, because the force of the enemy was immense and demoralisation general, then it called Colombia to its assistance ; the latter lavished on it its aid ; and God who had protected the Colombians to destroy its op-

pressors and make their country free, protects them also to save Peru and draw it from abjection and nothingness. Immortal victories crowned their efforts and made that country independent.

The Congress then meets: it manifests the gratitude of the nation, and not judging it yet free from the influence of factions and the power of anarchy, invokes anew Colombia and solicits from it an auxiliary division. This republic agrees that its troops should remain in Peru, and the Colombian troops maintain order and insure tranquillity. The government of Peru commences here its offences: without acknowledging the benefit that it was receiving, and forgetting every honourable and noble sentiment, it pays Colombia by seducing the auxiliaries, infusing in them a spirit of rebellion and causing them to depose their generals, and that they should declare themselves arbiters of the fate of their country. It is impossible to doubt it: a military so subordinate, as the Colombians, accustomed to obey their chiefs, to respect their government, and to whom honor and glory were not indifferent, without a very powerful seduction, without allurements that could only proceed from the agents of Peru, would not have dared, unless they relied upon the officious protection of these, to fail in their duty, to wither their laurels, and lose their reputation.

The faith of the friendship to which the good order, discipline and subordination of those troops were entrusted, being violated, nothing now prevented the government of Peru from acting with hostility against Colombia. It formed the project of seizing in profound peace on the three southern departments, and in order that the offence might be more heinous and the outrage more grievous, it resolved to avail itself for this enterprise of the very Colombian troops to whom it confided the sacrilegious attempt to rend their country to pieces. With protestations of friendship and of maintaining the best harmony with Colombia, the government of Peru inspired treason in the troops of this republic, and inspired it for its benefit, and in payment of the immense services which it had received, and which being so recent it could not have forgotten.

The coming of the auxiliary division was only agreed upon with him who called himself commandant general of it, the principal accomplice of the insurrection: no previous notice was given to the government of Colombia, nor its agent in Lima:

they did not wait its orders, nor the general which the government of Peru itself had asked that he might take the command, it was equipped with whatever it wanted with the greatest promptitude and secrecy, and that no doubt might remain of the hostility which was intended and the object for which those troops came, the port of Callao was shut whilst the embarkation was effected, and the vessels of war and transports after landing a part of the division have continued off the ports of the department of Guayaquil for some days waiting for the result. Providence rendered the machinations of traitors and gratuitous enemies useless: it defeated their projects and annihilated their enterprise; but the government of Peru is responsible for it, for the attempts which were committed to carry it into effect, and for the evils which Colombia suffered for some time.

The agent of this Republic had intelligence of the coming of the troops when they were already embarking; he then remonstrated and strongly and energetically protested against everything that was doing, but his remonstrance was disregarded, and his protestations had no other effect than being persecuted with rage even to expel him from the country within the term of eighteen hours with ignominy and disgrace, conducting him on board with an escort and keeping him confined in a vessel of war, without cause or reason, and without the least appearance of culpability. The representation of Colombia was atrociously outraged in the person of its agent, and to this day this government has not received any satisfaction for this horrible violation of the law of nations.

Order being reestablished in the southern departments, the traitors who had overthrown it, flying from national vengeance took shelter in Peru, and were not only welcome, but received commendations for their treason, their wickedness and perverse conduct. Their reception is so much the more scandalous, as the Colombian officers who had not taken any part in their operations and who disapproved them, against the faith of existing treaties have been expelled from Peru as suspicious persons. The punishment has fallen upon the honourable and pacific Colombians, and the rewards and consideration upon the wicked and delinquent.

The government of Colombia was silent and in this way an-

swered the injuries which were inflicted on it. It sent an officer with despatches for Bolivia and was detained in a port in Peru, obliging him to proceed to Callao : he had to throw overboard the correspondence which he was required to deliver, and he was carried to Lima where he was kept a long time. The Vice President of this Republic sends one of his aids-de-camp with the commission of presenting to the President of Bolivia the sword which the Congress of Colombia decreed to him, and he is also detained in Callao. He passes to Lima, and magnifying dangers on the road, he is not permitted to proceed farther, and finds himself obliged to return, leaving there the sword and the errand with which he was encharged. Peru was at war with Colombia, without having declared it, and Colombia at peace and willing to cultivate friendship with Peru.

The project of conquering a part of the territory with the aid of the Colombian troops being destroyed, the government of Peru does not however lose its hopes to effect it in another way. It undertakes for this purpose to form an army on the frontiers, and executes it with so much efficaciousness, as if it were very soon to open the campaign. It well considered that a similar step would alarm the government of Colombia, and thinking it might lull asleep its vigilance, it sent to it a Minister Plenipotentiary, without instructions or powers to conclude any thing, announcing that the object of his mission was to give satisfaction for the offences it had to complain of, and which the government of Peru imagined it had inflicted, without any remonstrance having been made to it. So great was its conviction that all its acts were hostile !

The government of Colombia was aware of the plot which was forming, and of the purpose for which this Minister was sent : but it admitted him notwithstanding in order to manifest to what degree its desires for peace and reconciliation had arrived. The grounds for complaint were exhibited to him, and the satisfaction which this government asked was pointed out to him ; and the Minister declared openly that he had no instructions to agree to a liquidation and payment of what Peru owes to Colombia in consequence of the supplies afforded to it, and to treat upon the restitution of the province of Taen and part of Mainas, which Peru has usurped ; he denied the convention, in virtue of which

the Colombian troops went to Peru, and by which that government solemnly stipulated the numerical replacement of the reduction that those bodies of troops might suffer; and instead of satisfaction in regard to the other charges, he rendered them still more heinous, by aspersing the chief of the government, the generals of Colombia, its troops and all the Colombians with injuries and insults. His mission, therefore, had no other end than that of increasing the catalogue of offences, and that the government of Peru should have the pleasure of insulting and outraging that of Colombia, availing itself of the immunity which its minister enjoyed.

In the mean time that government was occupied in refusing a passage on a point of its territory to the troops that gave it liberty and existence, who were in Bolivia and who wished to return to their country, after having shed their blood and lavished their lives in order to give independence and establish the felicity of those very people who then refused them the permission to pass freely through the country which was witness of their glory and which reaped their laurels. This refusal and the seduction which was at the same time employed by the generals of Peru, produced the movement of those troops on the 25th of December last at la Paz, a movement which was appeased instantly, but not without shedding Colombian blood. The government of Peru was delighted when it heard of it, commended in an official paper its authors; and to the principal of them, the sergeant who undertook it and who committed the greatest violences at la Paz, robbing its inhabitants, has been received at Lima with honor, and the greatest considerations are lavished on him. What can be expected from a government who are strangers to honor, probity, morality, good faith; who excite to treason, who delight to see the blood of their benefactors shed, and whose steps are marked by ingratitude and perfidy?

It has now caused Bolivia to be invaded, with which Colombia has the most intimate relations of amity and fraternity, without any previous declaration of war; and its general has had the boldness to address the Colombian troops, exciting them anew to fail in their duty and violate their obligations. It has resolved to send a fleet to blockade the port of Guayaquil, and that its army stationed on the frontier should march upon Colombia, and the pre-

sident of Peru himself at its head ; it has before suffered that a detachment of this very army should enter the town of Zapotillo, in the Colombian territory ; that it should raise there the Peruvian banner and invite the inhabitants to insurrection. It has permitted the general of the same army and the prefect of the department of Libertad to issue threatening proclamations in which the president of this Republic is atrociously injured and insulted : it has inserted in its papers official articles outraging Colombia and its government : it has commenced, in short, hostilities and begun the war without any respect for the law of nations, and when the negotiations were yet pending with its envoy, and the issue of them could not be known.

Therefore, war has become inevitable between Colombia and Peru, and its consequences will be to the account of him who has provoked it. The government of Colombia has not wished for it, and would have desired never to have seen itself under the necessity to undertake it ; but, what can it do ? Peru is preparing to invade this territory, as it has invaded that of Bolivia : a blockade of its ports is intended, and an attempt is made to excite the auxiliary troops which yet remain in Bolivia itself to rebellion. Can it be indifferent to these evils and suffer the conquest which is contemplated to be effected ? The impartial nations will decide whether its moderation and forbearance should be carried so far.

The government of Colombia has no reason to complain of the people of Peru : it is well acquainted with its sentiments and the gratitude it feels towards this country. This war is not, therefore, directed against it, but against its government, the only author of it, and of all the outrages, offences and perfidies which Colombia has suffered. Heaven grant that upon it and its agents alone, the calamities which are to ensue may fall ! May it also grant that it may soon terminate, causing that government to acknowledge justice and prepare to give a suitable satisfaction, leaving their neighbors in peace and giving them guarantees of its friendship and good faith !

The government of Colombia invokes the testimony of the other American States to vouch for its pacific views and the desires it cherishes that all should be connected by the strongest bonds of fraternity and alliance. For this purpose it promoted

the American Confederacy, which, should it exist, would now avert the extremity to which the differences between Colombia and Peru have reached. It would serve as an arbiter and mediator, and its mediation would be efficacious; but the genius of evil has rendered the efforts useless to carry the confederacy into effect; and the government of Peru has been obstinate in refusing it, though it was bound by existing treaties. It has formed for itself a separate policy to carry on hostilities against the other States, and has seen with horror an impartial umpire which would condemn its conduct.

The government of Colombia undertakes this war against its will; it does not wish a victory stained with American blood; it will avoid the combat as long as it will be possible, and will always be disposed to hear proposals of peace reconcileable with the honor and decorum of the nation over which it presides.

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Manuel Lorenzo
ANSWER OF VIDAURRE.

I CALL God to witness, said Tamerlane, that I am not a sanguinary man, that in my wars I have never been the aggressor, and that my enemies were always the authors of their own misfortunes. There is no usurper who does not allege motives of justice for his invasions. Charles V, the defence of religion; Napoleon, the incapacity of the Bourbons; Bolivar, to revenge the injuries, that have been offered to his person and his country. Providence has brought me to a point of contact with the whole civilized world. My expatriation renders it easy for me to answer a manifesto, which although extremely frivolous, contains many false statements which I must elucidate. The object of the war declared by a leader of soldiers, is well known. Bolivar wishes to be crowned in South America. He thinks he shall find no resistance in Peru, and he insults it. How sad will the result be to him! My government will answer, undoubtedly, in a manner superior to mine, but what it writes will neither be contradictory to this publication, nor can it so soon reach foreign nations.

Let us lay it down that Bolivar is not President of Colombia ; that Colombia has no actual government ; that the people who composed the Republic are oppressed by an armed force. This proposition is most interesting. Wars cannot take place excepting between constituted nations. These only have rights and social obligations. I shall beware of proving principles, which are within the reach of the least enlightened people. Bolivar in order to give the Bolivian Constitution to Colombia, and that it might be general in the three States which were to compose his extensive empire, manœvered cunningly, so that the constitution which governed, might be interpreted according to his wishes, and that the time appointed for the great convention might be shortened. The free men of that country who penetrated the drift of his intentions made a violent opposition. He succeeded notwithstanding in taking this first step, and did not consider the second difficult. He had obtained, that many of those persons devoted to him by consanguinity, friendship, present interests and hopes should be chosen representatives for that assembly. He endeavoured also to appal beforehand, by atrocious deeds and vile calumnies, those whom he supposed would make a vigorous resistance against him. He omitted nothing of all that his policy had brought into operation in Peru, in order to oblige it to receive the law which he had condescended to give it.

This plan, so flattering, is disconcerted immediately at the commencement of the convention. It was improbable that in Colombia the majority should be for slavery. The heroes of America, had not fought only to exchange the name of Bourbon for that of Bolivar. From the first sessions it was discovered that those who had defended liberty, at a former period, with the sword and spear, understood also how to do it with the tongue and pen. As the days pass away, the vain hopes of the party engaged in the attempt continue to vanish. Their discouragement drives them to desperation. On reading the additions that were to be made to the Charter, they discover in them a strong dike, which opposed the ambition of the new sovereign. They have recourse to the most horrible crime known in politics : they withdraw suddenly from the convention, and render it impossible that the sessions should continue, the number being deficient. A high crime in Republics. It is equal to to the assassination of a king in monarchical governments : it is giving death to the

nation to deprive it of the constituent legislative body. Bolivar has not the art of varying in order to render his projects less perceptible. This conduct is similar to that which he pursued in Peru to suspend the preparatory meetings of the Congress. When the Colombian Convention dissolved, the government ended. The Congress had expired and laid aside its attributions. The national sovereignty was in the general assembly of Ocaña. Consequently there remained no national representation, and without it there is no legitimate government. Bolivar himself presents this truth in the papers which were simulated at his solicitation. In them it is said the members of the convention having separated, the compact was broken and the rights were restored to their origin, that is, the men who wish to reunite in society. It is for this reason that they resolved to collect particular votes by means of subscriptions in those places, where Bolivar's influence was decisive. Bolivar agreeing with me in this *datum*, *the compact was broken in the Convention of Ocaña*, it is his place to prove, that the government and reunion of powers are in his person for as long a time as he may think expedient. (1) And will he be able to establish this proposition? By no means. In order to do it two things were necessary, and even they would not suffice. First; that he should present the will of all and of each of those who inhabit the wide extent of Colombia. Second; that he and his soldiers should be at such a distance, that they could not coerce neither by force, nor by intrigue. Besides, it is to be believed, that as the majority of Ocaña was in favour of principles, and determined to support them, the general will of the nation is so likewise. It is more easy to gain in a Congress wicked men who will sell themselves for low motives of interest, than to corrupt the citizens individually, and induce them to renounce their most sacred rights. And the two conditions existing; should we say that there was any government? Very few would decide in the affirmative. *The social community has a right to make choice of such or such form of government, and to impose it on itself.* This clause taken from a paper of much merit, which exculpates as far as the talent of its illustrious authors ex-

(1) This appears from the proceedings published in the Gazette of Bogotá, Nos. 364, 5 and 6, and others; especially from the Charter which he has just published.

tends, the attempt of Bolivar, obliges me to present this other proposition. There is no legitimate government, where there is no compact; there is no compact, where the man who governs can do every thing, and there remains to the people only a passive obedience, more limited than in Algiers and Cairo. These are not pompous words of a comic style. I add as a proof the new Charter. The dictatorship of Rome had a short duration; here it has none but the will of the warrior, who does not consent to govern but with extraordinary powers. In Constantinople the customs and religion sway the sword of the Sultan; in Colombia there is nothing to arrest the voice of him who expatriates and shoots. To suspect and mistrust is sufficient to cause the most illustrious citizens to suffer the most severe persecution. He who reunites in himself the three powers will find no obstacles. What is now the title of Bolivar? President and Liberator. Is he President? Conformably to what Constitution? Is he so by the vote of the majority of the people? Who has numbered the inhabitants of Colombia? How is it known that the greater number prefer slavery to liberty? Wishing to convert this event into a settled doctrine, overthrows the great discovery of the national representation, and leaves the field open to anarchy and to the aspiring views of a tyrant. It was said likewise of Peru, that the Republic was for *his* Constitution; acts were also formed there similar to those forged in Colombia; recourse was also had there to the invention of the will of the people against the Congress; but the magic edifice disappeared, truth and justice obtaining the victory. And does a President, created thus, compare himself with that of the United States? It is an insult to this happy nation!! Is he Liberator? This title does not become him who oppresses and enslaves his fellow citizens. Having lost all shame, let him be distinguished as a **DESPOT**, and let us go back to the age of Constantine.

To give a colouring to the usurpation, he alleges, that the welfare of the country itself requires these powers. For what purpose? To resist the new invasions of Spain, and repel the Peruvians, who have invaded the territory of Colombia. Both propositions are void of truth. The Cabinet of Madrid reduced to the utmost weakness, has no resources for undertaking war. Its very small forces do not succeed in restraining the tumults of the interior. Every day insurrections increase in the peninsula. It

is impossible that Spain which was free, although only for a short time, should be reconciled to be enslaved forever. Ferdinand cannot maintain his throne in Europe. Who will believe that he can think of reconquering the wide expanse of America? Would he attempt it with the assistance of other powers? Who could these be? England and France, who have acknowledged our independence? Russia, who is endeavouring to subdue the Ottoman power? Austria, who is pretending to revive Poland? Holland, where a philosophical king detests slavery? It is offering an insult to the public, to allege as a pretext for supporting a crime, facts which [all those who read the papers of Colombia, know to be false.

The wrongs which are supposed to have been experienced from Peru, are of the same nature. I do not elucidate this point now: it will be the principal object of my answer. I demonstrate that war is not declared by one state against another: that Bolivar is not Colombia. And what cause was there for dissolving the Convention? Did Spain and Peru influence that also? No: they were demagogues, who wished to proclaim and establish liberal principles, not suitable under existing circumstances. And are there circumstances under which liberal principles are not suitable? Are those which were contained in the additions, the offspring of an exalted imagination? Are they the laws of platonic Republics? And in order to resist Spain and Peru, to prevent *demagogy*, does he cause himself to be carried under a canopy in Carthagena, a ceremony formerly customary with kings, and which the Catholics have reserved for the Divinity? (2) In order to resist Spain, Peru, and *demagogy*, does he form a constitution, by which *he is President for-life, inviolable, and with the power of appointing a successor?* Bolivar is a tyrant, Colombia is without a government, the declaration of war is not by one State against another.

If it were lawful to pass over this first legal objection, I would inquire what are the reasons for declaring war? To maintain a perfect right, to cause a perfect obligation to be fulfilled. It is the same, as in lawsuits between individuals. I am accused of

(2) A scandalous] action, to which no other answer has been made. than that it was against the will of Bolivar. Bolivar compelled to do anything!

making too frequent quotations and I studiously omit them in this writing. These few lines have in their support all the political works from Grotius down to the last which has been written in our time. Before declaring war, what ought to precede? The well founded accusations of the nation calling itself aggrieved. No one can engage in a lawsuit, before unjust resistance impels him to repair to the tribunals. War is not rational unless many communications precede between the Cabinets. When the holy maxim is observed, that peace is to be obtained by all possible means, and that war is to be avoided as the greatest of evils, recourse is even had to mediation. History presents continual examples. How many were the ceremonies performed by the Roman in order to invade a country! Napoleon laid aside sometimes these preliminaries. Bolivar wishes to be the image of Napoleon, without considering that there is no one point of resemblance.

This preamble will have appeared tedious and dull to the agents whom the usurper has in different places. It will not displease philosophers. In examining the particular conduct of a man, the view always extends to his general character and inclinations. He who is not just towards his fellow citizens, will be less so towards foreigners. There was no reason for dissolving the convention of Ocaña, neither is there any for invading Peru. No one can speak on this subject with so much propriety as myself. I have been engaged as a principal actor in almost all the events. I was the first Minister of State, after Peru recovered its liberty and independence. I have been a member of the Congress, and possess all the information necessary to remove accusations. I have written a volume on the subject, entitled; *A Supplement to the American Letters.* (3) I will epitomise these same statements in a few words.

The manifesto begins by exaggerating the benefits which Peru received from Colombia, and the outrages it has received in return. I proceed by parts. Colombia favored Peru for her own interest; Colombia did not serve Peru in a generous manner. Colombia has been more than repaid.

1st. If Colombia had not joined Peru in expelling the Spaniards, the latter would have subdued all the southern part of America. They had an army of twenty thousand men perfect-

(3) There is a copy in the Boston Athenæum.

ly disciplined; they depended on the treasures of Upper and Lower Peru; they could fill their ranks; the merchants of Cadiz would assist them, in order not to lose forever the trade which had enriched them. Was Colombia able to make any resistance in its southern departments? Certainly not. The proof is historical. The victory of Pichincha, which established its independence, was owing to the Peruvian troops. General Santa Cruz covered himself there with glory, and Bolivar himself confessed to him in his note, that no other person had any share in it. If Morillo was overthrown in the north, his soldiers were Spaniards. Here the army was composed of natives, accustomed to the climate, experienced in the roads, and capable of enduring those privations which are insupportable to Europeans. Colombia consulted its own security, without expense, without perils, without losses. It defended its existence in a foreign territory, which is the greatest advantage in war. Seldom do nations lend assistance without an immediate or possible interest. Pure love is a chimera between men and nations. England poured powerful succours into Spain when she was invaded by Napoleon. What would have become of England, if Spain had yielded? Spain and France protected North America in her holy struggle. Who does not perceive that it was for the interest of those two powers to diminish the aggrandisement of a nation, which, being mistress of the seas, might rule on the continent? The causes which induced Colombia not to overlook the reconquest which the Spaniards might have accomplished in the year twenty four, were more palpable.

2d. My first proposition having been proved, the second is confirmed by the very document which with wonderful impudence has been published in Bogotá. Let the conditions on which the troops passed from Colombia to Peru be read with astonishment.

CONVENTION

Agreed upon between General Juan Paz del Castillo on the part of the republic of Colombia, and General Don Mariano Portocarrero on the part of the republic of Peru, upon sending auxiliary troops to the latter, their pay, equipment and residence in that State.

1st. The republic of Colombia shall assist that of Peru with

6000 men, and with all the disposable forces she may have according to circumstances.

2d. The government of Peru obliges itself to pay to the republic of Colombia all the cost of transports of these troops to its territory.

3d. The government of Peru obliges itself to pay to the generals, staff, and other officers of Colombia, the pay which is allowed to those of their class in Peru, according to the regulations of the pay roll in that State.

4th. The troops of Colombia in garrison shall enjoy the pay of ten dollars monthly each soldier, discounting from these the rations and clothing. This discount shall be made out of their respective corps; but in the field they shall enjoy the ten dollars in full, and the government of Peru shall give them rations and clothing without any discount.

5th. The equipment of the army of Colombia shall be on account of the government of Peru, as also the replacing of the arms, refitting and repairs of the same.

6th. The army of Colombia shall be provided with the provisions and ammunition corresponding to it in the field, whatever their aptitude may be, and shall also receive those that they may ask for their instruction.

7th. The generals and staff officers shall receive from the government of Peru the horses of ordinance for the service.

8th. For the marches the baggage of ordinance shall be given to the army of Colombia, from the general to the soldier.

9th. *It being very expensive and difficult for Colombia to fill the ranks of her army with substitutes sent from her territory, the government of Peru obliges itself to replace them numerically, let what the cause of these vacancies may be. These substitutes shall be furnished as fast as the vacancies shall take place; for, otherwise the army of Colombia could not rely on the necessary force to act.*

10th. *The expenses of the army of Colombia to return to their territory shall be paid by the government of Peru.*

11th. *The vessels of war of the navy of Colombia shall be treated in Peru as the vessels of war of that republic, whenever they shall be in its service.*

We, the contracting parties, being fully authorized by our respective governments, have agreed, the legal requisites having first been observed, to the eleven foregoing articles contained in the

aforegoing convention, and we sign two of the same tenor in Guayaquil the 18th March, 1823—XIIIth of the republic of Colombia, and IVth of the Republic of Peru.—JUAN PAZ DEL CASTILLO;—MARIANO PORTOCARRERO:—*José D. Espinar*, Secretary; *Manuel de la Vega*, Secretary of the Mission.

What troops were these? Auxiliaries? No. They were some Swiss, bought and at a high price. If they were paid their wages, clothed and equipped, they were not to receive substitutes. They entered Peru naked, barefooted, and the officers even with less decency than that of our lowest soldiers. What was the number? Was it twenty thousand, as has been supposed? No: alas for us had this been the truth: they did not amount to seven. My government will cause the lists which show the true number, to be printed and published.

Knowing very well how heavy the conditions were, it is said, that Peru gave the example,¹ when our troops passed to Pichincha: that then more rigorous articles were stipulated, which were exactly fulfilled. A fact so notoriously false will not be noticed. Our army was supported at its own expense. It did not receive a shirt nor a shoe from Colombia. They wished perfidiously to detain it, and a battle was almost necessary in order that Santa-Cruz might restore it to our territory. But let us suppose, that our troops did favor Colombia with the same contracts? What would be the result? That neither we nor they have treated each other generously. But it is not so. Prodigality in the Peruvian is carried to such an excess, that it becomes a vice.

3d. And although there should have been great, noble, and disinterested services, has not Peru rewarded them? Whatever I write, appears by official papers printed in the time of the government of Bolivar and by order of Bolivar. (4) I call to witness, besides, towns, cities, and provinces. The precious jewels presented to that General are worth more than two hundred thousand dollars. The expenses on his person exceed three hundred thousand. One million presented to his country Caracas; one million to the troops as a reward for the battle of Ayacucho; and separately two hundred thousand dollars to Sucre; another million for the siege of Callao. In these gratuities were

(4) Nothing was printed in Peru during the government of the Dictator without his consent.

included generals, who were never in Peru, as Carreño, and Paz del Castillo, and others, who always fled from cannon balls as Peres and Heres. The equipage of each one of the generals who has been in Peru exceeds twenty five thousand dollars, and there is no officer of the lowest grade who has not made a fortune sufficient to maintain himself all his life, without the hazards of war, in case he should not dissipate it in vices. This part relates to property, which we Peruvians regard with contempt, from an innate pride. I proceed to what is more interesting.

Bolivar has taken from us six thousand Peruvian soldiers, abusing the conditions of the treaty. It might be said, that he had doubled his forces. I do not pronounce one syllable, without meaning. *It might be said, that he doubled his forces.* Is it not so? He knew very well that our soldiers, accustomed many of them to the temperature of the mountains, could not resist the excessive heat of some of the departments of Colombia. Bolivar did not wish to avail himself of them, but to weaken Peru. Napoleon intended to withdraw the Spanish youth from the peninsula and send them to the North. This was the book which the new Napoleon studied. I was Plenipotentiary in Panamá, when these unfortunate beings passed, destined to death. I should have wished that they had perished at some distance, and not to have witnessed their sufferings. More than six hundred died in the hospital. Hospital! A place destined to render the slightest diseases mortal, by the neglect, the want of assistance and medicines, the loathsomeness of the place. If this causes horror, what will be the feelings of souls possessed of sensibility, on hearing that a large number of innocent beings perished from the heat of the sun, in the infernal passage from Panamá to Porto Bello. Their bodies, abandoned to birds of prey, served as food for them for many days. The troops carried three suits of clothes, the best arms, and the most skilful bands of music. They kept the whole in Colombia.

Let it be decided dispassionately. Had the Peruvians anything to be grateful for? As to gratitude; did not the reward exceed the service? Let us examine now the deeds of war. General Bolivar who intended to succeed the Spaniards in ruling, had arranged and concerted things in such a manner, that the forces of Peru should be diminished, and that it should be necessary to avail itself of those of Colombia. It is evident, that after the bat-

tle of Pichincha, General Paz del Castillo passed into Peru with a division. But it is concealed that having proposed conditions, not only oppressive but degrading, it having been impossible to accede to them, he withdrew, abandoning us in the most critical circumstances, and at the very juncture in which we should have put an end to the Spaniards, our forces which were very superior being joined with theirs. It is also kept secret that the defeat which our army experienced in the south was occasioned by General Sucre. When he ought to have acted in concert with Santa Cruz he abandoned him and caused the loss of the most numerous and best equipped division which Peru had. With these data, and it being settled that our misfortunes were preconcerted by our auxiliaries themselves, with the base intention of enslaving us, let us present to view in their brightest light, the battles of Junin and Ayacucho, which Bolivar wishes to attribute exclusively to the Colombians.

In the former no one will deny that the battle was lost, that the Colombians turned their backs, and Bolivar fled and placed himself in safety. The Peruvians gained the victory by themselves alone. Thus it is that the General himself gave our brave soldiers the title of *Hussars of Junin*. Let this item be extracted from the account, for if his troops had any share in it, it was solely passive.

In the battle of Ayacucho the glory of the victory has been ascribed to Sucre. Let us not bring into view General Bolivar. As soon as the latter knew, that a general action, of very doubtful issue, was inevitable, he placed himself in safety in Lima, at the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues, and with a vessel ready in Chorrillo (5) in case the issue should be unfortunate. And was Sucre the victor? The Peruvians are so modest that this quality injures them on many occasions. They have consented that the names of La-Mar, Santa-Cruz, and Gamarra, should remain in silence. Let the Spanish generals who were there decide this question. Señor Monet, who was my friend even in the old government, assured me that the Colombians took the posts of least danger, and that our chiefs were seen among the fire and balls, wishing to distinguish themselves by their own valor, and not to owe their liberty to strangers. Is the epithet

(5) A port two leagues from Lima.

of ungrateful affixed to us! Although there were no other fact in our favor, than that which I have repeated, that alone would be sufficient to evince the nobleness and true generosity of our souls.

This answer, founded on evident data, destroys the vague and despicable preface to the manifesto. There has been no ingratitude. Let us confine ourselves to the charges in the same order in which they appear. Let us examine the provocations, insults, outrages.

1st. That we corrupted the troops which he left as a garrison in Peru, that they might refuse obedience to their chiefs and detach themselves from them. How painful it is to me, that in enlightening nations concerning facts so circumstantial I am obliged to discover the blemishes of some of my fellow countrymen. I cannot avoid it : but I will indeed omit names.

Who is there, that will not agree with me in this proposition. *The day after the battle and capitulation of Ayacucho, General Bolivar ought to have withdrawn with his troops, and left the Peruvians free, that they might govern themselves agreeably to the Constitution, which they had already.* It was not so : he caused the congress to reassemble which had suspended its sessions, when they appointed him Dictator ; a Congress which was not composed of true representatives of the nation as the Grand Marshal Riva-Agüero has proved to demonstration. Leaving all disputes concerning the legitimacy or illegitimacy of these deputies, what I know is, that corrupted by offices, promises, and bribes, they prorogued to him the Dictatorship, that tremendous power, which he had exercised until then on account of the war. I am ignorant whether they also solicited the continuance of the troops. I refer on this particular to what my government may declare on inspection of the acts. (6) A bribed assembly alone, would solicit

(6) Bolivar had obtained a great ascendancy among the literati, and some of the military. He never had the people on his side. The latter detested the Colombians more than the Spaniards. I am persuaded that the sound part of a nation is that which has no ambitious views. Man acts always from interested motives. He who does not seek offices, alone endeavours to secure his liberty. Bolivar in the path of conquerors, has only conformed himself to their maxims. To secure a party where he wishes to rule. Indif-

that foreign garrisons should remain in the state. It is an unexampled fact. Spain was garrisoned by the French, but it was because Spain was divided into three factions and the king required foreign troops in order to maintain his absolutism. The traitors of the project, if perchance it be true, for I repeat that I doubt it, were equal to the Spaniards who leagued with Napoleon. They will be considered as infamous among us, and their names will be detested. This circumstance does not alter the injustice of the deed ; on the contrary it increases it. It proves that the usurper availed himself of the most abominable means to obtain his ambitious ends.

Let him not be excused, on the supposition that we were in a state of anarchy. Of the two persons who had disputed the Presidency, one, who was the Marquis of Torre-Tagle, was with the Spaniards, the other, who was the meritorious General Riva-Agüero, was expatriated by the same Dictator : All the votes united in electing Bolivar, President ; but a constitutional President, and nothing more than President. He, indeed, is an ingrate, because he did not conform his desires to what we could give him, without losing our liberty and independence. Let us grant now for a moment, that anarchy was to be feared. Even allowing that there were the most infallible signs of anarchy. Who constituted this foreigner our guardian, master, or judge ? There are not wanting those who palliate now the invasion ; saying, that he goes to restore peace and tranquillity to these distant nations. New discoveries are daily made in the sciences : this is one in the public law. *A private individual of a foreign nation has the power of going with an army to regulate another.* It is a natural inference from what has been stated, that, even although the Peruvians had endeavoured to persuade the Colombian troops, to throw off the unjust load which oppressed them, there was no

ferent before to religion, he is now guarding himself on that score. In Colombia he has revoked the decrees which abolished or limited Convents. This looks like imitating the late ministry of France, availing themselves of the Jesuits for absolutism. He increases also the army to forty thousand men. Soldiers and monks, good resources against liberty two centuries ago. And how will he support forty thousand men ! Some one, through pity, ought to have observed to him, that he made himself ridiculous. *Gacettes of Bogotá of the 27th July and 10th of August.*

injustice in it. Our places had been garrisoned by artifice, by artifice might we expel the garrisons. But it was not so. Here begins my history. On my return from Panamá, Bolivar discovered to me in Guayaquil all his plans. They were already well known to me after I read his constitution and *la ojeada* (coup d'œil), which was the document of apology: he had sent me these documents himself. My resolution was to die or to destroy and throw down the statue of the new idol. From the moment that I arrived in Lima I spread my ideas among the people. They met with the happiest reception: my sentiments were the prevailing ones in the sound part of the country. Although my designs were made very public, and HERES urged my immediate expatriation, (7) his companions respected my person. This encouraged me to oppose myself directly and under my signature to the publication of the Bolivian Constitution. (8) I could not prevent that act; but availing myself of the character of President of the Supreme Court, in the speech which I was to deliver on the day of its publication, I made known to the people their rights, and prepared them to unite with me in my very deeply meditated determination. (9) Having observed, that neither the popular feeling of that day in my favor, nor any of my steps met with an open opposition from the government, I dared to solicit a private interview with the General Santa-Cruz, who was the president of the council. He granted it to me, and without regarding the danger, I discovered to him my whole heart. This is one of those cases, in which it is necessary to risk one's own life to save that of the country. Fortunately, Santa-Cruz was agitated by the most noble, patriotic enthusiasm. He had to overcome some slight scruples of delicacy. Finally he determines to restore the foreign troops to their nation with the greatest decorum, and to call a legitimate Congress to decide the fate of Peru.

This was the state of things, when the Colombian troops, of themselves, made their revolution. Their object was not in favor of Peru. They reunited to swear to their charter, which Bolivar wished to abolish; and in effect they secured the chiefs,

(7) He was one of the members of the council of government.

(8) This document is added as a testimony. (*See Appendix.*)

(9) This document is also found at the end. (*idem, idem.*)

whom they considered as in concert with the tyrant. He knows this truth well; thence it is, that in his manifesto, he gives no proof that they were corrupted by us, and has recourse to the presumption of its being impossible, that troops accustomed to the most rigorous discipline, should have proceeded to an act so improper, without our direction. The argument ought to have been formed in a different way, and it would be reasonable and just. Troops who were educated in the defence of liberty and independence could not assume with pleasure the character of accomplices in tyranny. Let the whole world believe, that no day was ever more painful to me, than that of this rebellion. I should have wished to have removed the Colombian troops in a very different manner.

From this first charge results the second; that we embarked the troops with the greatest expedition, without waiting for the general, who had been requested of Colombia. This accusation must rest directly on me. All was my work, as Minister of State, and of Foreign Relations, which I was at that time. It is true, that we wrote to Colombia, to send a general who should take charge of that body; but it is also true, that it was necessary for us to order some of our battalions and squadrons who were in the interior to the capital, because every day threatened a counter revolution in the Colombian quarters. The agent Armero, and a celebrated woman named *la Manuela* labored incessantly in endeavoring to unite the soldiers against our system. Ought we to have exposed ourselves to be attacked in the south by Sucre, in the north by General Flores or some other, and in our own capital by a numerous division? Although, we the ministers who have served since that date, are called *incapable*, we knew very well how to protect our government. In Upper Peru the Spaniard Infante, who called himself Minister of State, wrote in the most bold and insulting style. In Guayaquil every paper was a proclamation against our policy. We should deserve the disgraceful epithet of *incapable*, if we had not taken in season the most serious measures for defending ourselves. Sucre at that time sent General Córdoba to put himself at the head of the division. He arrived the day after the embarkation, and hesitated not to say, *my arrival is too late and to no purpose*. Many officers, sent by Bolivar to increase the garrison he had left with

us, came also ; neither would I consent that these should disembark.

He who speaks before all nations ought to weigh with much discretion his expressions. A manifesto is examined by men very learned in the public law and that of nations. Let us forget that the troops remained in Peru with the intention of subduing it. Let us believe that it was with the general consent of the nation. Ought they to have remained as long as Colombia chose, or as long as the State which solicited them thought expedient? In order to maintain the former, it would be indispensable to prove first, that a foreign power had a right to keep garrisons in another independent power without its consent. The history of treaties presents some examples of it, but a treaty always preceded. Were it not thus, the State that was garrisoned was no longer free, nor independent, it had already lost its sovereignty. If it were sovereign, it was left to its pleasure to send back the troops as soon as it required them no longer. Bolivar himself confesses that they had lost their morality and discipline. And ought we to have kept for a single instant among us these corrupt and unnecessary troops? They were equipped completely, as all those had been who departed from our republic, and we closed the port for three days, because every moment was a risk.

And what was the conduct of these troops when they arrived in the ports of Guayaquil? Did they make any motion for that province to unite with Peru? It is audacity, effrontery, impudence to suppose it : the contrary appears from public accounts. They placed themselves at the disposal of their government, sent an officer to the vice-president, declared themselves in favor of the constitution, and did not mention Peru in any way. The third charge is as bold as the preceding. Concerning the claims on Guayaquil, let it be understood, that this department did not belong to Colombia at the time the Spanish government terminated. If in the new States, in order to avoid disputes, the *uti possidetis* was admitted, Guayaquil ought to have remained with Peru. This was the will of the majority of its inhabitants. They had commercial relations with us and the greatest advantage. They could not well expect any good from Colombia : taxes such as they have endured, and a terrible drawback in their speculations and negotiations. Colombia must necessarily oppress its departments. The amount of its

revenue is much less than that of its expenses, although they should not be extraordinary and whimsical : Guayaquil knew very well the difference, and raised our flag. Bolivar, violating the right of nations, substituted that of Colombia. All this is found authentically recorded. ³ However, I would not decide on war to recover this department. It were conformable to reason, that it should be left at liberty to unite itself with the republic which it should prefer, or form a separate State by itself. I do not vary in my principles.

At the time when the dynasty of the Bourbons ended in what were before called the Spanish colonies, the people remained in a state of nature, and could choose that form of government which pleased them most. They could also have recourse to those associations and incorporations, which they considered most advantageous. It is an error to believe that because certain provinces belonged at one time to Colombia or to Peru, there is any right now to retain them against their express will. Buenos Ayres in this respect has given the greatest example of moderation. Upper Peru had been united to River la Plata since the foundation of the viceroyalty in the reign of Charles III. Abascal united it to Lower-Peru by reconquest. This was its situation at the conclusion of our war with Spain. Nevertheless, Buenos Ayres and ourselves agree that it should take the form of government it may choose, provided the act be voluntary, and do not depend on any foreign coercion. This ought also to be the just policy in regard to Guayaquil.

Having removed all the accusations relating to the division sent to enslave, it will be very easy for me to account for the order which was given that the agent Armero should leave the country. If men and nations would conduct with good faith, there would be neither lawsuits nor wars. I have said that this agent did not cease to intrigue against our independence. As I was Minister, I sent for him one evening and spoke with him in a very serious manner. I do not know how this very particular scene has been omitted in the manifesto. I explained to him what ambassadors and plenipotentiaries were, their rights and duties in the countries where they were. I showed him that their privileges did not extend so far as to attempt anything against the forms of government in the places where they resided. I related many historical facts on that subject, which I now omit, in order not to expose myself again to be satirized as pedantic.

I concluded by assuring him that if he did not change his conduct, Peru had sufficient energy to make an example of him and to answer for the consequences. As General Flores assembled Colombian troops in Guayaquil and Cuenca and threatened an invasion, the audacity of Armero increased to such a degree that he had meetings in his house of many persons devoted to Bolivar. The president of the republic represented it to congress with a minute statement of facts, and in consideration thereof, it was decreed that he should be dismissed.

Ought we to have sent information of it to Bogotá, and have waited four months for an answer? One single week that he should have remained would have caused an irreparable injury. And even although there had not been such just reasons, is the dismissal of an agent a legal ground for a war? It is to be lamented, that ignorance can produce very fatal consequences. To receive ambassadors, plenipotentiaries, and agents, is not a perfect obligation of nations. They can refuse it without committing injustice, and dismiss them without failing in any duty. Delicacy, urbanity, friendly correspondence, regulate the modes; but these modes are not to be respected so much as to endanger for them true interests. General Bolivar must have dreamed that he is Louis XIV, and wishes that as an atonement we should raise a pyramid in the house which Armero occupied. ARMERO! an agent who kept a public shop, with the yardstick in his hand. What a public minister! Nations like men can hold communications or refuse them. There may be a want of harmony; this is not an offence.

The exaggerated grievances become gradually more contemptible. To the catalogue of injuries is added that of not permitting two officers sent from Colombia to Upper Peru to pass through the centre of our Republic. The author of the Manifesto is worthy of pity. He is ignorant of the most common principles. It cannot be asked of any government, why it does not consent that any individuals should pass through the interior of the State. It would be madness to complain, because a proprietor did not allow free passage through his estate. How many requisites are indispensable in order to travel through Europe, if we except England! A very serious instance occurred recently with a French Ambassador, in one of the States possessed by Russia. Should we be prudent in consenting that agents, of whom we had certain evi-

dence that they had no other object, than to overturn all order, and plot against our legitimate institutions, should go through the country? Is this being the enemy of Colombia? It is guarding oneself against the arts of an ambitious man who wishes to be crowned in Colombia, in Upper and Lower Peru, in Buenos Ayres, and Chili!!!

The organization of an army on our frontiers is ranked as a grievance. In reality it is the greatest, not against Colombia, but Bolivar. He would have wished us to have permitted him to assemble his troops at the posts nearest to us on the north; that we should have borne the threats and insults of General Heres in Guayaquil, and of the Spaniard Infante in Upper-Peru; that we should have furnished him with provisions, baggage, and quarters; that we should have prepared for him a triumph in every city, and afterwards have cast ourselves at his feet offering him the crown. How many insane projects! What nation does not take up arms as soon as it perceives that a neighbouring nation assumes a warlike aspect! Explanations are demanded, but the first step is to prepare for defence. This is what we have done. Peru raised a respectable force, and at the same time sent a Plenipotentiary, to demand of the government of Colombia the design of its warlike preparations; to declare that this hostile act had obliged us to make similar preparations; that on our part friendship and alliance would never be broken; but that the enormous expenses which they had occasioned us until that time, and should occasion us in future, would be imputed to them, if they did not withdraw their troops.

In regard to the Plenipotentiary, it is alleged as an injury, his not having been willing to treat concerning the restoration of Mainas and Jaen, and liquidate the account which Colombia has against Peru. If in a manifesto written three centuries ago we should find this charge between two sovereigns of the extreme northern part of the world, we should be astonished at the gross ignorance of those days. In our time, when the law of nations and politics are very common sciences, one can hardly have patience enough, to hear this kind of errors. Envoys, of whatever rank they may be, cannot deviate in a single point from the instructions received. Much less, when they are not appointed resident and for general affairs, but for a particular and exclusive one. He whom we sent, was commissioned to inquire the cause of the assembling

of troops, to declare the injuries arising from them, and express on our part the desire of a continued peace. If the Plenipotentiary negotiated any articles, for which he was not authorized, he committed a crime, and moreover whatever he might execute was null. Colombia wishing to lay open its claims on these Provinces, and to have the account liquidated, can appoint a Plenipotentiary for the purpose. And our mutual accounts, where ought they to commence? By the representation of Bolivar, from the time that he governed Peru! He calculates on finding a balance of many millions in his favor. The expenses of the armies from the moment in which we ceased being threatened with war, will be also to our credit. I declare that at this date Colombia owes a great balance in our favour. We will not say that the provinces of Jaen and Mainas belong to only us, because they belonged to Peru at the time of the Independence, but because it is the general vote of their inhabitants who have sent their deputies to Congress. And it is to be observed that this act was executed in the presence of Bolivar himself. Gual, Minister of State and Plenipotentiary in Panamá, repeated to me several times, that his Republic was willing to resign the claim it had on those Provinces.

The refusal of a passage to the Colombian troops, who were in Upper Peru, and who were to return to their Republic, is enumerated among the grievances. The assertion is entirely false, and contradicted in the very papers of Bogotá. My government not only did not refuse it, but furnished the vessels for the purpose. And with the truth which I love so much, I will say, that this subject was debated with the greatest warmth in Congress. I opposed that permission should be given to the troops to pass through the interior of our territory, while the government of Colombia did not disclose its intentions, which were already alarming. I demonstrated that there was no obligation to accede to so dangerous a solicitation; that we ought to bear in mind the manner in which Napoleon introduced his armies into Spain, deceiving the incautious Spaniards; that everything was to be feared from an ambitious man who proposed to follow in his footsteps. My observations were disregarded: the pass was granted; they embarked and arrived safely at the place of their destination.

The events in Upper Peru are what have most afflicted Boli-

var, and even made him desperate. Terrible charge! His account proves that that State was neither free nor independent; that it was under his authority; and that it was his place to revenge the wrongs it experienced. Louis XIV, would not have said as much when his grandson was in Spain. He would not have dared declare war against a nation, for injuries to that State, before its legitimate sovereign had solicited it. Of the facts which are alleged I am certain of one, because I was in Lima; of the other, by the ministerial papers which I have received.

What was the political condition of the Provinces of Upper Peru after the expulsion of the Spaniards? They were not constituted, nor did they form a nation: they had only changed their captivity. That country the most decided for liberty, and which made the greatest sacrifices to obtain it, did not yet enjoy it. No one will deny them, without committing the most atrocious injustice, the right they have to form their own constitution, and without the interference of any foreign power. But it is not the same thing, to be in a fit state to form a constitution, and to be already constituted. Could Upper Peru have received with pleasure the charter of Bolivar? It is absolutely incredible. General donations were considered as valueless in all legislations, because it was believed that he who stripped himself of all his possessions was deficient in good sense. Will any nation consent without violence to have a President for life, inviolable, and with the power of appointing a successor? Then, why was the war maintained against Spain? Kings had no greater prerogatives, nor do they have them in absolute monarchies. A chief of this kind in a State which calls itself democratic, is more inconceivable, than that a body should be black and white, round and square at the same time.

But what we say of the repugnance of the Provinces of Upper-Peru to that monstrous government is not presumption on our part; these are the most solemn facts. The operations against the oppressors were incessant. They were not directed by hungry, miserable, naked beings, but by the generality of the population. And it is worthy of remark that many Colombian officers took an active part in them. Such is the powerful influence of justice! They might be kept down by arms, as often happens in enslaved nations; but finally the deliverance was accomplished.

He who has no other support than soldiers in a nation, may be assured that his existence is very ephemeral.

Lima experienced the greatest pleasure on hearing the news of the movement of La Paz, but it is false that the government took any part in it. If the sergeant who directed it is assisted, as are the officers of Colombia, an act of strict humanity can never be culpable. England and France have assisted the Spanish emigrants, and king Ferdinand has not considered that act as an insult to his dignity. With us there are more powerful reasons. They are victims sacrificed in the support of the principles which free-men venerate; to abandon them, that they might perish, would be the greatest baseness.

General Gamarra entered the provinces of Upper Peru solicited by them. This act far from being a violation of the law of nations, is conformable to the law of nations and to the divine law. The true law of nations is the natural law applied to nations. The latter ordains that man should assist man, when he is oppressed by the unjust and implores assistance. The former, that nations should protect each other mutually against tyranny. It was not the intention of Peru to take possession of those rich provinces, and unite them to the republic, or make colonies of them. What it desired and obtained was to cast from its bosom the Carthaginians. Now they are free and independent, now they can form their compacts; compacts which we ought to respect equally with the constitutions of the other republics.

Sucre argues and says, that he was invited from Lower-Peru by many individuals and even by tribunals, and that he did not do it, in order not to violate the independence of nations. How does one passion obscure the mind! Who does not perceive the difference! Some few wicked Peruvians might have invited him. It would be very easy for me to name them. But what was the object? That the government of Bolivar should be restored. Is it the same thing to ask assistance to protect tyranny, as to ask it to obtain liberty? Some perverse Spaniards invoked also the power of Napoleon. Does this resemble the mutual assistance which the States of North America afforded each other to resist the English? The distance is as great as that between virtue and vice. And why did he not come upon Peru? Was it from moderation? He knows it not. He feared our forces from

the South. General Gamarra was waiting for that rupture, in order to drive him forever from our territory.

All the miserable causes on which Bolivar grounded himself for declaring war are done away. Let president La Mar prepare to place himself at the head of our army, it is a duty dictated by his honor; that the blockade of Guayaquil should be resolved upon—this is a consequence of the war. Nothing of this was done before the declaration. Our troops did not set foot in the territory of Colombia, nor did our vessels insult their ports. We were only on the defensive. All assertions contrary to this truth are misrepresentations.

We do not desire war, neither is it expedient for us. New republics ought only to confine their attention to the consolidation of governments, which under these favorable circumstances may be perfect and happy. Our disputes might have been terminated amicably; by soliciting the mediation of an impartial and enlightened power. If our just desires are not realized, the world will know that the Peruvians have honor, courage, intrepidity, talents; that they are not a horde of barbarians; that there are men among them very capable of directing in the cabinet and distinguishing themselves in the field. The Count de la Union was born in Lima; that was the country of Olavide. Peralta and Pardo de Figueroa were from Arequipa and Cusco. Let us forget past times; the Peruvians having burst the chains with which the Spaniards bound them, and which Bolivar renewed, will pursue their invaders to those points which were the first boundaries of the viceroyalty of Peru. They will not desolate nor blood-stain the places through which they pass. Far from this, respecting the natural independence of nations, they will employ their arms solely in expelling from the whole American territory one man alone, who prevents the peace, friendship, and union, which ought to be eternal between sister republics, whose true interest consists in protecting each other mutually.

WAR AGAINST BOLIVAR. PEACE WITH COLOMBIA.