

BOLÍVAR

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For
my good friend

h. Dr. Eugenio Varanjo M.

with kindest regard

Isaac Goldberg

June Sixteenth
1928

BOLÍVAR



TENERANI'S STATUE OF BOLÍVAR AT BOGOTÁ
Courtesy of Prof. Wm. S. Robertson

BOLÍVAR

Liberator of
VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR,
PERU *and* BOLIVIA

By

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Gimnásticos, El Heliógrafo, Señales Mili-
tares, Spanish Accentuation, Manual of
Strategy, etc., etc.



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Foreword

TWICE the Author has vowed to write the history of Simón Bolívar (pronounced *Seemón Boléevár*): *first*, when a United States Minister, at the Centennial of the Liberator in Caracas, delivered an address upon "Símon Bólivar" — a name that none of his native audience recognized; and *second*, when an American college professor in Central Park, New York City, viewing the distant statue of the Liberator, quoted from Fitz-Greene Halleck:

"At midnight, in his guarded tent," etc.

He had confounded Bozzaris with Bolívar!

South of the Rio Grande, every man, woman and child, knows who was Washington. Surely we should not be ignorant of one whom Henry Clay called "the Washington of South America".

H. R. L.

Washington, D. C.

January 1, 1923.

Illustrations

	Opposite Page
Statue of Bolívar by Tenerani	FRONTISPIECE
Birthplace of Bolívar	2
Monument to American Officers, 1806	8
Bolívar in 1810	16
Miranda in Prison	30
Bolívar in 1812	40
Bolívar by Michelena	50
Bust of Bolívar	76
Statue of Bolívar by Anderline	100
Statue of Bolívar by Tadolini	126
Bolívar by Novarro	150
Statue of Bolívar, Central Park, New York City	176
Medallion by David d'Angers	202
Original signature of Bolívar upon letter to Colonel Córdova	226
Sucre from painting in Capitol at Caracas	292
Battle of Ayacucho	298
Bolívar by Gil	302
Bolívar's portrait in Richmond, Va.	336
Bolívar by Meucci	352
San Pedro Alejandrino	386
Map of Theatre of War and of Bolívar's longest Rides	394
Tomb in National Pantheon, Caracas	428
Sculpture from same by Tenerani	430

To

COLOMBIA

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF HER GENEROUS HOSPITALITY

Bibliography

THE writer acknowledges the free use and translation of the Spanish texts of the following authors and especially of the *narrative* of the first:

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JOSÉ MANUEL RESTREPO

BARALT AND DÍAZ

GENERAL TOMÁS C. DE MOSQUERA

GENERAL JOAQUÍN POSADA

SANTANDER ARCHIVES

GENERAL BARTOLOMÉ MITRE

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JOSÉ MARÍA GOENAGA

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LAUREANO VILLANUEVA

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CORNELIO HISPANO (ISIDRO LÓPEZ)

VICUÑA MACKENNA

GENERAL DANIEL F. O'LEARY

GENERAL WILLIAM MILLER

COLONEL G. HIPPISEY

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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GENERAL PERÚ DE LACROIX

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CHAPTER I

1783 - 1806

Birth of Bolívar—His baptism—Confirmation—Early education—Simón Rodríguez — Bolívar sent to Spain — Presentation at Court — Incident at Aranjuez—Engagement—Visits Paris—Marriage—Return to Venezuela—Death of wife—Goes to Europe—Meets Baron von Humboldt—Travels—Witnesses coronation of Napoleon at Milan — Visits Rome, where he swears to liberate his native land—Return to Venezuela—Chaotic situation—Francisco Miranda —His expedition in 1806.

SIMÓN BOLÍVAR¹ was born in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, on the 24th of July 1783. His parents were Don Juan Vicente de Bolívar y Ponte and Doña María de la Concepción Palacio y Sojo,² both of whom were of noble birth and ample fortune. The former died in 1786; the latter in 1788. Simón was their fourth child and all of his names, received at baptism, were Simón José Antonio de la Santísima Trinidad (of the Most Holy Trinity). Happily he used only the first. There has been but *one* Bolívar! At the early age of seven years, after the custom of Roman Catholic families of that period in good circumstances, he was confirmed; but his remarkable career furnishes no especial evidence of piety or of religious conviction.

The early education of Bolívar was limited to what was then taught in the Spanish colonies of America and comprised principally the rudiments of his own language and of Latin, which latter he speedily forgot. His first preceptor, a somewhat eccentric but honorable man, Simón Rodríguez, was a schoolmaster in Caracas; while Andrés Bello, the poet and grammarian, gave him sundry lessons in geography and

¹ A Basque name, originally Bolívar and, according to Mancini, Bolibar-jáurregui (meadow of the mill). Roberston says the ancestral home was at Marquina, a town in Biscay, near Bilbao.

² Mancini, on the same page, gives the mother of Bolívar, two different names, "Blanco" and "Sojo," but the latter appears in the baptismal record of her son. The last names, in each case, are those of the respective mothers—a Spanish custom.

mography. After his mother's death (which occurred during his fifteenth year), his maternal uncle and guardian, Carlos Palacio, sent him to Spain to complete his education. At this time he wore the uniform of a lieutenant of the militia of Aragua, of which regiment his father had been colonel. During the voyage, Bolívar visited the cities of Havana and of Mexico, where, notwithstanding his youth, he is said to have somewhat disconcerted the Viceroy by his frank declaration of the right of the Spanish colonies to independence.

In Madrid, he lived with another of his maternal uncles, Esteban Palacio, whose friendship with Mallo, a favorite of Carlos IV and of his consort, María Luisa, procured for Bolívar a presentation at Court. The Queen greatly distinguished the young South American. One day at Aranjuez, the little Prince of Asturias invited him to play at battledore, but he became angry when, during the progress of the game, he was accidentally struck upon the head with the shuttlecock. His royal mother reproved him for such exhibition of temper. In after years, the Liberator related this incident and added: "Who could have foretold the future Fernando VII, that this childish quarrel perhaps portended that, one day I should take from him the most precious jewels of his crown?"

When only seventeen years of age, Bolívar became engaged to María Teresa Rodríguez del Toro y Alayza, the daughter of a distinguished Venezuelan family, then residing in Madrid. His guardian at this time was the Marquis de Ustáriz, who exercised a great and salutary influence over his romantic and somewhat excitable ward. In 1801, Bolívar visited Paris,³ where he saw and passionately admired General Bonaparte, who was then First Consul. Returning to Madrid, when but eighteen years old, his marriage was duly celebrated and the youthful couple sailed for Venezuela. In Caracas, the possessors of an ample fortune, they lived happily until

³ Mancini relates an encounter between Bolívar and the Toledo police, instigated by the jealousy of Godoy, the Prince of Peace, who shared with Mallo the favors of the Queen. Bolívar was an extraordinarily precocious youth at seventeen, and his residence in Europe, more especially the second, was characterized by great expenditure and no little dissipation. Years later he told his friend Mosquera: "If I thought I could never see Paris again, I believe I should want to die!"



House in which Bolívar was born—Caracas

the untimely death of the beautiful and attractive young wife in 1803, barely ten months after their arrival. She left no child and her husband, not yet twenty years of age, was plunged into the most profound grief. Bolívar, himself, said: "I loved my wife very dearly and at her death I swore not to marry again. I have kept my word. Had I not been left a widower, my life might have been very different. Perhaps I should never have been a general or the Liberator, although I confess my disposition did not fit me to be the Mayor of San Mateo. . . . The death of my wife made me enter very early the field of politics and follow the car of Mars rather than the plough of Ceres."

In less than a year after this great affliction, Bolívar returned to Madrid and thence to Paris, where he remained some time. He was residing in the city when Bonaparte became Emperor, from which moment, according to Larrazábal, he could no longer tolerate praise of his former idol. "Since Napoleon has made himself Emperor," said Bolívar, "his glory seems to me the splendor of Hell: the volcanic flames which cover the prison of the world." He refused to witness the magnificent ceremony of the coronation and, indignant at the servility of the nation and the usurpation of its First Consul, he is said to have denounced the act to Generals Oudinot and Savary, as well as to other adherents of the new government, whom he chanced to meet.

About this time Baron von Humboldt arrived in Paris from his scientific exploration of the equatorial regions of America. Bolívar visited him and these two remarkable men inaugurated, then and there, a friendly correspondence which lasted many years. It is even affirmed that he consulted the German *savant* as to the future independence of the Spanish colonies in the New World.

In the spring of 1805, Bolívar undertook a journey of recreation through France and Italy, with his former tutor, the eccentric schoolmaster of Caracas, Simón Rodríguez. They crossed the Alps on foot, stick in hand, this being the favorite manner of travel of the latter who, before his death at the

advanced age of eighty-three, had spent forty-four years in *walking* about the world. Together they visited the scenes immortalized by Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was Bolívar's favorite book. While in Milan, he had so far recovered from the sentiment of horror with which Napoleon's usurpation in France had inspired him, that he witnessed with calmness the Emperor's coronation as King of Italy. He was also present at a grand review of the French army near Castiglione and Larrazábal, who invents many, and exaggerates other, incidents connected with his hero, makes the great Corsican, upon this occasion, regard the young foreigner through his field glass. "The new Cæsar," he adds, "could not have imagined that he had before his eyes the Liberator of the World of Columbus!"

In Rome, Bolívar had lodgings on the Piazza di Spagna, near the famous stone steps leading to the Trinità dei Monti. His passion was the Coliseum. Upon a certain day, one of the last of his stay in the Holy City, he ascended Mount Aventine and, from a precipice overhanging the Tiber, gazed upon the tomb of Cæcilius Metellus, the Appian Way and the Campagna, which last reminded the young traveller of the fertile plains of his own Caracas. In an excess of enthusiasm, he is said to have seized the hand of his old tutor and, upon that sacred soil, *to have sworn to liberate his native land!*

Mitre says of them: "His tutor (born in Caracas, the natural son of a priest,) was a philosopher of the school of the Cynics; the ideas imbibed from him were so extravagant as to verge on lunacy, but he carried them with him throughout his life and they moulded his career. From him he learned to dream of an ideal form of government, neither monarchical nor republican, in which all the offices should be held for life."

Bolívar now returned to Paris, leaving Rodríguez in Rome. Later he travelled through Holland and sailed from Hamburg for the United States, where he visited the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston (South Carolina), from which port he finally embarked for La Guayra,

reaching his native land about the close of the year 1806. He was twenty-three years of age when he again arrived in Caracas and "up to this time," declares Rojas, "the idea of redeeming his country, as some historians affirm, had never entered his mind." Apparently it was his intention to live remote from politics and to occupy himself exclusively with his own affairs, although Larrazábal attributes a patriotic, if rather sinister, motive to this announced purpose.

Upon Bolívar's return, the situation in South America was somewhat chaotic. Thoughts of independence had begun to animate the hearts of the colonists since the close of the preceding century. As early as 1780, there had been an unsuccessful uprising at Socorro, in New Granada, followed by that of the Inca, Tupac-Amaru, in Peru; and in 1799 the conspiracy of Gual and España had been discovered in Venezuela, for which the former was poisoned in Trinidad (whither he had escaped) and the latter was hanged in Caracas. The colonies complained especially of the restrictions imposed by Spain upon their trade, which was prohibited with any other than the Mother Country or even among themselves. There was consequently no interchange of ideas, of labor, of capital, of intelligence or of values; their industries were sacrificed to the slow and scanty importations of the Peninsula; the purchase of Spanish products was obligatory, at prices with which the buyer had nothing to do: in short, there was a sort and degree of extortion that oriental despotism had never imagined. In both the civil and military administrations, arbitrary will was the law. The people were burdened with taxes and at the same time harassed and kept in ignorance. Conditions were especially bad in Venezuela, New Granada and Quito (Ecuador), which colonies had endured for years a neglect and an indifference never shown the rich provinces of Mexico and Peru.

"During some years previously," writes Mitre, "an ardent apostle of human liberty had wandered about the world. He was a dreamer, with confused ideas and undisciplined attainments, a generous-minded warrior, above all,

BOLÍVAR

a man of strong will. A soldier of Washington, a comrade of La Fayette, a general under Dumouriez, a companion of Madame Roland in her prison, a confidant of Pitt in his schemes of insurrection in the Spanish colonies of America, distinguished by Catherine II of Russia whose favors he put aside in deference to his austere mission, looked upon by Napoleon as a lunatic though with a spark of the sacred flame — Francisco Miranda, a native of Caracas, was the first to foresee the great destinies of Republican America and to raise the banner of freedom in the southern continent.’’

Miranda was never a soldier of Washington, although he is said to have served in a subordinate capacity with a Spanish contingent of the French troops under the Count de Rochambeau. In 1781-83 he was with General Cajigal in Cuba, previous to which he had served with General O'Reilly in Morocco and with General Gálvez in Mississippi and Florida. He was, however, the Patriarch of the Spanish-American Revolution. In connection with two enthusiastic Jesuits, he had founded in London a political society where were initiated into the mysteries of Liberty, those distinguished patriots O'Higgins of Chile and Nariño of New Granada. And here, the two great Liberators, Bolívar and San Martín, are said to have taken an oath to devote their lives to the cause of emancipation in their native land.

In 1806, apparently with the tacit consent of President Jefferson and of Secretary of State Madison, General Miranda fitted out a filibustering expedition in New York, in which enterprise he was assisted by Mr. Samuel Ogden, a merchant and by Colonel William S. Smith, a son-in-law of ex-President John Adams and likewise an Inspector or Collector of Customs. When it reached the shores of Venezuela, the little fleet comprised a brigantine of twenty guns and two schooners. The sailors and soldiers, as well as their officers, were chiefly citizens of the United States. Near Puerto Cabello, the two schooners were captured by two larger and better armed Spanish vessels; and of the sixty

Americans on board, ten were brutally hanged, beheaded and quartered, an inexperienced negro slave (who was granted his freedom as a reward) being employed as their executioner. The remaining prisoners, fifty in number, languished for years in the dark and horrible dungeons of Cartagena. When finally released, through the instrumentality of their government, thirty-five unhappy wretches, bowed and broken with the sufferings and privations they had endured, were all that survived. General Miranda sailed away upon the brigantine and took refuge in Trinidad, from which island, reinforced by several English gunboats, he made a second descent upon the Venezuelan coast, capturing the important town of Coro and its seaport La Vela. But the inhabitants fled, affrighted at the approach of his little army, composed almost entirely of foreigners. The province was not yet ready for independence. Miranda, perhaps unintentionally deceived by his friends and countrymen, returned to the British West Indies and thence sailed for Europe. Thus the first organized effort to free the Spanish-American colonies was made by citizens of the United States, with funds contributed by them; and theirs was the first blood shed in the cause of liberty in these future sister republics. An imposing monument commemorates this little-known fact in the town of Puerto Cabello.

CHAPTER II

1807 - 1811

Complicated situation in Spain—Seditious youth of Caracas—Captain-General Emparan—19th of April 1810—Junta of Caracas—“Colonel Simón de Bolívar” sent to London—Failure of mission—Bolívar returns to Caracas with General Miranda—First Venezuelan Congress—*Sociedad Patriótica*—Eloquence of Bolívar—Independence declared 5th of July 1810—Venezuelan flag—Demonstration by Canary Islanders—Opposition by Valencia, Coro and Maracaibo—Miranda reprimands Bolívar—Latter serves with ability in campaign—First Constitution promulgated.

MEANWHILE the situation in the Mother Country was greatly complicated. Carlos IV had abdicated in favor of his son Fernando VII and the latter, in turn, in favor of his father, while both were united in servile subjection to the Emperor Napoleon and to his brother and tool, Joseph Bonaparte, who had been proclaimed King of Spain. Only in the colonies was there any pretense at resistance; and some French officers from a corvette anchored off La Guayra, while visiting Caracas, were very nearly mobbed by the inhabitants, who only recognized Fernando and the Central Junta at Seville.

An attempt of the Venezuelans to establish a local junta in Caracas, was frustrated and one of the principal agitators, Manuel Matos, was arrested and imprisoned. The deputy who was to represent the province in the *Cortes* convened by the Central Junta, was ordered to be *appointed* by the Captain-General and his Council, not *elected*, as before, by the people. To all Spanish America, with 4,312,000 square miles, only twelve deputies were apportioned; while in Spain, with but 225,000 square miles and with no more inhabitants, there were thirty-six! This discrimination further embittered the colonies. Spain had not profited by the lesson of the North American Revolution.

“A seditious youth,” writes Díaz, “the Salias, Pelgrones,



Monument to American Officers executed by Spaniards after capture in General Miranda's expedition of 1806. Erected in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela

Montillas, Sojos, Bolívar, Ribas —whose ideas were repugnant to the monarchy, made a tumultuous appearance in a rôle opposed to its projects and aspirations. They were ignorant of the art of rebelling and wished to learn it practically.” Indeed, a secret patriotic society composed of young men of Caracas, is said to have met frequently in the home of Bolívar. Mitre says, however, referring to the alleged incident upon Mount Aventine in Rome: “Six more years passed and the revolution broke out in Venezuela, without any open help from Bolívar. He was then leading the life of a feudal lord, in wealth and luxury produced by the toil of slaves; yet, though he took no apparent part in the revolution, he had done something to aid it. He was on intimate terms with the Captain-General and had betrayed his secrets to the conspirators.” Brigadier-General Vicente Emparan had arrived in Caracas to exercise the functions of Captain-General and, when informed of the attempt to establish a local junta, promptly declared that while he was in Venezuela, there would be *no other law or will in the province but his!* He was accompanied by Fernando Toro, as Inspector of Militia. The latter was an uncle of Bolívar’s late wife, which fact established friendly relations between the future Liberator and the Captain-General and gave cause, perhaps, to Mitre’s assertion. Bolívar was still a lieutenant of the regiment of militia of Aragua.

Under the administration of Emparan, the Patriots had great difficulty in holding their secret meetings. In the meantime Seville had fallen into the hands of the French and its Central Junta was succeeded by the Council of Regents at Cádiz, which sent two Commissioners to Venezuela and New Granada to apprise the Spanish authorities of this change and to secure the adhesion of the two provinces. According to Díaz, these Commissioners were surrounded and welcomed by Montilla, Bolívar, Sojo and their companions, because the Commissioners, themselves, were seditious; but Larrazábal combats this assertion and declares that the object of the young Patriots was solely to ascertain

BOLÍVAR

directly the condition of affairs in Spain, in order that they might act with greater intelligence.

It is difficult to fix definitely the part played by Bolívar in the early days of the revolution. Rojas says that the 19th of April 1810, found him quietly resting upon his estate at Aragua and Larrazábel confirms this statement but remarks that Bolívar had been compelled to absent himself upon one of his plantations in order to escape punishment at the hands of his former friend, the Captain-General. Upon the day in question, which was Thursday of Holy Week, the Council met as usual and invited the Captain-General to accompany it to the Cathedral, to take part in the customary religious services. Previous to their departure, certain patriotic members spoke to him of the deplorable conditions of the province and presumed to mention the fatal words "Junta of Caracas." Impatient at this interruption, the Captain-General strode across the square to the Cathedral and was saluted according to his rank by the guard. As, however, he was about to enter the edifice, he was forcibly detained by Francisco Salias, who demanded that he return to the Council chamber. When he did so, the soldiers, apparently apprised of what was going to occur, omitted to pay him the customary honors. In the Council, the demand for a Junta was renewed, the most prominent among the agitators being a priest, José Cortés Madariaga by name, a Chilean by birth and as bold as he was eloquent. Of his own accord he had entered the chamber, as the self-constituted representative of the clergy. Stupified by these evidences of conspiracy, Emparan went to the balcony and appealed to the multitude, demanding that the people signify if they were satisfied with his government. Cortés Madariaga, who had followed and was standing behind him, made a negative sign with his head or hand and, with one voice, a denial was shouted back. "Neither do I wish to govern you," replied the repudiated Captain-General. Immediately the Junta of Caracas proceeded to organize and one of its first acts was to indite a friendly letter to the Council of Regents at Cádiz. Com-

missioners were sent to the different departments and to New Granada as well as the Antilles, to secure their adhesion and to the United States and Great Britain with propositions of alliance, but still in the name of Fernando VII. Among those designated to proceed to London, was "Colonel Simón de Bolívar." This appointment was signed by the President and Vice-President of the Junta and by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. After his return from England, Bolívar dropped the aristocratic "de" with which, as well as the title of "colonel," he was distinguished in this document.¹

The popular movement in Caracas on the 19th of April 1810, was followed by similar uprisings throughout South America:—on the 25th of May in Buenos Aires, on the 20th of July in Bogotá and on the 18th of September in Santiago (Chile).

Upon the arrival of the Commissioners in London, in July 1810, they sought and obtained an audience with the Marquis of Wellesley, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. At this interview Bolívar is said to have been so carried away with enthusiasm that, forgetting the specific object of his mission, he discoursed eloquently upon the subject of the independence of the colonies; whereupon the Minister coolly remarked, that he found nothing in the credentials of the Commissioners nor in their instructions (a copy of which had been furnished him), to authorize the expression of such sentiments. At this time England and Spain were allies and the Commissioners were only able to obtain assurances of support "for the American governments, whatever they might be, against the attacks and intrigues of the French tyrant" (Napoleon). A circular letter to this effect was sent to the authorities in the British Antilles. After the interview, Bolívar acknowledged his error to his colleagues, to whom he confessed that he had read neither credentials nor instructions! "This is a true sample of his character," adds Mitre, "both as politician

¹ According to Cornelio Hispano, Bolívar's civil titles were Marquis of Aragua, Viscount Toro, Lord of Aroa.

and soldier; ever preoccupied by some idea of his own, he took no thought of the obstacles in his way and gave no heed to the opinions of others but blindly pursued his own dreams and his own designs. Victor or vanquished, he always persevered, reading with his 'mind's eye,' as he, himself, said, no other documents than those written upon his own brain. His ruling idea at this moment was independence and he went straight for it." In London, Bolívar met Miranda, whom he had been instructed to avoid, as the Junta of Caracas was not yet ready to adopt the ideas of this "precursor of independence."

The popular movement in Caracas found no echo in the provinces of Guayana, Coro and Maracaibo, which were blindly royalist, and they attempted by force of arms to stifle it in its cradle. Happily they were defeated, but not without bloodshed. This resistance, while it contributed powerfully to foment the reaction in favor of Spain, likewise inflamed the hearts of the Patriots, who had proceeded with moderation on the 19th of April, yet were influenced by the wish to secure the ultimate independence of the colony. And this desire was further animated by an attempt upon the part of various Spanish residents of Caracas to restore the former order of things. Fortunately it was discovered in time and the Patriots had an opportunity of again showing their moderation, for while there were a number of convictions, no executions stained the hands of the young government. The culprits were merely expelled from the country. Very different was the treatment accorded by the Spaniards, at this time, to the patriots of Quito, where seventy-two of her most distinguished citizens were horribly massacred and decapitated in prison and their naked bodies insulted and mutilated. When this news reached Caracas, the people, with one accord but without premeditation or order of the government, put on mourning.

The letter sent by the Junta of Caracas to the Council of Regents at Cádiz, had been couched in the most moderate terms. It declared that the colony only desired to imitate

the example of the Mother Country, by establishing a provisional local government which could rule until such time as a legitimate and permanent form could be given it. Furthermore, it protested that the colonists would contribute funds to enable their brethren in Europe to carry on the holy struggle in which they were engaged, and concluded by saying that those among the latter who despaired of salvation and liberty in Spain, would find a home and friends in Venezuela. Upon receipt of this letter, its senders were characterized by the Council as "insurgents" and "rebels," the province of Caracas was declared blockaded and an expedition under Antonio Cortabarría, who was given extraordinary powers, was dispatched to carry the mandate into effect.

The mission to London was only partially successful and Bolívar returned to Caracas in December 1810, accompanied by General Francisco Miranda, then about fifty-five years of age and regarded as the most distinguished soldier that had been produced in South America. Larrazábal says: "The future Liberator, who never knew the vileness of envy, believed with many others that his celebrated compatriot was the man necessary to the revolution, for which reason he brought him with him as a precious acquisition, gave him the hospitality of his home and contributed especially to confirm and extend his influence, frankly proclaiming his merit and virtues." It is uncertain whether they arrived together or separately, as some writers affirm; but in a letter written by Roscio, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Miranda, granting him the Junta's permission to enter Caracas, mention is made of the high recommendations enumerated in his favor by "the Commissioners to London, Luis López Méndez and Simón de Bolívar." This time Miranda was welcomed by the populace. Mitre says: "The people received him with ovations; youthful citizens looked upon him as the oracle of their future destinies; the soldiers regarded him as the herald of victory; yet at first his influence was not felt in public affairs. Grave, taciturn and dogmatic, with unbending opinions formed in solitude, Miranda discussed nothing although he sought to

BOLÍVAR

make proselytes." And Díaz writes: "I saw him enter in triumph, received as a gift from Heaven and with the hopes of the highly demagogic founded upon him."

The Junta of Caracas gave Miranda the grade and salary of lieutenant-general and on the 2nd of March 1811, when the First Congress of Venezuela convened, he was returned as one of the deputies from the province of Barcelona. Bolívar was not elected a member of this memorable body but, together with Miranda, he had formed the *Sociedad Patriótica*, which advocated absolute independence and hence not infrequently came into collision with the government, since the latter continued to preserve the fiction of rule under Fernando VII. Already Bolívar had begun to display that energy and directness of speech which later characterized his public utterance; and when some members of the Congress alluded sneeringly to the Patriotic Society as a second congress but devoid of authority and productive only of discord, Bolívar eloquently replied: "There are not two congresses. Why will they who best know the necessity for union, foment schism? What we seek is to make an effective union and to animate all in the struggle for liberty. To unite for repose—to sleep in the arms of apathy—was yesterday a disgrace; to-day, it is treason. In the National Congress they are still discussing what should long ago have been decided. And what do they say?—'That we should begin with a confederation!' As if we were not already confederated against foreign tyranny.—'That we should await the policy of Spain!' Why should it concern us if Spain sell her slaves to Bonaparte or herself maintain them enthralled, if we ourselves are determined to be free? These scruples are the sad results of our former chains.—'That great enterprises should be prepared with calmness!' Are three hundred years of calmness not enough? Do they desire three hundred more? The Patriotic Society respects, as it should, the National Congress, but Congress should heed the Patriotic Society, which is the focus of revolutionary intelligence and interests. Let us lay, without fear, the corner-stone of South American liberty. To hesitate

longer, is to succumb. I move that a committee from this body lay these sentiments before the Sovereign Congress"—which motion was approved and carried into effect during the session of the 4th of July. Upon the following day, the situation had become intolerable and the Congress proceeded to declare the independence of Venezuela, that is, on the 5th of July 1811. To this result Bolívar contributed greatly although, of course, he was not a signer of the act.

The flag adopted by the Congress was the tri-color first raised by Miranda in the New World in 1806, and which still survives in Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. Its orange, azure and crimson bars, were interpreted as follows: the golden shores of Venezuela, separated by the blue sea from the blood-thirsty Spaniard. By a strange coincidence, it was the flag of despotic Russia, substituting orange for white. Another of the acts of the Congress decreed that the year of the *Colombian* era should be used jointly with that of the Christian era, in all public documents. This was the earliest official use in South America of the name of the great discoverer, although Miranda had applied the title "Colombia" to the colonies he designed to liberate in 1806, and it was subsequently adopted by Bolívar for the grand republic organized under his auspices and ruled by him as Dictator and President.

Mitre says of Miranda: "The Government appointed him, with Roscio and Ustáriz, Republicans of the North American school, to draw up a plan for a constitution, on the basis of a federation of the provinces. The old dreamer, who mixed classic conditions with modern theories, sought to combine them with the extinct institutions of the colonial period. According to his plan, the administration was to be intrusted to two Incas or Roman Consuls, appointed for ten years. The remainder of the scheme was modeled on the municipal institutions of the colonies. He was far behind the day in which he lived."

The nascent state very soon encountered difficulties. One Captain Montenegro, who had arrived in Caracas from Cádiz

BOLÍVAR

with letters from the alternate deputies in the Spanish *Cortes* claiming to represent Venezuela, and who had joined the revolutionary movement and been appointed to a responsible position in the Ministry of War, fled the country carrying with him important documents. In the capital itself, a few Spaniards from the Canary Islands, attempted a counter demonstration, but it was speedily put down. However, the opposition assumed such proportions in Valencia, the second city in the province, aided by Coro and Maracaibo, that a force under the Marquis del Toro was sent against it. In the first encounter, the Royalists were successful. General Miranda was then offered the command, which he accepted, it is said, with the condition that Colonel Simón Bolívar, whom he characterized as a "dangerous young man" (*joven temible*), should be detached from his regiment, which was among the troops ordered as reinforcements. Bolívar, naturally indignant, succeeded in having the order revoked and is said to have served through the brief campaign, which was his first, with valor and ability. Becerra relates that he was reprimanded by Miranda for pirouetting his horse and addressing his men when the General was present in supreme command. Certain it is that already there had developed a latent rivalry or jealousy upon the part of one or both of these eminent patriots.

Valencia was captured by Miranda after a short but sanguinary campaign against the Royalists, who made an obstinate resistance but finally surrendered unconditionally. The Patriots lost 800 men killed and 1,500 wounded. Miranda, who apparently sought to detach Bolívar upon every occasion, sent him to Caracas with dispatches. Meanwhile the first or federal Constitution was promulgated and Valencia (the scene of the late disorders), by reason of its central position, was declared the capital of the new state. Those of its citizens who had been condemned to death for participation in the uprising, were generously pardoned.



BOLÍVAR IN 1810
From a painting by Charles Gil

CHAPTER III

1812

Royalist reinforcements arrive — Domingo Monteverde — Terrible earthquake—U. S. Congress dispatches flour for sufferers—Bolívar in church of San Jacinto—Superstitions of inhabitants—Monteverde captures Barquisimeto and other cities — Miranda named *Generalísimo*—Assigns Bolívar to command Puerto Cabello—Miranda's defensive tactics—Bolívar loses Puerto Cabello—His letters to Miranda — Capitulation of Miranda — His arrest at La Guayra — Death at Cádiz—Bolívar obtains passport—Arrives at Cartagena—Allocution—Capture of Tenerife and Mompox.

IN THE spring of 1812, reinforcements arrived from Puerto Rico, under General Cajigal, for the Royalists and Ceballos, the Spanish governor of Coro, one of the native cities most strongly disaffected to the patriot cause, determined to send a force against the provinces that had declared their independence. Among these reinforcements there was a company of marines under a captain-of-frigate named Domingo Monteverde, a Canary Islander who, although universally condemned as a coarse, brutal and ignorant man, displayed great energy and military qualities of no mean order during the brief campaign which ensued. He eventually became a field-marshal of Spain. To him was assigned the command of the troops, comprising 320 men, that left Coro on the 10th of March 1812. At Siquisique, where they arrived on the 17th of the same month, they were joined by about 400 volunteers, urged on by the persuasive eloquence of Torrellas, the curate and a sworn enemy of independence. Without waiting for orders, Monteverde advanced to Carora, which he captured and sacked on the 23rd of March and refused to evacuate even when commanded to do so by Ceballos. In this first engagement he took some 89 prisoners, 7 cannon and a quantity of muskets and ammunition, which had been collected and stored by

the Patriots. Thus the fortune of war began to be favorable to the Royalists.

On the 26th of March, at 4 o'clock P. M., when the churches were full of people (it being Thursday of Holy Week), a terrible earthquake occurred in Venezuela which destroyed a large part of Caracas, La Guayra, Barquisimeto and Mérida, burying thousands of the inhabitants beneath the ruins. The town of San Felipe disappeared entirely and with it a battalion of 600 Patriots which had just arrived. As many more perished in the barracks at Caracas and nearly as many in La Guayra. A column of 1,200 that was passing in review at Barquisimeto and 300 more who were marching to the same station, were swallowed up to a man! Soldiers stores, military parks—all vanished in a few seconds! Great distress succeeded and the Congress of the United States, being then in session, caused to be promptly dispatched five vessels loaded with flour for the relief of the sufferers.¹

Upon this occasion Bolívar happened to be in Caracas, which city (referring to its elevated situation) von Humboldt is said to have remarked "sleeps upon its own grave." Díaz relates a strange incident of this catastrophe. "To that indescribable noise," he writes, "succeeded the silence of death; but the groans of the dying arose from the church of San Jacinto. I climbed upon its ruins and entered the interior. On the highest spot I met Don Simón Bolívar. He was in his shirt sleeves, engaged in the search for the living who could yet be rescued. Terror and desperation were depicted upon his countenance. He recognized and addressed me in the following impious and extravagant words: 'If Nature oppose us, we will contend with her and compel her to obey!'"

Bolívar foresaw the evil effects of this dreadful calamity upon the spirits of the people, who were affrighted beyond all reason. It had been on Thursday of Holy Week that the

¹ Such action is little known. Baron von Humboldt said of it: "This manifestation of national interest, of which the overflowing civilization of old Europe offers few examples, appears a precious pledge of the mutual benevolence which should forever unite the nations of the two Americas."

uprising had occurred which deposed Captain-General Emparan and in one of the principal plazas of Caracas, a gallows from which several conspirators had been hanged was completely demolished, while the Arms of Spain, upon a column in the neighboring military chapel, was the only piece left standing. Such trivial incidents were taken advantage of by the clergy, who generally favored the royalist cause, to excite and influence the ignorant masses. And while dire havoc had been wrought among the patriot troops, the invaders under Monteverde had not lost a man! Moreover, the cities adhering to the King, were not visited at all by the phenomenon, while those that had declared for liberty, were almost totally destroyed. Little wonder that the superstitious inhabitants hastened to ascribe the disaster to a supernatural agency, regarding it as a punishment sent by God for the sin of independence. A reaction had set in before the earthquake, but now "*Viva España y la Inquisición!*" ("Long live Spain and the Inquisition!") was everywhere the cry, for the Venezuelan Congress had decreed the abolition of the Holy Office.

Accompanied by several priests (whose sermons did the royal cause more good than its cannon) and with the disaffected provinces covering his rear, the Spanish commander advanced rapidly and, personally or by detachments, occupied successively Barquisimeto, Trujillo, Araure and San Carlos, which last he sacked, having been opposed there by the Patriots under Colonel Ustáriz, who was defeated principally through the instrumentality of Captain Cruces, commanding the cavalry which, during the action, he carried bodily to the side of the enemy. Monteverde then marched upon Valencia.

On the 4th of April, at half past three o'clock in the afternoon, a second earthquake completed the devastation begun by the first, enduring, almost without intermission, some eight hours!

In this emergency the Congress, then in session at Valencia, granted extraordinary powers to the Government

BOLÍVAR

which, in turn, delegated them to the Marquis del Toro and, when he declined to exercise them, to Francisco Miranda, who was given the title of *Generalísimo*, which he preferred to that of Dictator. The Government retired to Victoria on the 26th of April, at the same time that Miranda left for Caracas, to raise funds and troops for the further prosecution of the war. On the way he had an interview with Bolívar, at the latter's estate of San Mateo, and together they proceeded to Caracas. Here, notwithstanding his supposed dislike of the young patriot, one of Miranda's principal dispositions was to call him to active service (from which, it seems, he had been temporarily retired) and to assign him to the command of the important city of Puerto Cabello and its strong fortress San Felipe el Real, in which were confined various political prisoners. Bolívar accepted this appointment with repugnance, alleging that it did not conform to his active temperament, but set out for his somewhat distant post. Miranda, it seems, desired to drive Monteverde from Valencia, which capital he had taken without opposition; and with this purpose in view, he sent a strong detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Antonio Flores to Los Guayos. A brisk combat ensued which promised to result in favor of the Patriots when, during the fire, Captain Pedro Ponce (the Spaniard who had commanded the guard on the 19th of April 1810, when Emparan was deposed and who then betrayed his own country), passed over to the enemy with his entire company. Miranda now retired to Cabrera, while Monteverde occupied Calabozo and San Juan de los Morros. These successes of the Royalists apparently disconcerted the old soldier, who established his headquarters at Maracay and caused it to be published to his subordinates that henceforth the operations of the patriot army would be limited to the defensive. Indeed, Miranda seems to have been inspired by the Fabian tactics of old and upon one occasion called Washington "the American Fabius"; but this policy, under the circumstances, was fatal. His army was more numerous than that of his opponent and the disaffection to the patriot

cause was daily increasing; but his troops were composed principally of ill-armed and undisciplined recruits and perhaps he believed that he could not trust them or their officers in an offensive movement. Larrazábal alleges something more. He says: "The discouraging inertia of the republican arms, the result, it seems, of unknown plans; the frequent and intimate correspondence of the *Generalísimo* with the Governor of Curaçoa; the dispatch, in secret commission, of Molini, Miranda's private secretary, to England; the liberty offered the slaves in violation of the sacred right of property, and the declaration of martial law: — all discredited the Dictator who now only inspired discontent."

As Monteverde's detachments advanced upon Cura, Miranda, after burning large quantities of stores, retired to Victoria, where he halted and ordered his troops to disarm and clean their guns, during which occupation they were surprised by the alert Monteverde and nearly defeated. Only the valor of the Patriots averted a catastrophe. When his officers begged him to pursue the retiring enemy, Miranda replied that his plan of campaign was purely defensive and directed them to return to their respective encampments. Firing was ordered to be kept up by the outposts, however, for Monteverde, now at San Mateo, was 240 miles from his base at Coro and was believed to be short of ammunition. Bolívar is said to have written to Miranda from Puerto Cabello, suggesting the cutting of Monteverde's line of communications and proposing a plan of his own therefor, but the old warrior was too intent upon his Fabian tactics to heed any advice. General Cajigal, a cautious and experienced officer, becoming alarmed for the safety of his disobedient but successful subordinate, ordered Monteverde to attempt no further conquests but to await his own arrival with reinforcements. Thus far the tried soldier of European wars, with 12,000 troops, had been completely out-generaled, out-marched and out-fought by the Canary Islander, who started out with but a handful of men; and becoming alarmed at the situation, the *Generalísimo* called a council of war which recommended re-

BOLÍVAR

tiring upon Valencia, when an event occurred which, added to the earthquakes and Miranda's inefficiency or inaction, sounded the death-knell, for the time being, of independence.

Disaffections had been numerous throughout the brief campaign and, at this juncture, on the 30th of June, the treachery of an officer of the guard, Francisco Fernández Vinoni by name and a second lieutenant of Bolívar's own regiment of the militia of Aragua, aided by the political prisoners confined in San Felipe el Real, brought about the loss of this important fortress, with the munitions of war stored therein and defended by its guns. Bolívar immediately asked General Miranda for reinforcements and apparently made an effort to recapture the fort, as well as defend the city and port; but, abandoned by his troops and by the inhabitants, he was compelled to retire and the Royalists took possession of the only stronghold in the province. The name "Puerto Cabello" or "Port of Hair" had been given it because of the safety with which a ship could ride at anchor, it was said, *if held by a single hair*.

The treachery of Cruces, of Ponce and now of Fernández Vinoni, was the beginning of many similar disaffections with which the Patriots had to contend in the South American War of Independence, unequalled in number, perhaps, in any similar struggle. His garrison dispersed or captured, Bolívar and eight of his officers escaped to La Guayra by sea, on the brigantine *Zeloso*, by bribing the crew, nearly all of whom, including the captain, were Spaniards. Ducoudray-Holstein, who criticizes Bolívar's absence on the 19th of April 1810 and accuses him of luke-warmness in the early stages of the revolution, says that he secretly fled from Puerto Cabello at night and without apprising the garrison, in a Venezuelan schooner commanded by a Danish Captain. There is indeed, some color to a few of his criticisms; but, his well-known hostility to Bolívar, because of his failure to secure the position he sought in the patriot army, does not inspire unreserved belief in the truth of many of his statements.

Bolívar's report is too long to be inserted here, but the following letters, recently found among General Miranda's archives, are both pertinent and interesting.

Caracas, July 12th, 1812.

My General:

With physical and moral strength exhausted, how can I summon courage to write to you, after having lost the stronghold of Puerto Cabello, confided to my hands. My heart suffers from this blow even more than from the loss of the province. The latter has the hope of regaining its salvation and liberty with the remnants of the troops that still remain, and Puerto Cabello only awaits the arrival of the patriot army at Valencia to return to our fold, for nothing is surer than that her people are most loyal to our cause and opposed to Spanish tyranny. Notwithstanding the cowardice finally exhibited by the inhabitants of the city, I can assure you that, not on this account, have they ceased to entertain the same sentiments. They believed our cause lost because the army was so distant.

The enemy has derived but little advantage from the arms we possessed, since the greater part were abandoned in the forest by the soldiers who carried them and the remainder were damaged. In fact, I believe they do not amount to two hundred, all told.

I hope you will inform me what is to become of the officers who have accompanied me. They are excellent soldiers; in my opinion, there are none better in Venezuela. The loss of Colonel Jalón is irreparable. He was worth a whole army.

My General: My spirit is so dejected that I have not the courage to command a single man, for my presumption made me believe that my desire

BOLÍVAR

to succeed and my ardent zeal for our country's success, would supply the talent to command, which I lack. Therefore I beg that you will either order me to obey the officer of lowest grade or grant me a few days in which to calm my feelings and recover the serenity I have personally lost, in losing Puerto Cabello. To this mental trouble, may be added my physical unfitness; for, after thirteen nights of insomnia, of difficult tasks and of grave cares, I find myself in a sort of mortal collapse. I shall begin immediately the detailed report of the operations of the troops under my command and of the misfortunes that have overwhelmed the city of Puerto Cabello, in order to justify in the public opinion your selection of me and to save my own honor. I performed my duty, my General, and had a single soldier remained, with him I would have fought the enemy. If they abandoned me, it was not my fault. There was nothing I could do to restrain them — to oblige them to serve the country which, alas, has perished at my hands.

From your servant,

S. Bolívar.

Caracas, July 14th, 1812.

My General:

Filled with a sort of shame, I take the liberty of sending you the enclosed report, which is only a shadow of what really occurred.

My head and my heart are worthless. Therefore I beg you will grant me an interval of a very few days in which to restore my mind to its normal state.

After having lost the strongest place in the country, how can I be otherwise than half-witted, my General?

Be so good as not to oblige me to see your face! I am not guilty, but I have been unfortunate and that is enough.

With the greatest consideration and respect, I am your devoted servant and friend, *who kisses your hand* (the polite Spanish form).

Simón Bolívar.

At this time Bolívar was not quite twenty-nine years of age and his training as an officer had been of the most meagre description. His disappointment was genuine and undoubtedly very great. The loss of Puerto Cabello was, indeed, almost fatal to the patriot cause, since it assured Monteverde's hitherto exposed rear and enabled him to receive reinforcements, provisions and ammunition. The sad news reached the *Generalísimo's* headquarters on the 5th of July, during the celebration of the first anniversary of Venezuelan independence, at the same time with other tidings, scarcely less alarming. "Venezuela has received her death-blow," said Miranda. Encouraged by a few Spaniards, the African slaves of the eastern coast had risen against the Patriots, although freed and called to arms by Miranda, and they were advancing upon Caracas, committing daily countless atrocities. An active and energetic commander might yet have made headway against Monteverde who, flushed by success, his head turned by the consciousness of unwonted power, not only disobeyed the orders of his more cautious superior but committed mistakes that, under other circumstances, might have cost him dear. It is not necessary to enter into details. Mitre says of Miranda at this time: "The hero of Valmy and Jemappes, whose name is inscribed upon the Triumphal Arch of the Place de l'Étoile, seems to have disappeared under the cloak of the dictator, and the irresolute general of Maestricht and Nerwinde to have reappeared upon a new scene." As a matter of fact, however good a subordinate officer Miranda may have been when in command of trained European soldiers, he

BOLÍVAR

never distinguished himself when exercising independent command even in the Old World and much less in the New, where the character of the troops, the topography of the country and the conditions of warfare, presented an entirely different problem.

About this time Miranda was visited by the Marquis de Casa-León who, although a Spaniard, had joined the Patriots and was the Minister of the Treasury of the young state. He represented to Miranda the deplorable condition of the country, its lack of funds, the prospect of a war of races, the hopelessness of further resistance to the Spanish arms and the necessity for ending, by an honorable treaty, this inhuman conflict between brothers. According to Larrazábal, he offered Miranda funds with which to support life abroad and provide against poverty in his old age. However this may be, Miranda seriously listened to his representations and finally, without consulting his officers, agreed to propose a capitulation to Monteverde. An armistice was arranged on the 12th of July, commissioners (and among them the Marquis de Casa-León) were dispatched to confer with Monteverde on the 22nd, and on the 25th of the same month, Miranda received in Victoria the treaty of peace signed by them.

Among the Patriots, condemnation of the capitulation as unnecessary and prejudicial, was almost universal. Miranda kept its details secret. To enable him to return to London, the Marquis de Casa-León agreed to procure for him a thousand ounces of gold and promised him, at the same time, certain other public funds. It is scarcely believed, however, that these offers influenced the military conduct of the veteran General. Certainly his subsequent treatment by the Spaniards would seem to exonerate him from any charge of bribery or treason. It is nevertheless an incontrovertible fact that when Casa-León went to confer with Monteverde, he put into Miranda's hands a draft drawn in his favor against the Spanish merchant Gerardo Patrulla which, however, Miranda never used and probably did not exact, but

Casa-León is known to have subsequently ordered it protested. About this time the English corvette *Sapphire* arrived at La Guayra from Curaçoa and was placed by her commander, Captain Haynes, at the service of General Miranda, by whose orders some \$20,000 of public funds, furnished by Casa-León, were placed on board by an English merchant, Mr. George Robertson, *whose instructions were not to demand a receipt.*

Bolívar had arrived in Caracas after the unfortunate occurrences at Puerto Cabello and was about to proceed to Miranda's headquarters, when he learned with indignation of the capitulation; and as he was determined not to submit to its terms, he returned to La Guayra, with the intention of going abroad. Monteverde had occupied Victoria on the 26th of July and on the 30th of the same month, he entered Caracas. By the terms of the capitulation the lives and property of the Patriots were safeguarded, no person was to be tried for political opinions expressed prior thereto and a general amnesty was to be granted. Under these circumstances General Miranda, accompanied by several of his officers, arrived at La Guayra on the evening of the 30th of July. Many patriots were fleeing from the persecution which they feared in spite of the terms of the capitulation, and from them it was learned that Miranda had concealed his departure in Caracas. The fallen General had accepted the hospitality of his friend and *protegé*, the military commandant of the port, Colonel Manuel María Casas, and was reposing after his long ride. As soon as Captain Haynes of the *Sapphire* heard of his arrival, he came ashore and insisted that he should accompany him on board; but Miranda, yielding to the solicitations of his host and of other officers and supposed friends, Bolívar among them, decided to spend the night where he was and to seek the boat early the next morning. Fatal decision! Captain Haynes left, visibly displeased and Miranda retired. During the night, the political and military governors respectively, Doctor Miguel Peña and Colonel Manuel María Casas, accompanied by Colonels

BOLÍVAR

Simón Bolívar, Juan Paz del Castillo, José Mires and José Cortés; Lieutenant-Colonels Tomás Montilla, Rafael Chatillón, Miguel Carabaño, Rafael Castillo, José Landaeta (who commanded the garrison) and Major Juan José Valdés, met in secret to discuss the recent acts of General Miranda; and indignant at what they characterized as his treachery, they determined to arrest and detain him. In this discussion Bolívar took a prominent part.

It was agreed that Casas (in whose home Miranda was sleeping) should go to the Castle del Coronado; Valdés was to surround the house with troops; Bolívar, Chatillón and Montilla, were to take possession of the General's person by persuasion or by force, while Mires was to receive him and conduct him to the Castle. Everything was executed as planned and at 3 o'clock in the morning, Miranda was a prisoner. When awakened, he remarked: "Is it not very early?"—believing he had been called to go on board the *Sapphire*. When told that he was under arrest, he appeared greatly surprised but, pensive and resigned, he followed his conductors in silence, without uttering a word of complaint or reproach.

Bolívar and other members of the party denounced Miranda as a traitor and demanded his death. It was their opinion that he should be publicly executed upon the following morning, but milder counsels finally prevailed. Restrepo affirms that Bolívar, in the course of his life, never hesitated to defend the arrest as a patriotic duty.² In a proclamation subsequently published by Bolívar, detailing the circumstances of the capitulation, he attributes the depressed and disorganized condition of the army at Victoria to "the arbitrary and violent conduct of a hated commander," referring, of course, to General Miranda, whom he characterizes as "the most captious and timid of men"; but not all will agree that this constituted a sufficient cause

² Mancini, although one of the Liberator's most sympathetic biographers, says: "The part Bolívar had in the arrest of Miranda, appears especially odious," and Professor Robertston thinks it likely that "Bolívar took this action in a fit of resentment."

for his betrayal by his former friends and associates. Baralt distinctly acquits Miranda of treachery or cowardice and attributes his hasty capitulation to the numerous defections and desertions that crippled his army. He was fully conscious of his unpopularity and could no longer trust his officers. The uprising of the negroes had created the greatest consternation in Caracas which, it was feared, might be given up to fire and pillage. After the fall of Puerto Cabello, Miranda seems to have despaired of the triumph of the patriot cause; but to-day, his memory is venerated only second to Bolívar's in Venezuela, and a marble sarcophagus in the National Pantheon at Caracas, awaits his remains if ever recovered.

Doctor Peña, the civil governor, had tendered his resignation to General Miranda on the 29th of July, the day before the latter arrived at La Guayra. Immediately after the arrest, Peña started for Caracas, to carry the news to Monteverde but, when half-way there, he was met by a messenger ordering Casas to close the harbor and permit no departures except with a royal passport. Casas promptly obeyed these instructions but was shortly after replaced by the Spanish commandant, Zerbériz.

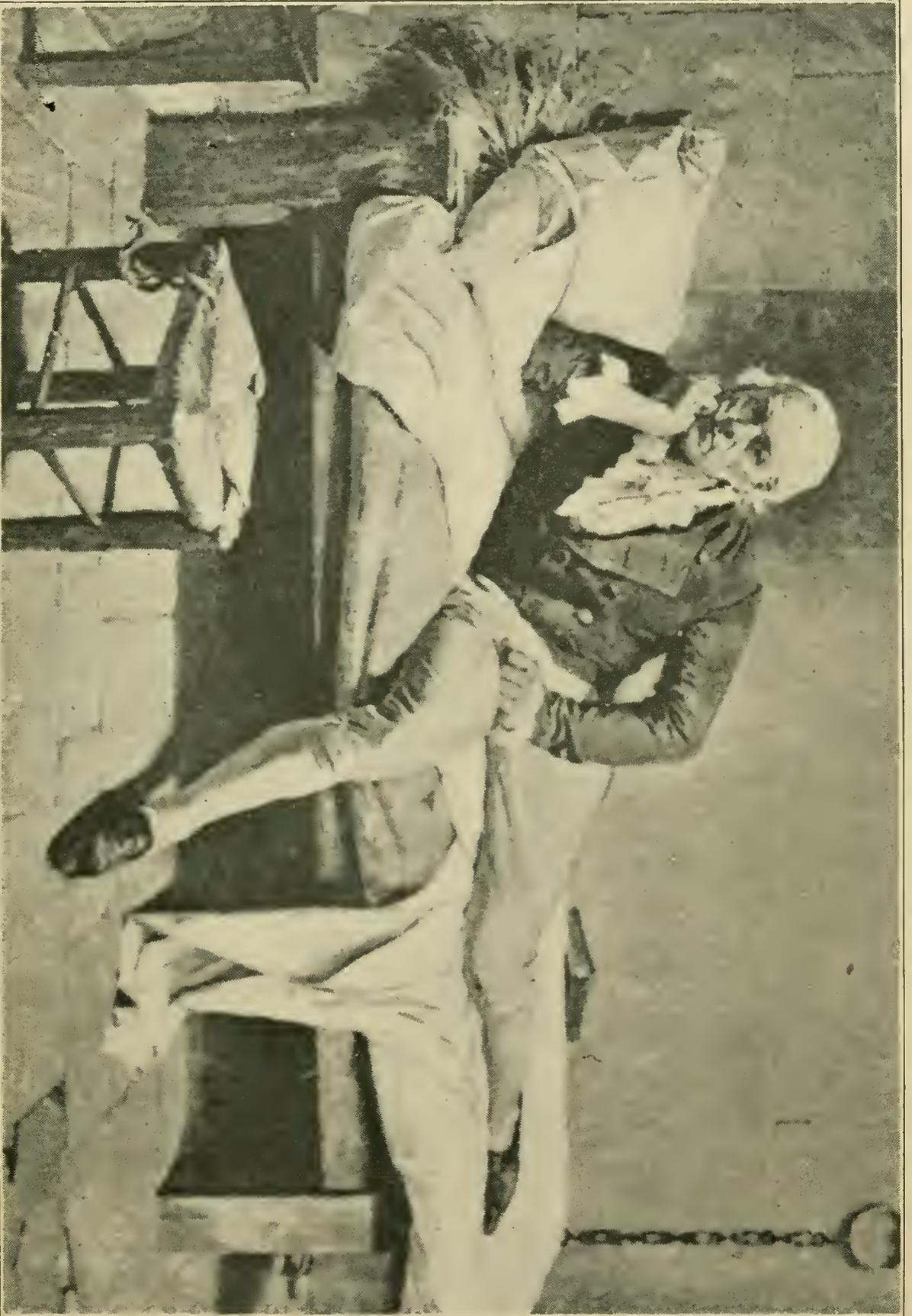
General Miranda was transferred from the dungeons of La Guayra to those of Puerto Cabello, thence to the Morro of San Juan, Puerto Rico and finally to Cádiz (Spain), where he was confined in the prison of La Carraca. "I have at various times seen the noble old man," testified O'Dempsey, an officer of the British navy, "chained by his neck to the wall, just like a dog." Here he lingered in sadness and solitude until the 14th day of July 1816, when he died at the age of sixty years. A faithful servant who was permitted to view his master's dead body, was not allowed to prepare it for burial; but wrapped in filthy bed clothes, it was hurriedly interred, without exequies, in the mud at the foot of the prison walls.

After sunset, upon the day of Miranda's arrest at La Guayra, Bolívar, disguised and accompanied by his young

BOLÍVAR

cousin and former secretary, Francisco Ribas, succeeded in passing the Spanish guards and entering Caracas, where he was concealed in the house of his friend, the Marquis de Casa-León. While here he learned that a number of Patriots had sailed from La Guayra for Curaçoa. Many of the remainder and among them Cortés Madariaga, the Chilean priest who had contributed so greatly to Captain-General Emparan's fall on the 19th of April 1810, were treacherously imprisoned and barbarously maltreated by Monteverde, while their property was confiscated. Thus the terms of the capitulation were brutally and ignominiously disregarded. Even Mires, Castillo and Montilla, who had assisted to arrest Miranda, were imprisoned. Doctor Roscio and General Salcedo, highly virtuous and honorable citizens, were exposed to public contumely in stocks, in the Plaza of the Capuchins and thence transferred to the dungeons of La Guayra which, with those of Puerto Cabello, were soon filled with the most distinguished among the Patriots. Neither age, sex nor condition availed aught before the inhuman rapacity of the relentless Monteverde.

Through the intercession of a friend, a noble Spaniard, Francisco Iturbe by name, Bolívar obtained, but not without difficulty, a passport from Monteverde, who at first interposed the objection that a report submitted to him in Valencia had described Bolívar as "an ardent patriot, who personally aided to construct trenches and parapets at Puerto Cabello, against the King's arms, and encouraged his soldiers to die rather than see themselves anew under the Spanish dominion." Nevertheless, in directing the issue of the document, Monteverde said to his secretary: "This passport is granted as a recompense for the service done the King in arresting Francisco Miranda." But Bolívar instantly replied: "I arrested Miranda in order to punish a traitor to his country, not to serve the King." Such retort naturally inflamed Monteverde but Iturbe, who was upon terms of intimacy with Muro, the secretary, jocosely remarked: "Don't heed this madcap. Give him his passport and let him go."



General Francisco Miranda in the prison of La Carraca, near Cadiz, Spain
From the painting by Michelena

Lallement attributes this concession to Bolívar's small political importance at this time. Whatever the cause, from this moment the future Liberator consecrated his life to the independence of his country, with an enthusiasm of spirit, an energy of body and an inflexibility of purpose, rarely if ever equaled. Monteverde never ceased to regret his condescension with Iturbe.

Accompanied by several of his friends, Bolívar sailed from La Guayra for Curaçoa, in the Spanish schooner *Jesús María y José* (a trinity of names in themselves an augury of success), on the 27th of August. In the following November he arrived at Cartagena and offered his services to the government of that city, which immediately recognized his Venezuelan commission of colonel and on the 1st of December assigned him to the command of Barranca, but under the orders of General Labatut, a Frenchman. Meanwhile Bolívar had published a pamphlet entitled: "The Capitulation of General Miranda to Monteverde"—an exposition so eloquent and complete that it is to be regretted its length precludes its insertion here.

"What hope of salvation remains to us?" he exclaims. "War, war alone can maintain us in the path of honor. Lives there one American deserving this glorious name who does not shout: 'Death to all Spaniards!' when he contemplates the sacrifice of so many victims throughout Venezuela? *No! No!! No!!!*"

During his five months of power, Monteverde disgusted even his own countrymen in America, with his odious cruelty and rapacity. One of them in the exercise of a magistracy, exclaims: "In the land of the Kaffirs, mankind can not be treated with greater contempt and villainy." And the Royal Audience, in a report made to the Spanish *Cortes*, records: "In Venezuela, it is exacted that the hand which smites, shall be kissed, that the weight which oppresses, shall be welcomed, and that the chains which bind even thought itself, shall be servilely adored!" To Captain-General Miyarés, who arrived from Puerto Rico about this time, Monteverde refused to

surrender the government of the province, but his career in South America soon came to a close.

On the 15th of December, Bolívar published a long and eloquent address to the inhabitants of New Granada, the perusal of which, in its entirety, will well repay the student of history. Only a few paragraphs, but which abundantly prove his political penetration and his military foresight, even at this early stage, are given here :

Granadans :

I am a son of unhappy Caracas, miraculously escaped from the midst of her physical and political ruins, who, ever loyal to the just and liberal system proclaimed by my country, has come here to follow the standard of independence that so gloriously floats over these provinces. Animated, as I am, by patriotic zeal, you will pardon my boldness in addressing you in order that I may hurriedly indicate the causes which led Venezuela to her destruction, flattering myself that the terrible and impressive lessons which that extinct republic has given, may persuade America to change her course and correct the lack of unity, energy and cohesion that characterizes our governments. The most important error committed by Venezuela upon entering the political theatre was, without doubt, the fatal adoption of a system of tolerance, a weak and inefficient system, since disapproved by all the sane world yet tenaciously maintained by her to the very last, with unexampled blindness.

The first proof our government gave of this insensate debility was in dealing with the subsidiary city of Coro which, refusing to recognize the former's legitimacy, was declared in rebellion and treated as an enemy. The Supreme Junta, instead of overwhelming that indefensible city (which must have surrendered upon the arrival of our naval forces

before her port), allowed her to fortify and to assume such a respectable attitude that she subsequently succeeded in subjugating the entire confederation, with the same facility that might have been exhibited in conquering her — the Junta basing its policy upon those little-understood principles of humanity, which do not seem to authorize any government to forcibly free those stupid people who are ignorant of the value of their own rights.

The codes consulted by our magistrates were not such as might have taught them the practical science of government, but those made by certain visionaries who, imagining fantastic republics, have endeavored to attain political perfection, presupposing the possibility of the perfection of the human race. Hence we had philosophers instead of statesmen, philanthropy instead of legislation, dialectics instead of tactics, and sophists instead of soldiers. With such perversion of principles and things, the social order was profoundly disturbed and the Republic marched with gigantic strides towards a universal dissolution, all too quickly realized. This gave birth to the impunity with which crimes against the state were openly committed by the discontented and especially by our natural and implacable enemies, the European Spaniards.

The doctrine upon which this conduct was founded had its origin in the humanitarian maxims of some writers who maintain the non-existence of the right to deprive any man of his life, even if he commit the crime of treason against his country. Under the protection of such pious doctrine every conspiracy was followed by a pardon and every pardon by another conspiracy, that was pardoned in turn, because, forsooth, liberal governments should be distinguished by clemency — a criminal clemency

which contributed more than anything else to overthrow the structure not yet entirely finished.

From this arose the determined opposition to the raising of disciplined and veteran troops, capable of presenting themselves upon the battlefield already instructed how to defend their liberty with glory and success. On the contrary, numerous bodies of untrained militia were organized which, besides exhausting the national treasury with the salaries of their staffs, ruined agriculture by taking the farmers from it and made odious the government that obliged them to take up arms and abandon their families. Republics (said our statesmen) have no need of paid men to maintain their freedom. Every citizen will become a soldier when we are attacked by an enemy. Greece, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Switzerland, Holland and recently North America, defeated their enemies without the aid of mercenary troops, which are ever ready to sustain despotism and to subjugate their fellow citizens.

With such impolitic and inexact arguments the simple-minded were fascinated, but they did not convince prudent men, who well understood the difference between the people, times and habits of those republics and of our own. It is true they did not employ permanent armies; but it was only because they did not exist in ancient days and the glory and conservation of states were confided only to their political virtues, severe customs and military character — qualities that we are very far from possessing. And as for the modern republics which have shaken off the yoke of their tyrants, it is well known that they have maintained a sufficient number of veterans to guarantee their safety, except North America which, at peace with all the world and protected by the sea, has not deemed it necessary, during recent years, to sustain the complement of trained soldiers

required for the defense of its frontiers and cities. The result has proved severely to Venezuela, the error of her calculation, for the militia that marched against the enemy, ignorant even of the manual of arms and unaccustomed to discipline or obedience, was overwhelmed at the beginning of the last campaign, notwithstanding the heroic and extraordinary exertions of its commanders to lead it to victory. This caused general discouragement to both men and officers, for it is a military maxim that only trained armies are capable of recovering from the first defeats of a campaign. The recruit believes that all is lost when he is repulsed; because experience has not taught him that valor, ability and constancy, may correct misfortune.

The waste of the public funds for frivolous and prejudicial purposes, particularly for the salaries of an infinity of office-holders, secretaries, judges, magistrates, federal and provincial legislators, gave a mortal blow to the Republic, because they compelled it to resort to the dangerous expedient of emitting paper money without other guarantee than force and the prospective rents of the confederation. This new currency appeared to the eyes of many as a manifest violation of the right of property, because they conceived that they were deprived of articles of intrinsic worth in exchange for something, the value of which was uncertain and even imaginary. Paper money increased the discontent of the stolid people of the interior, who begged the commandant of the Spanish forces to come and deliver them from a currency which they regarded with more horror than servitude.

But what chiefly weakened the government of Venezuela was the federal form it adopted, following the exaggerated maxims of the so-called rights of man, which, while authorizing self-rule, too often

break social contracts and plunge nations into anarchy. Such was the true state of the confederation. Every province governed itself independently; and following such example, every city claimed the same right, alleging the precedent established by the larger entity and the theory that all men and all states should enjoy the prerogative of instituting at their pleasure, that government which best suits them. The federal system, while it may be the most perfect and the most capable of promoting the happiness of mankind in society, is, nevertheless, the one most opposed to the welfare of our nascent nations. Generally speaking, our fellow citizens are not yet in a position to exercise their rights freely and alone, because they lack the political virtues which characterize the true republican — virtues that are not acquired under absolute governments, since these do not recognize the claims and duties of citizenship.

New Granada has seen Venezuela succumb; consequently she should avoid the rocks which wrecked the latter. To this end I propose as a means indispensable to the security of New Granada, the reconquest of Caracas. At first sight this project may appear incongruous, costly and perhaps impracticable; but examined attentively, with foresight and profound meditation, it will be as impossible not to recognize its necessity as it will be to omit to put it into execution, once its utility is demonstrated.

Applying the example of Venezuela to New Granada and making a proportion we find that Coro is to Caracas as Caracas is to entire America; consequently the danger which menaces this country is the ratio of the above progression; because, with Spain in possession of the territory of Venezuela, she can easily detach men, food and munitions of war with which, under the direction of chiefs trained against those masters of warfare, the French, they

can penetrate from the provinces of Barinas and Maracaibo to the uttermost confines of South America.

They will raise fifteen or twenty thousand men whom they will quickly discipline with their chiefs, officers, sergeants, corporals and veteran soldiers. This army will be followed by another, still more formidable, comprising ministers, ambassadors, councillors, magistrates, all the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the grandees of Spain, whose profession is fraud and intrigue, embellished with ostentatious titles designed especially to dazzle the multitude: these will overflow like a torrent and inundate everything, extirpating the seed and even the roots of the tree of liberty in **Colombia**.³ The former will combat us in the fields and the latter, from their cabinets, will make war upon us by means of seduction and fanaticism.

Thus there remains to us no other way of preventing these calamities than that of rapidly pacifying our disaffected provinces in order that we may subsequently turn our arms against the enemy, forming in this manner soldiers and officers who shall be worthy to call themselves "the defenders of the fatherland."

Everything conspires to make us adopt this measure. Without mentioning the urgent necessity of closing our ports to the enemy, there are other equally powerful reasons that should determine us to take the offensive, which it would be an inexcusable error, military as well as political, not to do. We find ourselves invaded and consequently forced to drive the enemy beyond our frontiers. Moreover, it is a principle of the art of war that the defensive is generally prejudicial and ruinous to those who sustain it, since it weakens them and leaves them

³ This is believed to have been Bolívar's first published use of the name.

without hope of indemnization; while hostilities carried on in the enemy's territory, are always advantageous, because of the harm done to the opponents. Therefore, under no circumstances should we employ the defensive.

We should likewise consider the actual condition of the enemy, who find themselves in a very critical position, the greater part of their native soldiers having deserted and having to garrison, at the same time, the patriot cities of Caracas, Puerto Cabello, La Guayra, Barcelona, Cumaná and Margarita, where their stores are deposited, without being able to evacuate them for fear of a general insurrection the moment they depart. Hence it would not be impossible for our troops to reach the gates of Caracas, without giving formal battle.

It is a sure thing that the moment we appear in Venezuela, we shall be joined by thousands of valiant patriots who long to see us arrive, in order to throw off the yoke of their tyrants and to unite their forces with ours, in defense of liberty.

The nature of the present campaign will give us the advantage of approaching Maracaibo by way of Santa Marta and Barinas by Cúcuta. Let us profit then by such favorable moments; let not the reinforcements which should soon arrive from Spain, change entirely this aspect of affairs and make us lose, perhaps forever, this fortunate opportunity of assuring the fate of these states.

The honor of New Granada imperiously demands the chastisement of these presumptuous invaders, by pursuing them to their last trenches. Her glory depends upon her assumption of the task of liberating the cradle of Colombian independence, its martyrs and that meritorious people of Caracas, whose outcries can only be directed to their beloved compatriots, the Granadans, whom they await with mortal

impatience as their saviors. Let us hasten to break the chains of those victims who groan in their dungeons, ever awaiting their salvation at your hands. Do not abuse their confidence. Do not remain insensible to the lamentations of your brothers. Fly quickly to avenge the dead; to give life to the dying, freedom to the oppressed and liberty to all.

Simón Bolívar.

Cartagena, 15th of December, 1812.

His inactive life at Barranca was little to the taste of the young and ardent patriot; therefore, while his immediate superior operated along the coast, Bolívar made preparations for an attack upon Tenerife, one of the strongest intrenched points upon the Magdalena river and dominating the navigation of that important stream.

For this purpose he wrote to Labatut requesting his authority, which the latter refused. Nothing daunted, Bolívar determined to assume all risks and marched to the assault of the stronghold with his small force of 400 men, on the 23rd of December. The garrison fled, however, leaving him in possession of the place and of the cannon and boats assembled there. Labatut (who was subsequently deported for his rapacity) very properly demanded his trial by court-martial, but successes had been too few and too dear for the Patriots to admit of their punishment. Fortunately Bolívar was sustained by the governor of Cartagena, Manuel Rodríguez Torices who, to put an end to the matter, detached him from the Frenchman's command and sent him to liberate the upper Magdalena. Bolívar now occupied Mompox. The Spaniards held various points upon the eastern bank of the river: Guamal, Banco, Puerto Real de Ocaña — from all of which they were quickly driven by Bolívar, whose force now comprised some 500 men.

Thus ended the eventful year of 1812.

CHAPTER IV

1813

Continued success of Bolívar—Captures Tamalameque—Enters Ocaña—Santa Marta—Expedition against Cúcuta and Pamplona—Army crosses Táchira and invades Venezuela—New Granadan Congress appoints Bolívar brigadier-general, but restricts invasion—Bolívar enters Mérida—Advances to Trujillo—Proclaims “War to the Death” — Begins march to Caracas — Ribas at Niquitao — Bolívar reaches Barinas—Battle of Horcones—Bolívar concentrates at San Carlos—Destroys Izquierdo—Marches to Valencia—Monteverde flees to Puerto Cabello—Bolívar arrives at Victoria—Capitulation of Royalists—Proclamation—Triumphal entry of Caracas—Bolívar assumes dictatorial powers—Success of Piar—of Mariño—Rivalries—Zuazola hanged—Atrocities—Royalist reinforcements at Puerto Cabello—Bolívar retires to Valencia—Battle of Bárbula—Death of Girardot—Las Trincheras—Mosquetero—Bolívar acclaimed Liberator and Captain-General—Barquisemeto—Victory over Salomón—Araure—Battalion “*Sin Nombre*” rebaptized—Monteverde deposed.

ON THE 1st of January 1813, Bolívar encountered the enemy at Chiriguaná, capturing four small gunboats, sundry cannon and stands of arms, etc. He then took Tamalameque and shortly after entered Ocaña amid the lively *vivas* of its inhabitants. Here he communicated with Colonel Manuel Castillo of the New Granadan army and through him with the Congress of the former Viceroyalty, which was in session at Tunja.

Santa Marta, where eighteen years later he was to die, as much from a broken heart as from physical infirmity, was next freed from Spanish occupation.

These continued successes were now attracting much attention and soon he was given the command of an expedition against Cúcuta and Pamplona by the New Granadan Congress. Colonel Ramón Correa was in charge of the Spanish forces upon this frontier, from which he was about to invade the province. Against him Bolívar marched with such celerity that his detachments were speedily recalled or forced back upon the main body at Cúcuta, where there were concentrated



BOLÍVAR IN 1812

From a painting by an unknown artist now in the
possession of Dr. Vicente Lecuna of
Caracas, Venezuela

some 800 men. By this time Bolívar had about 500. At dawn of day, on the 28th of February, he crossed the Zulia in the boats of the enemy and two hours later occupied the heights to the west of the town. The combat was short and decisive. At the point of the bayonet the Patriots drove the Spaniards into and out of Cúcuta, which they occupied, capturing several cannon and other munitions of war. This success decided the fate of Pamplona, and Yáñez, who held the province of Casanare with 1,500 Royalists, hastily evacuated it when he learned of the defeat of Correa.

After liberating Cúcuta, Bolívar, on the 1st of March, passed the Táchira, for him a veritable Rubicon, and quartered his troops upon Venezuelan soil. To the inhabitants of the little town of San Antonio, he said: "To-day the Republic of Venezuela has been resuscitated, breathing its first breath in this patriotic and valiant village, the first to respire liberty as it is likewise the first in the local order of our sacred territory."

And to his small army he addressed the first of a series of brilliant proclamations which, in their stirring eloquence, are a reminder of those of the first Napoleon. "Your liberating arms," he said, "have advanced as far as Venezuela, which already sees one of her provinces revived under the shelter of your generous protection. In less than two months you have concluded two campaigns and commenced a third, which begins here and shall finish in the land that gave me birth. Loyal Republicans, you go to redeem the cradle of Colombian independence as the Crusaders liberated Jerusalem, the cradle of Christianity. The splendor of your invincible arms will cause the Spanish bands to disappear from the plains of Venezuela as the darkness is dissipated by the rays of the rising sun. America entire awaits liberty and salvation from you, brave soldiers of Cartagena and New Granada!"

Already the thoughts of Bolívar clearly foreshadowed his great work, not merely the independence of Venezuela, but that of all South America. In this inspired yet self-appointed

task he never faltered, but followed the glowing star of his destiny with a courage and untiring devotion bordering upon the fanaticism of an oriental. He did not seem to contemplate the possibility of failure, although it came many times before success finally crowned his efforts.

He now applied to the New Granadan Congress for authority to march upon Caracas, but the President of that body hesitated to expose his small army to the dangers of apparently so difficult an enterprise. "The fate of New Granada," wrote Bolívar, "is intimately connected with that of Venezuela; if the latter remain in chains, the former will bear them likewise, because slavery is a gangrene that begins in one part and, if not eradicated, extends to all the others, and the entire body perishes."

In another communication he said: "By the same means that the oppressor of Caracas (Monteverde) was able to subjugate the Confederation — by these same means and with the same security with which he operated, I dare to redeem my country."

Meanwhile the Government of New Granada, fortunately presided over by that wise man and genuine patriot, Doctor Camilo Torres, sent Bolívar the commission of brigadier-general, with the additional title of Citizen of New Granada (12th of March), as a tangible expression of gratitude for his important services. Nothing daunted, Bolívar now reiterated, and persisted in, his application for permission to invade Venezuela and even sent his uncle and one of his best officers, Colonel José Félix Ribas, in commission before the Congress, which finally acceded to his repeated requests but limited his authority to the occupation of the neighboring provinces of Trujillo and Mérida (7th of May).

In his reply, Bolívar requested the President to address *his next communication to him at Trujillo*, thus evincing his supreme confidence in the success of his plans.

On the 15th of May he set out from San Cristóbal with 500 men. The Spanish forces at this time consisted of 6,000 regular troops or twelve times as many as comprised the little

invading army. Among Bolívar's officers were Ribas, Urdaneta, D'Elhuyar, Girardot, Manuel and Antonio París, Vélez, Ricaurte and his secretary Briceño Méndez, all of whom greatly distinguished themselves during the ensuing campaign.

Two months had been lost in Cúcuta, due principally to difficulties that arose between Bolívar and Colonel Castillo. Already there were dissensions among the provinces of New Granada, and Bolívar, desiring to avoid all political complications, had been careful to designate himself as "General-in-chief of the troops of Cartagena and New Granada," to which Castillo took exception, claiming they were all forces of the so-called "Union." This trivial incident gave birth to much acrimony in their relations and the matter was only adjusted by Doctor Torres, who cut the Gordian knot by saying: "In all this palaver there is only one thing positive, yet unsaid, and that is the merit of General Bolívar." Castillo predicted the failure of the expedition and when ordered by Bolívar to attack Correa at Grita, at first refused but finally obeyed the command and routed the Royalists on the 15th of April, after which he resigned and returned to Tunja. Bolívar designated a Venezuelan officer, Rafael Urdaneta, to succeed him.

The advent upon the scene of Colonel Antonio Nicolás Briceño, a lawyer of Caracas, who had taken refuge in Cartagena and had there submitted certain propositions in the name of the Venezuelan people, was also a source of vexation and delay. Briceño was a true patriot but a man of violent passions, which the sufferings of his countrymen had unduly exalted. He succeeded in raising a body of cavalry with which he proposed to operate independently and to reward them in proportion to the number of heads of Spaniards they individually presented. This arrangement was naturally opposed by Bolívar, who had been given supreme command of the expedition by the New Granadan Congress and Briceño was finally forced to incorporate himself and troops with the main body. Upon arriving at San Cristóbal, however, forgetting the respect due his superior, he published a proclama-

tion declaring *no quarter* and offering freedom to the slaves who should kill their Spanish masters. Suiting the deed to the word, he immediately killed two peaceful immigrants from the Canary Islands and sent their heads, one to Bolívar and the other to Castillo, with letters written with the blood of the poor victims. Bolívar, indignant at this proceeding, ordered the arrest of Briceño, but the latter escaped with his troops and falling into the hands of Yáñez, was sent by him to Tízcar (at Barinas), who ordered him shot with eight of his officers.

Although Bolívar had condemned Briceño's conduct, his death and that of other patriot prisoners now began to have a certain influence upon him. Monteverde in Caracas and Zerbériz in La Guayra, not only had failed to observe the terms of the capitulation with Miranda, but had filled the dungeons of their miserable prisons with the best men of Venezuela, whose families they maltreated and whose personal effects they appropriated. Others had been obliged to flee the country for their lives. The atrocities committed by the Spaniards in Quito and the massacre of defenceless Americans in Peru, New Granada and Mexico, constantly preyed upon his mind. In Venezuela the Royalists had beheaded all prisoners. "They are waging a war of extermination against us," said Bolívar; "they wish to make the Americans disappear, for which purpose they renew the horrors of the conquest. The Spaniards signalized their entrance upon this virgin and unknown soil, by death and desolation; they annihilated its primitive race and when, in their rabid fury, they find no more to destroy, they turn against their own sons born in the land they usurped. They want war to the death; well, *they shall have it!*"

From the Táchira Bolívar announced to his compatriots in Venezuela that he came to redeem them from the hard captivity they were enduring. "I am one of your brothers from Caracas," he said, "miraculously saved by the God of Mercy from the hands of the tyrants that oppress you; I come to bring you liberty, independence and the reign of justice,

generously aided by the glorious arms of Cartagena and New Granada, that have driven from their midst the vile enemies who attempted to subjugate them, and have assumed the heroic task of breaking the chains which still fetter a large portion of the people of Venezuela.”

To his soldiers, he said: “I have had the honor to fight at your side and know the magnanimous sentiments which animate you in favor of your enslaved brethren, to whom only your valorous arms and chivalrous breasts can give health, life and liberty. Venezuela shall soon see your victorious standards implanted upon the forts of Puerto Cabello and La Guayra. Forward, soldiers! Cover yourselves with glory and win the sublime name of the ‘Liberators of Venezuela.’”

The New Granadan Congress also published an eloquent and stirring appeal to the Venezuelans.

When the vanguard of the Patriots entered Bailadores, the division of Correa, numbering at least 1,000 men, retired upon Mérida; but unable or unwilling to face Bolívar at this point, Correa evacuated the city and marched to Betijoque. The capitol of the province immediately proclaimed anew its independence, in which act Campo-Elías, a Spaniard, who afterwards served the state with distinction, took a principal part. Bolívar entered Mérida on the 30th of May and was vociferously hailed by the inhabitants as their liberator. Immediately he began to increase and reorganize his small army, sending D’Elhuyar to Escuque in pursuit of Correa and Girardot to Trujillo to occupy that province. Correa did not await D’Elhuyar, however, but early in June escaped to Maracaibo, across the lake of that name.

In a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of Mérida, on the 8th of June, Bolívar first formally threatened *war to the death!* On the 10th he left the city and marched upon Trujillo, where he arrived four days later and immediately detached Girardot to attack a force of 450 Royalists under a Spanish naval officer, Manuel Cañas, at Carache.

That evening Bolívar received the first tidings of a general order issued to his troops by the Spanish governor,

BOLÍVAR

Tízcar, commanding in Barinas, in which he instructed them, under date of the 3rd of May, “*give no quarter to those who surrender.*” The shooting of Briceño, he justified; but why, Bolívar asked himself, should all prisoners be killed? “The tyrants shall expiate their crimes!” was his favorite exclamation during these days. Usually Bolívar slept in a hammock and when troubled in spirit, he swung in it or walked back and forth. The night was passed in a state of mental and physical inquietude but, before rising, he called his secretary and dictated to him the famous decree of the 15th of June 1813, in which he proclaimed *war to the death* and gave utterance to the following terrible threat:

“*Spaniards! Expect death, even when you are innocent!*”

“*Americans! Expect life, even when you are guilty!*”

Nevertheless Bolívar refrained from publishing the decree until he had submitted it to a frank and untrammelled discussion by a council of war, composed of his principal officers, all of whom, without exception, approved the idea, although Bolívar, himself, made no remarks. He then put his signature to the dreadful instrument.

This act has been severely criticized by Bolívar’s enemies and by not a few of his friends and admirers, but as a measure of reprisal in war, its justification must be admitted. It was never rigidly observed. Addressing the Venezuelans, Bolívar said: “Touched by your misfortunes, we can not view with indifference the afflictions you have suffered at the hands of the barbarous Spaniards, who have despoiled and destroyed you; who have violated the sacred laws of nations; who have repudiated capitulations, the most solemn of treaties, and who, in short, have committed every crime, reducing the Republic to the most frightful desolation. Therefore, justice demands vengeance and necessity obliges us to take it. Let the monsters who have infested and covered the soil of Colombia with blood, disappear from it forever and let their punishment equal the enormity of their perfidy, to wash, in this manner, the stain from our ignominy and show the rest

of the world that none can offend the sons of America with impunity.’’

The situation of the Patriots at this time was difficult, if not perilous. Girardot commanded the advance of 500 men in Trujillo, Ribas had 300 more in Mérida, while Bolívar occupied a central position near Barinas with the remainder, until he joined the vanguard and marched in the direction of Guanare, instructing Ribas to follow him. Urdaneta was left in Trujillo with only 50 men. The enemy, on the contrary, comprised some 2,600 men under Tízcar, with a considerable number in the loyal cities of Maracaibo and Coro; while Monteverde and the main body of troops occupied Caracas, La Guayra, Valencia and Puerto Cabello.

Bolívar had now accomplished all he had been authorized to do by the New Granadan Congress and according to his request should have halted his army at Trujillo and awaited instructions. These did, indeed, arrive, but they were not what he expected or at least desired, for they directed him *not* to advance, the Congress fearing too great a dispersal of the few troops at its command. Thus Washington, too, had been hampered by the Continental Congress, which also attempted to direct and control from a distance, most military movements of importance. Bolívar comprehended perfectly that celerity was the only thing that could compensate for the numerical inferiority of his force and his lack of resources, and so he wrote to the Congress: “My resolution is taken. I shall act with the utmost vigor and rapidity”—which he did, without waiting for further orders or his possible recall. “I know Monteverde,” he wrote, “against whom I have fought with varying fortunes. His triumphs have not been so constant or successive as is claimed; for, in ten combats which he gave in Venezuela, only the first four were favorable to him. And it must be conceded that the shameful capitulation of Miranda was not the work of Monteverde, but was due to circumstances and to the cowardice of the General-in-chief of the army of Venezuela.’’

On the 28th of June Bolívar began his march on Caracas.

BOLÍVAR

Three days later he entered Guanare without opposition and sent detachments in pursuit of the Royalists, who fled in the direction of Ospino and Araure. Ribas, complying with his instructions to follow the movement, arrived at Boconó, where he learned that 800 Royalists under Commandant José Martí, had reached Niquitao from Barinas. This force would have threatened Bolívar's line of communications with New Granada, a fact not of great importance in the event of his success, but which might have proved fatal in case of disaster.

Ribas, who had shown himself to be an excellent soldier, understood this very well. Fortunately Urdaneta joined him with the 50 men who had been left at Trujillo as a rear guard, and with this small reinforcement, at daybreak on the 1st of July, he occupied a strong position dominating that of the enemy. Firing was begun at 9 o'clock and the combat lasted until sunset. Before darkness closed about him, his ammunition exhausted, Ribas gave the order for a bayonet charge, with which the Royalists were completely routed, 400 dead or wounded, 750 muskets and a quantity of stores falling into the hands of the victor. The same day Bolívar marched rapidly against Tízcar at Barinas, but the latter, learning of Martí's defeat, evacuated the city during the night, leaving behind him 13 cannon, many small arms and much ammunition. The intrepid young soldier Girardot was sent in pursuit of Tízcar and arrived at Nutrias in time to prevent a general massacre of its inhabitants by the brutal Spaniard, the first to declare *war to the death* in America, but who escaped with a small force to Angostura (on the Orinoco), now known as Ciudad (City) Bolívar.

At Barinas, no time was lost by Bolívar, who reorganized the province and formed several new battalions of infantry as well as a squadron of cavalry, the first to serve in the war and which was furnished by the town of Araure.

There still remained two strong columns of Spaniards, one at Barquisimeto and the other at San Carlos, before encountering the troops immediately commanded by Monteverde. Bolívar made, therefore, the following dispositions:

Ribas was ordered to march towards the Tocuyo, against Colonel Oberto, a valiant Spaniard, who commanded a division of 1,500 men; Urdaneta was given charge of the centre at Araure, which Girardot, after leaving an observation detachment at Nutrias, was directed to reinforce. At the same time a feint was made upon the plains of Calabozo, while one battalion remained at Barinas. Bolívar, himself, marched upon San Carlos, (occupied by Izquierdo with 1,200 Royalists), where he intended to concentrate his troops. "I fear," he wrote to President Torres (with whom he still maintained a friendly correspondence), "I fear that our illustrious companions-in-arms in Cumaná and Barcelona, may free our capital before we arrive to share this glory with them; but we will fly, and I expect that no other liberator will tread the ruins of Caracas before I do."

As Bolívar had planned, so it happened. Oberto waited for Ribas at Horcones, where he occupied a strong position, with four small cannon. Ribas attacked him on the 22nd of July, with one-third of Oberto's force and was twice driven back by superior numbers. Bolívar often said: "Ribas is immune to adversity;" and the third time the latter assaulted, he carried everything before him, capturing the artillery and baggage, and dispersing the enemy. The victory at Horcones, after that of Niquitao, assured the success of the campaign. Izquierdo learned of Oberto's defeat at the same time that he was apprised of Bolívar's proximity, and hastily retired upon Valencia. On the 28th of July Bolívar entered San Carlos, from which city he addressed the following conciliatory proclamation to the Spaniards: "For the last time hear the voice of justice and of clemency. If you prefer our cause, you shall be pardoned and retain your property, your lives and your honor; but if you persist in remaining our enemy, leave the country or prepare to die!"

Monteverde, who had suffered two defeats in the eastern provinces and retired to Caracas, was now at Valencia, and completely lost his head when he learned of Bolívar's

BOLÍVAR

successes in the west. As usual, his advisers and companions were debauched priests and friars.

Having effected his contemplated concentration at San Carlos, Bolívar now reviewed no fewer than 2,500 soldiers. Mounting his infantry, two men upon every horse, he moved rapidly against Izquierdo, whom he succeeded in placing between two fires and completely destroyed. Only one of his officers escaped and he bore the news of the defeat to Monteverde. Badly wounded and a prisoner, Izquierdo was conducted to San Carlos, where he shortly after died. Monteverde immediately began to fortify Valencia, against which city Bolívar marched on the 1st of August. The Captain-General, however, did not await his arrival but fled ingloriously by night, to Puerto Cabello, leaving behind him his official correspondence, such was his precipitation. Among his papers was a letter from the brutal Zerbéris proposing that *not a single one of the infamous creoles should be left alive!*

Bolívar detached Girardot in pursuit of Monteverde and marched to Valencia. On the 4th of August he entered Victoria, where various Spaniards, among them Francisco Iturbe (who, it will be remembered, had secured Bolívar's passport from Monteverde) and the Marquis de Casa-León (the intermediary of Miranda), commissioned by Manuel del Fierro, whom Monteverde had left in command in Caracas as Captain-General *ad interim*, met him and proposed a capitulation, which Bolívar granted the same day and upon the most honorable terms. Amnesty was given to the inhabitants of Caracas without distinction of class or origin; security of life and property was guaranteed; permission to leave the country, with personal effects, was granted to all who should apply for a passport within one month; the Spanish officers were allowed to retain their swords and the Spanish troops to evacuate the city with honors, while all were promised transportation to their own country at the expense of the republic!¹ To the government and municipality at Caracas,

¹ The terms of this capitulation recall a similar one made in Cuba in 1898.



BOLÍVAR

From a painting by Michelena

Bolívar wrote an explanation of his motives for exercising such clemency, as follows: "This act will show to the world that, in the moment of victory, noble Americans can ignore injuries and give a rare example of moderation to those same enemies who have violated the laws of nations and repudiated the most solemn treaties. This capitulation shall be religiously observed for the opprobrium of the perfidious Monteverde and for the honor of the American name."

Only one year before, Miranda had shamefully capitulated in the same place!

Gratified with the success of their errand, the Commissioners returned to Caracas but, what was their surprise and chagrin, to find that Fierro had villainously left the city and secretly embarked in La Guayra, compromising thousands of Royalists and without waiting to sign the capitulation that he, himself, had proposed! The desperation of his countrymen was extreme and six thousand of them hastily fled to the seaport where, however, there were no means of defense or of escape. Bolívar entered Caracas in triumph on the 6th of August 1813. Perhaps never in America has a victor enjoyed a more enthusiastic reception. Beautiful young girls, attired in white and carrying laurel wreaths and flowers in their hands, surrounded him and obliged him to dismount from his horse and enter a triumphal car in which, standing erect and uncovered and graciously bowing to his compatriots, who hailed him as *Liberator*, he was drawn through the streets by his fair countrywomen.

In an address to the inhabitants Bolívar thus describes the situation of the capital: "You have seen these *valiant* soldiers who, at other times, adopting the rôle of wild beasts, attacked their defenceless neighbors and pierced their breasts or hacked them to pieces with their sabres, flee from a handful of our troops who were undaunted by their superior numbers. From Cúcuta to Caracas, they only halted seven times, to be immediately routed; and such was their terror that the famous Monteverde who, in Caracas, had imitated the despots

BOLÍVAR

of Asia in his manner, style and conduct, precipitately abandoned Valencia, leaving behind him an immense park of artillery, to shut himself up in Puerto Cabello, with no other recourse than surrender. Nevertheless, when near Caracas, various emissaries of the government met us for the purpose of capitulating; and although our enemies could neither defend themselves nor oppose us, we granted them life and property with absolute forgetfulness of the past. But, it must be confessed, this mission was only an artifice, in order to gain time to embark in La Guayra, carrying with them arms and munitions of war and spiking their artillery. The wretches fled with all they could take away, without awaiting the result of their mission, leaving their fellow Spaniards and the Canary Islanders, exposed to our just resentment.

“It is not possible to paint the pusillanimity of the coward Fierro nor the disorder and anarchy in which he left the city, when he so shamefully escaped. A fund of benevolence, such as has ever characterized the Americans, was needed to prevent our finding the capital inundated with blood, upon our arrival. The Europeans were abandoned to the vengeance of an excited populace; their shops were open and inviting pillage by those whom Monteverde and his satellites had robbed and nevertheless, they guarded moderation! Their wives and they, themselves, loaded with bundles in which they carried their household goods, were attempting to escape, yet they were respected in their misfortune! Such were the disorder and confusion with which they marched upon the neighboring port, that many abandoned their arms; others threw away their clothes in order to travel more rapidly, believing the enemy at their heels; while some, in short, abandoned themselves to their fate, cursing the timid and inhuman chief who had thus compromised them. Such was the picture presented by Caracas, upon our approach.”

A year before, Bolívar had fled from Venezuela. In Cartagena he had begun his immortal work. With only 400 men he had taken the field and now he had conquered, giving life and liberty to his native land. His clemency to the van-

quished was a fitting conclusion to his brief but brilliant campaign.

Immediately he concerned himself with the reorganization of civil and military affairs, appointing Doctor Cristóbal Mendoza, who had accompanied him from New Granada, governor of the city and Colonel Ribas, commandant of the garrison. Then, not wishing to stain his triumph with reprisals, however just, nor yet to wholly violate his decree of *war to the death*, he sent a commission, chiefly composed of Spaniards, to obtain from Monteverde at Puerto Cabello the ratification of the treaty that was to secure their lives and property; but Monteverde refused his signature with the curt reply that *he would not treat with rebels!*

Again addressing his countrymen, Bolívar said: "The General who has led the liberating hosts to victory, will not ask any other reward than that of sharing your dangers and bearing your arms wherever there are tyrants. His mission is finished. To restore American dignity, so barbarously outraged; to re-establish the free forms of republican government; to break your chains: these have been the constant aims of all his efforts. The cause of liberty has assembled the bravest of soldiers under her banners and victory has unfurled them in Santa Marta, Pamplona, Trujillo, Mérida, Barinas and Caracas. . . . Nothing shall separate me, Venezuelans, from my first and only intentions: your liberty and glory. An assembly of notable, wise and virtuous men, must be solemnly convoked to discuss and approve the nature of the government and the functions it shall exercise in the critical and extraordinary circumstances that surround the Republic. The Liberator of Venezuela renounces forever and protests formally that he will not accept any command other than that of leading your soldiers to danger for the salvation of the country."

On the 8th of August, Bolívar re-established the Republic under the auspices of the New Granadan Congress and assumed dictatorial authority as General-in-chief of the army.

"This act," says Rojas, "was logical and necessary.

BOLÍVAR

Nations do not appoint Dictators. They make themselves when the exigencies of the country demand it.”

In continuation, finding it impossible to treat with Monteverde (who usually made no reply to his communications) and thinking to hasten thereby the surrender of Puerto Cabello, Bolívar imprisoned many Spaniards and confiscated their property. The war was not yet over and the army needed funds.

On the 16th of August Bolívar left Caracas and marched westward, in order to direct operations against Puerto Cabello, not, however, without making a report of recent events to the New Granadan Congress. He wrote, in part: “My authority and my destiny in Venezuela are reduced to making war; and in fact, once the liberated territory is secure from exterior aggressions and from interior disturbances, I shall set out to punish the obstinate resistance of Coro and Guayana (Venezuelan Guiana) and leave no room for new attempts by our oppressors.”

Torrente criticizes Bolívar (perhaps with some show of reason) for the time lost at the capital in receiving “the vain acclamations of the insensate multitude,” and claims that Puerto Cabello would have fallen early had his first successes been promptly followed up. The enemies of the Liberator never have anything good to say of him, but his friends are equally perverse in their exaltation of his virtues and can never see anything wrong in his acts. Such is human nature!

At the same time that Bolívar sailed from Curaçoa for Cartagena, Santiago Mariño, a young and rich patriot who had served the Republic in the eastern provinces since 1810 and had gallantly won the grade of colonel, took refuge upon the island of Trinidad. Here he found many compatriots who rallied round him. Burning with desire to liberate their country and to punish Monteverde for his dastardly violation of the treaty of Victoria, they determined to invade Venezuela and elected Mariño supreme chief of the expedition. Among them were Antonio José de Sucre, Piar and the

brothers Bermúdez, valiant patriots, who were later to render important services to the cause of independence. With only 45 men and 6 muskets, Mariño landed upon the coast of Güiría, where he surprised a force of 300 Royalists and took from them everything they possessed. As a result of this victory he increased his command and marched upon Maturín. While *en route*, Bernardo Bermúdez was attacked by Zerbériz with 400 men, whom he had the good fortune to disperse. Learning of this defeat, Monteverde sent reinforcements under the notorious Zuazola, a native of Biscay, who had long terrorized the country, cutting off the ears of the Patriots when not beheading them and ornamenting the door of his quarters and the crown of his hat, with these bloody trophies. Piar commanded 500 men in Maturín and was attacked by 1,500 Royalists. Feigning a retreat, by which he succeeded in detaching the enemy, he attacked them in detail and achieved a complete victory. Irritated by this second disaster, Monteverde went in person to the aid of his lieutenants and marched upon Maturín with 2,000 men. He was badly defeated by Piar, however, leaving 479 men killed (among them 29 officers) and a number of cannon and muskets, with stores of ammunition and his personal equipment, upon the battlefield. Returning to Caracas, he went again to Valencia, from which city, as has been seen, he fled precipitately to Puerto Cabello and took refuge within its forts, upon the approach of Bolívar.

Meanwhile Mariño had continued his successes in the east, reducing the island of Margarita and capturing the Spanish flotilla with which its governor, Antoñanzas, had fled. Aided by the brave islanders under Arismendi, he took Cumaná and on the 9th of August occupied Barcelona, the Royalists retreating to Guayana, Boves and Morales, two officers who subsequently became famous, or rather, infamous, retiring by the plains of Caracas.

The oriental provinces, thus freed by Mariño, now recognized him as their Supreme Chief, with Piar second in command—a new Dictatorship which did not please Bolívar, to whom they sent commissioners to discuss a form of government

for entire Venezuela. As the west was not yet completely pacified and Mariño possessed the small flotilla already mentioned, Bolívar requested its employment for the blockade and reduction of Puerto Cabello, and numerous discussions and dissensions ensued. The rivalry thus engendered between these two chiefs was the cause of the delay and ill results of various important military operations.

The forces under Girardot and Urdaneta were in possession of Las Vigías and generally of the suburbs of Puerto Cabello, but were unable to advance farther. They repelled a sally of the besieged and two companies of the Patriots, penetrating the city, had the good fortune to drive Zuazola out of it and to apprehend him. Bolívar immediately offered to exchange him for Colonel Jalón, who had been a prisoner since the preceding year; but when Monteverde, as usual, declined to consider the proposition, Zuazola was hanged upon the following day. Among the atrocities committed by this monster upon unoffending Creoles, were flaying them alive, stitching their naked backs together and other playful horrors. A box of patriots' ears and noses was a common gift from Zuazola. His successors and imitators, as will be seen, were Boves, Morales, Rosete, Antoñanzas, Yáñez, Tízcar, Lizón, Luna and many others, who put to shame the worst traditions of the Romans and have only been approximated in recent times by the Germans.

On the 13th of September an auxiliary expedition, under Salomón, arrived from Cádiz and anchored at La Guayra, where Ribas, hoisting the Spanish flag, endeavored to execute a strategem conceived by Bolívar for its capture, but failed. Three days later these reinforcements, comprising 1,200 men and several gunboats, reached Puerto Cabello and Bolívar, despairing of taking the stronghold by assault, raised the siege and retired to Valencia, in the hope that Monteverde would pursue him. In this surmise he was correct. Monteverde followed with the bulk of his forces, but incautiously sending his vanguard of 500 men six miles in advance of the main body, with orders to take post upon the height of

Bárbula, on the 30th of September Bolívar directed a simultaneous attack by Girardot, D'Elhuyar and Urdaneta, and completely routed it. In this action the Patriots lost the valiant young Granadan, Colonel Girardot, who was shot in the forehead, in the moment of victory, as he planted the tricolor upon the summit. His compatriots asked to be formed in a single corps and to be given an opportunity to avenge his death, which request was granted and on the 3rd of October, D'Elhuyar, commanding the New Granadans and himself one of them, attacked Monteverde at Las Trincheras and forced him to retire precipitately to Puerto Cabello, where he was again closely besieged. During this retreat, Monteverde was badly wounded by one of his own men, indignant at witnessing his cowardly flight. Bolívar promoted D'Elhuyar and gave him command of the besiegers. Ever generous with his lieutenants, he published an eloquent tribute to Colonel Girardot in general orders, some paragraphs of which deserve to be here recorded:

Whereas to Colonel Atanasio Girardot the Republic of Venezuela principally owes its re-establishment and New Granada its most important victory, in order to consign forever in the annals of America the gratitude of the Venezuelan people to one of its liberators, it is ordered:

1. That the 30th of September, notwithstanding the triumph which has crowned its arms upon this date, shall be a day of sadness for the Republic and shall forever constitute a funereal anniversary or day of mourning for Venezuelans.

2. That all citizens of Venezuela shall wear mourning during one entire month, because of the death of Colonel Girardot.

3. That his heart shall be borne in triumph to the capital of Caracas, where it shall be given the reception of a liberator and be deposited in a mausoleum to be erected in the metropolitan cathedral.

BOLÍVAR

4. That his bones shall be conveyed to his native land, the city of Antioquia, in New Granada.

5. That the Fourth Battalion of the Line, the instrument of his glory, shall be called in future "Battalion Girardot."

6. That the name of this meritorious citizen shall be inscribed upon all the public registers of the municipalities of Venezuela, as the first benefactor of the country.

7. That the family of Girardot shall enjoy for all his posterity the salary received by this martyr to the liberty of Venezuela and whatever other recognition and supereminence which the gratitude of the government may award.

8. That this order shall be held a general law and shall be inviolably observed in all the provinces of Venezuela.

9. That this order shall be printed, published and circulated, to the end that it may become known to all the people.

Given in the Headquarters at Valencia, on the 30th of September, 1813, the third year of Independence and the first year of War to the Death. Signed by my hand, stamped with the provisional seal of the Republic and countersigned by the Secretary of State.

Simón Bolívar.

Antonio Muñoz Tebar,
Secretary of State.

Bolívar also wrote a beautiful letter to the father of the hero.

By this time Boves had obtained several easy victories upon the *llanos* (the extensive plains in the southern part of Venezuela) and Bolívar ordered Urdaneta, now a brigadier-general, with 700 infantry and a squadron of cavalry, to take the field against him. Meanwhile, however, Campo-Elías, who

had joined the Republicans and was as valiant and ferocious as Boves himself, attacked him at Mosquetero. The Royalists numbered 2,000 cavalry and 500 infantry, while the Patriots mustered only 1,500 horsemen. Campo-Elías was completely successful but he stained his triumph by terrible cruelty, giving no quarter and even killing hundreds of Americans who were excepted from the operation of the decree of *war to the death*. While this was occurring, Bolívar was being acclaimed Liberator and Captain-General of the army, by the Government in Caracas. Ribas, Urdaneta, Campo-Elías and other meritorious officers, were also liberally rewarded.

The Spanish general, Ceballos, now marched from Coro with 1,300 men and defeated the division of García de Sena (during his illness commanded by Valdés) at Yaritagua — troops which, shortly before, had fought a successful action at Cerritos Blancos; while Yáñez, with 2,500 men recruited upon the Apure, invaded the province of Barinas, where he perpetrated unheard-of cruelties. Bolívar promptly marched with 1,200 infantry, 2 pieces of artillery and 200 cavalry, against the Royalists, who had assembled 2,000 foot, 9 cannon and 500 horsemen, at Barquisemeto. Ceballos was apparently routed and in full flight when the trumpet call “in retreat” was sounded and the caution “*sálvese quien puede*” (“save himself who can”) was passed through the ranks, which threw the Patriots into confusion and lost them the battle with 1,000 men killed and wounded.

This victory stimulated Monteverde to send 1,200 men, under the command of Colonel Salomón, to invade the valley of Aragua. Bolívar had gone to Valencia to reorganize the army, while Urdaneta, charged with collecting the patriots dispersed by Ceballos, had returned to San Carlos. Ribas, with 700 men, hurried from Caracas and Bolívar raised 1,300 men in Valencia. On the 25th of November the Liberator attacked Salomón and after a severe combat the latter retreated and availing himself of the night, retired to Puerto Cabello, leaving behind him 5 cannon and other munitions of war.

BOLÍVAR

Bolívar now determined to destroy Ceballos, who had joined Yáñez at Araure. For this purpose the Liberator concentrated his forces at San Carlos, where he succeeded in assembling 3,000 men. These he divided into four columns. On the 5th of December he encountered the Royalists at Araure and although his vanguard of 500 men under Manrique was almost totally destroyed before the bulk of his forces could attack, he gained a complete victory. One thousand of the enemy were left dead upon the field and an active pursuit resulted in the taking of 600 prisoners, all of whom were shot. Thus 1,600 muskets and 50 pieces of artillery, fell into his hands. Ceballos retired to Coro and Yáñez to the Apure, the former still the stronghold of royalism. There, indeed, the people had risen almost *en masse* in favor of the King. The rich desired independence, but the poor and ignorant, influenced by the clergy, did not wish for freedom. While fighting the Spaniards, the Liberator had to create an opinion in favor of liberty among the Creoles or white natives. Strange to say, the armies of Boves, Yáñez, Morales, Ceballos, Rosete and Antoñanzas, were principally composed of South Americans. And this obtained throughout the entire War of Independence. The struggle was largely intestine or fratricidal.

Bolívar's victory at Araure assured the occupation of the west by the Patriots, but Boves, with 4,000 cavalry, still operated upon the plains of Caracas and Monteverde remained shut up in Puerto Cabello. In the east, Mariño was Dictator. He has been much criticized for not giving Bolívar prompt and loyal assistance, but the two chieftains, both ardent patriots, occupied identical positions, each with reference to the region he had liberated, and neither would retire in favor of the other. Thus the cause of independence languished and its culmination was delayed many years by their rivalry. Bolívar, however, was greatly the superior of Mariño and triumphed in the end.

In the defeat at Barquisimeto, Bolívar had given the title of Battalion "*Sin Nombre*" ("Without Name") to the

infantry which fled when the trumpet call to retreat was treacherously or mistakenly sounded, and had taken its flag away. At Araure this battalion especially distinguished itself and was given the captured colors and a new name — “*Vencedores de Araure*” (“Victors of Araure”). Thus the Liberator sought to reward and to stimulate his army, to this particular corps of which he presented the flag, saying:

“Soldiers! Your valor won for you yesterday, upon the field of battle, a name for your battalion; and in the midst of the firing, when I witnessed your triumph, I proclaimed you ‘Victors of Araure.’ You have taken from the enemy banners which were victorious for a time; you have captured the famous one called ‘Invincible Numancia.’ Carry, soldiers, this flag of the Republic. I am sure you will always follow it with glory.”

To the army at large and to the inhabitants of Venezuela, he likewise published an eloquent address.

The year was now drawing to a close and in Puerto Cabello the besieged began to feel the pangs of hunger, although the strength of the garrison had been reduced by the sending of a regiment to reinforce Ceballos at Coro. Finally, on the 28th of December, Monteverde was deposed and a few days later he embarked for Curaçoa. Thus terminated in Venezuela, the inglorious career of this so-called “Pacifictor,” the violator of the capitulation of Victoria. Among his last acts were the summary execution of a number of patriot officers who had fallen into his hands and the incarceration of the commissioners or parliamentarians sent under a flag of truce to propose and arrange for an exchange of prisoners. This perfidious conduct, forbidden by the laws of war, caused the Liberator to publish his celebrated manifesto entitled: “*Bolívar to the Nations of the World*,” which produced everywhere a profound impression. Monteverde returned to Venezuela, but unofficially, when the Spaniards were again in power, and lived in affluence at Maiquetía, apparently in the full and tranquil enjoyment of his share of the confiscated

BOLÍVAR

properties of the Patriots. He was present at the funeral oration delivered upon Boves and Yáñez, on the 15th of February 1815, but on the 7th of July 1816, he quit these shores forever, embarking at La Guayra for Spain.

CHAPTER V

1814

Bolívar convokes popular assembly—Orations—He leaves Caracas for Puerto Cabello—Atrocities of Spaniards—Destruction of Barinas—Boves defeats Campo-Eliás at La Puerta—Success of Ribas at Victoria—Execution of Royalists—Bolívar at San Mateo—Defeats Boves—Death of Ricaurte—Defeat of Arismendi—Success of Ribas—Urdaneta at Barquisimeto—Mariño defeats Boves at Bocachica—Junction of Bolívar and Mariño—Concentration at Valencia—Mariño at Arao—Bolívar before Puerto Cabello—At Valencia—Battle of Carabobo—Bolívar at Caracas—Faulty dispositions—Boves defeats Bolívar and Mariño at La Puerta—Bolívar escapes to Caracas—Boves captures Valencia—Siege of Puerto Cabello raised—Evacuation of Caracas—Bolívar arrives at Barcelona—Marches to Aragua—At Cumaná—Treachery of Bianchi—Bolívar at Carúpano—Disaffection of Ribas and Piar—Rescue by Bianchi—Bolívar sails for Cartagena—Meets Urdaneta at Pamplona—Harangues troops—At Tunja—Marches against Bogotá—City surrenders—Bolívar named Captain-General—Reports to Congress at Tunja—Returns to Bogotá.

THE YEAR 1814 began auspiciously for the Patriots but ended disastrously, as will be seen. Boves, like a modern Attila, swept over the country, killing his prisoners, torturing the innocent and peaceable inhabitants and burning their homes. This monster whom Díaz and Torrente paint as the greatest of Spanish commanders in America, Larrazábel characterizes as “a ferocious Bedouin.” His real name was José Tomás Rodríguez. He was a native of Gijón, in the province of Asturias, Spain, and was a pilot by profession. About 1808 or 1809, having turned pirate and being apprehended, he was tried and sentenced to imprisonment at Puerto Cabello. At the breaking out of the revolution, he was a clerk in a shop at Calabozo; and probably harboring resentment against his countrymen for his incarceration as a sea robber, he joined the Patriots, by whom he was again imprisoned for some misdemeanor. Antoñanzas liberated him when he entered Calabozo in 1812, from which time, under his assumed name, Boves became a veritable wild beast in pursuit of the Patriots. Morales, the Canary

BOLÍVAR

Islander, was worse. Even Boves called him *atroz* (atrocious). Larazábal says of them: "Both were bold and indefatigable, but there was this difference between them. Boves killed by system, having sworn the destruction of Americans; Morales killed for pleasure, finding a relish in human sacrifices. Boves was irascible, inexorable; Morales ungrateful, stupid, envious. Each was a terrible scourge sent by God, in his anger against unhappy Venezuela."

When these men, with 4,000 *llaneros* (men of the *llanos* or plains and generally mounted) entered Calabozo, Bolívar repeated with great earnestness his request for aid from Mariño, the east being then pacified. But Mariño did not move. Larrazábal says of him: "Young, alert and accomplished, valiant without ostentation, liberal and of gentle manners, Mariño was formed to gain the good will of the people and everybody liked him; his army adored him; under his command it would have gone to Caracas and fought in Calabozo, Valencia, *anywhere*; and united with that of Bolívar, it would have easily destroyed upon this occasion and forever, the enemies of the Republic! But Mariño was ambitious and dreamed of supreme power. He did not emulate the glories of the Liberator (he had his own and very brilliant ones); but he did not wish to be less important and sought by this cunning inaction to make Bolívar, urged by circumstances, recognize his authority and submit to his command. With him were Piar, Valdés, Armario, Azcue, Videau, and especially José Francisco Bermúdez. Each of these chiefs was worth an army."

At the close of the year 1813, the Liberator published several eloquent proclamations.

To the Creoles in the ranks of the Spaniards, he addressed a patriotic and stirring allocution, promising them not merely clemency, but complete amnesty and forgetfulness of the past, if they would fight under the banners of independence.

He likewise addressed a communication to the New Granadan Congress, reporting in detail the progress and

results of his several campaigns. In this admirable letter he said :

The possession of sovereign authority, so grateful to the despots of other continents, has been for me, idolatrous of liberty, most painful and horrible. The manifest peril of the country imposed upon me the necessity of exercising it; because, only by this means could we, in our weak state, resist the attacks of our enemies and of conspirators. Return therefore, O my country, to fulfill the destinies to which you were elevated by the founders of your liberty. Return to happiness under the protecting laws decreed by your august representatives and under magistrates constituted by a popular and legitimate election, the depositaries of your rights, who will preserve them in all their dignity and glory.

I repeat to your Excellency what I have declared in my proclamations: I will not retain any part of my authority unless the people themselves confer it upon me. My only ambition, which is *to fight for liberty*, will be satisfied with whatever position is assigned me in the army that is to wage war against the enemy.

Previously, in a letter to the Governor General of the then English island of Curaçoa, who had interceded for the Spanish prisoners, he said :

Your Excellency will decide then: Either the Americans should patiently permit themselves to be exterminated or they, themselves, must destroy an iniquitous race which, while life remains, works incessantly for our annihilation.

Your Excellency does not deceive yourself in attributing to me compassion, which same sentiment characterizes all my compatriots. We could be

BOLÍVAR

indulgent with the Kaffirs of Africa; but the most powerful sentiments of the human heart oblige us to make reprisals against the Spanish tyrants. American justice will know how, nevertheless, to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty; and your Excellency may count upon the latter being treated with the humanity due even to the Spanish nation.

A few days later he wrote him again referring to the scandalous and unmilitary conduct of Monteverde, saying: "I wished to be generous, although with injury to the sacred interests which I defend; but the barbarians persist in practising cruelty, even to their own detriment."

Nevertheless, after the departure of Monteverde, Bolívar succeeded in effecting an exchange of prisoners with Salomón and the valorous Colonel Jalón, so long immured in a dungeon of San Felipe el Real at Puerto Cabello, was at last released.

In the manifesto published by his Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the elevated and statesman-like views of the Liberator were made apparent in the development, for the first time, of his idea of uniting all of meridional Spanish America — an idea realized later in the union of Venezuela, New Granada and Quito (Ecuador).

The reaction against the Republic in 1814 was largely the work of the priests, both foreign and native, who adhered to the cause of the monarchy as a general thing and even taught their ignorant parishioners that *the King stood in the place of God!*

Bolívar has been criticized for the semi-Greek procession and interment of the heart of Girardot, to which allusion was made in the general order quoted in the preceding chapter; but the Liberator sought by this means, heroics though they may be termed, to advance the *morale* of his little army and to arouse the people in favor of the cause of independence. Bolívar was ever generous to his subordinates. Upon this

occasion, when he was acclaimed "Captain-General of the Armies of the Republic, the Savior of the Country and the Liberator of Venezuela," he promptly replied: "The title of Liberator of Venezuela is more glorious for me than the sceptres of all the nations of the earth; but the Congress of New Granada, Field Marshal José Félix Ribas, Girardot, D'Elhuyar, Urdaneta, Campo-Elías and my remaining officers and troops, are the true and illustrious Liberators. The Congress of New Granada confided to my weak efforts the re-establishment of our Republic. I have given zeal upon my part. No danger has deterred me. If this may give me a place among the citizens of the Nation, the happy results of the campaign which my orders here directed, are a worthy guerdon of my services."

At the same time, realizing that the war was not ended, but just begun, he endeavored to organize not only the military but the civil branch of the government; to provide funds for the continuance of the struggle and create departments for their collection and disbursement; to improve the condition of the soldiers; to establish military hospitals, and generally to dictate the various measures necessary for the progress of the people. At this time he instituted the *Military Order of the Liberators of Venezuela*.

The Republic was still far from pacified. Encouraged by Miyares at Maracaibo, Lizón, a monster after the manner of Zuazola, overran the valley of Cúcuta, cutting off the hands of children and disemboweling their mothers. Rosete committed similar exploits along the Tuy while Boves and Morales, as has been said, aided by Yáñez, kept the sparse and scattered population of the *llanos* in a state of constant terror. The republican forces with Montilla had been utterly destroyed at Calabozo.

"Under these circumstances," Larrazábal says, "the celebration of the most august act opened the year 1814.

"A popular assembly, which had never before been seen in Venezuela, convoked by order of the Liberator to pronounce upon his conduct, was unexpectedly transformed into a

marvellous spectacle. Upon one side there shone the virtues of the hero: his moderation; his disinterestedness; his generosity, which asked no other recompense than glory; his political and military talents. Upon the other side were displayed the purest sentiments of the love and gratitude of a people.

“The concourse was immense. The day had dawned serene.

“At 10 o'clock the political governor, Doctor Cristóbal Mendoza, presided over an assembly essentially popular.

“The most delightful satisfaction was painted upon every countenance.

“When General Bolívar appeared, the applause was intense and became almost a delirium.

“What enthusiasm! Hearts expanded with the sweetest hopes.

“The traits of disinterestedness and of liberality with which the victor submitted his conduct to the judgment of those who owed him everything, inflamed their spirits, filling them with admiration which instinctively resolved itself into *vivas* and frenetical expressions of praise.

“And in reality — what more beautiful spectacle than that of a warrior, valiant as Roland, virtuous as Washington, the object of the respect of his enemies and of the faith and gratitude of his own countrymen, coming to give an account of his conduct, after having obtained, if not assured, the triumph of the most holy of causes? *Sic pulchra, ante ipsum, non fuerunt talia usque ad originem*: never before was seen anything so great and admirable!

“Above all, a profound impression was produced by the fact of witnessing that omnipotent Dictator tribute, for the first time in South America, his homage and submission to the sovereignty of the people. This sublime act of eminent Republicanism was a brilliant and persuasive presage that usurpers and tyrants could never exist upon American soil. And say what you please, from the immortal Bolívar we received the first and most efficacious lessons of generous disinterestedness; from him we learned the religion of patriot-

ism, an inextinguishable love of independence, the worship of justice, the power of perseverance.’

Upon this occasion the Liberator addressed the assembly in an eloquent oration, not, perhaps, without suggestions of self-glorification. Great as he undeniably was, this trait was racial, if not characteristic. But it must be admitted that then and always, he gave full credit to his companions-in-arms and to his soldiers. In part, he spoke as follows :

Fellow Citizens :

Hatred of tyranny drove me from Venezuela when I saw my country enchained for the second time; and from the confines of the Magdalena, the love of liberty has brought me back to her, conquering every obstacle which opposed the march that was to lead me to redeem her from the horrors and oppressions of the Spaniards. My army, imbued with patriotism, has penetrated everywhere and destroyed our colossal enemy. Your chains have passed to your oppressors; and the Spanish blood that dyes our battlefields, has avenged the sacrifice of your compatriots.

I have not given you liberty. You owe it to my companions - in - arms. Contemplate their noble wounds, from which blood still flows; and recall to memory those who have perished in our combats. I have had the glory of directing their military virtues. It has not been pride or ambition of power that has inspired me in this enterprise. Liberty lighted the sacred fire in my bosom; the picture of my fellow citizens expiring infamously in places of execution or groaning in chains, made me draw my sword against our enemies. The righteousness of our cause reunited under my banner the most valiant of soldiers and a just Providence led us to victory.

To preserve you from anarchy and destroy those who attempted to sustain the party of oppression,

BOLÍVAR

was why I accepted and exercised sovereign power. I have given you laws; I have organized an administration of justice and one of finances, and, in short, I have given you a government.

Fellow Citizens: I am not the sovereign. Your representatives should make your laws; the national treasury does not belong to him who rules you. All the depositaries of your interests shall show you the use they have made of them. Judge impartially if I have directed the elements of power for my own elevation or if I have made the sacrifice of my life, of my sentiments, during every moment, to constitute you a nation, to increase your resources or rather to create them.

I long for the instant of transmitting this power to the representatives you will name; and I hope, Citizens, that you will relieve me from a position which some of you can fill with dignity, permitting me the only honor to which I aspire, which is that of continuing to combat your enemies; for I will never sheathe my sword while the liberty of my country is not completely assured.

Your glories acquired by the expulsion of your oppressors, were eclipsed; your honor was compromised; you had lost it, having succumbed beneath the yoke of tyrants. You were the victims of a cruel vengeance. The interests of the state were in the hands of bandits. Judge if your honor has been regained; if your chains have been broken; if I have exterminated your enemies; if I have administered justice; if I have organized the exchequer of the Republic.

I submit to you these reports certified to by those who have been my organs in the exercise of supreme power. The three Secretaries of States will show you if you have returned to the world's theatre

and if the nations that had thought you annihilated, again fix their gaze upon you and contemplate with admiration the efforts you are making to conserve your existence; if these same nations fail to recognize and protect your national flag; if your enemies have been destroyed whenever they faced the armies of the Republic; if I, at their head, have defended your sacred rights; if I have expended the public treasury in your defense; if I have formulated regulations to economize and increase your exchequer; and if even upon the battlefield and in the heat of combat I have thought of you and of consolidating the foundations of the edifice that was to make you a free, happy and honored people. Pronounce, in short, if the plans adopted can secure the elevation of the Republic, its glory and its felicity.

The reports of the three secretaries were then read, after which the Governor addressed the assembly insisting upon the retention of the dictatorship by Bolívar. In the course of these remarks he said: "When I recall the recent campaign which victory crowned in spite of the obstinacy of the reinforced enemy in Bárbula, Trincheras, Vígirima and Araure, my imagination is confounded by the greatness of the project, its felicity of execution and with a thousand glorious incidents which make the Liberator of Venezuela a hero worthy to be placed by the side of the immortal Washington, and who has combined, in a way, the valor and military talent of the latter with the wisdom and statesmanship of his companion Franklin."

General Bolívar replied in an earnest and eloquent speech, too long to be reproduced here, in which he gave more details respecting his campaign and was especially noble and disinterested in his characterization of the services of his able lieutenants, to whom and to his brave soldiers, he again attributed all his successes. In conclusion he said:

Fellow Citizens:

I have not come to oppress you with my conquering arms: I have come to bring you the stability of laws; I have come with the design of preserving your sacred rights. Military despotism can never secure the happiness of a people nor can the command attained by me be convenient, except temporarily, for the Republic. A fortunate soldier acquires no right to rule his country. He is not the arbiter of the laws or of the government; he is the defender of its liberty. His glory should be merged into that of the nation and his ambition should be satisfied with securing the happiness of his country. I have vigorously defended your interests upon the field of honor and I protest to you that I will sustain them to the end of my life. Your dignity, your glory, will remain ever dear to my heart, but the weight of authority oppresses me. I beg that you will relieve me of a charge superior to my strength. Choose your representatives, your magistrates, a just government; and be assured that the arms which have saved the Republic, will ever protect the liberty and the national glory of Venezuela.

The President of the municipality then addressed the assembly, insisting upon the retention by Bolívar of the dictatorship, which proposition was frenetically applauded. Among other things he said:

The great Washington, the tutelary genius of the liberty of the United States of the North, was nevertheless a Dictator; for although there was a congress to which he submitted his dispositions, their wisdom and prudence were such that his plans never suffered from the reformation or contradiction of that body; so that, in reality, he was a dictator during all the time that the state of war required it and

preserved the character and dignity of such position, which the most calamitous and destitute conditions had forced upon him, until the actual conclusion of the struggle.

Other orators followed in eloquent addresses, in which Bolívar was again compared to Washington and Franklin and to Brutus, Decius and Cassius. All insisted that the Liberator should continue to exercise the power and functions of a dictator, which proposition, as before, was deliriously applauded by the enthusiastic assembly.

Bolívar made the last address as follows:

The several orators have spoken for the people; Citizen Alzuru has spoken for me. His sentiments should elevate all republican souls. Fellow Citizens: in vain have I endeavored to oppose you in the matter of continuing indefinitely in the exercise of the power I possess. Popular assemblies can not meet in Venezuela without danger. I know it, Fellow Citizens, and in sorrow I submit to be the depository of the supreme authority under the law which circumstances dictate, but only while danger exists. Beyond that time no human power can make me grasp the despotic sceptre that necessity now puts into my hands. I promise that I will never oppress you with it and moreover that I will transfer it to your representatives the very moment that you convoke them. I will not usurp an authority that does not belong to me.

Fellow Citizens: Nobody can dispossess you of your sovereignty except violently and illegitimately. Fly from that country where a single person exercises all the powers: it is a land of slaves. You have called me the Liberator of the Republic, I will never be its oppressor. My sentiments have been in the most terrible struggle with my authority. Compatriots!

believe me. This sacrifice is more painful for me than would be the loss of my life.

I confess that I long impatiently for the moment of resigning my authority. Then I hope you will excuse me from everything except fighting for you. For the exercise of the supreme power there are illustrious citizens who more than I merit your suffrages. General Mariño! Liberator of the East! Behold in him a most worthy chief to direct your destinies!

Fellow Citizens: I have done all for the glory of my country. Let me do something for my own. I will not abandon, nevertheless, the ship of state until peace reigns in the Republic.

I beg you will not believe that my moderation is designed to deceive you and enable me to arrive by this means at tyranny. I am not a Pisistratus that with subtle pleas attempts to pluck your suffrage by affecting a false moderation, unworthy of a republican and more unworthy of a defender of his country. I am a simple citizen who will ever prefer the liberty, the glory and the happiness of my compatriots to my own aggrandizement. Accept, therefore, the purest expressions of my gratitude for the spontaneous acclamation you have made in naming me your Dictator and my protestation, as I absent myself, that the general will of the people will be for me always, the supreme law; that it will be my guide in shaping my conduct as the object of my endeavors will be your glory and your liberty. (*Great and universal applause.*)

These are glowing periods and read better in Spanish, perhaps, than in the colder English. The former language lends itself to eloquence, if not to grandiloquence, which qualities are said to characterize the race to which the Liberator belonged. And then, too, the times and circum-

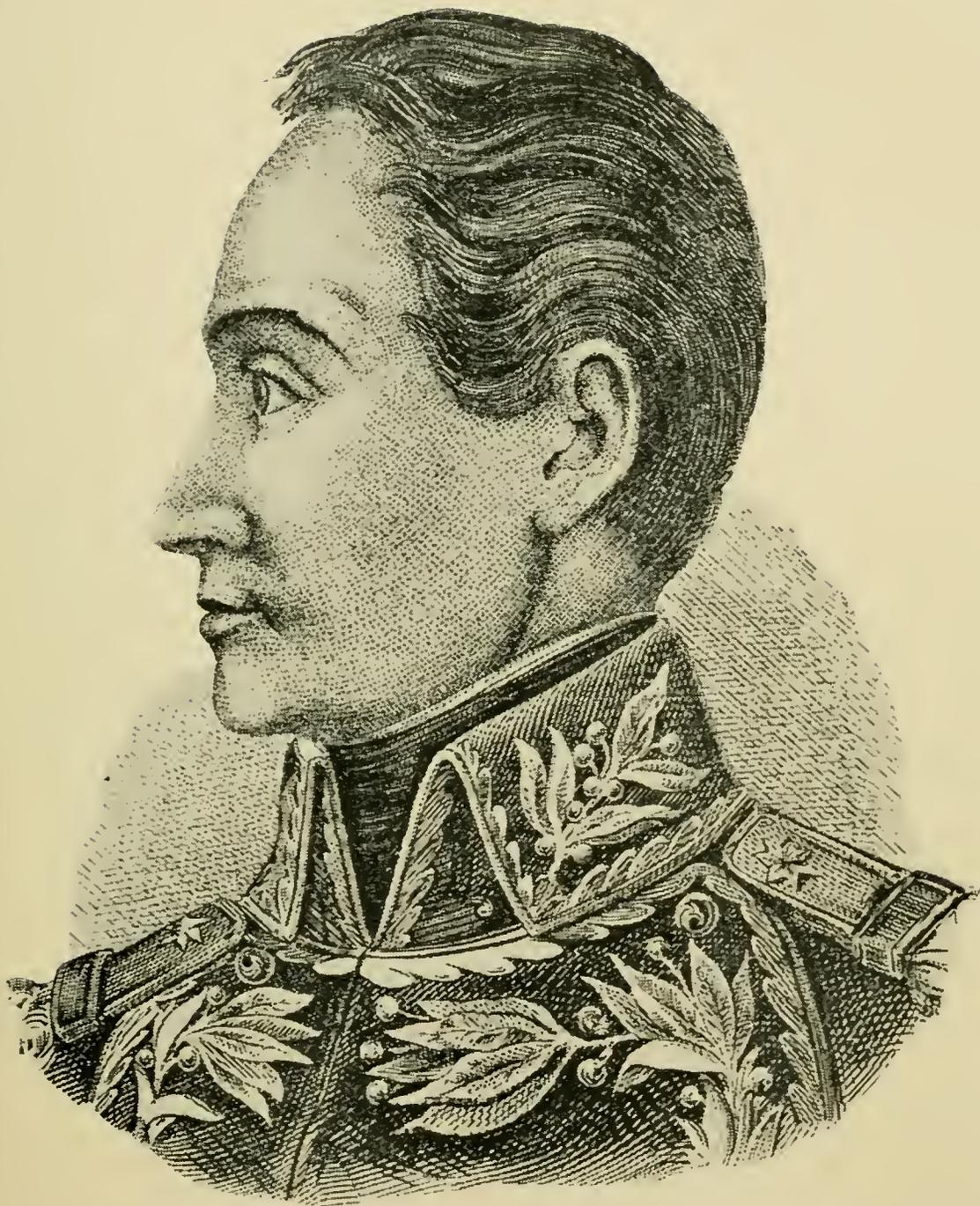
stances must be taken into consideration. Torrente exclaims that all this was nothing more than "hypocrisy and an insidious dissimulation, an affectation of disinterestedness and the efforts of an intrigue to satisfy ambition." This was, indeed, the first of a number of similar scenes in which Bolívar was the principal actor, for which reason so much has been translated for the Anglo-Saxon reader, to enable him to form his own opinion. But when the Spanish historian adds that "the indefatigable Boves had 8,000 *llaneros* mounted and armed with the lance, coming to punish such insolence and to submit all the insurgent territory to the paternal dominions of the clement and august Fernando: *las delicias del mundo*" ("the delight of the world") — he, himself, indulges in the most shameless hypocrisy in permitting his pen to indite such a silly travesty upon history. Baralt says: "No promise was ever better fulfilled; but as for power—may his venerated memory pardon us—he loved it as have all who were born to exercise it with dignity." And Rojas adds: "With the same reverence may we say that he loved it perhaps too much and this was, if not his error, at least his misfortune."

After this long but perhaps necessary interruption the narrative of the events of the year will proceed.

As soon as the Liberator could conveniently leave the capital, where the exigencies of the civil, no less than the military branch of the Government demanded his unremitting attention, he paid a hurried visit of inspection to La Guayra and then proceeded to the valleys of Aragua and Ocumare and finally to the vicinity of Puerto Cabello, which was now invested by land and by sea, General Mariño having at last sent him a body of troops to reinforce the besiegers and his little fleet of six armed schooners to blockade the port. Mariño, himself, was upon the point of marching to the west, when he changed his mind and recalled both the troops and the fleet. The recent occurrences in Caracas, above narrated, had altered everything. Under these circumstances Bolívar wrote to him, imploring his co-operation

and, by dint of recognizing his authority over the eastern provinces, he succeeded in detaining both men and ships, while Mariño and his efficient little army resumed their suspended march. It was too late, however, to prevent various evils of the gravest consequence. The *llanos* were lost. Boves, as indefatigable as he was ferocious, at the head of a horde of undisciplined butchers like himself, had occupied Calabozo and sworn to exterminate the Americans. Yáñez, the Canary Islander, had recrossed the Apure with 2,000 horsemen and threatened Barinas. "The massacres and calamities that history relates of Attila and Jenghiz Khan," says Larrazábal, "appear child's play by the side of those of Boves and his comrades." In an official communication from Field Marshal Francisco Montalvo to the Spanish Minister of War, the former says: "Don José Tomás Boves and those like him, do not distinguish between the guilty and the innocent: all die for the crime (in his eyes) of having been born in America." Even General Fierro, who was reputed by the Spaniards to be a *good* man, wrote as follows: "Thank God we have finished with this band of scoundrels that had taken refuge in impregnable Maturín. There are a few still wandering through the mountains and, to tell the truth, to extinguish this American mob, it was necessary not to leave a single one alive; and so it happened that, in the last combats, there perished on both sides more than 12,000 men, fortunately the most of them Creoles and very rarely a Spaniard. If it were possible to destroy every American, it would be better; for, undeceive yourself, we are obliged to exterminate the present generation as they are all our enemies and if some have not risen, it is because they were unable, the surprising thing being that the most exalted are the sons of Spaniards. In short, my friend, we must sow intestine war among the Creoles so that they will finish with each other and leave us fewer to destroy.

"If in the other parts of America there are many Boveses, I assure you that we shall succeed in our wishes;



SIMÓN BOLÍVAR

From *Diccionario Biográfico* of Scarpetta and Vergara

for in Venezuela they lack little of realization, as *we have finished with all that have presented themselves*. Here we shall be remembered for a long time.”

It was against such fiends in human shape that Bolívar was compelled to wage war. In writing of him Larrazábal quotes Guizot's estimate of Washington: “He is the supreme glory of humanity, uniting the penetration of the wise man with the courage and abnegation of the hero.”

In the face of approaching misfortune, Bolívar, who was never discouraged by difficulties, was reorganizing the army, procuring men, munitions, provisions and equipments, with which to continue the campaign. It was the fate of this remarkable man to have to create everything out of nothing. Meanwhile he was confronted by fatal examples of indecision and of lack of energy upon the part of many of his subordinates, and by the indifference of the people, who were not yet ready for independence.

Colonel García de Sena, without awaiting the reinforcements he had asked of General Urdaneta, inexplicably abandoned Barinas to Puy, the lieutenant of Yáñez, who beheaded the little garrison of 80 soldiers and many of the inhabitants, sacking their homes and reducing a city of ten thousands souls to ashes. Meanwhile Sena exhausted and almost annihilated his little command by senseless and nearly impossible marches and retired *alone* to Valencia. Yáñez, hearing of Puy's success, marched upon the town of Ospino but encountered Urdaneta on his way to reinforce García de Sena. In the combat that ensued, Yáñez was fatally wounded and his scattered troops retreated to Guanare. The inhabitants of Ospino, finding the body of Yáñez, petitioned the patriot commander for permission to *quarter* it!

Yáñez was succeeded by Colonel Sebastián de la Calzada, formerly an ignorant and criminal soldier in the ranks, who soon rivaled his predecessor in ferocity. His first step was to utterly destroy Ospino, after which he took Araure and

threatened San Carlos. By this time the entire country was literally infested by royalist guerrillas who pillaged and burned everything in sight. Boves, with 7,000 cavalry, triumphed over Campo-Elías, who had put 3,000 infantry at La Puerta, which opened to the former the valley of Aragua and the road to Caracas. Rosete occupied Ocumare and assassinated even those unfortunates who took refuge in the church. Bolívar was impotent before such a series of disasters. Reaction was everywhere rampant and, with the exception of the capital, all the principal cities were either occupied or besieged by the Royalists. Of this reign of calamity and death the Archbishop of Mechlin wrote: "My mind is consumed and my soul is unable longer to support the weight of so many misfortunes. Robbery, rapine, pillage, murder, assassinations, flames and desolation; the virgin violated, the cry of the widow and of the orphan; the father armed against the son, the daughter-in-law quarrelling with the mother-in-law, every one seeking his brother to kill him; the parishioners in exile, the priests in flight, the corpses extended upon the highways, the mountains of bones that cover the fields of battle, so much blood shed upon American soil all this oppresses my heart. Great God! Is Venezuela, perhaps, that sanguinary Ninevah, finally destroyed and extinguished?"

Bolívar, who was with the besiegers of Puerto Cabello when news of the victory of Boves at La Puerta was brought to him, immediately retired to Valencia and assembled troops at Victoria under Ribas. Boves attacked the latter on the 12th of February, but the timely arrival of reinforcements under Campo-Elías saved the day. Ribas, in turn, attacked with so much impetuosity, that the Royalists fled in disorder. The patriot general had three horses shot under him. Upon the following day he followed up his temporary success and achieved a brilliant victory, capturing arms, ammunition, equipments, horses and even the order-book of Boves. There were no prisoners, for no quarter was given.

The Liberator announced the victory in the following eloquent and patriotic proclamation:

Soldiers!

Yesterday you, in whom love of country is superior to every other sentiment, won the palm of victory, elevating to the highest degree of glory this privileged land that has been able to inspire heroism in your indomitable souls. Your names will never perish in oblivion. Contemplate the glory which you have acquired, you, whose terrible swords have inundated the field of victory with the blood of these ferocious bandits. You are the instruments called by Providence to avenge outraged virtue upon the earth, to give liberty to your brothers and annihilate with ignominy these hordes commanded by the most perverse of tyrants.

Men of Caracas! The sanguinary Boves attempted to carry crime and ruin to your doors — to that immortal city, the first to give the example of liberty in the hemisphere of Columbus. Insensate! Tyrants can not approach your invincible walls without expiating with their impure blood the audacity of their crimes. General Ribas, against whom the shafts of adversity are harmless, the hero of Niquitao and Los Horcones, will be called from to-day “The Conqueror of Tyrants in Victoria.” They who can not receive at the hands of their compatriots and the world the gratitude and admiration due them — the brave Ribas, Dávila, Rom and Picón, will be preserved in the annals of glory. With their blood they have bought the most brilliant triumph; posterity will preserve their noble ashes. They are more fortunate to live in the hearts of their countrymen than you among them.

Fly, victors, upon the trail of the fugitives; in

BOLÍVAR

pursuit of this band of Tartars who, drunk with blood, would attempt to annihilate enlightened America and to cover with dust her monuments of virtue and of genius; but in vain, because you have saved the country.

Bolívar.

Headquarters in Valencia, the 13th of February 1813,
the Fourth Year of the Republic and the Second of
War to the Death.

Says Larrazábal: "Bolívar was ever the first to recognize and praise the worthy actions of his friends. Ribas, Urdaneta, Flores, Silva, Salom, Montilla, Toro (Fernando), Santander, Córdova, Soublotte, were constantly the objects of great and well-merited commendation. He called Girardot, *Liberator*; Mariño, *the savior of his country*; Ribas, *hero, conqueror of tyrants*; Sucre, *intrepid and expert*; Salom, *just*; D'Evereaux, *virtuous*; Brion, *magnanimous*; Cedeño, *the bravest of the braves of Colombia*; Páez, *the most intrepid*. Bolívar knew no envy."

The Liberator now took a part of Ribas' army with which to observe the movements of Boves, while he sent the former, with his remaining troops, to the plains of Ocumare, where Rosete had intrenched himself in Yare. Ribas promptly put the inhuman Spaniard to flight and found the streets of the little town filled with dead bodies, principally of women and children. The unfortunate inhabitants had been inhumanly massacred. The patriot general in his report of the horrors he witnessed, speaks of the perpetrators of this vile butchery as "carnivorous Spaniards." Three hundred people had been put to the sword and then mutilated. In the action of Araure, among the articles captured from Yáñez was a branding iron bearing the letter "R," signifying *Republican* or *Rebel*, with which he was in the habit of burning the foreheads of such of his prisoners and of the women and children, whose lives he spared; and among Rosete's effects, abandoned at Yare, was

found a similar instrument, with "P" for *Patriot* upon it, designed for a like purpose. These disgusting relics were subsequently deposited in Caracas. At Puerto Cabello, upon the holiday of San Juan (Saint John), the Spaniards shot such of the men as unfortunately bore the name of the apostle. Ramón Tovar, while undergoing punishment in the stocks in the public plaza, was hacked to pieces with *machetes*, until there was no semblance of a human body remaining; and the virtuous Mercedes Abrego, a woman accused of having embroidered a uniform for the Liberator, was wantonly decapitated, her executioners disputing among themselves for the honor of beheading her.

Such was the state of affairs when Bolívar received from the Commandant of La Guayra, Leandro Palacios, a communication reporting the discovery of a conspiracy among the royalist prisoners and inviting his attention to the grave danger to which both the seaport and the capital were exposed, from the presence in the dungeons of so many Spaniards and Canary Islanders, guarded by the greatly depleted garrison of Patriots. Up to this time the Liberator had been content, under his proclamation of *war to the death*, with giving no quarter in battle. His reply was brief and decisive: "I order you to execute immediately all the Spanish prisoners in your hands, without exception." The same instructions were sent to Caracas.

In this manner perished 886 Spaniards and Canary Islanders. Rojas fixes the number at 1,200: 800 in La Guayra and 400 in Caracas. Colonel Juan Bautista Arismendi was in command at the capital and was especially charged with the execution of this terrible order. Baralt observes: "With great exactitude, and with much cruelty also, these instructions were obeyed; but it must be admitted that the patience of a saint could not have tolerated longer the excesses of the royalist chiefs, and at every step new attempts augmented to an inexpressible degree, the universal malevolence and passion."

Not a few writers have bitterly attacked Bolívar for these

wholesale executions, but quite as many have defended them as a necessity arising from his perilous situation and as a reprisal of war. Under date of the 14th of February 1814, the Liberator caused his Secretary of State, Antonio Muñoz Tebar, to publish a voluminous exposition in justification of the dreadful deed. Rojas says: "There was neither cowardice nor premeditated cruelty. Such action seemed unavoidable to Bolívar for the security of the cause, with the defense of which he had been charged. He alone was called upon to decide as to its necessity and to assume before his conscience its moral responsibility, just as, in the same way, he accepted from his enemies its material consequences."

On the 20th of February, the Liberator established his headquarters at San Mateo.

Boves was in Cura.

His troops were greatly superior in numbers to Bolívar's, which comprised some 2,000 infantry and 600 cavalry. The large preponderance of royalist horsemen caused the Liberator to occupy the mountainous region about San Mateo rather than descend to the plains, where his enemy would have acquired still greater advantages. Boves was delighted to find Bolívar, himself, opposed to him and counted upon certain victory. On the 25th of February he appeared at Cagua, at the head of 7,000 *llaneros*, and on the 28th he attacked with his usual intrepidity and impetuosity. After ten hours of sanguinary conflict, the Liberator remained victorious upon the field of battle. Boves was wounded and retired. Among the patriots Colonel Villapol was killed and Colonel Campo-Elías so severely wounded that he died several days later. Both of these officers were Spaniards but they served in the republican army with great bravery and distinction. Campo-Elías wished he might kill every Spaniard, and then himself, so that none should survive!

While Boves was recovering from his wound at Cura, the Liberator sent Cedeño, a young and valiant officer, with only twenty men, to kill or capture him, but this hazardous expedition failed. Notwithstanding his inferior force, upon

hearing that Rosete had occupied the valley of the Tuy and was threatening Caracas, Bolívar detached Montilla, with 300 picked men, and ordered him to march to the capital. As these troops filed out with colors flying and drums beating by order of the Liberator, the Royalists imagined their right flank threatened and heavily reinforced it. The next day, when they discovered the ruse, Montilla was miles away. Exasperated by the success of such strategem, they attacked vigorously but were repulsed. During the succeeding night, Bolívar changed his position and upon the following morning himself attacked in turn, but without decisive result. On the 20th of March, Boves reappeared and resumed command. The same day his cavalry made a desperate charge upon Bolívar's position, but were again repulsed. At dawn of day on the 25th, the long-delayed conflict began. Bolívar was intrenched. Boves was omnipresent, but finding his ammunition running short and his frontal attacks with cavalry useless, he detached a body of horse to take the Patriots in rear and capture their powder magazine which was located in a sugar mill upon the side of the mountain. It was defended by a young and gallant Granadan, Captain Antonio Ricaurte, who, seeing the column of Royalists descending from the heights, ordered his own men from the building with instructions to join the main body of Patriots and remained alone. Perceiving their detachment surround the improvised magazine and presently enter it pell-mell, the Royalists gave a great cheer while the Patriots were correspondingly depressed. Bolívar, alone, is said not to have lost his equanimity. Defeat seemed to stare him in the face, when suddenly there was a mighty explosion. A dense column of smoke and flame filled with *débris*, shot upward from the sugar mill. Captain Ricaurte had blown up the magazine, immolating himself upon the altar of his country and immortalizing his name. Boves, terrified by this sublime act, temporarily retired; but finding himself already menaced by Mariño and his eastern army, he raised the siege of San Mateo on the 30th of March and retreated in the direction of Cura. During these combats he had lost 800 men

BOLÍVAR

and the Liberator 200 officers and 1,500 valiant soldiers, who successfully resisted no fewer than thirty charges by the terrible *llaneros*.

Meanwhile Arismendi, who commanded in Caracas, had raised a force of 800 recruits, nearly all of them students and youths belonging to the best families, with which he attacked Rosete on the 16th of March. All of them were killed with the exception of Arismendi himself and a few officers, who succeeded in returning to the capital. Montilla and Ribas, however, determined to avenge their death and on the 20th of the same month, finding Rosete at Ocumare, they attacked him with so much vigor that he escaped almost miraculously. Urdaneta was less fortunate and was defeated by the combined Spanish generals, Ceballos and Cajigal, at Barquisimeto. He retreated to San Carlos and thence to Valencia, from which city he reported the disaster to the Liberator, adding that the united royalist armies of Coro and the Apure, were rapidly approaching. Bolívar replied: "Defend Valencia, Citizen General, to the last extremity for, since all our elements of war are there, its fall would mean the loss of the Republic. General Mariño should arrive soon, with the Army of the East. When he comes, we shall defeat Boves and immediately go to your assistance. Send 200 men to reinforce D'Elhuyar, besieging Puerto Cabello, in order that he may cover the point of Palito, by which road it would be easy to supply Boves with ammunition, his own being nearly exhausted."

This order was obeyed, although Urdaneta's force was greatly reduced and, as he had predicted, Ceballos promptly appeared at the head of 3,000 men, to lay siege to the city. Meanwhile Mariño obtained several minor successes and finally, on the 31st of March, at Bocachica, he defeated Boves, who left 500 men dead upon the field and retired in the direction of Valencia. Mariño should have given him no respite and, indeed, his best generals, Valdés, Montilla, Bermúdez, etc., counseled an immediate and vigorous pursuit. Unfortunately Mariño thought otherwise and himself retired, with his victorious army, in the direction of Victoria, excus-

ing the movement by his desire, expressed for the first time in his life, of joining and co-operating with Bolívar. This delay was fatal.

The Liberator, when he heard of the rout of Boves, detached some of his cavalry from San Mateo, which engaged the rear guard of the Royalists with such success that they took 300 prisoners, 1,000 horses, arms and equipments, and liberated a numerous body of civilians who were being forced to accompany the army. Nevertheless Boves reached Valencia, with some 3,000 men, on the 2nd of April and the combined forces of the Spaniards now amounted to 6,000. The little garrison of Patriots made a gallant defense and suffered the horrors and deprivations of siege; but sunset saw the Royalists in possession of the greater part of the city. Half an hour later, Ceballos, fearing the junction of Bolívar and Mariño, gave the signal to retire and the morning found him well on the way to Tocuyito, leaving Valencia sacked, partially burned and filled with dead and wounded. The garrison was reduced one-half.

On the 2nd of April the junction of Bolívar and Mariño was effected at Victoria. The Liberator greeted his new ally with much cordiality, complimented him generously upon the fight at Bocachica and decreed in general orders a decoration for his army. Accompanied only by his staff, he then made a hurried journey to Valencia and returning to Victoria on the 5th of April, he persuaded Mariño to march upon Valencia and make front again before the royalist army. At the same time he reorganized the patriot forces, miraculously procuring arms, ammunition, uniforms, equipments and subsistence stores when the country had been completely denuded of everything and, with that lightning-like rapidity for which he was afterwards so famous, set out with reinforcements for the besiegers of Puerto Cabello.

Again he returned to Valencia, to direct the march of the united bodies of Patriots against Ceballos, who was resting quietly at San Carlos, Boves having withdrawn with his *Ulaneros* to Calabozo. The republican army now comprised

2,000 infantry, some pieces of artillery and 800 cavalry. With rare magnanimity the Liberator relinquished the command of this force to Mariño and himself repaired to Puerto Cabello, with the intention of attempting its capture by assault.

Mariño, who had been so successful in the east, was culpably unfortunate in this, his first serious movement, in the west. Instead of halting his little army at Tinaco, twelve miles from San Carlos, to assemble his scattered troops and to enable the artillery, ammunition train and other *impedimenta* to overtake the main body, he imprudently advanced upon the latter city, which he was falsely informed had been evacuated by Ceballos. On the morning of the 16th of April he suddenly found himself confronted by 2,500 of the enemy, in line of battle and very advantageously posted, upon the plain of Arao. The royalist cavalry promptly charged and the patriot cavalry as promptly fled. Mariño and his principal officers followed suit and the flight of the soldiers became a rout before a single shot had been fired by the astonished Spaniards, who remained where they were, in battle array. At daybreak of the 17th, the detached remnants of the patriot army were found assembled at Tinaco, without generals or field officers, who had destroyed the ammunition train and provided themselves with its pack animals, in their heedless and disgraceful efforts to escape. They had also destroyed the artillery to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. General Mariño was wandering aimlessly in the mountains when rescued.

The Liberator was celebrating the national holiday of the 19th of April at Puerto Cabello and arranging for the assault of the city, when the news of the shameful rout at Arao reached him. "Our position is critical," he said to Colonel Palacios; "we are left alone to stem this furious torrent of devastation, but we shall overcome it."

Giving new orders to D'Elhuyar, he hurriedly departed for Valencia.

Larrazábal well declares: "Posterity must admire such courage and such magnanimous constancy. Every disaster

seemed to inspire Bolívar with new ardor, greater activity and a higher degree of conviction in his ultimate triumph. What invincible moral force!"

At Valencia the Liberator learned that the rout of Mariño, if disgraceful, was not irremediable; and he at once set to work to assemble and reorganize the little army; but while engaged in this laborious occupation, he was apprised of the reunion of Ceballos with Cajigal, who had marched from Coro. The royalist force again comprised 6,000 men of all arms. Under these circumstances Bolívar hurried to Caracas, from which point he detached Ribas with 800 men for Valencia and dispatched such ammunition, provisions, medicines and other stores as could be hastily obtained from the scanty resources of the capital, and prepared to follow the troops to Carabobo, with the intention of commanding in person.

At this juncture the Liberator received Commissioners sent from Cartagena to present him with an act passed by its Legislature in his honor and to initiate negotiations for the union of Cartagena, New Granada and Venezuela. For this project the time was not yet ripe; but later it was realized by Bolívar upon a grander scale, by the inclusion of Quito (Ecuador). However, when the Liberator learned of the final overthrow of Napoleon and of the occupation of Paris by the Allies, in concerted action with New Granada and Cartagena, Commissioners were sent to Europe to endeavor to secure the recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American colonies, but the mission failed. The English cabinet refused even to give audience to the Commissioners.

On the 12th of May Bolívar reviewed his troops at Valencia. Five days later he bivouacked before the enemy.

Cajigal occupied the plain of Carabobo.

Bolívar had 5,000 men. The Royalists were superior in numbers, notwithstanding the absence of Boves and his formidable *llaneros* at Calabozo, which fact decided the Liberator to attack without delay. When everything was ready, however, one of those defections occurred which harassed Bolívar throughout his whole career. The infantry of Mariño deserted

under cover of the night and retired to San Diego. Urdaneta was sent in their pursuit and succeeded in reducing them to obedience at Valencia, where he formed them in front of his troops and shot the ring leaders among the officers and one soldier in every five. Such punishment was most exemplary and might have been instituted earlier in the war with great advantage.

This untoward treachery crushed, Bolívar organized his small army in four divisions, confiding the right to Bermúdez and the left to Valdés. Urdaneta was named Chief of Staff. The Liberator commanded in person.

At 1 o'clock upon the afternoon of the 28th of May, the battle began and at 4 o'clock of the same day, the royalist army, as such, had ceased to exist. Bolívar's plans had been complete and his orders were executed with precision and celerity. Cajigal, accompanied by several subalterns, barely escaped. His infantry were killed or captured and many of his best officers perished. The artillery, 500 muskets, 9 colors, 4,000 horses, a great herd of cattle and a quantity of subsistence and other stores, were the spoils of the victors.

The battle of Carabobo was a signal triumph for the Liberator.

San Carlos, which had been occupied by the Royalists, was found partially destroyed by fire. Many of its most distinguished inhabitants, of both sexes and all ages, had been brutally massacred by order of the Spanish commander, Calzada, notwithstanding the fact that they had sought refuge in the church, the sexton of which, Carlos Quintana, after being namelessly outraged and mutilated, was skinned alive and then beheaded. The Spanish atrocities committed during the War of Independence in South America would be incredible if they had not been duly attested at the time by reliable witnesses. The horrors of San Carlos were described in a letter from a reputable resident of that city, dated the 2nd of June 1814, and were published in the *Caracas Gazette*.

The Liberator must have trembled when he considered what would be the fate of the Americans should the Spaniards

ultimately triumph. Although a signal victory, Carabobo was not decisive. Boves, the indomitable but sanguinary Asturian, had yet to be reckoned with. The dispositions made by Bolívar in this hour of peril, are not to be commended. Instead of assembling his troops, he dispersed them. Urdaneta was sent to the west to reoccupy the territory he had lately evacuated; Ribas returned to the capital; Mariño counter-marched upon Cura to hold Boves in check. The latter was advancing with 3,000 infantry and 5,000 mounted *llaneros*, yet Bolívar flew to Caracas, ostensibly to reanimate the Government and procure resources but perhaps, as he did too frequently, to receive the plaudits of the multitude. Nevertheless, to the highly complimentary allocution of the Governor upon the battle of Carabobo, he replied: "We must not allow ourselves to rest because of the triumphs with which fortune crowns us to-day; we must prepare for greater struggles, put in action all the resources of the situation, good or bad, establishing as a principle that nothing has been done while there remains anything to do; and for us there remains a great deal."

While the Royalists lived upon the country, pilfering isolated farms and sacking cities, the Republicans lacked everything, for Bolívar, although extremely active, was not a violent or rapacious commander and refused to confiscate the private property of his compatriots. At this juncture, moreover, the country, devastated by guerrillas, was exceedingly poor. Hence his frequent visits to the capital, although sometimes ill-advised, may have been necessary.

Mariño was destined to meet with further reverses in the west. On the 14th of June, marching from Cura with but 2,300 men, he occupied the position at La Puerta that had already proved so disastrous to Campo-Elías, when attacked by Boves. The latter now advanced with his entire army, but concealed a large part of his force, and Mariño prepared for the combat, believing that the opposing sides were about equal. At this moment Bolívar arrived and, being advised of the true condition of affairs, endeavored to avoid a conflict

upon such disadvantageous terms. His efforts were vain, however; the battle had already begun. Boves, moreover, gave him no time or opportunity to withdraw, but rapidly hurled three columns of *llaneros* upon the patriot infantry and almost annihilated it. In that day of muzzle-loading, slow-firing muskets, the cavalry, mounted upon fleet horses and armed with lances, made quick work of the infantry, if not deterred by the first volley. Battles, indeed, generally consisted of a series of charges, of infantry against infantry, of cavalry against infantry or of cavalry against cavalry; and that side usually triumphed which had the greater preponderance of well-mounted, quickly-moving and daring horsemen. To this fact may be largely attributed the success of Boves and later of Páez. Strategy and grand tactics, such as obtain in European warfare, were not often invoked.

In this battle, 1,000 Republicans perished. Among them were Colonels García de Sena, Aldao and Muñoz Tebar, the Secretary of the Liberator. General Freites, upon seeing the troops he commanded utterly destroyed, turned his pistol upon himself and committed suicide.

Boves killed all the wounded and prisoners. Among the latter was Colonel Jalón, so long confined at Puerto Cabello, whom he first invited to dine with him and then decapitated, sending the gory head as a present to some friends at Calabozo.

Bolívar and Ribas escaped to Victoria and thence to Caracas, while Mariño took refuge in the neighboring mountains.

But the Liberator did not despair. To D'Elhuyar, still besieging Puerto Cabello, he recommended the greatest vigilance; to Escalona, the military commandant at Valencia, he gave especial instructions for the defense of the city, whither he ordered Urdaneta, who had remained at Barquisimeto with 600 men. This dispersion, sometimes necessary, no doubt, is constantly noticeable throughout the war.

The Liberator, accompanied by Ribas, arrived at Caracas on the 16th of June. Painful, indeed was the situation at the capital.

Boves, upon the same day, entered Victoria, where he divided his forces, detaching 2,000 men to operate against Caracas, while he personally led the main body against Cabrera and Valencia. The resistance at Cabrera, although gallant, was soon silenced and all of its defenders were cruelly massacred, as usual. The Spanish historian Torrente, commenting upon the occurrence, calmly relates that "all who composed that brilliant column (the garrison of the fortifications at Cabrera) were sabred, from the commandant Fernández down to the lowest drummer." Their bodies were left unburied for the edification and terror of the living.

With 3,000 victorious *llaneros* (largely Creoles, it must be confessed) Boves besieged Valencia on the 19th of June. Escalona made an heroic defense, counting upon the arrival of Urdaneta and of reinforcements from Bolívar. Larrazábal relates that two brothers Medina who wandered from the city, were seized by the Royalists, enclosed in a live circle, with cow's horns tied upon their heads, and baited like bulls in the ring until they expired under the lance thrusts of their inhuman persecutors.

D'Elhuyar, meanwhile, finding himself between two fires, raised the siege of Puerto Cabello and retired by sea to La Guayra. Upon learning of this retreat, Boves marched to Puerto Cabello, leaving in command at Valencia his more brutal lieutenant Morales, who made an unsuccessful night attack. Upon the return of Boves, with an abundance of ammunition and stores, the siege was prosecuted with his usual ardor and courage. Fire, hunger and thirst, were now added to the other horrors of the siege. The patriots were finally reduced to a single angle of the great plaza, but still they held out until the putrefaction from innumerable corpses made their position untenable. At this juncture they received tidings of the union of Cajigal, Calzada and Ceballos in Barinas and of the fall of Caracas. Boves proposed a capitulation, but Escalona replied with heroism: "*We must not surrender.*" However, many officers and the notable inhabitants of the city finally persuaded him to accept the

proffered terms and, after the usual documentary formalities had been complied with, Boves entered the city on the 10th of June.

The treaty stipulated the inviolability of the lives and property of the inhabitants, both civil and military, who should not be prosecuted for their opinions and were at liberty to leave the country, carrying with them their personal effects. Boves personally swore to abide by the terms of this compact, invoking the punishment of Heaven upon his head if he violated it. In the presence of the Holy Sacrament, he promised a hundred times that he would not shed the blood of the indefensible inhabitants or of the troops surrendered under the capitulation. These precautions were taken because of his well-known treachery and ferocity. Alas! they proved utterly unavailing. He had no sooner occupied the city than he inhumanly and perfidiously caused to be massacred the Governor, Doctor Francisco Espejo, 90 of the principal residents, 75 officers and 310 soldiers — nearly the entire garrison that had so valiantly defended the place!

It is true that Bolívar himself, had decreed *war to the death*, but it was precisely such cruelties as these, first inflicted by the Spanish leaders that, in his opinion, had rendered such course necessary. Unhappily their instruments, as well as victims, were often Americans or Creoles. The *llaneros*, who blindly followed Boves and to whom they were devoted, were simply a ferocious band of robbers and assassins, of whom he was the chief.

In Caracas, Bolívar dictated orders and made every effort to stay the approaching storm. As the resources of the Government, as well as of the people, were completely exhausted, with much difficulty he obtained from the clergy such portions of the silver services of the churches as were not strictly needed in the public worship. At the same time that Gonzales marched upon the capital from Victoria, with a part of the forces of Boves, it was threatened upon the south by the guerrilla Machado, who advanced from Ocumare. At first the Liberator thought of defending the city,

but calmer reflection caused him to change his mind. If besieged, no succor could be expected from the outside and nothing was to be gained by being shut up in the capital. Better far to evacuate it in time, for Bolívar never capitulated — never surrendered his sword; then to seek foreign aid and begin the struggle anew in the east or in the valley of the Orinoco. With this purpose in view, the Liberator withdrew on the 10th of July. He was accompanied by numerous refugees, principally families, who abandoned their property and homes. The Republic and the capital remained at the mercy of the rapacious and cruel invaders.

Boves entered Caracas on the 16th of July. His first act was a decree of amnesty but ten days later he published an order directing the judges of different categories, many of whom were ignorant men appointed by himself and necessarily exalted partisans, to condemn to death, without trial or other formality, such of the inhabitants as were suspected of complicity in the recent executions of the Spaniards. "Sole arbiters in the classification of the crime," says Baralt, "and stimulated by revenge or the desire to enrich themselves with the spoils of their victims, these iniquitous judges drained the country, fattening upon the best and most distinguished, as ordinarily do the vulgar and tyrannical."

Boves, himself, went in pursuit of Bolívar, leaving as Governor of Caracas one Juan Nepomuceno Quero, a traitorous Creole, whose horrible excesses among his countrymen, according to Baralt, made them almost love Boves and consider him pious and good! Quero was a Venezuelan, and was born upon the same day and in the same year as Bolívar. The latter said of Boves: "He was not nurtured with the delicate milk of a woman but with the blood of tigers and of the furies of hell."

In Barcelona, Bolívar organized a force of 2,000 men. Many of the refugees who had abandoned Caracas with him, had been overtaken by the Royalists and cruelly butchered; others fell sick, or wearied by the fatigues and privations of the journey, remained by the wayside. Few of them

BOLÍVAR

reached Barcelona. A detachment of troops was sent to aid and protect the stragglers. Although fleeing from his implacable enemy, Bolívar never lost faith in himself nor in the ultimate establishment of the Republic; and from Barcelona he wrote through Doctor Pedro Gual, requesting the British Admiral in Barbadoes to send a man-of-war for the safe conveyance of commissioners to London to treat with the English Government, which design, however, was not carried into effect.

Bermúdez was at Aragua, with 1,000 soldiers whom Mariño had sent from Cumaná, and hither Bolívar marched with his little army. Meanwhile Morales approached, by way of Chaparro, with no fewer than 8,000 Royalists. On the 17th of August the two armies came in sight of each other. Yielding to the instance of Bermúdez and influenced, no doubt, by the rivalry existing between the officers of the east and west, Bolívar adopted the plan of Bermúdez, which was to defend the fortified part of the city, thus losing the services of his cavalry, which was excellent, if few in number, and commanded by able lieutenants. Morales was, therefore, permitted to advance to the city, which he assaulted upon the 18th of August. Bolívar commanded the right of the position in person and was ably seconded by Ribas, Bermúdez, Cedeño, Monagas, but all was in vain. Morales prevailed by force of numbers and after a gallant resistance of seven hours, the Patriots were compelled to abandon the city.

Bolívar took the direction of Barcelona, Bermúdez that of Maturín.

Morales entered Aragua and finding 3,500 pacific inhabitants, of both sexes and all ages, assembled in the cathedral, he put them all to death, "for no other offense," says Larrazábal, "than that of being Americans."

Bolívar, with the remnant of his force, marched to Cumaná, whither Ribas and Piar were also trending. Mariño was at Güiria, where he concentrated his forces and proclaimed martial law when he heard of the defeat at Aragua.

He had with him the 27,912 ounces of silver service obtained by Bolívar from the churches of Caracas which, for greater safety, he put aboard one of the boats of the little patriot squadron, commanded by an Italian adventurer called Bianchi. The arms and ammunition were likewise transferred to the ship. Only the Liberator was awaited.

Bolívar arrived the night of the 25th of August. The principal officers were assembled at his lodgings and an animated discussion as to their immediate plans was in progress, when a sergeant entered and informed them that the squadron had sailed. Treachery upon the part of the commander was at once suspected and indeed, proved to be the case. Bianchi was unable to resist the sight of so much silver and had determined to make way with it. Leaving Ribas and Piar with the land forces, Bolívar and Mariño boarded a small schooner and started in pursuit. When overtaken, the wily foreigner declared he had only intended to pay himself and his men for their services and prizes; and although Bolívar recovered the arms and ammunition and two thirds of the treasure, Bianchi succeeded in absconding with the remainder and with three of the boats.

Bolívar and Mariño, with a brigantine and schooner which they had recovered, now proceeded to Carúpano, where they arrived on the 3rd of September; but upon landing, they learned with surprise and indignation that Ribas and Piar, having assumed command of the troops as First and Second Chiefs of the Republic, had proscribed both of them as traitors who had fled to the Antilles with public funds! Ribas was at Cariaco, but came to Carúpano the following day. With incredible disloyalty and ingratitude, he disowned the Liberator and threw Mariño into prison! Stranger still was the conduct of Bianchi. Learning what had occurred, he hastened to Carúpano and with his three boats and their crews, succeeded in overaweing Ribas, whom he compelled to liberate Mariño and to permit both him and

BOLÍVAR

Bolívar to embark in the brigantine *Arrogante*, for Cartagena, on the 9th of September.

The Liberator suffered many treacheries and ingrati- tudes during his career; indeed, in the war of Spanish- American independence, they were almost as frequent as battles: but none were blacker than this act of Ribas, Bolívar's own uncle, who owed everything, including his military titles and rank, to his distinguished nephew. And Piar was scarcely less indebted to Mariño.

Before his departure, Bolívar delivered to Ribas the silver services and funds that he had recovered from Bianchi, for the use of the Republic. At the same time he published a manifesto in vindication of his acts, which is as eloquent as it is forceful and just; but its great length prevents its presentation here. In it, he utters not one word of complaint against the conspirators, but promises to return and secure the freedom of his countrymen. "As Liberator or dead," he said, "I will ever merit the honor you have done me; no human power upon earth shall divert me from the course I propose to pursue—from returning to liberate you by that western path, bathed in so much blood and adorned with so many laurels."

As Bolívar and Mariño set sail for Cartagena, Piar, with 200 men from Margarita, joined Ribas in Carúpano. Their unmeasured ambitions were about to complete the wreck of the Republic.

Bermúdez, although not involved in the conspiracy against the Liberator, soon joined Ribas and Piar, and the three generals raised, armed and equipped troops with the funds and treasures left by Bolívar and prepared to continue the war against the Spaniards. All of them were soldiers of merit and experience. Notwithstanding, when Piar encountered Boves at Sabana del Salado, his force was literally cut to pieces by the astute Asturian; Bermúdez was defeated in Los Magueyes and Ribas at Urica, where the infantry of the Republic perished, from its valiant leader José Paz del Castillo, to the last private. The east was now

reconquered by the Spaniards. Boves entered Cumaná on the 16th of October and one thousand men, women and children, were cruelly slaughtered during the day. At night the victor gave a grand ball which the daughters of his victims were compelled to attend until 3 o'clock in the morning, when it terminated with the death of the musicians, whom he ordered to be put to the sword for some fancied insult. The brute met an undeserved and too gallant a fate, however, at Urica, where he was killed in battle. It is said that Morales had him assassinated in order to succeed to the supreme command; but the most trustworthy accounts agree that his death was caused by the thrust of a lance in the hands of an unknown republican soldier. Morales did, indeed, succeed him and proved a worthy successor in the cruelties and inhumanities inflicted upon the now defenseless inhabitants of the eastern provinces.

Ribas, the once gallant and unblemished soldier, after his defeat at Urica, was overwhelmed at Maturín and his troops dispersed. Accompanied by two officers, he started for the plains of Caracas; but in the mountains of Tamanaco, a negro servant betrayed him while sleeping, sick and weary as he was, to the Royalists, who cruelly assassinated him. His head, covered with the red cap of Liberty that he habitually wore, was sent to Caracas, where it was placed in an iron cage and publicly exhibited, both there and in La Guayra.¹

For the second time Bolívar found himself a refugee, fleeing from his native land and now expelled by his own people. Accompanied by Mariño, he arrived at Cartagena on the 25th of September. Here he was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the populace, but finding his former enemy, General Castillo, in command, he ascended the Magdalena river, intending to go to Tunja, where was assembled the New Granadan Congress, to which body he desired to report in person the result of the mission confided to him the preceding year. In Ocaña he heard of the arrival of General

¹ His wife, who was Bolívar's aunt, locked herself in a room and swore not to go out until freedom was achieved, and she remained true to her vow." (Sherwell.)

Urdaneta, with Venezuelan troops, upon New Granadan territory and of certain animosities engendered by their presence. He immediately started for Cúcuta, with the idea of calming these disturbances; but learning at Salazar de las Palmas that the report of difficulties was unfounded, he changed his direction to Pamplona.

Urdaneta, finding himself and his troops at Barquisimeto cut off from the Liberator, who had retired from the centre to the east and thence, as has been seen, to Cartagena, had skilfully retreated and entered New Granada, reporting by letter to its congress, which ordered him to proceed to Tunja. He had arrived at Pamplona, *en route* to Tunja, when it was learned that Bolívar would arrive at the former city upon the following day. His little division comprised the Venezuelan battalions "Guayra," "Barlovento" and "Valencia," with a squadron of dragoons, all of whom had served under Bolívar. The officers and men alike were enthusiastic at the prospect of greeting the Liberator, but Urdaneta, impatient to arrive at his destination and perhaps secretly resenting this sudden and unexpected reappearance of Bolívar, gave strict orders to resume the march. The troops were, in fact, marching, when, with one accord, they broke ranks and returned to Pamplona, crying: "*Viva el Libertador! Viva el General Bolívar!*" Not content with this manifestation, they hurried onward upon the road by which the Liberator was expected and when they met him, delirious with joy, they embraced him and accompanied him to Pamplona. Napoleon, upon his return from Elba, could not have been received with greater enthusiasm. There was nothing left for Urdaneta to do but join Bolívar, and perhaps at heart he had no other desire or intention.

The Liberator asked to review the troops the same afternoon and when assembled, he harangued them as follows: "Soldiers! My heart swells with happiness at seeing you but, at what a cost! At the cost of discipline, of subordination, which is the first virtue of a soldier. Your chief is the worthy General Urdaneta, who laments, as I do, the ex-

cess to which you have been carried by your affection. Soldiers! Do not repeat such acts of disobedience. If you love me, prove it by your loyalty and submission to your chief. I am only a soldier like you, who comes to offer his services to this sister nation. For all of us, our native land is America; our enemies, the Spaniards; our motto, independence and liberty!"

The troops broke into cheers for Bolívar, Urdaneta and New Granada. Approaching the Liberator, the battalion commanders promised him, in the name of their men, not to repeat their fault. The next day they resumed the march to Tunja, where Bolívar was cordially received by the members of the Congress and general Government. Presenting himself before the bar of the former, he asked permission to make a verbal report of his operations but was conducted to a seat by the side of its president, Doctor Camilo Torres. Here he reviewed eloquently but impartially his successes and his failures, including the final fall of the Republic, but was interrupted by the presiding officer, who said: "General! Your country is not dead while your sword lives; with it you will return to redeem her again from her oppressors. The Congress of New Granada will give you its protection, because it is satisfied with your conduct. You may have been an unfortunate soldier, but you are a great man."

Warm and prolonged applause showed that the Congress shared the sentiments of its President and were a balm to the great but lacerated heart of the Liberator.

At this time Bogotá was in a state of revolution against the general Government, which confided to Bolívar the command of 1800 men, with which to put down the insurrection. Without opposition he arrived about four and a half miles from the city, whence he sent a herald to the dictator Álvarez, intimating its surrender. "Heaven," he said, "has destined me to be the Liberator of oppressed peoples, so I will never be the conqueror of a single village. The heroes of Venezuela, after triumphing in hundreds of combats, always fighting in the name of Liberty, would not have crossed

deserts, elevated tablelands and mountains, for the purpose of enchaining their fellow citizens, the heroes of America. Our only object is to unite the masses under a single direction, in order that all our elements may be devoted to the sole end of re-establishing in the New World the rights of liberty and of independence.”

In accordance with the foregoing proclamation and for the purpose of reconnaissance, Bolívar and his staff proceeded to enter the city, but were received with artillery fire when still at a distance. Consequently it was duly invested and the slow work of subjection was begun. The fighting was from house to house, but on the 12th of December the city surrendered. Bolívar had lost 300 men. The besieged had fewer casualties because of the cover they enjoyed. A considerable quantity of stores and munitions of war, including 2,000 muskets and 40 cannon, were the immediate result of this victory. The principal one was the moral force acquired by the Congress, which later transferred its sessions to Bogotá, it being the principal city of New Granada and called by Von Humboldt “the Athens of South America.” Cundinamarca, of which Bogotá was the capital, was thus brought into the union of New Granada and Cartagena, a fact that was of great importance in the conduct of future operations.

As has been seen, the revolutions which, until very recently, have never ceased to devastate these unhappy countries, were already initiated. It has been remarked before, that, in the beginning, the South American War of Independence was chiefly waged by Creoles themselves, under patriot officers upon the one side and Spanish upon the other. The *llaneros* of Boves and Morales were nearly all natives. Not until later, under Morillo, was Spain able to spare many of her soldiers for the attempted reconquest of her American colonies. The people were not yet ready for independence and in many regions, notably in Coro in Venezuela and Pasto in New Granada, it had to be forced upon them at the point of a bayonet. This war largely comprised,



STATUE OF BOLÍVAR IN BOGOTÁ
By Prof. Giovanni Anderline

therefore, a series of revolutions, or more properly of rebellions, within a revolution and, until recently, the people had not recovered from the infection of so pernicious an example.

Bolívar was now named Captain-General of the Armies of the Union and was the first officer upon whom such title and distinction were conferred. During the siege of Bogotá he had been excommunicated by the Archbishop, but spontaneously this prelate now hastened to retract publicly the former edict that he had fulminated against General Simón Bolívar.

After reorganizing the army and making proper dispositions for the maintenance of the government's authority at Bogotá, the Liberator marched to Tunja to lay before Congress his plan of campaign for the defense of the country. As in 1813, Santa Marta was his first objective, after the capture of which seaport he proposed to march against Rio Hacha and Maracaibo. Meanwhile Urdaneta, with his division, was to re-enter Venezuela by way of Cúcuta. Bolívar believed that the independence of New Granada could be best conserved by expelling the Spaniards from Venezuela. A third column, however, was to be dispatched to Popayán, to threaten or to hold in check the Spanish force at Quito. When these preliminaries were arranged to his satisfaction, Bolívar returned to Bogotá to prepare to put them into execution.

Thus ended the year 1814, during which all that had been accomplished in the brief but memorable campaign of 1813 was undone.

CHAPTER VI

1815

Bolívar prepares expedition against Santa Marta—Departs for Cartagena—Captures Ocaña *en route*—Arrives at Mompox—Troubles with Castillo—Bolívar descends Magdalena to Barranca—At Turbaco—Numerous overtures to Castillo—Bolívar at La Popa—Wretched condition of his troops—Council of war—Bolívar resolves to seek refuge in Antilles—Embarks for Jamaica—Allocution—Arrival in Venezuela of General Morillo—His harsh measures—Siege and bombardment of Cartagena—March to Bogotá—Wholesale executions—Bolívar's life in Kingston—Brion—Attempted assassination of the Liberator.

THE Liberator returned to Bogotá, from Tunja, on the 1st of January 1815 and on the 13th of the same month, the general Government and the Congress arrived. They were met by Bolívar, the Governor of the Province, the Archbishop and other dignitaries, at the head of the army, and Bolívar welcomed them in an eloquent and patriotic address that has been preserved by Larrazábal and to which the President of the Congress replied, highly eulogizing the Liberator. The representative body of the Province of Cundinamarca¹ proclaimed him the "Illustrious and Religious Pacificator," a title doubtless suggested by the scurrilous attacks of the clergy at the time of his excommunication by the Archbishop.

Two thousand infantry and a squadron of Venezuelan cavalry comprised the force that Bolívar proposed to lead against Santa Marta, the only city and province of New Granada remaining in possession of the Spaniards. The little army lacked muskets and ammunition, but these it was to obtain at Cartagena. Bolívar's old enemy, Castillo, was still in command there and had recently published a pamphlet against the Liberator, in which he not only disputed his possession of talent, but accused him of immorality and even of

¹ Among its many errors concerning Bolívar, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* makes a personage of this province and even gives it the Spanish title of "Don"!

cowardice. Under these circumstances it was feared that Castillo might refuse to obey the orders of the Government or would comply with them in so ungracious and niggardly a manner as to delay the expedition or defeat its purpose. The Liberator made known these fears to the Government, which determined to transfer Castillo to Bogotá as a member of the Supreme Council of War, promoting him to the rank of brigadier-general.

Encouraged by his success in obviating this anticipated difficulty, Bolívar left Bogotá on the 24th of January to embark in Honda. The greater part of his force was already descending the Magdalena river.

The Spanish outposts extended from the sea as far as Ocaña, which Bolívar captured after some sharp and effective skirmishes. In Mompox he was received with great enthusiasm, but after these preliminary successes, the evil spirit dominating at Cartagena began to make itself felt. As Bolívar had feared, Castillo, by the advice of various officers of the provincial government who were his personal friends, refused to obey the orders from Bogotá and influenced the several corporations of the city to petition the authorities at the capital to designate him to command the expedition against Santa Marta. Similarly persuaded, the President of the Legislature published a repetition of Castillo's charges of ineptitude, cowardice and immorality against the Liberator. The Civil Governor counselled Castillo to obey no order emanating from Bolívar, and Castillo, upon his own part, gave instructions to the commanding officer upon the Magdalena river to forcibly resist the passage of Bolívar and his troops. It seems incredible that such unpatriotic occurrences could happen when the fate of the Republic was at stake.

Finally Bolívar sent his aide-de-camp Kent; second, a personal friend of both parties and third, his Secretary, Revenga, each with amicable communications, both to Doctor Gual, the acting Civil Governor and to Castillo, to whom he proposed that they should mutually forget all personal resentments and think only of saving the Republic; but all his

BOLÍVAR

efforts at a reconciliation were in vain. Castillo, in his reply, acknowledged Bolívar's rank as general-in-chief, but meanwhile he endeavored to stir up the people against him and protested that he had neither arms nor ammunition to spare. Bolívar then proposed a meeting and friendly discussion of their differences, to which Castillo agreed but he did not appear at the time and place fixed upon. Under these circumstances Bolívar patriotically suggested the appointment of a third officer to the command of the expedition, to the general government, which appointed a priest, Doctor Juan Marimón, as its Commissioner, to arrange the differences existing between General Bolívar and the newly-appointed brigadier, Castillo; but the canon, instead of bringing about peace, only increased the discord. Finally Bolívar requested the President himself to come to Cartagena to enforce the orders of congress and to observe near at hand and direct the operations of the expedition to Santa Marta, but his petition, now that he was no longer present, was unheeded.

Meanwhile the small-pox had broken out among his troops and, encouraged by emissaries from Cartagena, many of them had deserted. Without arms and ammunition, it was impossible to undertake hostile operations and the expedition could not return to Bogotá, for lack of transports. In despair, Bolívar resolved to descend the river. Upon arriving at Barranca, he sent a fourth deputation to confer with General Castillo, the Governor and the Commissioner, and to assure them of his pacific intentions, but insults were now the only answers to his overtures. The provincial and municipal governments of Cartagena denied him everything. Upon arriving at Turbaco, four miles from the city, he dispatched for the fifth time a commissioner, who was not only denied entrance but was fired upon, although the message he bore was an offer upon the part of Bolívar to relinquish his command and abandon the country. Cartagena refused to have any communication with him and proposed to treat him as a bandit.

The Liberator had many friends within the walls of the

city, whose protests in his favor were answered by the government with an offer of passports to the West Indies. More than one hundred, among them D'Elhuyar, accepted, whereupon they were treacherously thrown into prison. Castillo, Marimón, Gual, all launched proclamations against him.

Bolívar and his troops endured the fire from the walls of the city without replying to it, for, as he had no desire to make war on Cartagena, he had left his siege pieces at Mompox. A council of war which he convened, however, voted to approach nearer to the city and on the 27th of March he took possession of La Popa, a high hill overlooking the seaport, where he found the water *poisoned*! From this point of vantage he wrote to Marimón, the Commissioner, again offering to relinquish command and leave the country, if provision were made for his departure and for the care of his troops. In reply, Marimón wrote him to transfer the command to any officer except General Mariño or Colonel Carabaño, both of whom were Venezuelans.

When the Liberator received this answer, he again convoked a council of war, with the intention of leaving General Florencio Palacios in command, but the council unanimously came to the following finding:

“Without the orders of the Government of the Union, General Bolívar can not resign his command nor can the Commissioner accept it. Moreover, in view of the manifesto of the Government of Cartagena, in which the Venezuelans are declared to be men without a country and desirous of foisting themselves upon the social family; considering other paragraphs of proclamations and the paper in which it is attempted to discredit the army; in attention to the orders of the Government of Cartagena in which the commanding officers of the line are directed to defend the soil at all hazards; considering the sinister purpose of caprice of the authorities in causing the loss of artillery, arms and ammunition upon the Magdalena; maturely reflecting that the miserable resources which the army has forcibly obtained are insufficient to undertake the campaign; that the provisional government has ordered the

poisoning of waters, the evacuation of towns, the secreting of provisions, the profanation of the laws of nations in the persons of the emissaries of peace and the proscription of the greater part of the Venezuelans in Cartagena and of a large number of its inhabitants, and finally, there being in said city, a form of government not recognized by the general and provincial constitution:

“RESOLVED, that the city be hostilized and besieged and that the Captain-General order the ulterior dispositions necessary for the defense of the authority of the general Government, which has been highly outraged and contemned, to the shame and scandal of the people, giving an account of such determination to the same supreme Government.”

The Liberator approved this finding and reported accordingly to the government at Bogotá, begging it earnestly, at the same time, to replace him, as he would *rather ascend the scaffold than continue in command*.

On the 30th of March he again wrote to Marimón: “If I heeded only the voice of honor, I should endeavor to reduce this place or die; but I regard only the intentions of the general Government, which expects everything from obedience and fears everything from the employment of force. The city should not compel me to stain our arms with the blood of its sons. It is not fair that the last remnants of Venezuela should perish in a shameful war; neither is it just that so many laurels won upon the battlefield from the enemy should be allowed to wither for the pleasure of those who prefer the gratification of their private resentment to the welfare of their fellow-citizens. Let your Excellency employ your sacred voice in bringing about harmony. Assure me only of the friendship and good faith of the chiefs of Cartagena and all shall be arranged in a satisfactory way for everybody. Can I offer more? If I could, I would.”

The reply of Marimón was evasive.

Bolívar again requested an interview.

This was denied.

On the 8th of April he wrote to the Commissioner, calling

his attention to the partial successes of the Spaniards and offering to unite their two forces in order to make common defense against the enemy.

To this proposition there was no response.

On the 9th he wrote again offering to make any sacrifice in order to preserve the peace, declaring that he would prefer to desist from so scandalous a conflict rather than obtain a triumph.

On the 11th, not having received any reply, he renewed all his propositions. Castillo's response was an incendiary proclamation against General Bolívar, such as would not have been promulgated against the most ferocious assassin.

If the Liberator appears almost pusillanimous in this correspondence and certainly lacking the energy that usually characterized his actions, the great love he bore his country, his patriotic zeal and his aversion to a fratricidal struggle, must be taken into consideration. The Government of the Union having appointed him Captain-General and Commander-in-chief of its armies, and specifically relieved Castillo from duty at Cartagena and ordered him to report in Bogotá for another assignment, Bolívar was clearly in the right. But his situation was desperate, for although La Popa commanded the city and harbor, without suitable artillery he was helpless. Unlike Bogotá, which he had recently taken from the rebel Álvarez, Cartagena was a walled city and the most strongly-fortified place in the western hemisphere.² He could neither advance, retreat nor stand still. For this reason he has been criticized, and not unjustly, for his military approach and the seizure of La Popa. Perhaps he thought to overawe Castillo. Pledged as he was and destined as he believed himself, to free his native land, from which he had just been expelled by his former friends and companions-in-arms, it was doubly hard to relinquish the new lease upon life and a career, which the Congress of New Granada had granted him for the second

² It may be of interest to note that Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington, was so named by his half-brother Lawrence, after the English sailor, Admiral Vernon, under whom he served in the latter's unsuccessful attack upon this same Cartagena.

BOLÍVAR

time. Another than Bolívar might have been discouraged and would have abandoned forever a people who only responded to his patriotic efforts with envy and treachery. Every officer aspired to supreme command, and co-operation and support were as rare in this war as they were usual in others.

At last, on the 18th of March, to Bolívar's request for a conference, an affirmative reply was sent, but the base of the walls was appointed for the rendezvous. Suspecting that sinister designs prompted this acquiescence, he indicated a central point for the interview and called attention to the fact that his heralds had been fired upon. Unless the armistice were properly observed, he said, he would not be present. The only reply to this observation was a renewal of the firing and Castillo sent word that only *the gross ignorance of General Bolívar could confound an armistice with a suspension of hostilities.*

A month of valuable time was lost in these puerilities, during which the Liberator's force had been reduced to a handful of starving and infirm men, when news was received of the arrival in Venezuela of the expedition from Spain commanded by General Pablo Morillo. Under these circumstances, Bolívar resolved to abandon New Granada and seek refuge in the Antilles. To a council of war, convened for the purpose, he made an exposition of his plans, which were approved upon condition that his officers were permitted to accompany him; and influenced by the approach of Morillo, the Government of Cartagena agreed to furnish the necessary passports. As Bolívar wrote to the Congress of New Granada: "Imminent peril and self-interest alike counseled union; but an unfounded fear, an unmerited rivalry and an unbridled ambition, have prevailed over every consideration of honor, justice and welfare."

To such a degree had this scandalous dissension between the two patriot generals been carried, that Montalvo, the Spanish captain-general, offered to aid Castillo in expelling the Liberator! Happily his services were not accepted.

Meanwhile the Magdalena, from Barranquilla to Mom-

pox, had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, with a number of boats and the cannon and stores left at the latter city, the garrison of which had been enticed to desert by Castillo and his emissaries.

Bolívar embarked on the 8th of May, upon the British brigantine of war *Discovery*, which sailed the following day for Jamaica.

Upon quitting the shores of New Granada, the Liberator bade farewell to his little army in a beautiful allocution:

Soldiers:

The general Government of New Granada placed me at your head for the purpose of breaking the chains of our enslaved brothers in the provinces of Santa Marta, Maracaibo, Coro and Caracas. Venezuelans! You would have returned to your native land. Granadans! You would have been restored to yours, crowned with laurels. But that happiness and this honor have been converted into misfortune. No tyrant has been vanquished by your arms: they have been stained by the blood of our brothers in two conflicts, alike in the sorrow they have caused us. In Cundinamarca, we fought for union; here, for succor. In both parts glory has favored us: there, we pardoned the vanquished and made them one of us; here, we join our opponents and march with them to free our hearths. The fortune of the campaign is as yet uncertain: you will terminate it in the enemy's camp, disputing with tyrants for the victory.

Happy are you who are to give your lives for the liberty of your country! Unfortunate am I who can not accompany you, but who must die in remote climes, far from Venezuela, in order that you may remain at peace with your compatriots. Granadans! Venezuelans! who have been my companions in so many vicissitudes and combats, I leave you to go to live in inaction and not to die for our country. Judge

BOLÍVAR

of my grief and say if I sacrifice my heart, my fortune and my glory, in renouncing the honor of leading you to victory. The salvation of the army has imposed this penalty upon me; I have not hesitated. Your existence and my own, were incompatible here. I preferred yours. Your welfare is mine, my friends', my brethren's, everybody's in short, for upon you depends the republic.

Torrente, the Spanish historian, attributes Bolívar's withdrawal to a less worthy motive and accuses him, in fact, of a preconcerted plan to abandon his troops and country before the impending calamity of a reconquest by Morillo. It is not to be wondered at if, for the first time, the Liberator despaired of accomplishing the end to which he had pledged his life and his fortune; and it is noticeable that, in his farewell allocution, he says nothing of returning. But the previous and subsequent events of his career do not warrant the extreme view entertained by the partisan and rancorous Spaniard. The Liberator must be believed when he writes to the Congress of New Granada: "It was not to oppress the Republic but to combat its enemies — to prevent the destruction that threatened New Granada and to rescue Venezuela, that I asked you for arms." In this design, whatever his momentary discouragement, he appears never to have seriously faltered. "My only ambition," he constantly declared, "is to liberate my countrymen. My love for the independence of America has caused me to make various sacrifices, now in peace, now in war. And I will never refuse such sacrifices because he who abandons all for the good of his country, loses nothing but gains that which he thus consecrates."

Bolívar was accompanied by his private secretary, Briceno Méndez, his aide-de-camp the Englishman Kent, and the two brothers Carabaño. A few days later he was followed by Mariño and other Venezuelan officers who did not desire to serve under Castillo.

On the 11th of May, General Pablo Morillo issued his first proclamation at Caracas. Hitherto, with the exception of Salomón's expedition which disembarked at Puerto Cabello in 1813, the forces maintained by the Mother Country had been composed principally of loyal Creoles and Canary Islanders (of whom there were many in Venezuela) commanded by Spanish officers. Morillo's troops, however, were among the finest in Spain and had seen constant service in the Peninsula, opposing the French invasion of Napoleon. Morillo, himself, was an uncouth but valiant soldier, whose intrepidity had merited the praise of Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, and finally won for him the grade of Field Marshal. His army comprised 10,642 veterans of the three arms. The naval contingent, under General Pascual Enrile, second in command and chief of staff, consisted of the *San Pedro Alcántara*, a fully-rigged ship of 74 guns, three frigates, thirty smaller vessels and seventy transports — a most formidable expedition which, to quote Torrente's words, the newly-liberated king, Fernando VII, had sent, "after a tender glance in the direction of his over-seas possessions."

Morillo's plan of operations was to take Venezuela as a base, then to subjugate New Granada and, marching triumphantly down the west coast, through the present Ecuador, Peru and Chile, to cross the Andes to the Rio de la Plata and add Buenos Aires as the final and completing jewel to his crown of victories, thence returning in triumph to Cádiz and Spain. It will be seen here how he did *not* execute this plan, which was Alexandrian in extent as well as in difficulties.

The Spanish general first reached the mainland at Puerto Santo, in the province of Cumaná, on the 3rd of April. Here he learned the condition of affairs in Venezuela and proceeded to the island of Margarita, where Arismendi was in command, with Bermúdez second, of about 400 men. Morales, with 5,000 Royalists, was preparing a descent upon the island, but when Arismendi saw the force brought by Morillo, he prudently surrendered. Not so Bermúdez, whose escape in the little schooner *Golondrina* (*Swallow*) was one of the most

dare-devil feats of the war. It was, therefore, at Asunción, the capital of Margarita, that Morillo began what in his instructions was called "the work of pacification." How he regarded this work may be judged from a letter he wrote to the King in which he said: "To subjugate the insurgents it will be necessary to employ the means adopted in the first conquest — exterminate them!" And this, although he promised in his initial proclamation, "complete forgetfulness of the past." Confiding in such promise, fifteen officers sailed from Margarita for Barcelona, where they were treacherously executed by Morales.

On the 11th of May, Morillo relieved Cajigal as Captain-General at Caracas. Recognizing, however, the importance of proceeding promptly to Cartagena, he left the capital on the 1st of June, after having forcibly exacted a war loan of some \$200,000, confiscated the property of the patriot inhabitants and imprisoned the principal ones, among them ladies of rank and distinction. In quartering his troops upon the citizens, no attention was paid to the sex of the owners of the houses, and officers and men were assigned indiscriminately to rooms occupied by respectable matrons and their daughters. His soldiers tore the hats from the heads of the most distinguished civilians in order, they playfully said, to *uniform* them! A commission was appointed which sequestrated and sold at auction private property amounting to twenty-two million dollars! In short, the natives of Venezuela, all of whom were in mourning for a father, a brother or a son, were now confronted by the direst poverty. Permanent councils of war or courts-martial were established, which treated the slightest misdemeanors as military crimes and offenses. The Royal Audience was suppressed.

Early in August, Morillo, accompanied by Enrile, two Inquisitors and 8,500 soldiers, set sail from Puerto Cabello for Santa Marta and Cartagena, arriving before the latter city on the 18th of the same month. He immediately invested the stronghold by land and sea and a few days later Morales appeared with 3,500 Venezuelans, having marched along the

coast. Cartagena was vigorously blockaded and mercilessly bombarded. The city resisted for one hundred and six days but finally succumbed, more to fever and hunger than to the fire of the enemy. Indeed, nothing like the siege of Cartagena has ever been known in America. Six thousand Patriots perished and when Morillo occupied the city, he immediately established a permanent Council of War, to judge and sentence the survivors who had surrendered, while the church reinstated the Holy Office or Inquisition, although he had promised amnesty to all. Four hundred Patriots were treacherously beheaded on the beach while many of the principal citizens, among them General Castiño, were imprisoned and their possessions confiscated.

From Cartagena, Morillo marched into the interior, almost without opposition. When he approached the capital, Bogotá, the Congress was dissolved and the city opened its doors to the conqueror. Six hundred of its most distinguished inhabitants, all of them peaceable and law-abiding citizens, were brutally executed in one of the public squares, without trial or even accusation and in spite of his promise of amnesty, given at the neighboring town of Zipaquirá and his solemn word, in the King's name, to pardon those Patriots that surrendered. Among the victims was the famous naturalist Caldas. To the request of his royalist friends for a brief suspension of his sentence to enable him to finish an important manuscript, Enrile is said to have replied: "Spain has no need of *savants!*" Doctor Camilo Torres, the President of Congress and of the Union, was first shot and then hanged, as were many of his colleagues. It was a cowardly conceit of Morillo's to shoot his prisoners in the back, in order to deny them even the privilege of dying valiantly, with their faces to the foe.

As at Caracas, so in Bogotá, there were forced war contributions and confiscations and finally a permanent commission of sequestration.

Later, in Popayán and other cities, the same wholesale executions, contributions, confiscations and sequestrations

BOLÍVAR

occurred, until Venezuela and New Granada were completely reconquered and the desolation of the grave, with extreme penury and mourning, everywhere prevailed. And the Spanish flag waved over the land.

“Providence,” said Bolívar, “has decreed the ruin of these unfortunate regions and sent Morillo and his devastating army.”

Colombia had ceased to exist.

And where was the Liberator during this reign of carnage and sorrow? Expelled by his former friends both from Venezuela and New Granada, he took refuge in the British island of Jamaica. Here he was cordially received by the Governor, the Duke of Manchester who, referring to his brilliant mind supported by a body so delicate and slender, said: “The flame has consumed the oil.” Bolívar was especially thin and almost infirm after his painful experience at Cartagena. Nevertheless he labored unceasingly with his many friends as well as with the British authorities, to obtain resources to defray the expense of an expedition to Venezuela, arguing that the absence of Morillo in New Granada and the probability of his march south to Quito and Lima, made the moment particularly favorable. As, however, he found the difficulties well nigh insuperable, he employed his ever active mind in writing various expositions of the War of Independence, its causes, progress and object, some of which are among the most important papers emanating from his fertile genius and prolific pen. Even at this early stage he declared himself emphatically opposed to the establishment of monarchies in the New World and of the federal system in republics. He likewise predicted the construction of an interoceanic canal in Central America, which favored region he thought might one day become a great empire and the seat of the capital of the earth, such as Constantine designed to make of Byzantium. Venezuela and New Granada he united to form the Colombia of his dreams and aspirations which were, indeed, realized during his life but ended with his death. To this republic he assigned an

elective president or executive power with a life tenure but not hereditary, which was ever a peculiar political fancy of Bolívar's and one that his enemies, not without some show of reason, declared was designed to fit himself. Chile, he thought destined to be the most permanent and stable among the Spanish-American republics, which has, indeed, proved to be the case; but the intestinal feuds of Buenos Aires (since Argentina) portended for him an oligarchy or monarchy, a fate that has befallen instead, more than any other of these nations, his beloved Venezuela. Because of her slaves and gold or silver, both of which he rightly thought corrupting influences, he was less sanguine as to the future of Peru. Finally, although he dreamed of a great consolidated union of the Spanish-American states with a congress at Panamá, the very vastness of the project, the diversity of climate and of interests, the enormous distances to be overcome and the lack of ways of communication, made him plainly doubtful of its feasibility. It was a splendid dream—no more; yet one to which he returned again and again, during his remarkable career.

But Bolívar's apparently frail body was no less active than his brilliant mind, and he could not long content himself in the physical inaction of dictating. While he obtained no tangible assistance from the British authorities, by pledging his personal credit he succeeded in forming a nucleus of funds for his contemplated expedition and he interested Louis Brion, a rich Hollander from Curaçoa, who generously devoted his entire fortune and many years of his life to the cause of independence, to which he had already contributed such valuable services that he was known as "the beloved son of Cartagena." In this instance his specific gift comprised 3,500 muskets with a proper allowance of ammunition, and his fleet of trading ships, the whole of a value exceeding one hundred thousand dollars. It is a sad commentary upon the gratitude of republics so often inveighed against, that years after the expulsion of the Spaniards and the establishment of independence, Brion died in poverty

BOLÍVAR

in his native island of Curaçoa, almost in sight of the coast of Venezuela.

While residing in Kingston, a horrible attempt to assassinate the Liberator was made at the instance of the Spanish governor of Caracas, one Salvador Moxó, who sent two of his hired emissaries to Jamaica, for this purpose. They succeeded in corrupting the negro servant of General Bolívar, called Pío, whom he had freed, by promising him two thousand *pesos* (about \$1,600) if he would kill his master. Happily for the Liberator and for South America, a tropical storm prevented Bolívar's return to his lodgings. His hammock was occupied, however, by one of his officers, Félix Amestoy; and the negro, who entered late and in the darkness did not recognize the occupant, killed him with two thrusts of a knife, the first cutting his throat, the second piercing his heart.

The assassin was executed for his crime on the 23rd of December, in the public square of Kingston and his head was exposed upon a pole in Spring Path.

This is said to have been the third attempt upon the life of the Liberator.

Torrente, in relating this incident, has the effrontery and callousness to add: "Bolívar should have perished there!"

CHAPTER VII

1816

Bolívar quits Jamaica for Haiti — Arrives at Port-au-Prince — Is cordially received by President Pétion — Forms expeditions against mainland — Arrival of Montilla and Bermúdez — Rivalries — Bolívar elected Commander-in-chief — Expedition sails — Arrival at island of Margarita — Bolívar elected Supreme Chief of Republic — Announces end of *war to the death* — Arrives at Carúpano — Ocumare — Royalist success — Dispersion of fleet to Bonaire — Arrival of Brion — Bolívar sails for Choróní — Returns to Bonaire — Arrives at Güira — Coldly received by Mariño — Attacked by Bermúdez — Bolívar repudiated, returns to Port-au-Prince — Second expedition — Bolívar again arrives at island of Margarita — Proclamations.

WHEN the Liberator heard of the horrors of the siege of Cartagena, against the advice of his friends, who reminded him of the enmity of Montilla and Castillo and of the deception and cynicism of Gual, he determined to go to their assistance, “not,” he said, “to command, but to fight, for inaction is unendurable to me when I know that my brothers are dying for the glory and independence of Colombia.”

Learning that Brion, then the owner and captain of a corvette of 28 guns, the *Dardo*, was about to leave Les Cayes, Haiti, with provisions and munitions of war for Cartagena, he resolved to join him and, without waiting for his companions, embarked in the gunboat *Popa*. *En route* from Kingston to Les Cayes, he encountered the New Granadan corsair *Republicano*, from whose captain he learned of the capture and occupation of Cartagena by Morillo. Arriving at Les Cayes, he proceeded to Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti, where he was cordially received by President Alexander Pétion, for whom he had brought letters from Robert Southland, a rich English merchant of Les Cayes, who had proved a generous and devoted friend to Bolívar in this hour of penury and disappointment. Pétion gave the Liberator material aid; but in order not to offend Spain, still the possessor

BOLÍVAR

of the adjacent territory of San Domingo, it was arranged that Bolívar should draw all his drafts upon Southerland who, on his own account, contributed largely to the expenses of the expedition. To Brion, Southerland and Pétion, the Liberator was indebted for everything.

On the 6th of January, many refugees from Cartagena arrived at Les Cayes and were granted protection and provisions by the noble and generous Pétion. Among them were some patriot officers, including Montilla and Bermúdez. The former, although a valiant soldier, had been a secret rival and open enemy of the Liberator, since the disastrous day of La Puerta. Both generals desired to accompany the expedition, but they refused to serve under Bolívar and even themselves aspired to the supreme command, for which purpose they enlisted many friends in their support. Thus at every step the Liberator was confronted by the basest passions. Envy, jealousy, treachery — these ignoble qualities beset his path throughout the War of Independence, which they unnecessarily prolonged many years and made doubly expensive in treasure and lives. Montilla and Bermúdez had done little or nothing to further the expedition, which was chiefly the result of the efforts of Bolívar, assisted by his friends; but they endeavored to profit by his unexampled activity and to depose him. Montilla, who was rich, vain but valiant and impetuous, challenged the Liberator to fight a duel, but the latter had the good sense to refuse to meet him. Upon this, Bermúdez characterized Bolívar as a coward and an incapable, in which absurd accusation he was supported by Aury, the foreigner who commanded the little fleet that brought the refugees, and secretly by Ducoudray-Holstein, ever an enemy of the Liberator. The latter called a meeting of the principal officers at which the matter was amicably discussed. Brion immediately proposed General Bolívar as chief of the expedition and was seconded by Durán, Zea and Marimón, all Granadans. Aury and Bermúdez opposed the resolution and suggested instead that a Junta or Commission of three or five members should exercise the command—an unheard-of prop-

osition coming from soldiers. The question was then put to a vote and Bolívar was unanimously elected Commander-in-chief, Aury absenting himself while Montilla and Bermúdez abstained from voting. Mariño was appointed Major-General of the army of Invasion; Zea, Intendant-General, and Brion, Admiral of the Republic.

The expedition comprised half a dozen small vessels commanded by Brion, one hundred and fifty officers and fewer than sixty soldiers, with whose assistance it was expected to recruit more troops on the mainland. One to ninety was the proportion of Patriots to Royalists, but arms and ammunition for 6,000 men, with some in reserve, were carried.

Before the expedition could sail, however, Aury attempted to embargo one of the vessels in payment of services rendered New Granada and with Montilla and Bermúdez proposed a rival expedition to Mexico, the immediate purpose being to cause desertions from the followers of Bolívar. In this crisis the Liberator appealed to President Pétion, who promptly settled the matter by declaring that no Mexican expedition would be permitted to leave Haitian ports, whereupon Aury and Montilla sailed for the United States. Bermúdez, with three followers, then attempted to join the expedition to Venezuela, but Bolívar would not receive him.

The little fleet sailed on the 20th of March, but previous to his departure the Liberator bade farewell to his generous protector and benefactor, President Pétion, whose only request was that the slaves should be freed. "How can you found a republic with slavery!" he exclaimed. Bolívar, who had already emancipated his own slaves, promised to accede to this reasonable request, but, as a matter of fact, it was not until many years later, under President Monagas, that slavery was entirely abolished in Venezuela.

The following well-known officers accompanied the Liberator: Mariño, Brion, Piar, the Scotchman MacGregor, Briceño Méndez, Zea, Soublette and Ducoudray-Holstein as a member of the general staff, which he soon left, however.

Bolívar named the island of Margarita as the destination

BOLÍVAR

of the expedition. Since the arrival of Morillo, this island, the inhabitants of which were noted for their patriotism and love of liberty, had remained in the hands of the Spaniards; but Arismendi, its former republican governor, was making a desperate effort to regain possession. His wife had given birth in prison to a child — “to a monster,” the royalist general, Pardo, reported; and he proposed to Captain-General Moxó in Caracas, to behead it. In the same official communication he asked if he should not execute all the patriot women and children on the island! Although his only arms were lances and tools or agricultural implements, Arismendi had met with one or two successes. It was to aid him, as well as to secure a base for operations against the mainland, that Bolívar made Margarita his first objective. In approaching the island he overhauled a Spanish merchantman and boarded and captured the brigantine *Intrépide* and schooner *Rita*, that formed a part of the Spanish blockading squadron, the remaining vessels of which set sail for Cumaná.

On the 3rd of May Bolívar's little fleet arrived at the port of Juan Griego, whereupon the Royalists abandoned the capital, Asunción, and the castle of Santa Rosa, which were immediately occupied by Arismendi, to whom arms and ammunition were now supplied. Bolívar and his companions were soon ashore and on the 7th of May he convened an assembly of the principal residents and officers for the purpose of establishing a central government in the very beginning of this, the third period of the Republic. “It is necessary,” he said, “to confide the supreme command to the one who most merits the confidence of the assembly. Far from pretending that the election should favor me, I fear such result, not because of the gravity of the charge but because it may arouse jealousies that would be fatal to the cause of the liberty of the country. I will serve with the same zeal whether commanding or obeying.”

The discussion, however, was brief, for Bolívar was unanimously chosen *Supreme Chief of the Republic* and Mariño the second in command.

Upon the following day the Liberator published a proclamation in which he announced the third period of the Republic and authorized the election of deputies to a congress which should have the same powers as that of the first epoch. At the same time he declared the cessation of the *war to the death*, provided the Spaniards would likewise cease to wage it.

The reply of Captain-General Moxó was a proclamation offering a reward of 10,000 *pesos* (about \$8,000) for the head of the rebel Simón Bolívar.

Leaving Arismendi, now supplied with munitions of war, to defend the island of Margarita, Bolívar sailed for Carúpano, where he arrived on the 1st of June, capturing two Spanish vessels, armed for war, which he found at anchor in the harbor. After a short resistance, the garrison retired to Casani, abandoning its artillery. Mariño was immediately sent by sea against Güiría, while Piar marched upon Maturín, with the few soldiers belonging to the expedition or recruited in the neighborhood. Meanwhile the Liberator established a military school for the instruction of officers, appointing as its commandant, Colonel Schmidt, a soldier of ability and experience, who had served in Spain, against the French, in the war with Napoleon.

A popular assembly which convened in Carúpano on the 28th of June, recognized Bolívar as Supreme Chief of the Republic and about the same time, adhesions were received from Monagas, Rojas, Cedeño and other officers who, during all these months of reaction and reconquest, had continued, with a few men, to hold their own in the interior.

Mariño and Piar were both successful, but the latter immediately began to foment the pretensions of the former, his immediate chief, who excused himself by attributing everything to the disobedience or latent enmity of Piar.

These temporary successes, however, were quickly followed by reverses. Colonel Alcántara, who commanded the advance of the Patriots, was attacked and overwhelmed. Zaraza, Rojas and Monagas, who had assembled their small forces at Punche, to aid Bolívar, were also defeated. Believing

the situation critical in the east, the Liberator quickly and probably unwisely determined to re-embark and sail for the west. His former successes had all occurred in the west and he was doubtless influenced to this determination by the desire to operate near the capital, his own home.

The expedition sailed on the 1st of July, leaving at Carúpano the foreigner Ducoudray-Holstein, henceforth an open and active enemy of the Liberator, who dismissed him from the service for disloyalty.

On the 6th of July the expedition, after touching at Borburata, near Puerto Cabello, arrived at Ocumare. It now comprised fifteen vessels and about 800 men. Mariño and Piar had been left in the east.

Again Bolívar published a proclamation in which he announced the cessation of *war to the death* and that he, upon his part, would pardon all who surrendered, even if they were Spaniards. To the Venezuelans, he granted a general amnesty and remembering his promise to President Pétion, he said: "That unfortunate portion of our brothers that has groaned under the misery of slavery, is free. Nature, justice and public policy, alike demand the emancipation of the slaves. Henceforth there will be in Venezuela but a single class: *all shall be citizens.*"

The Liberator sent Soublotte (an officer who, during many subsequent years, served him like another Berthier, as Chief of Staff) to take possession of the defile of Cabrera, an important strategical point for the campaign he contemplated making; and Colonel Piñango he sent to Choróní, to recruit men, who then and until recently, in many parts of Central and South America, were forcibly conscripted and sometimes lassoed like cattle, if they did not volunteer.

Bolívar, meanwhile, disembarked the park and the printing press, without which latter nobody makes war in Latin-America, for there are always proclamations to be published. Admiral Brion, who desired to do some cruising, was given a diplomatic mission near the United States, which, however, there is no record of his having filled.

Unfortunately, the same day that Bolívar disembarked at Ocumare, Morales arrived at Valencia from Ocaña in New Granada, under orders from Morillo. This fact disconcerted the Liberator's plans not a little, because the union of the forces of Morales with those at Valencia and with reinforcements that marched from Caracas, gave the Royalists greatly superior numbers. Soublette, in consequence, was compelled to retire to the heights near Ocumare. Here Bolívar, himself, reinforced him with 150 men and upon the following day a combat ensued in which the Royalists were successful, the Patriots losing 200 killed and wounded and about a thousand muskets. The little army retreated in confusion to Ocumare. Bolívar detached MacGregor, with the few troops remaining at the port, to Choróní, whither he intended to proceed by sea, after re-embarking the park; but in the very midst of this operation, which was in progress during the night, a false alarm of the approach of the Spaniards was given by his aide-de-camp Alzuru, whom he had left in the town to communicate with Soublette. Alzuru, treacherously it is said, reported that Soublette had retired upon Choróní. Bolívar hastily embarked and such was the precipitation of some of his officers, that they threw themselves into the sea in order to regain the ships by swimming. The cables were cut and the little squadron set sail leaving the principal part of the park on shore.

When Soublette learned of the disorder at Ocumare, he sent an officer to correct Alzuru's false report, but it was too late. At daybreak Bolívar ordered the squadron to sail for Choróní, where he hoped to communicate with MacGregor and Soublette. The flagship bearing the Liberator took the proper direction but the remaining vessels lagged behind and towards evening mutinously sailed for Bonaire. There was nothing to do but follow them. The next morning, the 17th of July, they entered the port, where the captains, after the manner of Bianchi and in the absence of Admiral Brion, claimed for service performed not only their ships, but the cargoes, comprising principally munitions of war and stores.

BOLÍVAR

It seemed, indeed, a piratical enterprise rather than a liberating expedition. Bolívar was powerless but happily, at this juncture, Brion sailed into port.

Torrente writes that Brion heaped reproaches and insults upon Bolívar; that he publicly struck him and would have proceeded even to throw him into the sea, had not their friends restrained his arm and calmed his just wrath, aroused by the sight of the great expenditure he had made with so little profit. Larrazábal says: "This is pure invention upon the part of the unfortunate Torrente;" and as no other historian records anything of the kind, he is probably correct. Certain it is that the Admiral succeeded in arranging matters and that when Bolívar sailed for Choroní, on the 19th of July, Brion made him the proper military honors and accompanied him three miles out to sea.

Bolívar found Choroní in possession of the Spaniards and touched at Chuao to make inquiries for MacGregor and Soubllette. Here he found that the patriot forces under these two officers, accompanied by Anzoátegui, Salom, Briceño and other chiefs, had united and together had entered the valley of Aragua, as Bolívar himself had planned to do, with the intention of joining Zaraza, Monagas and other Republicans, who were still fighting in the East. It was known later that, under the skilful and bold command of MacGregor, and notwithstanding innumerable combats with an enemy that outnumbered them at every point, they had been able to carry out their hazardous plan with entire success. At Quebrada Honda and Alacrán they defeated greatly superior forces and at last, on the 10th of August, joined Monagas at San Diego de Cabrutica, having marched nearly 500 miles through a region occupied by the Spaniards. This was one of the most famous marches of the entire war.

The Liberator now returned to Bonaire, where he found Bermúdez, whom he had left in Haiti. After the departure of the expedition, Bermúdez had prevailed upon President Pétion to aid him to follow it to the island of Margarita; but Arismendi, by Bolívar's instructions, refused to let him land.

He then started for Carúpano, upon Bolívar's trail, with the single thought of joining the Patriots; but learning *en route* of the evacuation of that port, he followed the expedition to Ocumare, where he sent the Liberator a communication in which he vowed fidelity to him and implored permission to join him, which request, however, Bolívar refused to grant. At Bonaire the Liberator declined to see him and set sail without him for Güiría. Nearly a month elapsed before the arrival of Bolívar at Güiría, on the 16th of August. Two hours earlier Bermúdez had landed from a small schooner and immediately attempted to persuade Mariño, whom he found there, to refuse to recognize the Liberator, whom he knew to be *en route*. And in this he was successful. Mariño received the Liberator coldly, almost rudely, and under various pretexts interposed obstacles to the plan of the latter to march with troops to join Piar, at Maturín, for the purpose of invading Guayana.

On the 22nd of August a mutiny occurred. "Down with Bolívar!" . . . "Long live Mariño and Bermúdez!" were the rallying cries of the mutineers. For the hundredth time the Liberator was the object of a conspiracy which, big or little, seemed to await him at every turn. A group of subalterns from Mariño's army attempted to assassinate him, but with drawn sword in hand he restrained them by his courage and serenity. Bermúdez, beside himself with rage, attacked the Liberator and would have cut him down, had he not been prevented by Colonels Isava and Marcano. Only the energy and moral strength of the Liberator enabled him to embark unharmed. Mariño, who had accompanied him from Cartagena to Les Cayes and had recognized his authority throughout, accepting the second place under his command, now turned against him at the first reverse. Young, rich, handsome and of a distinguished family; capable, brave and patriotic, yet vain and ambitious, Mariño had rendered and was yet to give valuable service to the Republic: but at Güiría, by all the laws of war, he merited and should have

BOLÍVAR

received the punishment that Piar justly suffered at Angostura, for a similar offense, the following year.

Once more the Liberator embarked upon the brigantine *Indio Libre*, the flag-ship of his little squadron, and again expelled from his native land by the envy, rivalry and treachery of his own people, his whilom friends and companions-in-arms, he sadly ordered the sails set for the hospitable shores of Haiti.

Mariño and Bermúdez were named first and second chiefs respectively of the patriot army by the conspirators, and prepared to fight the Spaniards with their accustomed vigor and bravery; but the news of the occurrences at Güiria were badly received by Anzoátegui, Cedeño, Zaraza, Rojas and the remaining republican chiefs, especially by MacGregor, all of whom were friends of the Liberator and firmly convinced that only with the aid of his genius could independence be achieved.

It is only fair to observe, however, that upon this expedition Bolívar did not act with his usual prevision and sagacity, qualities, by the way, not always accorded him, even by his friends. At any rate, the results were almost as barren as those accomplished by Miranda in 1806.

On the 9th of October, the Liberator found himself once more at Port-au-Prince. After so many disheartening attempts, after so many failures, due principally, not to the superior valor or constancy of the enemy, but to the envy and treachery of his so-called friends, he might well have left both Venezuela and New Granada to their fate. But no! An irresistible influence impelled him, again and again, to seek their liberation. Nothing daunted, nothing discouraged him. He determined upon another expedition.

Pétion had just been acclaimed by his countrymen President for life and Bolívar wrote him a letter of congratulation. As before, Pétion received him with great cordiality and again proved himself a true friend of liberty, by giving him aid of every description for the equipment of another expedition, in which he was seconded as before, by the



STATUE OF BOLÍVAR, PLAZA OF BOLÍVAR, CARACAS

A replica is in Lima, Peru, By Tadolini

Photo, Luis F. Toro

Englishman Southerland. The preservation of the good relations existing between Haiti and Spain were, however, insisted upon by Pétion, and this entailed certain formalities which delayed, but did not prevent, progress. Another obstacle was the organization at the same time, of an expedition to Mexico under the celebrated Mina, who, failing to establish in Spain the liberal principles he professed, resolved to transfer his activities to the New World. He was followed by Marshal Grouchy and other prominent French officers, and proposed to Bolívar to join forces with him, promising that after the emancipation of Mexico they would proceed to perform jointly the same service for Venezuela. Montilla and Aury had already joined him. However, nothing could deter the Liberator or turn him from the inspiration of his life—the independence of his own country; but the superior resources of the rival expedition dwarfed, and somewhat hindered, the departure of his own. By November, nevertheless, everything was ready.

During the absence of Bolívar, the Patriots had obtained a few successes; but presently dissensions broke out among the several chiefs, every one of whom wanted supreme, or at least independent, command. MacGregor refused to serve under Piar and left Venezuela with the intention never to return; while Piar, because of jealousy, dismissed both Monagas and Colonel Parejo from his division. Mariño lamented these rivalries, which so reduced his army that he was compelled to raise the siege of Cumaná and retire to Carúpano. It was manifest that a centre of activity and of intelligence — in short, *unity of command*, was what was lacking. Arismendi was the first to recognize the necessity for Bolívar's presence and as early as the 22nd of September, he sent him a special messenger, offering his cordial and loyal support and begging the Liberator to return and put an end to the anarchy which paralyzed the efforts of the Patriots. Five days later the Chiefs of the centre addressed a similar letter to Bolívar, which Zea was commissioned to deliver in person.

When the commissioners from Arismendi and the Central

BOLÍVAR

Army arrived at Port-au-Prince, Brion had just anchored off the city with the same object. All of them sought the Liberator, who was with President Pétion, to whom Zea said: "There still survives a remnant of good patriots; the country lives in hope; but the superior man capable of converting this hope into a reality is lacking. Imbued with this idea, the cities and the army have turned their eyes upon General Bolívar, as the *first head of the war.*"

Self-sacrifice and love of country were ever the chief attributes of the Liberator. He pardoned his enemies with the same tirelessness with which he raised armies and fought battles — a remarkable trait in a man of his extreme exaltation of spirit. At this time Bolívar wrote to Doctor Pedro Gual, who had aided Castillo against him in Cartagena but was now in Philadelphia, making no reference to their past differences but urging him to undertake a propaganda in the United States in favor of Spanish-American independence. He likewise wrote to the patriot priest, Cortés Madariaga, who, it will be remembered, was sent in irons to Spain by Monteverde, with Doctor Roscio, Ayala and others. Imprisoned upon the island of Ceuta, they escaped to Gibraltar in 1814 but were surrendered by General Campbell to the Spanish authorities. The Prince Regent, however, relieved General Campbell as governor and succeeded in having Fernando VII return the four fugitives who, in the beginning of 1816, arrived in Jamaica. The Liberator invited them to Les Cayes, to take part, as civilians, in the expedition then forming. He said: "In vain our arms destroy the tyrants, if we do not establish a political system capable of repairing the ravages of the revolution. The military order is one of force, and force is not government. We need, therefore, our precursors who, escaped miraculously from the shipwreck of the revolution, may conduct us through the breakers to a harbor of salvation." This letter is dated the 26th of November, but the Liberator was not able to sail from Jacmel until the 21st of December and he arrived safely at Juan Griego, in the island of Margarita, on the 28th of the same month. He immediately

published a proclamation in which he said: "Venezuelans! Your cities, your generals, your armies, through the organ of General Arismendi, called me. Here I am. I come at the head of a fourth expedition, with the brave Admiral Brion — to serve you, not to command you."

Recognizing the necessity for a civil government he added:

Venezuelans! You confided in me the authority of government during the last two periods of the Republic. You obliged me to ascend the tribune and to fight in the field. I could not fill, at the same time, such different offices. The country has suffered both in administration and in war. When conqueror, I could not gather the fruits of victory because attending to the cares of government. Justice, politics, industry: all have suffered when I was occupied with your defense. Thus an imperious necessity demands of you the immediate installation of the Congress, which must examine into my conduct of affairs, admit the abdication of the authority I exercise and form the political constitution that should govern you.

Venezuelans! Appoint your deputies to the Congress. The island of Margarita is wholly free: in it your assemblies will be respected and defended by a people of heroes in virtue, valor and patriotism. Meet upon this sacred soil, open your sessions and organize as you see fit. The first act shall record the acceptance of my resignation.

Simón Bolívar.

Headquarters of North Margarita,
December 28th, 1816.

The ambitious views, the wish to rule supreme and alone, so often attributed to the Liberator, might find an answer in this wise and patriotic document (much of which is omitted

here), were it not for the frequency of his offers of resignation. And yet, this fact alone, should not make us doubt his sincerity in the most of these manifestations.

Venezuela had suffered intensely during the period of reaction and reconquest. There was scarcely a family that was not in mourning. Monteverde, Morales, Moxó, Morillo — these names will ever be recalled with opprobrium in the New World. Morillo, in his proclamation of the 16th of November 1816, while counseling submission to the crown, boldly announced: “Otherwise, once unsheathed the sword, the order shall be given to burn cities, to behead their inhabitants, to destroy the country, to respect neither sex nor age and, in short, to substitute for the peaceful husbandman and his mild customs, a ferocious warrior, the instrument of the vengeance of an angry king.” Larrazábal adds: “It seems a lie that this could have been written in the nineteenth century; and indeed, in this age, it could only have emanated from a Spanish general.” And yet Morillo preceded by one hundred years, Von Tirpitz, Von Hindenburg and the savage Huns of the Twentieth Century, not to speak of the infamous Lenine and Trotzky!

“I am not amazed at the omnipotence of God,” exclaimed a French bishop in the time of the French revolution, “but at his patience!”

CHAPTER VIII

1817

The Liberator lands at Barcelona — Welcomed by Arismendi — Defeated at Clarines — His impatience — Joined by Mariño — Meeting of Bolívar and Bermúdez — March to the Orinoco — Defection of Mariño — Fall of Barcelona — Atrocities by Spaniards — Bermúdez and Valdés join Bolívar — Concentration with Piar — Massacre of monks at Caroní missions — Piar's victory at San Félix — Cortés Madariaga's farcical programme — *Congresito* — Admiral Brion ascends the Orinoco — Narrow escape of Bolívar — Spaniards evacuate Angostura — Piar relieved from command — Arrested at Aragua de Cumaná — Court-martialed and shot — Proclamation — Bolívar decrees imprisonment of Mariño — Bermúdez successfully intercedes — Bolívar creates Council of State — Makes successful overtures to Páez — Goes to Zaraza's support — Defeat at Hogaza — Bolívar returns to Angostura — Ascends the Orinoco to join Páez.

THE 1st of January, 1817, will ever be memorable in the annals of the War of Independence because, upon that day, the Liberator put foot upon the American Continent, never again to leave it.

Bolívar found Margarita free, thanks to the influence and efforts of Arismendi who, after liberating his native island, passed over to the mainland with 400 men and took post at Barcelona, which fact decided the Liberator to begin operations with the latter city as a base. Here, indeed, he found and was welcomed by Arismendi.

The presence of the Liberator reanimated the patriot chiefs, and even Mariño, who had been false so often and last at Güiría, now hastened to offer him his support and obedience. But it was only for a time, as will be seen. Whether disloyalty is racial or not, certain it is that it appeared at every turn throughout this war; and the lesser passions of rivalry and jealousy were ever present. But Bolívar never despaired again. Already and in spite of the almost insurmountable difficulties that confronted him, barely disembarked at Barcelona and before his own country was free, he was dreaming prophetically of the emancipation of New

Granada, Quito and Peru. Under date of the 2nd of January, 1817, he wrote: "Urdaneta has already joined forces with Zaraza. When these troops are supplied with the arms they lack and are united with our own, they will form a mass of more than 10,000 men, with whom nothing can prevent our marching to Santa Fe (Bogotá) and to Peru and liberating those provinces from the yoke of the tyrants that oppress them."

And yet the general who wrote these words was at the moment without an army! Monagas and Zaraza were operating upon different objectives; Piar and Cedeño were in Guayana; Mariño was at Cumaná. The superhuman efforts of General Freitas could only assemble 300 men; and uniting these to Arismendi's 400, the Liberator began his immortal campaign. It was his intention to occupy the province of Caracas, to take the capital and to assemble a congress there, for the moral effect, if no other. But in his first attempt, he was unsuccessful. A detachment of 550 Royalists was intrenched upon the Unare, in front of Clarines. These Bolívar attacked, but he was defeated and was forced to return to Barcelona with few soldiers and the loss of a considerable number of arms and of much ammunition. Misfortune met the Liberator at every step, but he was always full of enthusiasm. He said: "The art of conquering is learned through defeats." As a matter of fact, he was too impatient; and counting upon the love of liberty which animated his own being, but was not generally felt in the country at large, even at this time, he sometimes attempted impracticable things or at least did not make the necessary preparation. For the moment he was compelled to recruit and organize another force, and meanwhile Captain-General Moxó assembled 4,000 men in Orituco under General Real, with Morales in command of the infantry.

With only 600 men, Bolívar decided to await this force in the monastery of the Franciscan monks in Barcelona, which he fortified and victualled for this purpose; but at the same time he sent Soublette to Mariño with a request,

rather than an order, for reinforcements. Mariño received Soublette cordially and proposed to his officers to go to Bolívar's assistance. Only Bermúdez, who could not forget his enmity to the Liberator, resisted; but Mariño, neither for the first nor the last time, showed himself to be the generous and noble patriot it is believed he always was at heart, and not only silenced Bermúdez but instantly made his preparations for departure. On the 20th of January he left with 1,200 men, part of the force going by sea and the remainder by land. Colonel Antonio José Sucre, who later became famous as the victor of Ayacucho, the final battle of the South American War of Independence, remained behind in command of Cumaná.

Having now determined to forget past animosities, Bermúdez, one of the boldest and best of the Venezuelan officers, marched with all dispatch to Pozuelos, the point of reunion of Mariño's forces, whence, with his habitual audacity, he sent word to Real, who was already attacking Bolívar in his improvised fort, to retire, as he, Bermúdez, had arrived. And Real did retire to Juncal and later to Clarines, where he suffered from a scarcity of provisions and numerous desertions. Meanwhile Mariño's relieving force arrived at Barcelona. Bermúdez was the first to encounter Bolívar, who greeted him affectionately, saying gratefully if somewhat grandiloquently: "I embrace the liberator of the Liberator;" to which Bermúdez, who was much affected for some seconds, at last replied: "Long live free America!"

This was the beginning of an earnest and abiding friendship between these two distinguished soldiers, who hitherto had been enemies.

Although reinforced, Bolívar's command was greatly inferior in numbers to Real's and therefore he awaited the latter's attack in Barcelona; but alleging the absence of artillery which, indeed, both armies lacked, the royalist general remained inactive. In this manner, February and a part of March were passed. Grown more cautious by his

BOLÍVAR

repeated reverses and believing himself too weak to take the offensive, Bolívar conceived the plan of sending the *impedimenta* to the island of Margarita and marching across the country, joining forces with Piar in Guayana. His object was concentration. To their abandonment, however, the inhabitants of Barcelona and especially the Governor of the Province, Francisco Esteban Ribas, made strenuous objection, which the Liberator was constrained to heed in part, although it was against his wishes and soldierly instincts to detach so small a force. Accordingly he left 400 men at Barcelona under the command of General Freites, while Mariño with the remainder, some 2,000 in number, was to take the direction of Guayana. Bolívar, himself, accompanied by fifteen officers and a few orderlies, set out on the 25th of March and Mariño followed three hours later. Although the country was full of guerrillas, with whom there were several encounters, the very audacity of the march served to protect the Liberator and his small escort, and in due season he reached the Orinoco. Ascending the river in a small boat, he found General Piar in the vicinity of Angostura, which city he was besieging. Bolívar approved Piar's dispositions and returned to El Chaparro on the 7th of April, firmly resolved to bring the park from Barcelona to Guayana and to concentrate the forces of Piar, Mariño and Freites. His plan was to take Angostura by assault. In Palmita, near El Chaparro, Bolívar encountered the columns of Bermúdez and Valdés, and learned from these generals of the fall of Barcelona and the new defection of Mariño, who had deliberately disobeyed his orders and marched to Cariaco. Aldama had succeeded Real in command of the Royalists and had brought with him some pieces of artillery, which were promptly trained upon the improvised fortifications at Barcelona, in which Freites with an increased force and many of the old men, women and children, had taken refuge. Although the Patriots made a staunch defence, their citadel was carried by the enemy,

which gave no quarter but beheaded 700 prisoners and some 300 of the inhabitants, of all ages and both sexes. Even the sick and wounded in the hospital did not escape, but were decapitated in their cots. Ribas and Freites, the latter sick and wounded, were sent to Caracas and there hanged by Moxó. A young Englishman, Chamberlain by name, serving with the Patriots, blew out his brains rather than surrender to such barbarians. His wife, a native Venezuelan, Eulalia Buroz by name, survived him and was claimed by a Spanish officer as his especial prize. When he attempted to caress her, she promptly shot him and was herself immediately cut to pieces by the infuriated soldiery. In the principal church of the city, where many women had taken refuge, nameless crimes were committed, not only upon the persons of the living, but upon the bodies of the dead. Aldama, in short, proved a worthy successor to Boves, Morales, Rosete and Morillo.

During the War of Independence, these horrors were constantly committed because, in part, of the too prevalent habit of making small detachments. There should have been more concentration. However, the territory was too immense to be defended, all of it, at the same time. Some excuse is found also in the necessity of separating in order to live off of the country. Likewise the distances were too great and there were no well-defined roads or lines of communication. For these reasons and because of the lack of co-operation due to internal rivalries and dissensions, it was impracticable to assemble an army of respectable size or to fight, except occasionally, what may be properly called, a battle. Bolívar, at last, appears to have been sensible of these defects and was endeavoring, as has been seen, to concentrate the patriot forces in Guayana. He objected to detaching Freites at Barcelona and feared, if he did not foresee, the terrible result.

As for Mariño, since he did not obey the orders of the Liberator, why did he not go to the relief of the Patriots at Barcelona, since it was only a few days distant? Freites

sent him messenger after messenger, imploring assistance. The truth is, no sooner was the Liberator out of sight than Mariño aspired again to independent command in the east and proposed to return to Cumaná, at the head of the troops he had brought thence. To this plan, which was in direct violation of Bolívar's instructions, Soublette, Arismendi, Valdés and now Bermúdez, all of whom were loyal to the Liberator, interposed objections; but the principle of insubordination introduced by the commanding general, diffused itself throughout the army and anarchy reigned instead of discipline. When at last Mariño consented to march to the relief of the Patriots besieged at Barcelona, it was too late. The Spanish flag already waved over the captured and devastated city. Mariño persisted in his disobedience and, strange to say, was accompanied by Urdaneta, who had recently joined him and until now had been one of the Liberator's most loyal supporters. Arismendi, Valdés and Bermúdez, however, at last broke with Mariño and followed Bolívar. It was their troops that he had encountered at Palmita, near El Chaparro, when he returned from his interview with Piar at Angostura.

General Santiago Mariño was a gallant and successful soldier and his memory is venerated in Venezuela; but first and last, his vacillating conduct delayed the independence of his country many years and caused it untold suffering and the needless sacrifice of many lives and of much treasure. He had a right to be ambitious and even to aspire to independent command, but not to be constantly backing and filling. When with the Liberator, he was his devoted adherent; but no sooner was Bolívar's back turned, than he conspired against him. Patriotic and popular, as he undoubtedly was, posterity will rightly judge him to have been one of the least worthy of Venezuela's defenders. No cause could succeed with such fickle supporters; no general-in-chief could rely upon such inconstant lieutenants. "How long," exclaimed the Liberator, "will General Mariño torment us with his pretensions to command? Does he not

consider the harm he does the country with this thirst that nothing will quench?"

This desire for independent command may explain in part the frequent and many detachments made by the Liberator. Everybody aspired to such position, forgetting or ignoring the fact that in union there is strength. Someone had to be first and Bolívar, despite his many failures, had a better title to the supreme command than any other chieftain.

The patriot forces encountered at Palmita amounted to a few more than 500 men, with whom, notwithstanding the rainy season, Bolívar marched to the Orinoco, which he crossed in canoes on the 25th and 26th of April. Meanwhile Morillo had returned from New Granada and, after fortifying San Fernando, recruiting his army and sending General Latorre with reinforcements for Angostura, he joined Aldama at El Chaparro. On the 21st of May another Spanish expedition arrived at Cumaná, *en route* for Peru, under General Canterac. The union of Morillo and Canterac, both considered brilliant soldiers in Spain, where they had learned their trade in fighting the armies of Napoleon, was regarded by the Royalists as the sure harbinger of success; yet, as will be seen, Bolívar defeated the one in New Granada and the other in Peru.

As a war measure, Piar had taken possession of the extensive property of the Capuchin monks from Catalonia, who had established valuable missions in the territory of the Caroní, and had assembled the friars in the convent of Caruache. Subsequently they were transferred by order of Soublette, now chief of the General Staff, to Divina Pastora, a small interior village appertaining to the settlement, where the two officers in charge, Colonel Lara and his adjutant, cruelly permitted twenty-two of them to be massacred by the Indians, whom they had attempted to convert but who hated them intensely. Bolívar indirectly and Piar directly, have been censured by various historians, both native and Spanish, for this atrocious act, but it appears that neither of them was justly to blame. The former gave orders to punish its perpetrators, but in the hurry of events and the vicissitudes of

BOLÍVAR

the war, the matter was shamefully neglected. The Liberator deeply regretted the occurrence and was subsequently defended and acquitted of any complicity therein by the Bishop of Popayán, a high dignitary of the Catholic church.

The acquisition of this splendid property, however, was the immediate, if not principal, cause of Piar's decisive victory at San Félix, in which 500 Royalists were killed. Unhappily Piar gave orders to execute the European prisoners, of whom 300 perished, but he spared the Creoles. A large quantity of stores, clothing, equipments, arms, ammunition and money, was captured: enough to equip Piar's little army as it had never been equipped before.

The union of Bolívar's force with Piar's occurred on the 2nd of May, after a journey of no little hardship and difficulty; and the Liberator was solemnly recognized by the officers and men of the united armies as the Supreme Chief of the Republic of Venezuela. With the Orinoco as a base and its dense forests as a refuge in case of disaster, the War of Independence soon assumed proportions in favor of the Patriots, hitherto unknown. Piar's soldierly instincts had led him in the right direction, which Bolívar had the genius to appreciate at their true value and adopt his lieutenant's plans.

Meanwhile an interesting, if farcical, programme was being enacted in Cariaco, whither Mariño and his army had marched. The patriot priest, Cortés Madariaga, who was last heard of in the Antilles after his escape from Ceuta, suddenly appeared in April at Carúpano. Exalted by his personal sufferings into unmerited prominence and notwithstanding the state of war in which he found the country, he published a manifesto proscribing the military authorities as elements of despotism and recommending the formation of a representative government by national election. From Carúpano he proceeded to Cariaco, where he and Mariño soon came to an agreement, since the latter had nothing to fear in a military way from a clerical associate. Even such men as Zea and Brion were seduced and, on the 8th of May, Mariño convened at Cariaco a congress consisting of just ten members,

whom he addressed in a grandiloquent speech, in which he seriously spoke of the newly-arrived priest as being in supreme control of the Republic. Father Cortés Madariaga, who never let another speak for him, also harangued the congress and concluded by proposing the immediate formation of a civil government. To this end Mariño tendered his own resignation as Second Chief of the army, cynically including in such formal act the name of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, "not caring whether the latter approved or disapproved his conduct."

The "*Congresito*" or "Little Congress," as it was facetiously called, accepted the resignation and, believing itself invested with national faculties, appointed to exercise the Executive Power, General Fernando Toro, Colonel Francisco Javier Maiz and General Simón Bolívar; and as substitutes, Zea, Cortés Madariaga and Colonel Diego Vallemilla. As if there were not already enough dissensions, the so-called congress committed the habitual folly of the period in naming a triple head; and as Toro and Bolívar were both absent, they were to be immediately replaced by Zea and Cortés Madariaga. Asunción, upon the island of Margarita, was again chosen as the provisional capital of the Republic. And then, as the enemy was approaching uncomfortably near, the congress adjourned, *sine die*, on the 9th of May. Before dissolving, in order to recompense Mariño for the sacrifice incurred in resigning as second in command, he was appointed "the Superior Chief of Arms"!

And that was the last ever heard of the Little Congress. Nobody paid any attention to it. Mariño endeavored to rally about him the principal officers in the vicinity, but Urdaneta, Sucre and some thirty others of high rank, not only refused to recognize him as *Generalísimo*, but marched with their commands to join Bolívar in Guayana.

The Liberator, with rare tact, made no allusion to this farce but ordered Admiral Brion, with his little squadron, to ascend the Orinoco; and having occasion to write to the refugees in the Antilles about this time, the 16th of May, he

complimented Piar enthusiastically upon his splendid victory at San Félix and added: "General Mariño is at the head of a brilliant army in Cumaná," as if nothing had occurred. This was prudent. The cause of independence could not afford, at this juncture, to lose a single one of its adherents and Mariño had been and was yet to be, both gallant and useful.

About this time Colonel Armario made an important capture of a gunboat and various smaller embarcations, with some twenty-seven cannon. Bolívar more than ever realized that the valley of the Orinoco was the proper theatre of war, and committed himself entirely to this plan.

On the 7th of June the Liberator promulgated at San Félix his celebrated decree upon military processes, forming a set of regulations, the lack of which had been severely felt in the past and that were shortly to be severely tested, although this was probably not anticipated at the time. Here he heard from Brion and learned of Morillo's descent upon the island of Margarita.

The farcical proceedings of Mariño and his adherents were not without effect upon Piar who, while an active, valiant and admirable soldier, was likewise afflicted with the mania for an independent command. Arismendi initiated a movement to install a rival congress in favor of Bolívar but the tact of the latter and of Briceño Méndez, his former secretary and now occupying a similar position with Piar, impeded the realization of such insensate project. "These are follies for our ruin," wrote Bolívar; "and why so many changes? The army obeys me; Monagas, Zaraza and Rojas esteem me and regard me as a miracle of good fortune for the Republic. Presently everybody will believe he has the right to the command-in-chief. Indeed, everybody has the right and the desire, and history teaches us that there has never been an election in the world by soldiers, which has not been decided by arms and at the cost of much blood. Make this clear to Piar; and if it does not suffice, we may expect horrible misfortunes of every kind." (13th of June.)

Happily the activity of the enemy soon gave other employment to the patriot generals than the gratification of their personal rivalries and jealousies.

In the absence of Brion, Bolívar had ordered Arismendi to construct various small embarcations which were directed to join the patriot squadron that soon appeared in the Orinoco. To effect this junction, it was necessary to run the gauntlet of the Spanish flotilla and the Liberator, accompanied by several of his officers, repaired to a point upon the river bank from which they could observe the operation, although it was executed at night. All of the boats succeeded in passing except two, which alarmed the Spaniards, who sent a landing party in pursuit of the Liberator, and he narrowly escaped capture. Larrazábal narrates that upon this occasion Bolívar entertained his companions with a forecast of his invasion of New Granada and southward march through Ecuador and Peru, all of which appeared so extravagant and improbable at the moment, that one of them, Captain Martel, remarked in an aside: "Now we are indeed lost; the Liberator is crazy."

All of Arismendi's boats were unfortunately taken; but Díaz, another native of Margarita, succeeded in boldly rescuing four from the Spaniards and in sinking five others, which was, in part, a compensation for the former disaster. Meanwhile Brion ascended the river as far as Casacoima, whither Bolívar went to meet him. The Liberator commemorated the arrival of the Admiral and squadron, by ordering the construction of a fort, to which he gave the name of Brion. The siege of Angostura was pressed under the command of Bermúdez. The arrival of the patriot vessels, however, was decisive; and on the 17th of June, General de Latorre evacuated the city as well as the forts of old Guayana and retired to the English island of Granada.

Brion brought the details of the descent of Morillo, with his entire army, upon the island of Margarita, which was defended with unexampled valor and success. The reply made to his summons to surrender and obey the orders of the King,

BOLÍVAR

although characteristically grandiloquent, is worthy of preservation. Here it is:

To the Most Excellent General Pablo Morillo:

The Spartans of Colombia have viewed with surprise the unexpected parliamentarian which your Excellency has sent to them.

The Spartans of Colombia are not frightened at the presence of the formidable army that your Excellency commands.

The Spartans of Colombia will fight until they lose their lives; and should your Excellency conquer, you will be master of the ashes and lugubrious vestiges of our constancy and valor. With this, your Excellency's tyrannical ambition may be satisfied but never with dominating the illustrious defenders of the New Sparta.

Francisco Esteban Gómez.

Headquarters at Asunción, 31st of July 1817.¹

The Liberator wrote at this time to the Marquis of Toro in Trinidad: "This province is a capital theatre: very proper for defense and even more so for offense. We are in rear of the enemy from here to Santa Fe and possess an immense region on both banks of the Orinoco, the Apure, the Meta and Arauca. Moreover, we have cattle and horses; and as to-day the struggle is reduced to maintaining the territory and prolonging the campaign, he who best fulfils this advantage will be the victor."

Bolívar had adopted Piar's plan, it is true, but unfortunately he could no longer count upon the support of the hero of San Félix. Piar was a native of the Dutch island of Curaçoa and is said to have had princely blood in his veins. However this may have been, he was dark in color and on this account had acquired great influence with the negroes in the

¹ Morillo, in his report to the King, painted them as "*Giants, fighting like tigers, and facing fire and bayonets with an enthusiasm of which there is no example among the best troops in the world.*"

patriot army. He was, moreover, a brave, intelligent and active soldier. For these reasons, Bolívar especially desired to retain his services. But Piar was consumed by ambition and, after his success at San Félix, could submit less than ever to the authority of the Liberator. The affair at Cariaco, between Mariño and the priest Cortés Madariaga, had further unsettled him. Bolívar, in recompense of his services, promoted him to be a general-in-chief and treated him with great consideration. Piar now visited Bolívar at his headquarters and apparently they parted as friends; but no sooner was he beyond the immediate influence of the Liberator, than he began to plot and conspire against him, endeavoring to seduce his officers. Bolívar wrote to him in a friendly manner, merely letting him know that he was aware of his proceedings. Piar then alleged sickness and urgently requested permission to retire from the army. To this Bolívar objected, because he recognized the value of Piar's services; but seeing that nothing would satisfy his inveterate animosity, on the 30th of June he reluctantly relieved him from command and appointed Bermúdez, whom, with Mariño and Arismendi, Piar had tried to seduce, to replace him.

Piar had requested leave to retire to Trinidad or to his native island, Curaçoa; but no sooner was he free than, instead of seeking the retirement he had alleged he needed so urgently, he went to Upata and began again to plot against the Liberator, especially endeavoring to stir up trouble between the whites and blacks or to initiate a war of races. After the occupation of Angostura by the Patriots, he transferred operations there, going personally to the capital. Again he attempted to enlist Bermúdez and especially the colored officers and soldiers in his plan to disown Bolívar's authority and establish a republic *of free and equal men, whom the latter hated*, after his (Piar's) own ideas.

Bolívar now wrote to him, calling upon him to resume his place in the army, but to this letter Piar made no reply and continued his machinations against the Supreme Chief of the Republic.

BOLÍVAR

Finally Bolívar directed Bermúdez to order Piar to report in person at the headquarters at Casacoima and, in the event of his refusal to obey, to arrest him and send him there a prisoner. Upon learning of this step, Piar escaped to Maturín, where he placed himself in communication with Mariño, continued his plotting and began to secure soldiers with whom to resist capture.

The emergency was extremely grave. Piar was known to be fearless and audacious. He was popular with his troops and especially influential, as has been remarked, with the men of color. Exhausted by the long siege of Angostura, the inconstant populace was ready to welcome any change. Bolívar, on his side, was sure of the best men among the Patriots and as for the rest, he moved promptly but with great tact and circumspection, showing himself completely master of the situation.

His first step was to place under Urdaneta's orders in old Guayana, the division of the army named for Piar, with instructions to punish severely all infractions of discipline. He then convened a Junta of the generals and chiefs of the army, which solemnly and explicitly recognized his authority. To some who could not be present, he wrote, and to others he sent commissioners, animating his friends and inspiring his enemies with a wholesome fear. This prudent conduct had the desired effect and Piar, finding himself abandoned by his former adherents, took refuge in Aragua de Cumaná, among the discontented spirits addicted to Mariño. Cedeño, who formerly served under Piar, was dispatched with a column of cavalry in his pursuit and found him escorted by a numerous body of horse under the command of the intrepid Francisco Carmona. The latter, upon learning the orders of the Liberator, made no resistance, and Piar was immediately arrested and conducted to Angostura. Every consideration to which his rank, services and unhappy situation could entitle him, was shown him; but charges against him were at once prepared and a court-martial was convened for his trial. Admiral Brion, his own countryman and former friend, was made

President of the court. The remaining members comprised six officers, of whom two were generals, two were colonels and two were lieutenant-colonels. The generals, Torres and Anzoátegui, were distinguished officers and all were men of strict integrity. Several of them had served under Piar and were known to be friendly with him. General Soublette was appointed Judge Advocate of the court and Colonel Galindo, the counsel of the accused. As Piar had been named a general-in-chief, it was impossible, at the time, to convene a court composed of his peers.

On the 15th of October, the court-martial unanimously sentenced General Piar to death, with military degradation, for the crimes of disobedience of orders, sedition, conspiracy and desertion. The Supreme Authority approved the sentence but mitigated it by the omission of the second part; and on the afternoon of the following day, in the presence of the entire army, General Piar was executed. To the last he bore himself with the same serenity of spirit and intrepidity that had always characterized him.

“Such,” says Baralt, “was the unhappy end to which Piar saw himself conducted by his restless and proud disposition and by the vanity of his services, really brilliant, in the War of Independence. His death, despite what has been said by some miserable rivals of Bolívar who have endeavored to make themselves echoes of the Royalists, was just and was legally imposed. The men who denounced his plans to Bolívar, submitting his letters, belonged to his division and had been his friends or his creatures. Such were Cedeño and his secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel José Manuel Olivares, Sánchez, Colonel Manuel Salcedo and others. Among those who composed the court-martial, Brion, his countryman, should have had, and in fact did have, for him more than one motive of sympathy, or at least of consideration. Torres and Anzoátegui had been promoted by him to generals, after the battle of San Félix; these two, the other members of the court and the Judge Advocate, were men of truth, valor and conscience, incapable of committing a vile assassination. The execution, in short,

BOLÍVAR

was public, was made by *his own soldiers*, commanded by chiefs who, like Bermúdez, had not the least interest in sanctioning by their approbation or by their silence, that terrible punishment, had it been unjust.’’

The day after the execution of Piar, the Liberator published the following proclamation :

Soldiers!

Yesterday was a day of sorrow for my heart. General Piar was executed for the crimes of treason to his country, conspiracy and desertion. A just and legal tribunal pronounced the sentence against that unfortunate citizen who, intoxicated by the favors of fortune and to gratify his ambition, would have buried the nation beneath its ruins. General Piar had undoubtedly rendered valuable aid to the Republic, but his conduct was ever that of a malcontent, although his services were prodigally rewarded by the Government of Venezuela.

There was nothing left to desire for an officer who had obtained the most eminent grades in the army. The second authority in the Republic made vacant *de facto* by the dissidence of General Mariño, was about to be conferred upon him before his rebellion; but this general, who aspired only to supreme command, formed the most atrocious design that a perverse soul could conceive. Not only civil war, but anarchy and the sacrifice of his own companions and brothers was proposed by Piar.

Soldiers! You know that equality, liberty and independence is our motto. Has not humanity recovered its rights under our laws? Have not our arms broken the chains of the tyrants? Has not the odious difference of class and color been abolished forever? Has not the national wealth been ordered to be divided among you? Do not fortune, knowledge and glory await you? Are not your merits rewarded with

generosity or at least with justice? What, then, did General Piar desire for you? Are you not equal, free, independent, happy and honored? Could General Piar procure greater benefits for you? No! No! No! With his own hands, Piar opened the grave of the Republic to inter therein the life, the property and the honor of the brave defenders of the liberty of Venezuela, of their children, their wives and their parents.

Soldiers! Heaven watches over our welfare and the Government, which is your father, is ever vigilant for you. Your chief, who is your companion-in-arms, and who, always at your head, has shared your dangers and hardships, as well as your triumphs, confides in you; trust, therefore, in him, assured that he loves you more than a father or a son.

Simón Bolívar.

Headquarters in Angostura,
17th of October 1817.

Larrazábal remarks: "The effect of the energetic action of the Liberator was great, immediate and salutary for the Republic. The morale of the troops improved, the authority became firmer, everything marched with a severer discipline, both friends and foes confessing that rivalry and discord would have inevitably conducted the Patriots to the ignominy of the gallows that Morillo had everywhere erected. . . . The death of Piar was greatly regretted by the army; but there was not one who did not recognize the justice of such a terrible punishment."

The Liberator also decreed the imprisonment of Mariño and ordered General Bermúdez, whom he appointed to the command of the province of Cumaná, to arrest him. Mariño, however, resigned his position and retired to the island of Margarita. Bermúdez, who never forgot his former friendship for Mariño, now interceded in his favor and obtained from Bolívar his exemption from prosecution.

BOLÍVAR

It is not too much to declare that, in any other country, with a stable government and a regular military establishment, both Piar and Mariño would have been cashiered or executed long before, notwithstanding their unquestioned personal gallantry and brilliant records. As has already been remarked, Mariño especially added years to the duration of the War of Independence by his vacillating conduct and repeated disobedience.

The mention in Bolívar's proclamation of the distribution of the national wealth, referred to a decree of sequestration and confiscation of Spanish property of the 3rd of September and to that of its division among the soldiers as a military recompense, the 10th of the same month.

On the 10th of November, Bolívar assembled the principal officers and inhabitants in the palace of the Government in Angostura, before whom he advocated the establishment of legislative and judicial branches. As a result, a Council of State was created with the following ramifications:

State and Treasury, of which Zea was named President;
War and Navy, of which Brion was named President;
Interior and Justice, of which Doctor Juan Martínez was named President.

Each branch had three additional members.

The functions of the Council of State, were, however, only advisory; but perhaps the condition of the war at this juncture, made this imperative. Only a dictatorship could bring ultimate victory out of all this chaos. Up to this time the Liberator had himself performed all the functions of government, both civil and military.

On the 14th of November there was publicly executed in the city of Bogotá, by order of the Spanish viceroy, Sámano, a young girl named Policarpa Salabarrieta—sublime martyr to honor and liberty—who bravely faced death and was infamously shot in the back, with her betrothed lover, because she would not divulge the names of certain proscribed patriots. This was the first scaffold erected for a woman in the War of Independence, but Lizón had beheaded Mercedes

Abrego of Cucutá, for embroidering a brigadier's uniform for Bolívar; Morales had assassinated Josefa Figueras of Barcelona, to whom he owed two hundred *pesos*, and Boves had killed Carmen Mercié in Cumaná, when she was *enceinte* and had laughed at the convulsions of her unborn child.

After the occupation of Angostura by the Patriots, Bolívar desired to free Caracas from the presence of the Royalists and ordered Zaraza to approach the city by way of its plains, at the same time reinforcing his army and supplying it with abundant arms and ammunition.

Simultaneously he sent commissioners to treat with General José Antonio Páez, already known as the "Lion of the Apure", who commanded an almost invincible body of mounted *llaneros*. Páez readily agreed to serve under the orders of Bolívar, whom he recognized as Supreme Chief of the Republic, but reserved to himself the right to independent command in his own remote district, when operating there. At this time Páez was but twenty-eight years old. Young, active, agile, utterly fearless, he had obtained great ascendancy over his troops, a species of "rough riders", composed principally of *vaqueros* or cow-boys. He was, however, of humble origin and somewhat ignorant, especially of the art of war; but he made up for the latter by an astute cunning and by his dash and reckless bravery.

Morillo, meanwhile, sent Latorre to oppose Zaraza's advance. Bolívar possessed unbounded confidence in his lieutenant's loyalty and intrepidity; but reflecting that his only military training had been with guerrillas, he resolved to command in person. Accompanied by 1,500 troops, he embarked in the Orinoco on the 22nd of November and ascended the river some ninety miles to Cadenales, from which point he apprised Zaraza of his coming and gave him special instructions to avoid a general engagement until they could form a junction. Zaraza, it appears, misunderstood the point of union and forgot or ignored the special instructions; and on the 4th of December, when the Liberator arrived at San Diego de Cabrutica, he received the fatal

BOLÍVAR

tidings of Zaraza's utter defeat at Hogaza. As many as 1,200 Patriots were left dead upon the battlefield and muskets, cannon, ammunition, horses and various stores, fell to the victor.

Again misfortune attended Bolívar. It seemed impossible for him to secure obedience from even the most trustworthy of his subordinates. Chagrined, but not despairing, he returned to Angostura. His first act was to declare martial law and then to endeavor to repair, as quickly as possible, the losses sustained by Zaraza. By dint of great personal exertion and his habitual and untiring activity, he succeeded in accomplishing his object, in great part.

Páez was now threatened by the victorious Latorre and Bolívar sent Urdaneta to reinforce him near the mouth of the Apure. At the same time he, himself, embarked with 2,000 men that he had raised, as if by enchantment, in twenty-nine boats, in which he began to ascend the Orinoco, on the 31st of December.



BOLÍVAR

From a painting by Juan J. Novarro

CHAPTER IX

1818

Bolívar joins Páez—Establishes headquarters at San Juan de Payara—Páez and *Uaneros* capture Spanish gunboats—Battle of Calabozo—Fall of San Fernando—Bolívar at Victoria—Defeat at La Cabrera—Bolívar retires towards Bocachica—Triumph of Morillo at La Puerta—Bolívar concentrates at Calabozo—Pursues Latorre—Narrow escape of Bolívar at Rincón de los Toros—Ill at San Fernando—Defeats of Páez and Cedeño—Bolívar returns to Angostura—Reorganizes army and civil government—Defeat of Mariño and defection of Páez—Bolívar sends Santander to Casanare—The Liberator's prophecy—Convenes Council of State and orders convocation of second congress—Goes to Guanaguana—Returns to Angostura—Publishes manifesto to all nations—Joins Páez on the Apure.

WHILE Bolívar with 2,000 troops ascended the Orinoco in boats, the divisions of Monagas and of Torres were directed to march up its right bank; Zaraza was ordered to the Caura river and Cedeño to the Tigre. Finally the army was reunited in La Urbana, in the upper Orinoco, on the 22nd of January 1818, and on the 31st, just one month after leaving Angostura, Bolívar joined Páez in El Caujaral, from which point they proceeded together to San Juan de Payara, where headquarters were established.

The presence of the Liberator reanimated Páez and the *Uaneros* and the concentration of so large a force under his best lieutenants and especially his union with Páez, filled the heart of Bolívar with the brightest hopes. The campaign of 1818 promised great results. "In this year," Bolívar frequently declared, "Venezuela will see her cruel persecutors surrender or perish." The possession of the Orinoco and the resources of the vast *Uanos* in horses and cattle, furnished the long-desired base; and although the plan had been suggested by Piar and its consummation was to be greatly aided by Páez, these facts do not detract from the glory of the Liberator, whose genius enabled him to adopt the idea of the one and to avail himself of the skill and bravery of

BOLÍVAR

the other. One man alone, single-handed, however great, can not free a country.

From San Juan de Payara, after effecting a reorganization of the army and mounting the cavalry, Bolívar proceeded in the direction of San Fernando, which was in the hands of some 600 Royalists under Quero. The Liberator did not wish, however, to assault San Fernando, because his object was to cross the river and surprise Morillo at Calabozo. Páez approved this plan and indicated the point of passage of the river. Bolívar sent him ahead with instructions to procure boats, but when he arrived upon the ground, none were to be seen.

“General Páez,” said the Liberator, with manifest uneasiness, “where are the boats that you were to provide?”

“Sir,” replied Páez, “I have a gunboat, three big and various smaller canoes, in which the troops may easily cross.”

“Where are they?” said Bolívar.

“The enemy has them,” said Páez, indicating the royalist embarcations upon the opposite side of the river. The Liberator understood the bold thought of the intrepid *llanero*, but seeing that the passage depended upon such a risky manoeuvre, he began to lament the failure of his plan because of the delay in procuring the means for its successful execution. Páez immediately dashed into the deep Apure, followed by some fifty of his men, all mounted bare-back upon their horses. The Spaniards were no less surprised than Bolívar, at this unprecedented action between gunboats and cavalry. However, they defended themselves with courage, but vainly, for the *llaneros* were completely successful in their novel attack, and returned with the enemy's boats, in which the Patriots were safely conveyed across. The passage was effected at a short distance from San Fernando and the march upon Calabozo was immediately resumed. At daybreak of the 12th of February, Bolívar deployed his force of 2,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, before the city. So prompt and rapid had been the movement of the Patriots,

that the Spanish general was unaware of their proximity until they were upon his headquarters. Morillo, himself, barely escaped capture; the regiment of hussars was destroyed; the battalion of "Castile" lost its camp equipage and many prisoners and that of "Navarro" two companies. No quarter was given by the Patriots.

In a little over a month, Bolívar had marched from San Diego de Cabrutica to Angostura; thence to Urbana, opposite the mouth of the Apure and finally to Calabozo, a distance of over 900 miles, which the Spanish historian Torrente says "was, without doubt, the most brilliant enterprise that his glory affords."

Larrazábal unjustly takes umbrage at this remark because of the greater deeds of Bolívar, but he forgets that brilliance does not necessarily apply to the vastness or result, but rather to the quality, of the deed and that a small affair may be as brilliant as a much larger one.

Morillo evacuated Calabozo during the night of the 14th and marched in the direction of Sombrero. Bolívar desired to intercept him but Páez and other chiefs objected, preferring to celebrate their victory in Calabozo. Indeed, Páez, encouraged by a few seditious officers, treated the Liberator with scant respect. It was the old, old story, with different factors. Morillo, demoralized by his defeat, was permitted to withdraw quietly and without interruption. Bolívar was obliged to sacrifice his opinion and the glory of a complete victory to the caprice of Páez and the ultimate establishment of independence. "Only this sublime sentiment," says Restrepo, "could have inspired him upon this occasion with the prudence which he displayed in reducing General Páez to his duty. At last the influence of the Liberator dissipated the cloud and restored harmony, at least in appearance."

Although Bolívar finally persuaded Páez to overtake Morillo, encamped upon the Guarico, by forced marches, the latter was again permitted to withdraw because the *llaneros* openly refused to follow him, alleging, as an excuse, the bad condition of their horses. Again Bolívar was confronted

BOLÍVAR

and handicapped by the rivalry or disloyalty, the unwillingness or the disobedience, of his lieutenant.

As Larrazábal reiterates: "The struggle of Bolívar was not merely with Spain; it was also, in the beginning, with the indifference of the masses, and presently and always, with the vanity of the chiefs, with anarchy, with factional interests, with discord, with the elements, with the scarcity of resources, with selfishness. . . . Only that soul of steel which nothing ever tempered or relaxed, could have succeeded in giving at last liberty to Venezuela, whose people seemed condemned to perpetual slavery.

Morillo, freed from the pursuit of the Patriots, continued his retreat towards the valley of the Aragua, while Bolívar returned to Calabozo.

In Sombrero, the Liberator issued a proclamation to the *llaneros*: "An army of free men," he said, "valorous and triumphant, is irresistible. Victory marches ahead of you and Venezuela will see her cruel conquerors surrender or perish. *Llaneros!* You are invincible. Your horses, your lances and these deserts, will free you from tyranny. You will be independent in spite of the empire of Spain."

Páez now insisted upon returning to, and attacking, San Fernando. "This movement," replied Bolívar, "is unnecessary; blockaded as it is and without assistance, the place must surrender; and on the other hand, under existing circumstances, we must not divide the army which should operate compactly in order to obtain a decisive victory." No argument sufficed, however, to deter Páez and on the 23rd of February, he marched away with his cavalry, of which he was inordinately proud.

The Liberator made a virtue of necessity and appointed Páez commanding general of the province of Barinas. When the latter arrived at San Fernando, he found Colonel Guerrero besieging it. The reinforcements were not needed. As Bolívar had foreseen, hunger shortly compelled the place to surrender.

On the 8th of March, after calling a council of war, the

Liberator moved upon Cura. The cavalry under Zaraza, with a few infantrymen, marched beyond the Maracay and occupied the strong position of La Cabrera. Headquarters were established at Victoria. Morillo was now at Valencia and Latorre at Caracas.

The occupation of the valley of the Aragua gave great prestige to the Republicans and Bolívar availed himself of this fact to publish a decree calling upon all able-bodied men to take up arms for their proper defense. His plan was first to attack Latorre and then Morillo, taking them in detail; but while making his preparations for this bold movement, he learned that Morillo had surprised the detachment at La Cabrera, the greater part of Zaraza's cavalymen being engaged in foraging among the neighboring estates, just as if they were distant a thousand miles from the enemy.

Finding himself between two fires, Bolívar immediately ordered a retreat; and although it was in the rainy season, the army marched all night reaching Cura at daybreak and, after a short rest, proceeded in the direction of Bocachica, where it was joined by the remnant of Zaraza's cavalry. Morillo followed in hot pursuit, reaching Cura at 1 o'clock A. M., but Bolívar was no longer there. Perceiving that he was closely followed, the Liberator defiled his park and camp equipage by the river Semen and took up a position upon a plateau of considerable extent, where he awaited Morillo.

The combat began at daybreak and at 9 o'clock a. m., at which hour Morillo and his staff arrived, the Royalists had lost 600 men and were beginning to disband. At this moment, however, two fresh battalions arrived and changed the fortune of war. The patriot cavalry fled towards San Juan de los Morros, while the infantry dispersed and was exterminated. Bolívar lost even his official papers. Urdaneta, Torres and Valdés were wounded. Morillo received a thrust in the abdomen from a lance and his life was despaired of, but he was conveyed to Valencia where he recovered in time to execute the few prisoners his troopers had spared

BOLÍVAR

upon the field of battle. He was rewarded by his king by being made Marquis de la Puerta, the latter being one of the names of the place so disastrous for the Republicans, who had been twice defeated there.

The Patriots now retired by the way of Parapara and Ortiz, in the direction of Rastro, while the Royalists, under the command of General Correa, awaited the arrival of Latorre in order to march upon Calabozo. Bolívar lost no time in recruiting and reorganizing his forces and in remounting his cavalry. Meanwhile he sent Torres to the Apure to bring Páez and Cedeño to Calabozo, which he placed in so good a state of defense that when Latorre arrived, instead of a demoralized and dispersed army, he found one almost equal to that which opposed Morillo at La Puerta, whereupon he retired to Ortiz. Bolívar followed so swiftly that they arrived at their common destination at nearly the same instant, on the 26th of March. Latorre occupied the heights, from which Bolívar attempted to dislodge him; but the ground was so rough that the patriot cavalry was unable to operate and the enterprise was abandoned. Latorre, fearing a second attack, retired during the night to Cura. In the combat on the heights of Ortiz, the Patriots lost the valiant Colonel Vásquez.

Since it seemed impossible to reach Caracas by the way of Cura, Bolívar changed his plan and determined to transfer operations to the western provinces. Accordingly, on the 31st of March, Páez was ordered to march by the Pao, in the direction of San Carlos; Monagas was sent to Barcelona, Zaraza to Sombrero, Soublette to the Guayana while the Liberator, himself, went to Calabozo, all with the same object—to raise reinforcements. Within a week Bolívar had 600 infantry and a few horsemen, not indifferently mounted, with whom he resolved to join Páez. On the 8th of April he arrived at Rincón de los Toros. Colonel Rafael López, with five squadrons of royalist cavalry, was operating in the neighborhood, with orders to prevent the junction of Bolívar and Páez. Unknown to the Liberator, he approached

the patriot camp at night and succeeded in capturing a servant, who gave him the countersign and minute details with regard to Bolívar's whereabouts, armed with which knowledge a Spanish captain of dragoons named Tomás de Renovales conceived the idea of assassinating the Liberator while he slept. Accompanied by eight men and impersonating a patriot patrol, he penetrated the republican encampment and had nearly reached Bolívar's headquarters when he encountered another but genuine patrol under the command of Colonel Francisco de Paula Santander, a young Granadan, who subsequently became famous, first as the friend and later as the arch-enemy of the Liberator.

Baralt says: "Bolívar awoke while Santander was examining Renovales, left his hammock and, almost naked, retired to some distance, whence he heard in a few minutes the discharge of firearms; and supposing that his troops were surrounded, he fled from the spot and did not dare to return." Torrente relates, however: "Providence, who preserved Bolívar's days in the same way that it pleases him, for his inscrutable ends to give vitality and existence to poisonous insects, ferocious beasts and birds of prey, that apparently have no other instinct than that of injuring other creatures, disposed that Bolívar should quit his bed, because of urgent necessity, a few moments before the surprise, which casual incident saved him from the death that his three companions suffered."

Larrazábal denies that any were killed by the discharge of firearms, except a horse, and Colonel Fernando Galindo by a bayonet thrust from a Spanish soldier. Ducoudray-Holstein depicts Bolívar escaping in mortal terror, on horseback, forgetting his troops and his friends, who were surrounded by the enemy. However, it appears that the Liberator made the dispositions for the attack which followed at daybreak and was wholly successful. For the second time in twenty-four hours, he barely escaped with his life for, compelled to abandon his mount in a thick wood,

BOLÍVAR

from which he emerged on foot, hatless and coatless the better to conceal his identity, he was finally enabled to escape by the aid of a patriot cavalryman, who recognized him and generously gave him his own horse, while he apparently remained behind to encounter certain destruction. Larrazábal rescues the name of this unselfish soldier from oblivion, declaring that it was Leonardo Infante, of Maturín, who afterwards reached the grade of colonel and died at Bogotá.

The enemies of the Liberator accuse him of cowardice upon these and similar occasions; and while it would be unfair to agree with them, great physical courage can not be attributed to Bolívar, under such circumstances. He certainly exposed himself to danger and took many chances during his life; and it should not detract from his glory that upon several occasions he is known to have fled, perhaps somewhat ignominiously, from attempted assassination.

Leaving the remnant of his army at Rastro, under the command of Cedeño, the Liberator now determined to join Páez, who was operating in the vicinity of the Pao. Accompanied by only 40 men and marching continuously day and night, he reached the De la Portuguesa river, where he learned that Páez was near San Carlos. As this route was then extremely dangerous for so small a body of men, he proceeded to San Fernando, where he passed nearly the entire month of May, sick but nevertheless busy with recruiting for, and reinforcing, Cedeño.

General O'Leary relates that, in these journeys through the *llanos*, the Liberator shared the privations of the meanest soldier, rising early, marching all day and bivouacking about sunset. There were no tents and everybody subsisted upon the dried or jerked meat of that region, except when it was convenient to kill cattle and enjoy fresh beef. A halt was made at noon for the mid-day meal, after which the Liberator invariably took his *siesta* in his hammock, in which he slept upon all occasions. When he awoke, he dictated his correspondence, during which occupation he kept his hammock constantly swinging. Officers and men were

dressed alike and even the Liberator rejected any insignia or device of his grade.

While at San Fernando, Bolívar learned of the loss by Páez of the battle of Cojedes on the 2nd of May, of the defeat of Cedeño in Cerro de los Palos and of the occupation of Calabozo by Morales on the 20th of May. Everything that had been gained in the early part of the year, was lost; the republican infantry had ceased to exist, and the horses brought from the fertile plains of the Arauca and the Apure had been killed or captured. Money, arms, ammunition, stores—all were exhausted. Only the indomitable will of the Liberator himself, was unimpaired. It was necessary to create a new army and for this purpose Bolívar sent Urdaneta, Valdés and other chiefs to Barcelona, Cumaná and Guayana, while he set out for Angostura, accompanied by only his personal staff and a few infantrymen, on the 24th of May.

On the 7th of June he arrived at Angostura. About the same time Bermúdez rejoined him, bringing the news of the loss of Cumaná and of his own defeat at Puerto de la Madera, due to Mariño's failure, as usual, to give him needed support. Shortly after, the repulse of Mariño himself, at Cumanacoa, was reported. Everywhere the Royalists gained the ascendancy and at last the tidings reached the Liberator that the troops of Páez had refused to recognize the former's authority and had acclaimed the latter "Commander-in-chief of the Army and Supreme Director of the Republic"!

Any other than Bolívar must have succumbed under this accumulation of disasters; not he. On the contrary. He first gave his attention to a reorganization of the civil government which, during his absence, had been ruled by the Council of State. New secretaries were nominated and other effectual measures were taken. He also established a weekly newspaper under Zea as editor, called *El Correo del Orinoco* (*The Orinoco Post*), the object of which was to keep alive and foment the seeds of independence.

Concerning the army, generously forgetting, or pur-

posely dissembling the appearance of, any resentment with regard to Mariño, he named him commanding general of the province of Cumaná. At the same time he raised new corps in Upata, Angostura and in Barcelona; dispatched Bermúdez to Güiría to cooperate with Admiral Brion, and gave energetic orders to suppress the revolt upon the Apure. Nor did he forget New Granada, but sent Santander with arms and ammunition to Casanare, to raise a corps, of which the latter was to be the commander. Santander left Angostura on the 8th of August, ascending the Orinoco and carrying with him an eloquent proclamation by the Liberator for distribution in New Granada, which concluded with the following prophecy: "The sun will not complete its course in its actual period, without seeing in your entire territory, altars erected to Liberty." And, so, indeed, it proved; but none other than Bolívar could have believed it, at this moment.

The Liberator now sent his guard of honor to San Fernando and himself made preparations to go to Maturín, for the purpose of reviewing the troops of Mariño and Bermúdez; of establishing in due form the siege of Cumaná, if impossible to take it by assault, and of consulting with Admiral Brion relative to operations by sea. However, he found so much to do at Angostura, that he was unable to leave until the end of October.

One of the Liberator's plans was the reunion of Congress, for he felt that, supported by a civil government, he should find less resistance and greater loyalty upon the part of his lieutenants. Consequently he convened the Council of State upon the 10th of October. After due discussion, a commission was appointed to submit a programme for popular elections, all of which was promptly done and approved, and the 1st of January, 1819, was fixed upon as the date of the assembly of this, the Second Congress of the Republic of Venezuela. Bolívar convoked the Congress in one of the most beautiful of his many eloquent proclamations, in which he reviewed his own share in the War of Independence from the very beginning and made the oft-repeated declaration: "For

my own part, I resign forever the authority you have conferred upon me and will never accept any other than one purely military, while the unfortunate war in Venezuela continues. The first day of peace shall be the last day of my command.”

On the 2nd of November Bolívar was at Maturín, preparing to visit Mariño's headquarters at Cariaco, near Cumaná. He had proceeded as far as Guanaguana, when he learned of the total defeat of Mariño who, as usual, had refused or failed to obey the orders he received. With a heavy heart, the Liberator returned to Angostura. “Who would not lose hope and even his head,” he exclaimed, “in the contemplation of so many errors and blunders. Not satisfied with all the evils that afflict us, we are compelled to combat incompetence, insubordination, presumption. . . . Everybody wants to dominate fortune. Extravagance!”

From Angostura, Bolívar sent Colonel Avendaño to command the province of Cumaná while Mariño went to Barcelona to raise a new army, with which to endeavor to undo the evil he had just suffered. At the same time the Liberator published, in three languages, the celebrated manifesto addressed to the Nations of the Earth under date of the 20th of November 1818, in which he reiterated the principles of the Declaration of Independence of the 5th of July 1811.

On the 21st of December the Liberator left Angostura for the plains of the Apure, where two most important matters awaited his arrival: First, to reduce Páez to obedience; second, to prepare to oppose Morillo in this, the probable theatre of his next operations.

As soon as possible, Bolívar had a private interview with Páez, to whom he made plain his firm resolution never to accede to the iniquitous pretensions of a faction, which would destroy the Republic with its purpose and flout the law of subordination. He further assured him that he knew how to maintain his dignity, and that to maintain it he would not hesitate at any sacrifice.

The firmness displayed by the Liberator had its effect

BOLÍVAR

upon Páez who, although a superb guerrilla and fully meriting his title of the "Lion of the Apure" by his valor and audacity, was an uneducated man and an inexperienced politician, totally unfitted then to govern the Republic. Páez, indeed, recognized this fact and promised to control his officers and friends and he fulfilled this promise. The year 1818 was fast drawing to a close. Little had been accomplished during these twelve months for independence but, on the other hand, just as little had been effected by the Spaniards.

CHAPTER X

1819

Bolívar at San Juan de Payara—Returns to Angostura—Arrival of British and Irish Legions—Second Congress convenes—Address of the Liberator—Bolívar elected President—Appoints ministers—Ascends the Orinoco—His ideas of government—Joins Páez on the Arauca—Adopts Fabian tactics against Morillo—Páez at Queras del Medio—Morillo retires—Bolívar conceives plan of freeing New Granada—He retires to Mantecal—Marches to Guasualito—Crosses the Arauca—Ascends Eastern Cordillera of Andes—Arrives at Socha, on western slope—Difficulties of passage—Proclamations—Battle of Gámeza—Bonza—Pantano de Vargas—Tunja—Battle of Boyacá—Bolívar enters Bogotá—Proclamations—He reorganizes army and civil government—Popular assembly decrees him triumphal entry—Marches to Socorro—Troubles at Angostura—Death of Anzoátegui—Execution of Barreiro—The Liberator inspects army of General Páez—Arrives at Angostura—Creation of the Republic of Colombia—Bolívar chosen its first President—He leaves Angostura for Bogotá.

ON THE 16th of January 1819, the Liberator reviewed the troops under General Páez at San Juan de Payara. Haranguing them, as was his custom, he said: "*Llaneros!* You will be independent though the whole world oppose it. Your lances and these deserts will free you from tyranny. Who can subjugate immensity? Prepare for the struggle. Your brothers from Guayana, Barcelona and Caracas, will be at your side. The intrepid General Páez will lead you to victory and the genius of Liberty will inscribe your names upon the annals of glory. *Llaneros!* You are invincible."

One week later he departed for Angostura to install the National Congress which had not yet assembled. By this means he proposed to cement the scattered forces of the Republic and to show the world that a fixed and stable government existed. As he turned his face eastward, he learned of the arrival of the first installment of foreigners, English and Irish, both officers and men, some of whom had seen duty in the Peninsula and had been contracted for service in the War of Independence. Many of these alien soldiers left their bones upon Venezuelan soil; some of them, after excesses little

creditable to their race, returned to their native land disgusted with their rough experience and the natural failure of the young republic to give them all they were entitled to or at least expected; not a few of the officers rose to rank and distinction, and all of them fought with that firmness and courage which, even among mercenaries, has ever characterized the Anglo-Saxon and the Celt. First and last there were some 5,000 men, including 300 Hanoverians.

In accordance with the regulations promulgated by the Council of State, the Second Congress of Venezuela, which was to have convened on the 1st of January 1819, was to consist of thirty-five representatives, including those from the province of Casanare, probably a part of New Granada; and it was further provided that, as additional provinces of the latter viceroyalty were freed from the Spanish yoke, they, too, should be entitled to representation. This was the idea of Bolívar, whose dream was the union of Venezuela and New Granada and perhaps of other contiguous provinces, into one grand Republic.

The condition of the country was such that it was difficult for the delegates to assemble; and when Bolívar reached Angostura on the 7th of February, the representatives of Margarita, Barinas and Cumaná had not yet arrived. On the 15th of the same month, twenty-six deputies or more than two-thirds were present, and the Liberator decided upon the immediate convocation of the Congress, which was verified the same day, salvos of artillery duly announcing its installation. Bolívar or, as Larrazábal denominates him in a single sentence, "the Colombian Hannibal, the Demosthenes, the Pericles of the Andes," addressed the patriot body in an eloquent *péroration*, in which he resigned into the hands of the Congress, the powers of "Dictator, Supreme Chief of the Republic" which, for several years, with more or less recognition from his countrymen, he had exercised. He said:

Happy the citizen who restores to the representatives of the nation, the supreme authority confided to

him; happy the citizen who, shielded by the arms of his command, has yet convoked the national sovereignty in order that it may exercise its absolute will. I count myself among those most favored by Divine Providence, now that I have had the honor to assemble the representatives of the people of Venezuela in this august Congress: fountain of legitimate authority, depositary of the sovereign will and arbiter of the destiny of the nation. In transmitting to the representatives of the people the supreme power which they conferred upon me, I crown the votes of my heart, those of my fellow-citizens and of future generations, that await everything from your wisdom, rectitude and prudence. When I perform this agreeable duty I shall free myself from the immense responsibility that has weighed me down like an insupportable burden, overwhelming my puny strength. Only an urgent need joined to the imperious necessity of the people, could have made me submit to the terrible and dangerous charge of *Dictator, Supreme Chief of the Republic*. But I shall breathe freely again in returning to you this authority which, with so much risk, difficulty and pain, I have succeeded in maintaining in the midst of the most terrible tribulations that can afflict the body social.

The epoch of the Republic during which I have presided, has not been a mere political tempest, nor a sanguinary war, nor a popular anarchy: it has been, yes, the evolution of all the disorganizing elements; it has been the inundation of an infernal torrent which has submerged the territory of Venezuela. One man! and a man like me! What obstacles could I oppose to the impetus of these devastations? In the midst of this flood of afflictions I have been no more than the pitiful plaything of the revolutionary hurricane that has dashed me about like a bit of straw. I have been able to do neither good nor evil: irresist-

ible forces have directed the march of events; to attribute them to me would be unjust and would give me an importance that I do not merit. Would you know the authors of past events and of present conditions? Consult the annals of Spain, of America, of Venezuela: examine the laws of the Indies, the system of the ancient mandatories, the influence of religion and of the foreign domination; consider the first acts of the republican government, the ferocity of our enemies and the national character. Do not ask me what were the effects of these forever lamentable upheavals; at the most can I be regarded as the simple instrument of the great causes that have operated upon Venezuela. Nevertheless, my life, my conduct, all my public and private acts are subject to the censure of the people. Representatives! You should judge them. I submit the history of my command to your impartial decision; nothing will I add to excuse it; already I have said all that I can say; my apology. If I merit your approval, I shall have attained the sublime title of good citizen, preferable for me to that of *Liberator*, given me by Venezuela, to that of *Pacifcator*, which Cundinamarca gave me and to all that the entire world can give. Legislators! I deposit in your hands the supreme command. Yours is now the august duty to consecrate yourselves to the happiness of the Republic: in your hands is now the scale of our destinies, the measure of our glory; they will sign the decrees that establish our liberty.

In this moment the Supreme Chief of the Republic is no more than a simple citizen; and such he wishes to remain until death. I will serve, nevertheless, in the career of arms, while there are enemies in Venezuela. Our country possesses a multitude of sons capable of governing it: talents, virtues, experience and everything requisite to rule freemen, are the patrimony of many of those who here represent the

people; and outside of this sovereign body are found citizens who, at all times, have shown the courage to resist perils, the prudence to avoid them and the art, in short, of governing themselves and others. These illustrious men deserve, without question, the suffrages of the Congress and may take charge of the Government that so cordially and sincerely I have just resigned.

The continuation of authority in the hands of a single individual has often proved the death of democratic government. Frequent elections are essential to popular systems, for nothing is so dangerous as to leave the power with one man for a long time. The people accustom themselves to obey him and he to command them; from which situation originate usurpation and tyranny. A just zeal is the guarantee of republican liberty and our citizens should fear with abundant reason that the magistrate who has ruled them for a long time, may rule them forever.

In separating from the Spanish monarchy, America is not unlike the Roman Empire when that enormous mass fell, dispersed in the midst of the ancient world. The people, held fast by the triple yoke of ignorance, tyranny and vice, have been able to acquire neither wisdom, nor power, nor virtue. Disciples of such pernicious masters, the lessons we have received and the examples we have studied, are most destructive. We have been governed more by deception than by force! We have been degraded more by vice than by superstition! Slavery is the daughter of darkness and an ignorant people is the stupid instrument of its own destruction: it accepts license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, vengeance for justice. Like a strong, blind man instigated by the consciousness of his strength, it walks with the security of the most perspicacious but encountering obstacles, can not correct its steps.

BOLÍVAR

Liberty is a succulent ailment but difficult of digestion. Our weak fellow-citizens will have to strengthen their spirit greatly before they succeed in assimilating the salutary and nutritious bread of liberty. Their limbs stiffened by chains, their sight weakened by the shades of dungeons, themselves annihilated by servile pestilences — can they march, with firm step towards the august temple of Liberty? Can they admire, close at hand, its splendid rays and respire freely the pure ether which there reigns?

Many ancient and modern nations have shaken off oppression, but rarely have they been able to enjoy a few precious moments of liberty; very soon they fall again into their former political vices, because the people, rather than the government, drag after them tyranny. The habit of domination makes them insensible to the charms of honor and of national prosperity, and they regard with indifference the glory of living in the movement of liberty, under the protection of laws dictated by themselves. The calendars of the universe proclaim this frightful truth.

The most perfect system of government is that which produces the greatest possible sum of happiness, the greatest sum of social security, the greatest sum of political stability. From the laws dictated by this Congress of Venezuela, we have a right to expect that happiness will be the lot of the nation; and from your laws, we should flatter ourselves, security and stability will eternalize this happiness. It is for you to resolve this problem: how, after having broken the fetters of our ancient oppression, can we perform the marvellous task of preventing the remnants of our cruel irons from being converted into arms destructive of liberty. The relics of the Spanish domination will remain a long time before we shall be able to destroy them; the contagion of despotism has

impregnated our atmosphere and neither the fire of war nor the specific of our salutary laws, has purified the air we breathe. Our hands are free and already our hearts suffer from the dangers of servitude. "The man that loses liberty," says Homer, "loses the half of his spirit."

In republics, the executive should be the stronger, because everything conspires against him; while in monarchies, the stronger should be the legislature, because everything is in favor of the monarch. The veneration which the people profess for the royal magistrate, is a prestige that powerfully influences and augments the superstitious respect which they tribute to his authority. The splendor of the throne, of the crown, of the purple; the formidable support of the nobility; the immense riches that generations accumulate under the same dynasty; the fraternal protection which all kings reciprocally receive, are advantages very considerable which militate in favor of royal authority and make it almost illimitable. These same advantages should confirm the necessity of attributing to a republican magistrate, a greater sum of authority than that possessed by a constitutional prince.

A republican magistrate is an individual isolated in the midst of society, charged with restraining the impetus of the people toward license and the propensity of administrators toward abuse. The legislative body is immediately subject to the people: it is a single man resisting the combined attack of the opinions, the interests and the passions of the social state who, says Carnot, does nothing but struggle continually between the desire of dominating and that of extricating himself from domination. He is an athlete, in short, cast among a multitude of athletes.

A republican government has been, is, and must be, that of Venezuela; its bases: the sovereignty of

the people, the division of power, civil liberty, the proscription of slavery, the abolition of monarchy and of privilege. We need equality in order to recast, let us say, entirely, men, political opinions and customs. And then, extending our view over the vast field which we still have to survey, let us fix our attention upon the dangers we should avoid. May history serve us as a guide in this review. The first Athens gives us the most brilliant example of an absolute democracy; and at the same time she offers us the most melancholy instance of the extreme weakness of this system of government. The wisest legislator of Greece did not see his republic endure ten years and suffered the humiliation of recognizing the incapacity of an absolute democracy to govern any class of society, even the most cultured and circumscribed, because it only shines by the flashes of liberty. Solon has undeceived the world and taught it how difficult it is to govern men by simple laws.

Let us not be presumptuous, Legislators; let us be moderate in our pretensions. It is not likely that we can secure what the human species has not obtained, nor the greatest and wisest of nations. Unlimited liberty, absolute democracy, are the rocks upon which all republican hopes have been dashed to pieces. Cast a glance upon ancient republics, upon modern republics, upon nascent republics; almost all of them have attempted to make themselves absolutely democratic and nearly all have seen their aspirations frustrated. Those men who long for legitimate institutions and a social perfection are certainly praiseworthy but, who has told them that already they possess perfect wisdom, that already they practise every virtue imperiously exacted by the union of power with justice? Angels, not men, can alone exist free, tranquil and happy, all of them exercising sovereign authority!

The people of Venezuela possess now the rights which they can legitimately and easily enjoy; let us moderate then the impetus of the exaggerated pretensions that might secure them a kind of government inadequate for them. Let us abandon federal forms, which are not suitable for us; let us forsake the triumvirate of the Executive Power and concentrating it in one President, confide to him sufficient authority, in order that he may maintain himself in the struggle with the inconveniences resulting from our recent situation, the state of war we suffer and the sort of foreign and domestic enemies against whom we have to fight. Let the Legislative Power free itself from the attributes that correspond to the Executive and acquire, nevertheless, a new stability, a new influence, in the true equilibrium. Let the tribunals be strengthened by the permanence and independence of the judges, by the establishment of juries, of civil and criminal codes, not dictated by antiquity nor by conquering kings, but by the voice of nature, by the cry of justice and by the genius of wisdom.

To form a stable government there is required for a basis, a national spirit that has for its object a uniform inclination toward two capital points: *to moderate the general will and to limit the public authority*. It is difficult to assign the terms which fix theoretically these two points, but we may conceive the rule that should direct them: it is their restriction and reciprocal concentration, in order that there should be the smallest possible friction between the will and the legitimate power. Love of country, respect for the laws, veneration for the magistrates — these are the noble passions which should exclusively absorb the soul of a Republican. The Venezuelans love their country but they do not respect the laws, because they have been harmful and the

BOLÍVAR

fountain of evil; they have not been able to venerate their magistrates, because they were iniquitous and the new ones are scarcely known in the career upon which they have entered. If there is not a sacred respect for the country, for the laws and for the authorities, society is a confusion, an abysm; it is an individual conflict of man to man, of body to body.

To withdraw our nascent Republic from this chaos, all our moral faculties will not suffice if we do not mould the mass of the people into one; the composition of the government into one; the legislation into one and the national spirit into one. Unity! Unity! Unity must be our motto! The blood of our citizens is varied: let us mix it in order to unify it. Our constitution has separated the powers: let us join them in order to unite them. Our laws are fatal relics of all the ancient and modern despotisms: let this monstrous edifice be demolished, fall and dividing even its ruins let us elevate a temple to Justice and under the auspices of its holy inspiration, let us dictate a code of Venezuelan laws!

Popular education must be the first-born care of the paternal love of the Congress. Morality and education are the poles of a republic; morality and education are our first necessities.

Atrocious and impious slavery covered with its black mantle the soil of Venezuela and our sky was overcast with stormy clouds which threatened us with a deluge of fire. I implored the protection of the God of humanity and presently redemption dissipated the tempest. Slavery broke its chains and Venezuela has seen herself surrounded by new sons, by grateful sons, who have converted the implements of their slavery into liberating arms. Yes, those who were formerly slaves, are now free; those who were formerly the enemies of their godmother, are now

the defenders of their country. To urge upon you earnestly the justice, the necessity and the beneficence of this measure, is superfluous when you know the history of the Ilotas, of Sparta and of Haiti; when you know that it is impossible to be free and enslaved at the same time, without violating at once natural laws, political laws and civil laws. I leave to your sovereign decision the reform or revocation of all my statutes and decrees; but I implore the confirmation of the absolute liberty of the slaves as I would implore my life and the life of the Republic.

Venezuela, convinced that she possessed forces sufficient to repel her oppressors, has pronounced, by the organ of the Government, her final determination to fight to the death in defense of her political life, not only against Spain but against all mankind, if all mankind were so degraded as to unite in behalf of a devouring government whose only motives are an exterminating sword and the flames of the Inquisition: a government that no longer desires dominions, but deserts; that no longer desires men, but corpses. The declaration of the independence of Venezuela is the most glorious, most heroic, most praiseworthy act of a free people!

Upon contemplating the union of this immense region, my spirit ascends to the height demanded by the colossal perspective which offers a picture so amazing. Towering above the coming ages, my imagination is fixed upon the future centuries and observing from this point of vantage, with admiration and astonishment, the prosperity, the splendor, the population that this vast territory will have received, I feel overwhelmed; and it seems to me that already I behold it the heart of the Universe, extending upon its coasts, between those oceans which nature has separated but which our country will unite with exten-

BOLÍVAR

sive and broad canals.¹ Already I behold it serving as a bond, as a centre, as an emporium for the human family; I behold it sending to the four corners of the globe, the treasures which its mountains of gold and silver shelter; I behold it distributing through its divine plants, health and life to the suffering humanity of the old hemisphere; I behold it communicating its precious secrets to the wise who ignore how superior is the sum of its splendors to the sum of the riches that Nature has prodigally bestowed upon it; I behold it seated upon the throne of liberty, holding the sceptre of justice, crowned with glory, showing to the Old World the majesty of the New!

Deign, Legislators, to receive with indulgence, the profession of my political faith and the fervid prayers which, in the name of the country, I am so bold to address to you. Deign to concede to Venezuela a government eminently moral, which will enchain oppression, anarchy and crime; a government that will cause innocence, humanity and peace to reign; a government, in short, which will make triumph under the empire of inexorable laws, equality and liberty.

Legislators! Begin your functions; I have finished mine.

Larrazábal characterizes Bolívar's address as "a masterpiece of sentiment, reason and patriotism." At its conclusion, great enthusiasm prevailed and when, at the suggestion of the Liberator, the Congress elected Zea as its President and he was seated upon the tribune just vacated by Bolívar, the latter, addressing his military colleagues, continued: "Generals, chiefs and officers, my companions-in-arms: we

¹ Colonel Ramón Guerra, at Headquarters of the General Staff at Bogotá, writes: "Under date of the 29th of November 1827, the Liberator, through the Chief of the General Staff, commissioned Captains of Engineers Maurice Falmarc and John A. Lloyd to search for and survey a feasible way for a road and canal on the Isthmus of Darien and that of Panamá, to connect the two seas; and the route favored by them was almost identical with the one now followed by the railroad and canal at Panamá."

are no more than simple citizens until the Sovereign Congress deigns to employ us, in the class and grade that it chooses. Counting upon your submission, I am going to give, in my own and your names, the clearest proofs of our obedience, returning the command with which I have been charged." After which he advanced to President Zea and presenting his baton, said: "I return to the Republic the baton of General conferred upon me. To further serve my country, in whatever grade or class to which the Congress assigns me, will be an honor; in it I will give an example of the subordination and blind obedience that should distinguish every soldier of the Nation."

President Zea immediately put to vote by acclamation the confirmation by the Congress of all the military grades held and exercised by General Bolívar, which was carried with the utmost enthusiasm and unanimity, whereupon his general's baton was returned to him and President Zea, in turn, addressed the assembled Congress, proposing to re-invest the Liberator with all the power he had just resigned. "No! No!" energetically replied Bolívar. "Never, never will I again accept the authority which I have renounced forever, with all my heart, on principle and for sentiment;" and continuing he exposed the danger to liberty in confiding to one and the same person the supreme authority for so long a period and then asked permission to retire, which was granted and ten deputies were appointed to attend him.

After this, the Congress discussed the choice of a President of the Republic; but as there were many difficulties attending such an election, a commission was sent to the Liberator to request him to continue exercising the supreme power, at least for twenty-four or forty-eight hours, until his successor could be appointed, which Bolívar agreed to do but with the express stipulation that the time should not be further extended.

The next day, the 16th of February, the Congress maturely considered the matter of the election of a President and came to a decision that only Bolívar was capable of exer-

BOLÍVAR

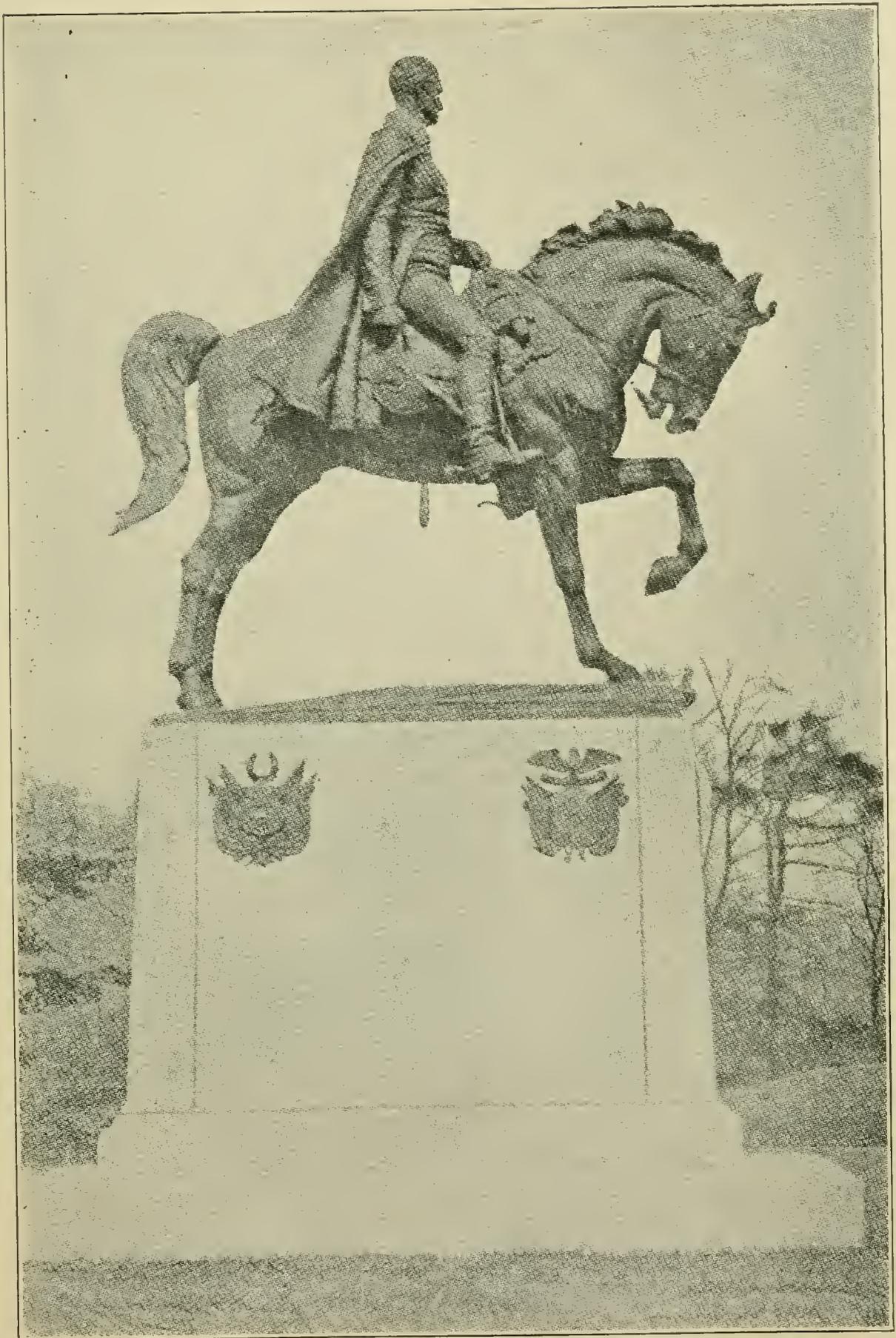
cising the important prerogatives of the office. Accordingly he was elected President and Zea Vice-President, to act as the former in the absence of the Liberator, which result was communicated to the latter officially. Bolívar again sought to avoid the responsibilities of the civil office, insisting that he could serve the country better in the ensuing campaigns if he performed only the duties of a soldier, but the Congress insisted and at last he acceded to this universal desire.

As before, with the Council of State, the Liberator now named three Ministers: one of State and Treasury, one of Interior and Justice and one of Navy and War, to which important portfolio his former secretary, now General Pedro Briceño Méndez, was appointed.

The Congress likewise declared that during the campaign the Liberator should exercise extraordinary faculties and duly invested him with the same, authorizing him to delegate any or all of them, as he might deem convenient.

Believing that the moral effect of the convocation and installation of the Congress would be very great, Bolívar appointed two envoys to the Court of St. James who, besides their diplomatic functions, were empowered to contract for arms and ammunition; but the ruinous excesses, in this branch, of their predecessors, had destroyed the credit of Venezuela to such an extent, that the British cabinet refused to accord them an official reception and they were consequently compelled to return without having effected anything.

Colonel James Hamilton, who was in Angostura at this time, wrote as follows: "The event most worthy of notice is, without doubt, the installation of the National Congress in this city on the 15th of last February, with which act General Bolívar gave so brilliant a proof of moderation and patriotism, as is not found in the annals of any country. I have attended the sessions of the Congress during many hours and the deliberations are conducted with much decorum and regularity, a fact that may be attributed to the solidity and formality of the national character. Among



STATUE OF BOLÍVAR
Central Park, New York City
Sally James Farnham, Sc.
From Sherwell's *Bolívar*

its members there are several of eminent talent and others of great experience. General Bolívar has never acted with more political sagacity nor given so decisive a blow to the Spanish Government, as by this reunion of the national representation. He has fixed his reputation forever, acting as a great man and virtuous citizen, and has inspired and imparted such consistency to the national character, as will insure very promptly the complete independence of Venezuela.”

After making every provision that he deemed necessary for the proper and peaceful progress of the Government, Bolívar personally visited all the public functionaries in Angostura and exhorted them to union in the most expressive terms. On the morning of the 27th of February, accompanied by the Minister of War, Briceño Méndez, he set out to join the army of the Apure, with which he hoped to march against the enemy. Meanwhile Urdaneta was despatched to the island of Margarita to take command of the foreign contingent which had arrived there and with it make a grand diversion upon the coast, occupying, if possible, La Guayra and Caracas.

While the Liberator was ascending the Orinoco, the Congress continued its sessions, which were especially devoted to the consideration and discussion of the constitution he had submitted. Bolívar was strongly opposed to a federation, believing that the nascent republics of Latin-America needed greater centralization, greater concentration of power. “Such a social system,” he said, “is a regulated anarchy or rather, the law implicitly prescribes the obligation of dissociation and the ruin of the state with all its individuals. I think it would be better for America to adopt the Koran rather than the Constitution of the United States, *although it is the best in the world.*”

And perhaps he was right — at that time and in South America. Bolívar again criticized the federal system of government:

BOLÍVAR

As much as I admire the excellence of the Federal Constitution of the United States, so much am I convinced that it is impossible to adopt that constitution in our state. To me it is a marvel that the Constitution of the United States has operated so successfully and has not been overthrown when the first embarrassments or perils appeared. But the United States is a singular example of political virtue and moral rectitude. That nation has been cradled in liberty, has been nurtured in liberty, and has been maintained by pure liberty. I will add that the people of the United States are unique in the history of the human race. And I repeat: it is a marvel that a government so weak and complicated as the federal system should have endured under such difficult and delicate circumstances as those which have existed in the United States.

The Congress was convinced of the necessity for a rigorous and efficient government, firmly united, ever vigilant in avoiding dangers and active in overcoming difficulties, and established the "Central Republic", which undoubtedly rendered great service in the years of war that followed.

Bolívar entertained an exalted opinion of the British form of government, substituting for the king a president, who was to be popularly elected for life. Likewise he desired a Senate, the members of which should be hereditary and a House of Representatives, similar in every respect to the English Commons. These ideas were based upon the ignorance of the masses and the inexperience of all in governmental affairs, in the Spanish colonies.

The Congress, however, was opposed to these ideas and especially to a President for life and a hereditary senate, and consequently introduced the so-called popular elections and short tenures of office which have often proved the curse and prostitution of Venezuela and of some of her sister republics, where even the brief terms of the presidents were

frequently interrupted by revolutions. Some of the thinking men of South America believe to-day that the Liberator was right at the time. Happily an era of progress in these respects has obtained during later years.

On the 10th of March, Bolívar reached Araguaquén and a few days after he joined Páez on the right bank of the Arauca, exhibiting a celerity that often crowned his enterprises with success or made up for his defeats.

In January, Morillo had crossed the Apure with 6,000 men and, although Bolívar desired to give him battle, his better military sense counseled a waiting policy, during which his antagonist should become weary and his troops sick and scattered. In explanation and justification, Bolívar wrote: "Our defense has been fatal for Morillo because, in marches, counter-marches and partial combats, he has lost almost the half of his army. I would have attacked him in front and given a general battle, almost sure of the result; but I have had to restrain my resolution and avoid the conflict, in order to conform to the reiterated counsels of all our friends, who do not desire to see the fate of the Republic compromised by the result of a decisive action. Moreover, the ruin of the enemy is sure, if we remain observing him near by and molesting him, until the expedition of General Urdaneta attract his attention in the rear. Thus he must either divide his force or leave one of our armies in possession of the country he abandons. With all this, we increase our numbers while he diminishes his by the inevitable desertion of his troops and the scarcity of resources. Morillo expects nothing from Spain and we are not lacking in the hope of English assistance. Everything, in short, counsels me to follow the example of Fabius which, with much pain I see myself obliged to adopt, for unfortunately I am very different in character from that great Roman general: *he was prudent, while I am impetuous.*"

Meanwhile the Spanish general approached by the left bank of the Arauca, the positions on the right bank then occupied by the Liberator; and General Páez, accompanied

by 150 mounted men, fearlessly crossed the river and advanced in three small columns upon the enemy. Morillo, observing this bold movement believed that the republican army was about to make a general attack and ordered his entire cavalry, comprising 1,000 lancers and 200 carbineers, to charge Páez, who withdrew, concentrating his men and separating those of the enemy, whom he led in the direction of a prepared ambush. Arriving at this point he gave the command "right about" and assaulted with such vigor and intrepidity that the lancers fled in every direction while the carbineers, who had dismounted to fire, were cut to pieces by his swift and terrific onslaught. Such was the famous combat of Queseras del Medio.² Upon the following day Bolívar published a decree bestowing the order "Cross of Liberators" upon all who took part in this engagement, officers and soldiers alike. Morillo precipitately retired to Achaguas.

At this time the rainy season caused the inundation of the plains of the Apure and made the movement of troops both difficult and painful. Bolívar attempted to march upon Barinas, while Morillo retreated in the direction of Calabozo, announcing in a bulletin dated the 14th of May, the end of the campaign. The Liberator was just beginning *his*, but as General Páez insisted upon replacing his exhausted horses with fresh mounts before leaving the *llanos*, Bolívar was compelled to acquiesce and to remain near the cattle ranch of Cañafístolo, a short distance from the Apure, while Páez went to Guasqualito in search of Colonel Pérez, with orders for him to incorporate his cavalry with the main body, taking with him all the spare animals possible to obtain in the vicinity.

While Bolívar was waiting for the return of Páez, Colonel Jacinto Lara arrived from the Casanare, bringing with him letters from Colonel Santander. From them the Liberator learned of the oppressive measures of the Viceroy

² Immortalized by Michelena in a beautiful painting, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of New York City.

Sámano in New Granada, and of the despair of the Patriots in that province where, it will be recalled, he had predicted that, within a year, altars to Liberty should be erected.

Bolívar's was an impatient and unquiet genius, always acting upon the impulse of the moment and not infrequently abandoning, as has been seen, one undertaking but fairly begun, for the most gigantic and stupendous enterprise. Such a situation confronted him at this moment. Whether an inspiration of genius or the creature of his wild imaginings and day-dreams, can not be said, although the end would seem to justify the former opinion. Certain it is that he calculated for one instant that it would be easy to deceive Morillo by rapidly crossing the Granadan Andes, to liberate the virtuous people to whom, in former times, he owed love and protection. The thing was no sooner thought of than he began to put it into execution. He convened a Council of War and communicated to the officers his plans which were, in short, to abandon the invasion of Barinas, entertain Morillo with diversions of one sort or another, by which to conceal his true movement, and fall suddenly upon the Royalists in New Granada in order to give liberty to that province. This scheme appeared ingenious and attractive to his officers but not all of them approved the idea. However, the ardor, enthusiasm and eloquence of the Liberator carried everything before him. Bolívar charged all of them with inviolable secrecy. The army retired to Mantecal.

On the 25th of May it marched in the direction of Guasualito, upon arriving at which point the Liberator left 1,000 lancers under General Páez with instructions to operate upon Barinas and to make a feint by the San Camilo mountain in the direction of Cúcuta, a town within the frontier of New Granada.

On the 4th of June the army passed the Arauca. Here many of the *llaneros* deserted rather than ascend the Cordillera, which they now suspected to be their true destination. Colonels Iribarren and Rangel, the latter ill, also retired, accompanied by their entire squadrons. Bolívar, plunged

BOLÍVAR

momentarily into dejection by these early desertions, was consoled by the declaration of Colonel Rook, commanding the British Legion (which meanwhile had joined the Patriots) that, if necessary, he would march with him *to and beyond* Cape Horn!

On the 11th of June Bolívar encountered the advanced posts of Colonel Santander in Tame and on the 25th he arrived at Pore, with 2,500 men.

On the 27th he reached Paya and on the 5th of July, the anniversary of the declaration of Venezuelan Independence, the army arrived, by forced marches,, at Socha, in the province of Tunja, the first New Granadan town upon the western slope of the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes.³ The season was the rainy one of the Tropics and even had there been roads, which there were not and *are not to-day*, they would have been almost impassable. Bolívar's marches were extremely difficult and laborious. The ascent of the Andes, under the most favorable circumstances, is a painful task and the alternations of temperature, passing from the hot lowlands to the cold and bleak *páramos*, disheartened his soldiers, who were ill-clad, often ill-fed and the most of them from warmer climes. Larrazábal declares that the enterprise would have deterred even Hannibal; but this is merely a figure of speech. Bolívar's feat was truly great. It was as difficult, perhaps, as the ascent of the Alps by Hannibal or Napoleon and San Martin's crossing of the Andes, although a more rigorous climate was encountered by these three generals.⁴ The *conquistadores*, Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada and Nicholas Federmann had made nearly the same ascent.

³ Sherwell says: "They would drive cattle with them and kill them for food, pressing the remaining meat under the saddles, and continuing the march." During our Sioux war, the same thing was done with horse-flesh, between the Yellowstone and the Black Hills. It was impossible to cook with green sagebrush and *there were no rations*. The sweat of the horse salted the meat and riding upon it rendered it tender. It was eaten raw.

⁴ J. E. Rodó of Uruguay says: "Other crossings of mountains may have been more adroit and of a more exemplary strategy; none so audacious, so heroic and legendary. Twenty-five hundred men climb the eastern slope of the range, and a smaller number of spectres descends the other side; these spectres are those of the men who were strong in body and soul, for the weak ones remained in the snow, in the torrents, on the heights where the air is not sufficient for human breasts. And with those spectres of survivors, the victory of Boyacá was obtained."

Upon arriving at Socha, Bolívar found but a remnant of his army and that badly clothed and rationed and poorly armed and equipped. The cavalry was almost dismounted and many of his men were ill. "In this horrible situation," says Larrazábal, "Bolívar showed himself superior to all the great captains of the ancient or modern world, displaying a firmness beyond anything that the human mind can conceive of. . . . The army appeared to be a dying body; one or more chiefs were the only ones that could perform duty!" And while encamped at Socha, they learned that the Spanish general, Don José María Barreiro, young and courageous, commanding 5,000 soldiers, was marching upon them.

Only the irresistible influence of the Liberator could prevent the Patriots from fleeing in dismay!

In three days Bolívar remounted and rearmed the cavalry; in three days he reorganized the army and re-established the park of ammunition.

To his soldiers he spoke confidently of victory. "The actions we are going to win," he said, "are necessary for the Republic to complete its glory." To the New Granadans: "You have in your midst an army of friends and benefactors; and the God who protects afflicted humanity, will concede a triumph to its redeeming arms. Have no fear of those who come to shed their blood to constitute you a free nation. The New Granadans are innocent in the eyes of the Liberating

Doctor Bingham in 1906 undertook a trip, following the route taken by Bolívar. Comparing this march with the famous advances of Hannibal and Napoleon, Doctor Bingham says: "We feel as though we were at last in a position to appreciate the tremendous difficulties which were overcome by the soldiers of Bolívar and Santander. They had to suffer a combination of hardships that has rarely been equaled in military history. In fact, it is not easy to portray them so graphically that they can be appreciated by those who have not experienced the trials of a similar undertaking. It is not surprising that South Americans are fond of comparing Bolívar's feat to that of Hannibal or Napoleon crossing the Alps.

"The length of the march, the poverty of the country; their inadequate equipment; the loss of all their saddle and pack animals; intense heat and penetrating cold every twenty-four hours; a region infested with malaria; a season of torrential rains on the llanos and snow, ice and hail in the paramo; a route across flooded rivers, over burning plains, into tropical jungles, and finally over a mountain pass thirteen thousand feet high. Add to these the fact that they were half starved, their only food for weeks at a time being freshly killed beef, and they were approaching an enemy that outnumbered them and one can not but marvel at their courage and admire the tenacity of purpose that upheld them."

BOLÍVAR

army. For us, the only guilty ones are the Spanish tyrants and even they shall not perish except upon the field of battle.”

His guerrillas were already engaging the enemy and on the 11th of July the first battle was fought upon the heights of Gámeza. The combat lasted eight hours and, although the advantage of position was with the Royalists, the Patriots fought with so much valor and determination that the former were compelled to retire. And for once Bolívar followed up his advantage — a military axiom too rarely observed in this war. By a flank movement, he occupied the valley of Serinza, which compelled Barreiro to abandon his position and cover Tunja and Santa Fe (Bogotá) from Molinos de Bonza, which situation was advantageous for his infantry and was further strengthened by the construction of field works.

Bolívar established his camp in front of Barreiro's and vainly endeavored to make the royalist general advance to the attack. Finally, on the 25th of July, fearing that the inactivity of the Spaniards might presage their expected reinforcement, he ordered a movement by the left flank, with the object of attacking Barreiro in rear or forcing him to abandon his superior position. Barreiro did, indeed, move and fell with such fury upon the Republicans, who were taken at a disadvantage while crossing an extensive morass called Pantano de Vargas, during which they were exposed to the royalist fire, that the result, for a time, seemed extremely doubtful. The Patriots triumphed, however, and at sunset found themselves masters of the situation and of the province, with the exception of Tunja, the capital. Pamplona and Socorro were freed and the whole region was in insurrection. It was in this combat that the British Legion first fought under the eye of Bolívar, and it covered itself with glory. The Spaniards lost some 500 men, several flags and various munitions of war.

On the 6th of August, the Liberator, by a bold movement, took Tunja and captured its garrison. Here he dictated his orders for the next day, the 7th of August, to General Soublette, his Chief of Staff. The most important battle of

the War of Independence was about to be fought. Bolívar seems to have regained the vigor of thought and action that characterized him during his first campaign, which, like Napoleon's in Italy, in 1796, ever remained his best. His star, so long obscured, was again in the ascendant. Gámeza, Bonza and Vargas, were heralds of a greater achievement. The sun of Boyacá was about to rise.

Under favor of the night, the enemy had avoided a ruinous defeat at Pantano de Vargas by retiring to Paypa. Thither Bolívar did not consider it prudent to follow him, but he kept him in view while awaiting promised reinforcements from Socorro and Pamplona, over which provinces he had promptly appointed patriot governors.

On the morning of the 7th of August, the Royalists resumed their retreat, with the evident intention of rejoining the army under the Viceroy at Bogotá. At Tunja, Bolívar was between two forces, ready to attack either but exposed to be overwhelmed by their simultaneous approach. There was, however, no concerted action between them.

The Liberator formed his troops in the *plaza* of Tunja and waited. Barreiro must march by one of two roads — by Samacá or by the bridge of Boyacá. The patriot scouts made frequent reports of the enemy's progress, but Bolívar, impatient as usual, finally mounted his horse and rode off to reconnoiter for himself. "Either we must force Barreiro to give battle and pulverize him," he said to Anzoátegui, "or we must prevent his junction with Sámano, when the demoralization of his army will force him to surrender."

Barreiro decided to give battle. He disposed of 3,000 troops; Bolívar of 2,000.

Anzoátegui commanded the centre and right wing of the Patriots; Santander, the left wing. The army marched in line of battle. The bulletin of the day says Anzoátegui was heroic and omnipresent. To him, in great part, Bolívar admitted that he owed the victory. The fire of the Royalists was withering but with rapid and bold movements, Anzoátegui surrounded and overwhelmed his immediate opponents. A

BOLÍVAR

company of mounted grenadiers, all Spaniards, was the first to fly and from this instant all of Barreiro's efforts to stem disaster, were in vain. He, himself, was taken prisoner upon the battlefield, by a patriot soldier. The second in command, Colonel Jiménez, likewise surrendered as well as nearly all of the field officers⁵ and some 1,600 troops. Horses, arms, ammunition, several pieces of artillery and many stores, were the spoils of war. The campaign had lasted but seventy-five days!

Santander, during the battle, having directed the movements of the left wing with great skill and valor, was sent in pursuit when the Royalists retreated and dispersed. Anzoátegui remained that night upon the field of battle, but the next day Bolívar marched on Bogotá. Upon approaching the capital, he learned that the Viceroy, with all his civil and military officers and remaining troops, had abandoned the city, leaving it in a condition of anarchy. Bolívar consequently hastened his march and on the afternoon of the 10th of August, he entered Bogotá in triumph and was received with open arms and tears, now of joy, now of sorrow, by those whose dear ones had died upon the scaffold and by the patriotic residents. All hailed him as Liberator. It is related that he was doubly crowned by a bevy of young girls, but generously placed the golden wreaths upon the heads of Soublette and Anzoátegui, saying: "It is they who merit them!"

Two and a half months after leaving Mantecal, Bolívar entered the distant capital of New Granada, having encountered almost insurmountable difficulties in this long and tedious march and destroyed an army of trained soldiers three times as large as his own. Boyacá was the best fought, perhaps, of all his battles; in its plan and conduct he displayed greater military skill than in any other, and its influence was more transcending. From the battlefield itself, he sent detachments to the north, to the Magdalena river, to Antioquia, the Chocó and Popayán; and in a few days the entire country

⁵ Among the prisoners Bolívar recognized Francisco Fernández Vinoni, who had treacherously headed the insurrection in San Felipe el Real, at Puerto Cabello, in 1812, and immediately ordered him hanged.

was again in possession of the Patriots as, it will be remembered, Bolívar had predicted. In a proclamation he said:

Granadans!

As far as the fields of Venezuela, the cry of your affliction penetrated my ears and, for the third time, I have flown, with the Liberating Army, to your assistance. Victory, ever marching in front of our banners, has remained faithful to us in your land and twice your capital has seen us triumphant. This time, as before, I have not come in search of power or of glory. My ambition has been to liberate you from the horrible torments that your enemies made you suffer and to restore you to the enjoyment of your rights, in order that you might institute a government of your own choice. Granadans! Eight of your provinces breathe liberty. Preserve unharmed this sacred gift with your virtues, your patriotism and your valor.

To the Vice-President of the Republic of Venezuela, Bolívar made, on the 14th of August, a full and interesting report of the campaign.

Larrazábal says that Bolívar's triumph at Boyacá "raises him to the level of the most illustrious warriors of the world;" which is an unfortunate panegyric, because a palpable exaggeration. However, the battle and especially the rapid and difficult marches preceding it, are in every way remarkable and are creditable alike to his tireless activity and to the military talents which, in a great but less measure, he undoubtedly possessed. Nor did his activity abate because of his victory. As has been seen, troops were dispatched in every direction. Meanwhile Bolívar recruited, organized, armed and disciplined new battalions, at the same time giving his attention to the civil government. He abolished the extraordinary contributions of war imposed, and the odious right of confiscation exercised, by the Spaniards; fomented the mining

and agricultural industries which had languished because of hostilities; suppressed useless employments and offices, and labored for moderation, benevolence and a spirit of rectitude among his fellow-countrymen and those of New Granada. Even the matter of public instruction, necessarily neglected during this bitter and protracted struggle, demanded and received his fostering attention and he published an important decree re-establishing it.

The grateful people, in a popular assembly, declared solemnly that President and General-in-chief of the armies of the Republic, Simón Bolívar, *was the Liberator of New Granada*, decreed him a triumphal entry into the city, a crown of laurel, a decoration or cross of honor to be known as "Boyacá" and other honors, in return for his eminent services. The triumphal entry was verified on the 18th of September. Generals Anzoátegui and Santander accompanied him and the occasion was made one of the most brilliant and enjoyable of the many triumphs that Bolívar obtained.

After establishing a provisional government with General Santander at its head, with the title of Vice-President of New Granada, he proposed to the Viceroy Sámano an exchange of prisoners, intending to liberate thereby General Barreiro, with all his officers and soldiers. Sámano made no reply to this honorable and lenient proposition, but continued his disgraceful flight, descending the Magdalena river to Cartagena, whence he proceeded to Spain.

On the 20th of September the Liberator, accompanied by a considerable force, set out for Tunja, Socorro and Pamplona. Everywhere his march was triumphal.

As Bogotá was the seat of the viceroyalty, its fall liberated an immense region of country, and the beneficent conduct of Bolívar, as conqueror, in marked contrast with that of Morillo under similar circumstances, made many friends for the cause of patriotism and independence. On the contrary, Calzada, whom Sámano had left in command at Bogotá, marched with 400 men of the regiment of Aragón, by way of Popayán and Pasto, declaring again *war to the death* and

marking his path by the commission of the most terrible atrocities upon the patriot population, many of whom were cruelly assassinated.

Upon leaving Bogotá the Liberator particularly impressed upon General Santander the necessity of respecting the rights of property and life, "because," he added, "justice must be the foundation of the Republic." The day succeeding his departure, Santander published a beautiful proclamation in which he said: "Forty days, an army of brave men and a leader accustomed to conquer, to overcome obstacles, to break the chains of enslaved peoples: — these sufficed for your salvation. Granadans! Remember always that your regeneration in 1819 was the work of the immortal Bolívar."

On the 26th of September, the Liberator was at Puerto Real and on the 27th he marched by way of Vélez to Socorro. Everywhere he was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of love and gratitude.

While Bolívar was invading New Granada, Morillo remained at Calabozo. Early in August he went to Valencia and thence to Caracas, where he learned of the battle of Boyacá and of the loss of the viceroyalty of New Granada. At once he established his headquarters at Tinaco and then at Barquisimeto.

In Guayana matters had changed for the worse. Zea, whom Bolívar had left as Vice-President, although an eloquent man and a good patriot, rendered himself unpopular chiefly by his lack of energy and want of tact and of foresight. False news of the defeat and capture of the Liberator and of his hanging by the Spaniards, had not been wanting and were eagerly disseminated by his enemies. Bolívar had demanded the sending of 500 men from Margarita; but as the islanders were averse to serving upon the mainland and for that matter remote from their ocean fastness, except as sailors, such conscription was resisted and its attempted enforcement by Urdaneta, in the absence of the Liberator, led to various uprisings and insurrectionary proceedings, the result of which was the arrest of General Arismendi, as an accomplice. He

was sent a prisoner to Angostura. Zea likewise relieved General Mariño of his command, just as he had triumphed in Cantaura, with the pretext of enabling him to occupy his seat in congress. Mariño, indeed, proceeded to Angostura and immediately, as usual when he did not have everything his own way, became the centre of a plotting cabal and the head and front of the opposition in congress to General Bolívar. Charges were openly promulgated against him and it was proposed, whether he was defeated or not, to relieve him — to do without him! It was the same old story, so often repeated in these pages. Everybody wanted to command. Finally, when “Down with the Vice-President!” was re-echoed through the halls of congress, Zea resigned and General Arismendi, prisoner, was released and elected Vice-President in his place. The troops that had guarded his cell became his escort of honor in his triumphal march from the jail to the Congress. Arismendi was sworn in as Vice-President on the 14th of September. His first act, of course, was to appoint Mariño general-in-chief of the eastern army and the latter immediately set out to relieve Urdaneta and Bermúdez of the command of their respective divisions. Zea took his seat as a member of the Congress. Fortunately Arismendi retained the secretaries that had been appointed by Bolívar and Zea, and upon the whole governed with prudence and rectitude, although somewhat arbitrarily. Presently he proceeded to Maturín, to organize forces for the prosecution of the war, in which enterprise he displayed his accustomed activity and zeal.

Matters were in this state when news of the victory of Boyacá and of the prompt return of the Liberator were received.

The heart of Bolívar, which was depressed by the turn affairs had taken at Angostura, was further wounded to the quick by the death of General Anzoátegui, who had been his right-hand man in the campaign of New Granada; and by the precipitate act of General Santander, who no sooner found himself in command at Bogotá, than he caused the execution,

on the 11th of October, of General Barreiro and thirty-eight Spanish officers, all of whom had surrendered at the battle of Boyacá. Restrepo endeavors to excuse or palliate this step but, to say the least, it was cruel and unnecessary. Bolívar had refrained from carrying on the *war to the death*, and his beneficent provisions subsequent to the victory, had been productive of much good. Santander published a manifesto in justification of the act, alleging the plotting in prison of Barreiro and his officers, and the shooting by Barreiro himself of thirty-four patriots captured at Gámeza, as well as the numerous executions ordered by Morillo and by Viceroy Sámano. Justification was not difficult to find in dealing with the Spaniards and a certain amount of good may have resulted in giving decision and encouragement to many timid Patriots and in confirming the bolder ones in their resolution to risk everything for the emancipation of the country.

On the 20th of November the Liberator left Salina de Chito, passing the Cordillera, skirting the Casanare and penetrating to the Apure, where he inspected the army of General Páez. It was the 11th of December when he reached Angostura.

Immediately upon his arrival the populace flew to greet him and manifested the greatest enthusiasm. Arismendi was still absent in Maturín, but returned a few days later. The Liberator was unusually discreet and circumspect in his treatment of everybody, betraying no resentment except, perhaps, to Zea and a few personal friends, with whom he conversed privately.

Arismendi tendered his resignation as Vice-President but it was not accepted by the Congress in the highly honorable note sent him, alleging the necessity for naming various important functionaries of the government, under the fundamental law of the Republic; and in this manner his appointment was permitted to lapse or expire.

Bolívar remained several days in retirement or, at least, he did not present himself before the Congress until the 14th of December, upon which day, in an eloquent address, he

made a report of the campaign of New Granada, of the battle of Boyacá and of the immediate results of this victory, one of which was the union of Venezuela and New Granada which, he assured the Congress, was heartily desired by the latter people. The creation of *Colombia* — this was what the Liberator asked as the only reward for his illustrious services, which he now placed at the feet of the legislators.

Zea, who was acting as President of the Congress, made an eloquent reply, seconding in every way the Liberator's idea, which was enthusiastically received by the Congress itself. A committee was immediately appointed to study the subject and to prepare and submit a resolution authorizing it.

The Liberator then retired and later the officers of the army, in full uniform, called in a body to pay him their respects. Among them was Colonel Montilla, who, it will be recalled, was last seen arrayed among the enemies of Bolívar in Haiti. The Liberator tactfully distinguished him among the many present and later they had a private interview, which resulted in their remaining, for all time, the best of comrades. When he desired to be so, the Liberator was irresistible, to his enemies as well as to his friends. A few days later, Bolívar gave Montilla the command of the Irish Legion that had recently arrived and ordered him to operate against the towns held by the Spaniards, upon the New Granadan coast.

On the 17th of December the Congress, in extraordinary session, approved the law uniting Venezuela and New Granada, thus creating the Republic of Colombia. Immediately thereafter it proceeded to the election of the first President of the new nation and General Simón Bolívar was unanimously chosen. Doctor Francisco Antonio Zea was elected Vice-President.

General Francisco de Paula Santander was elected Vice-President of New Granada and Doctor Juan Germán Roscio of Venezuela.

As for Quito (Ecuador), the city and province, since they were still in the hands of the Spaniards, nothing could be

done toward their incorporation in the new Republic until they should be emancipated.

A commission was appointed to present the Liberator with a copy of the fundamental law of the Republic and to inform him of his election to the Presidency. And thus the year 1819 closed with the foundations laid of the great Republic that Bolívar, in 1815, in Jamaica, had already foreseen and prophesied. Few in inhabitants, it was grand in extent and rich beyond compare in natural resources. Very happily was it named *Colombia*.

CHAPTER XI

1820

Patriots in the ascendant—Revolution in Spain—Bolívar at Bogotá — Santander's letter to the Liberator—Acts of the Congress—Its adjournment—Address of San Franciscan monks—Bolívar returns to Army of the North — Disposition of troops — Mutiny of Irish soldiers — Proclamation — Spain attempts pacification — Bolívar's reply — He visits Barranquilla — Cúcuta — Armistice proposed — Henry Clay moves U. S. recognition of independence—Bolívar at Mérida — Trujillo — Negotiations with Morillo — Commissioners assemble — Armistice signed — Meeting of Bolívar and Morillo — The Liberator plans to go to Popayán—Ulterior dispositions.

THE War of Independence had now lasted nearly a decade and was still to endure for half as many years; but henceforth the Patriots were to be in the ascendancy, and before the expiration of 1820, Morillo, "The Butcher," would be found addressing the Liberator as "Most Excellent President of the Republic, General Simón Bolívar." Although the ordinary form of address in polite Spanish, this partial recognition of the national sovereignty must have cost the cruel royalist a bitter pang. To the King he wrote: "Bolívar is the chief of most resource and I can not praise his activity too highly. A large force will be necessary to reduce these rebels, who are undismayed by defeat and are resolved to die rather than submit."

In response to this appeal the King ordered the enlistment of 20,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and 1,500 artillery, provided with 94 cannon and an abundant park. The headquarters of this force were to be at or near Cádiz with the triple purpose of reinforcing Morillo; of frustrating the designs of France, whose foreign minister aspired to crown a Bourbon prince as King of Buenos Aires, with the approval, indeed, of some of the most influential natives, and finally, to rid the kingdom of many officers who were suspected of too liberal tendencies. But the expedition never sailed. The war

in America had become unpopular and a revolution occurred in Spain itself. The uprising took place on the first day in the New Year and by the 7th of March had triumphed. The *Cortes* were convoked by the defeated King.

Tidings of these events were not slow in reaching Colombia, and disheartened the Royalists as much as they encouraged the Republicans. The Liberator rejoiced at these successes for the cause of freedom in the Mother Country and, with that remarkable foresight which ever characterized him, prophesied another of her defeats in a letter that he wrote to his English friends while in Trinidad. "North America," he said, "following her arithmetical conduct of affairs, will profit by this occasion to secure at one and the same time Florida, our friendship and a great dominion of commerce."

Bolívar left Angostura on the 24th of December 1819. During the month of January 1820, he passed through the province of Apure towards Guasualito, reviewed the army of General Páez, to whom he communicated special instructions; sent reinforcements to the division of General Valdés, which was to operate in Cundinamarca; then crossing the San Camilo mountain, he arrived on the 8th of February at Cúcuta, where he reviewed the patriot troops constituting the Army of the North and, with that wonderful activity which ever characterized him, set out immediately for Bogotá.

The principal object of the Liberator's visit to the capital of New Granada, was to make effective the union of the latter province with Venezuela, already promulgated at Angostura and, indeed, at Bogotá, where Santander caused it to be published on the 12th of February. The concluding paragraph of Santander's letter to the Liberator, communicating the foregoing fact, is peculiarly interesting in the light of subsequent events. "As for me," he said, "as the head of this vast department and one of the individuals composing the Liberating Army which your Excellency has so often led to glory, in the name of all the corporations and

BOLÍVAR

in that of the virtuous peoples who owe so much to your Excellency, I offer my most just and sincere congratulation. Your Excellency alone is the author of so much good and the sole instrument of our prosperity. Upon no occasion more than this, does your Excellency so worthily deserve the title of *Father of the Republic*. Your Excellency has freed it from its tyrants, has defended it, has preserved it, has reunited it and will likewise present it free, independent and established, to the view of the Universe. Colombia is daughter only of the immortal Bolívar!"

The Liberator received this letter at Socorro, on the 25th of February; and he immediately replied in the most cordial terms, praising the unselfishness of Santander in accepting the second place in the Republic, when he would have occupied the first had New Granada preserved her autonomy, enumerating his military services and commending in the highest terms the intelligence, economy and rectitude he had displayed as Vice-President. And this praise, the historian Restrepo remarks, was well deserved by General Santander, who had greatly distinguished himself and his government.

Meanwhile the Congress of Angostura had closed its sessions on the 19th of January but, before adjourning, it had decreed the title and decoration of "President Liberator" for General Bolívar, which he was authorized to use upon all occasions. It likewise ordered his portrait to be painted and hung in the hall of the Congress, with this legend: "Bolívar, Liberator of Colombia, Father of his Country, Terror of Despotism" — quite a modest inscription for Venezuelans! Among its other acts were the institution of the "Order of Liberators of Cundinamarca"; of various organic laws for the government of the Republic; of regulations providing for the election of deputies to the general Congress, and an amnesty for all crimes and misdemeanors, in celebration of the birth of the Republic of Colombia.

The Liberator arrived at Tunja on the 3rd of March and the next day, at noon, he reached Bogotá, where he was

received with the greatest enthusiasm. "The presence of Bolívar produced delirium in the inhabitants of Bogotá," says Larrazábal, and indeed, he ever seemed more popular in the capital of New Granada than in that of Venezuela, which was his birthplace and had been first liberated by him. His arrival was the occasion for an eloquent and patriotic proclamation of the union of the two states and the formation of the great Republic of Colombia. The following is a literal translation of the beginning of an address by the San Franciscan Monks of Bogotá:

To the Supreme Ruler, the Incomparable Hero, the Terror of Iberia and the Glory of his Country; to the Peerless Warrior, the Scourge of Tyrants, the Protector of Mankind; to the Genius of Independence, Serene in Adversity, Modest in Elevation and ever Grand, *Simón Bolívar*, Liberator, President and General of the Army of the Republic of Colombia:

This was too much even for Bolívar, who was not averse to triumphal entries and the like, and was ever extremely jealous of his fame. He did not attend the public literary act to which the foregoing paragraph began an invitation.

After only eighteen days in Bogotá, the Liberator departed on the 22nd of March for the Army of the North. Like the condor of his native Andes, this remarkable man fairly *flew* from one point to another of the vast domain over which he now ruled. By the 8th of April he was at Cúcuta and on the 10th in San Cristóbal. From this point the Liberator, "whose foresight," says even the Spanish historian Torrente, "and revolutionary zeal, extended to every corner of Colombia," dispatched a column under Colonel Carmona to free Ocaña and another under Colonel Maza to capture Mompox, while Colonels Lara and Carreño proceeded by different routes to unite with Colonel Córdova, upon the lower Magdalena and operate with him against Santa Marta. The last-mentioned, one of the youngest and boldest officers

in the patriot army, in which he later reached the highest distinction, had been charged with this mission, by the Liberator, when in Bogotá. At the same time he sent a column under General Valdés, to Neiva, to open the way by the south of New Granada, to Quito (Ecuador) and Peru, whose freedom he was already planning. His immediate purpose was the liberation of the coast, the possession of which, by the Spaniards, caused the interior provinces many and grave inconveniences.

On the 13th of March General Montilla had disembarked at Rio Hacha without resistance. Here, however, and while opposed by royalist forces which marched from Maracaibo and Santa Marta to attack him, the troops of the Irish Legion mutinied because the pay and bounty promised them in Dublin were in arrears. They claimed the right to sack Santa Marta before they would obey the order to march against the Spaniards, but Montilla refused to accede to such demand and, with a few native troops, attacked and dispersed the Royalists, after which he returned to Rio Hacha to give his attention to re-embarking the turbulent Irish and shipping them to the neighboring British colonies. Meanwhile the foreigners had sacked the town and intoxicated with the liquor they found, had reduced the place to ashes. They even destroyed the arms that had been issued to the Legion or insisted upon retaining them; but upon their arrival in Jamaica, the English governor, having been previously informed of the insubordination, compelled their surrender. Many British officers and not a few soldiers of this nationality greatly distinguished themselves in the South American War of Independence, but they were not of admirable General D'Evereux's famous seven hundred! With his forces thus reduced, Montilla was unable to maintain himself in the isolated port of Rio Hacha and resolved to invade the province of Cartagena, which was still held by the Spaniards and where, at least, there was a better opportunity to subsist his men.

The Liberator now had two armies operating offensively,

one in the south of New Granada, the other along its northern coast; and the revolutions in Spain having prevented reinforcements from coming to Morillo's aid, Bolívar gave his own attention to the so-called "Pacifator." About this time he wrote to a friend: "During this year I will free all Colombia, if some mischance does not destroy my plans. I have two offensive armies: the first is marching upon Quito; the second is invading the provinces of Cartagena, Santa Marta and Maracaibo. During the winter we shall take these provinces and in the summer we shall surround Morillo. If the latter seek me, he will find me and I shall destroy him; if he await me, his ruin will be inevitable."

Rapid as was his execution, Bolívar's plans were years in advance of his movements. On the 19th of April, being still at San Cristóbal, he published the following proclamation:

To the Soldiers of the Liberating Army:

Ten years of liberty are solemnized to-day—ten years consecrated to combats, to heroic sacrifices, to a glorious death — but ten years which have freed from oppression, from misfortune, from chains, the half of the world!

Soldiers! The human species groaned over the ruin of its most beautiful portion: it was enslaved, and now it is free. The world did not know the American people: you have brought them forth from silence, from forgetfulness, from death, from nothing; where before they were the derision of tyrants, you have made them admired by your prowess and have consecrated them to immortality by your glory.

Soldiers! Upon the 19th of April Colombia was born, since which time you have lived ten years.

Simón Bolívar.

Headquarters of the Liberator in San Cristóbal,
19th of April 1820 (the 10th of Independence).

The revolution having triumphed in Spain and a constitutional government succeeded to the absolutism maintained until then by Fernando VII, efforts were made by the Mother Country to treat with the Colombian Congress as well as directly with the patriot generals; and Morillo, who meanwhile had become Count of Cartagena, was compelled, much against his will and after all his crimes, to be the instrument of this belated attempt at pacification. But all his efforts were unavailing. The Congress, which was specially convened, refused to entertain any proposition that did not recognize as a basis therefor, the independence of Colombia; and Bolívar made a similar answer to these overtures for peace, denying even the armistice that was proposed.

At the beginning of August, Bolívar had proceeded from Cúcuta to Ocaña and had visited the cities of Mompox, Barranquilla and Turbaco, now happily in possession of the Patriots. To the proposal of General Torres, the Governor of Cartagena, for an armistice, a primordial condition of which was the submission of Colombia to Spain, he made the following reply:

It is the height of folly and is even ridiculous, to propose the submission of Colombia to Spain: a nation ever detestably governed—a nation which is the derision of Europe and the execration of America for its early executions and later atrocities. What! Could we forget the hundreds of victories obtained over the Spanish arms? Could we forget our glory, our rights and the heroism of our soldiers? Does your Excellency, the Governor, believe that old and corrupt Spain could still rule in the New World? Does your Excellency think that the government of the nation that has given the most terrible example possible of how absurd may be the human mind, could secure the happiness of a single village in the universe? Your Excellency will say to your King and Nation, Mr. Governor, that the

people of Colombia, rather than suffer the stain of being Spaniards, are determined to fight for centuries upon centuries against the Peninsulars, against all mankind and even against the Immortals if they should take the part of Spain. The Colombians would rather descend to the eternal abysses than be Spaniards!"

This warmth and vigor are censured by the native historian Restrepo, but they were perhaps natural at the time and coming from the Liberator and Founder of Colombia.

In September Bolívar returned to Cúcuta from the vicinity of Cartagena. Shortly after, he again addressed Morillo upon the subject of the proposed armistice, and offered to await his reply at San Fernando. Morillo, who was at San Carlos, replied favorably to this communication on the 20th of October and immediately appointed commissioners.

Meanwhile two matters of importance to Colombia occurred abroad. Zea, who had been sent to England, in a semi-diplomatic, semi-financial capacity, proposed through the Spanish Minister in London, the recognition of the independence of Colombia, as well as of Buenos Aires and of Chile, and the formation of a grand confederation *under the King of Spain as ruler*. Such proposition was made without any authority and was promptly refused in Madrid and disavowed in Colombia. In commenting upon this extraordinary proposition, many years later, Larrazábal truthfully remarks: "The efforts of our heroes — the battles of Araure and Bocachica, those of Carabobo, Juncal, San Félix and Boyacá, had liberated us from the dominion of Spain but not from colonial influences. Zea paid his tribute and our legislators and statesmen are still paying theirs. To-day, even, we remain colonials in many respects. The despotism of kings has disappeared, but that of habits still remains — the despotism of the past which has its throne in custom.

So deeply was our American society colored by the spirit of Spanish laws, by their errors and by their ignorant and repugnant dispositions.”

The other event of importance to Colombia was the attempt upon the part of Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, to bring about the recognition of the independence of Colombia which, he said, was “worthy, by many titles, to figure among the most illustrious nations of the planet.” The time was not yet ripe, however, and the Republic of the North continued to observe that political reserve which had hitherto characterized her treatment of her struggling sisters of the South.

On the 2nd of October the Liberator occupied Mérida and, notwithstanding the plans for an armistice, continued to exercise a watchful and wary interest over the patriot troops. Two bodies of Republicans, under the command of Colonel Plaza, operated in the provinces of Trujillo and Mérida and these Bolívar sent against the Spanish force comprising about 1,000 men, under Colonel Tello. But the Royalists promptly retired in the direction of San Juan and Tocuyo. The Liberator followed them to the former place and thence returning to San Cristóbal with his staff, passed on to Trujillo, in which city he established his headquarters on the 17th of October. The next day he received important communications from General O’Higgins of Chile and Admiral Cochrane. On the 26th of October he again addressed Morillo, explaining that he had been unable to await his reply at San Fernando as proposed; and as he desired to shorten the discussion, he made a direct proposition as to the terms of an armistice. These were rejected by Morillo who referred the matter to his commissioners and it was in replying to this communication of the Spanish chief that Bolívar requested him to authorize his representatives to conclude a treaty “truly sacred, which would relieve the war of the horrors and crimes that, up to this time, had inundated Colombia with tears and blood.”

While these negotiations were proceeding, Morillo ad-

vanced rapidly 2,000 infantry and 200 cavalry, from Barquisimeto to Carache, where Bolívar insisted upon their stopping. "If your Excellency thinks to dictate an armistice," he wrote to Morillo, "I assure your Excellency that I will never accept it, and your Excellency will be responsible before humanity and your nation, for the continuation of this bloody struggle, the final result of which will be the emancipation of all America or her complete extermination, if it still be attempted to subjugate her."

Morillo replied that his only object was to ration his troops and to cover Maracaibo, adding that he sincerely desired peace. He proposed a provisional suspension of hostilities with the object of avoiding a collision and the negotiation of an armistice at Trujillo. Accordingly Bolívar named three commissioners, among them Colonel Sucre and his own former private secretary and later Minister of War, Briceño Méndez.

Morillo had somewhat changed his views of the war in America since he wrote to the King in 1816: "From the port of Buenaventura, where I have already constructed military roads, I will march to punish the rebels in Buenos Aires, to suffocate the germs of insurrection in Mexico and your Majesty will dictate terms from Valdivia in Chile to San Blas in California."

The commissioners met on the 21st of November and by the evening of the 25th of the same month, after long and somewhat tempestuous debates, the armistice was signed. It was to last six months and applied to entire Colombia, in which territory the positions of both patriot and royalist forces were designated. It provided for the regulation of the war and for the discussion of a permanent treaty of peace. Likewise it stipulated that either side could end the armistice by giving due notice forty days before the resumption of hostilities.

In this convention the preservation of life and good treatment were enjoined; also that apprehended deserters in the enemy's ranks should not be subject to capital

BOLÍVAR

punishment, not even conspirators or the disaffected; that the towns occupied by the troops of both governments should be respected, and that the bodies of the dead on the battlefield should be interred or burned. These humane ideas originated with Bolívar and were advanced by his commissioners. Thus terminated the *War to the Death* which the Liberator, himself, in later years, pronounced "a delirium."

After the signing of the armistice, Morillo proposed a personal interview to which Bolívar acceded with his usual affability. Santa Ana, situated midway between the two armies, was selected as the rendezvous. Morillo arrived first and sent four of his officers to meet Bolívar, going himself, with his entire escort, to the outskirts of the town to welcome him. Upon approaching each other, both generals dismounted and embraced. Morillo had ordered a simple but delicate repast, during which the greatest cordiality reigned. At the Spaniard's suggestion, it was agreed to raise a monument upon the spot where they met, and between them they placed the first corner-stone thereof, embracing each other again.

At the dinner Bolívar electrified even his enemies by his eloquence, proposing this toast: "To the heroic firmness of the combatants of both armies; to their constancy, suffering and unexampled valor; to those worthy men who, in the midst of the most horrible evils, have sustained and defended liberty; to those who have died gloriously in defense of their country or government; to the wounded of both armies, who have shown their courage, their dignity and their character." A thunder of applause greeted these words and after silence had been restored, he added: "Eternal hatred for those who seek blood and shed it unjustly."

Morillo replied to Bolívar and concluded his peroration with this phrase: "Heaven punish those who are not animated by the same sentiments of peace and friendship as ourselves."

On the morning of the 28th of November, Bolívar and

Morillo embraced for the third time at the place of their first meeting; here they repeated their mutual promises of good will and amity; cheered Colombia and Spain alternately, and separated to meet no more on earth. Morillo was charmed with Bolívar and frankly said so in letters to his friends in describing this interview.

Before he signed the treaty of an armistice and of the regulation of the war, Morillo had been relieved of the command of the Spanish army in Colombia by the King and ordered to return to the Peninsula. His successor was General Miguel de Latorre, who assumed command on the 14th of December, while Morillo embarked at La Guayra on the 17th of the same month. He returned to Spain a lieutenant-general and with the Grand Cross of Isabella—just in time to avoid the disgrace of evacuating the territory he had come ostensibly to pacify, but in reality to conquer.

The armistice celebrated with Morillo did not give the universal satisfaction which the treaty regulating the war obtained; but it was probably both a military and political necessity, of which only Bolívar himself was fully cognizant. In the matter of arms and ammunition alone, the Patriots had almost completely exhausted their supply. Some that were bought by Colonel Sucre in the West Indies, had to ascend the Orinoco and thence be packed overland to their final destination, for which months were required. Individually, however, Bolívar was never quiet and no sooner was the armistice in force in Colombia than he began to make preparations for his departure to Popayán and perhaps to Quito. This, at least, was his ostensible motive; the true one was probably his desire to put himself in communication with Generals O'Higgins and San Martín. Guayaquil had recently declared her independence. It may be observed, without detriment to Bolívar, that he was not content to silently witness any part of South America, at least that part bordering on Colombia, free itself from the Spanish yoke, without himself having a hand therein. Bolívar was inordinately ambitious and it is certain that the march of

BOLÍVAR

San Martín northward was viewed by him with no little concern, just as Mariño's successes in the east, had undoubtedly hastened Bolívar's advance upon Caracas. This was not an unselfish motive, and indeed, for that matter, in questions concerning his glory, Bolívar was far from being an unselfish man. It was not, however, a base motive — that of wishing to be the principal actor in the War of Independence — and it certainly actuated the Liberator. No other of his emotions was stronger, unless it was his patriotism.

On the 22nd of December, Bolívar was at San Cristóbal. During his proposed absence, Vice-President Roscio was charged with the administration of public affairs and the direction of the war, with residence at El Rosario de Cúcuta, which had been fixed upon for the provisional capital and place of reunion of the Congress. Thus quietly terminated the year 1820.

CHAPTER XII

1821

The Liberator sends Sucre to command the Army of the South—Negotiations with Latorre—Bolívar goes to Cúcuta—Barinas—Proclamations—At Trujillo—Nariño appointed Vice-President—The Congress convenes—Bolívar's letter—He marches to Guanare—Renounces salaries—Second battle of Carabobo—English version—The Liberator marches to Valencia and Caracas—Capitulation of Pereira—Bolívar's distribution of commands—His letter to Gual—He leaves Caracas—His southern aspirations—San Martín—Second letter to Gual—Bolívar's gratitude to Iturbe—The Congress elects Bolívar, President and Santander, Vice-President of Republic—The Liberator praises Santander—He goes to Bogotá—Sends commissioners to sister republics—Fall of Cumaná and Cartagena—Bolívar sets out for Popayán—*En route* to Quito.

IT WILL be remembered that, after the battle of Boyacá, the Liberator sent a column, under Colonel Valdés, by way of the upper Magdalena and Popayán, to operate in the south of Colombia and eventually upon Quito. General Antonio José Sucre was now dispatched with the commissioners charged with the notification of the armistice, to take command of the Army of the South. Young, handsome, loyal and brave, Sucre was the noblest figure of the South American War of Independence, scarcely excepting Bolívar and San Martín. The Liberator loved him and frankly acknowledged that he was the better soldier. He called him *his right arm — the soul of the army*.

Sucre was especially charged with procuring the incorporation of Quito and Guayaquil in the Republic of Colombia. Guayaquil had not been included in the terms of the armistice with Morillo, because the Spaniards contended that it was a dependency of Peru and hence under the protection of General San Martín. As a matter of fact, however, Guayaquil had most recently appertained to Quito and the latter city and province were a part of the viceroyalty of New Granada. San Martín had also sent a commissioner

BOLÍVAR

to secure the incorporation of Guayaquil with Peru and later, as will be seen, this subject became of serious import in the discussion between him and the Liberator.

Sucre was instructed to endeavor to procure the command of a column of mixed troops, some of which were to be sent from Colombia to Guayaquil, to operate against the Spaniards in Quito; and he did, indeed, succeed in embarking a force at Buenaventura, with which contingent he arrived at Guayaquil in time to prevent the city from falling into the hands of the Royalists.

On the 5th of January Bolívar was in Bogotá, where he made the necessary arrangements to absent himself and for the reunion of the Congress. He then started south, but at La Mesa he received a communication from General Latorre, informing him of Morillo's departure, of his own succession to the command and of the arrival of commissioners from Spain authorized to treat for peace. Under these circumstances the Liberator determined to postpone his journey southward and to proceed in the direction of Caracas. Therefore he returned to Bogotá on the 25th of January, and on the 26th, he dispatched Latorre's messenger with his reply which was, in part, as follows: "It gives me great pleasure to answer your Excellency's letter, dated Caracas, 24th of December; and my pleasure is all the greater in knowing that your Excellency is the person at the head of the expeditionary army of the mainland. Nobody is more worthy than your Excellency to fill, under such delicate circumstances, the double mission of peace and war. If Heaven permit me to embrace your Excellency as a friend, I shall be the happiest of men; and if the genius of Evil obliges me to fight your Excellency, I shall feel the deepest grief at seeing myself compelled to antagonize a man who should not and can not have for an enemy any other than tyrants." In a personal letter to Latorre, he was still more cordial; and in a similar vein he addressed the Spanish commissioners and, in his enthusiasm at the prospect of peace, the King himself, congratulating him upon ascending

the throne of love and of law — for having grasped the sceptre of justice for the Spaniards and the rainbow of peace for the Americans, a condition which he considered the greatest monarchs of the world would desire. He concluded by beseeching his Majesty to listen with indulgence to the clamors of Colombia for her political existence.

Upon the 27th of January, the Liberator set out for Cúcuta and *en route* received the tidings that Maracaibo had proclaimed her independence of Spain and her adhesion to the Republic of Colombia. General Urdaneta immediately sent troops to Maracaibo, to enable her to maintain her independence, against which action Latorre protested in a communication that Bolívar found awaiting him upon his arrival at Cúcuta and to which he replied, refusing to comply with Latorre's demands. This was on the 19th of March. In a personal letter he said: "If, heretofore, the possession of Maracaibo has been the object of our desire, to-day it is a cause of sorrow, because of the equivocal position in which it places us. Surely you will do me the justice to believe that I have not had the smallest part in the insurrection of that city." At the same time he invited General Latorre to meet him for explanation and consultation in Carache. "I think," he said, "that the more causes for rupture there are, the more circumspect we ought to be in the observance of treaties and of international law — we, who are the centre of an immense sphere of operations in the New World and the object of the attention of all superior minds. Moreover, we owe honor and good faith to ourselves; and if an accidental fault be unfortunately committed, we should not retaliate with new faults or new infractions." Nevertheless, both Baralt and Restrepo, native historians (although the former lived many years in Spain and collaborated with Díaz, a Spaniard, in writing the history of Venezuela), censure Bolívar for his action in the matter of Maracaibo. Larrazábal, of course, defends him. The Liberator proposed to settle the controversy by arbitration and even named a Spanish officer, one of Latorre's lieutenants, as his repre-

BOLÍVAR

sentative; but Latorre, believing himself in the right and with more than 10,000 veteran troops under his orders, prepared to enforce his demand, which was the evacuation or surrender of Maracaibo. On the 10th of March, the Liberator indicated the 28th of April as the date for the resumption of hostilities. At the same time he ordered the cavalry at Trujillo to march upon Barinas; Urdaneta at Maracaibo to prepare an expedition to operate against Coro; Soublette to invade the province of Caracas, and Colonel Carillo to proceed by the Tocuyo to Barquisimeto. He, himself, went to Barinas, where he contemplated beginning the campaign. Subsequently he made a hurried journey to Achaguas, to arrange for the incorporation of Páez and his troops with the patriot army and then returned to Barinas. These preparations were to result in the second battle of Carabobo, which Larrazábal calls the "Pharsalia of Colombia."

Bolívar was fully authorized by the terms of the armistice to resume hostile operations after the expiration of forty days. He was probably induced to take this step (which was criticized by some, quite as much as the armistice had been), by the fact that the Spanish Commissioners were not authorized to treat for peace upon the basis of independence, but only on that of pacification which, indeed, had been the much heralded instructions of Morillo.

Before beginning hostilities Bolívar published the following proclamations:

Spaniards!

Your General-in-chief has said that we do not desire peace; that we hate you. Your General deceives himself. It is the Spanish Government that wishes war. Through our Envoy in London we have offered peace under a solemn treaty and the Duke of Frias, by order of the Spanish Government, has replied *that it is absolutely impossible*.

Spaniards! In spite of all the grave sorrows that your Government causes us, we shall be most observ-

ant of the treaty for the regulation of the war. Capital punishment shall be inflicted upon him who violates it and you shall be respected even in the excess of the fury of your thirst for blood. You come to behead us and we pardon you; you have converted our afflicted country into a horrible solitude and our greatest desire is to restore you to your own.’’

To the people of Colombia he said:

Colombians!

More than a year has passed since Spain attained freedom, yet her Government has not decreed the termination of tyranny in Colombia. We have listened to her words of peace with joy; we have accepted them with transport, and sent our Envoys to Madrid to treat for peace, which would be shedding its benedictions upon this desolate land if Spain had really wished it. But no! She has not heard the sorrowful complainings of humanity with that degree of interest with which her own conscience and repose should have inspired her.

And to the patriot army:

Soldiers!

Hostilities will begin in three days because I can not view with indifference your terrible privations.

Everything promises us a final victory, because valor can not be arrested. You have done so much, that little remains to do; but learn that the Government imposes upon you the rigorous obligation of being more pious than valiant.

He that infringes whichever of the articles of the treaty for the regulation of the war, shall suffer

BOLÍVAR

capital punishment. Even should our enemies break them, we must fulfill them, so that the glory of Colombia may not be stained with blood.

On the 5th of March, in Trujillo, the Liberator received the news that the royalist battalion "Numancia," created in Venezuela by Yáñez, in 1813, had declared against Spain and Peru and joined the Protector, General San Martín; also that Viceroy Pezuela had fled from Lima. Doctor Roscio and his successor *pro tem.*, General Azuola, both falling ill, Bolívar appointed as Vice-President, General Nariño, who had just escaped from a Spanish prison and was, perhaps, excepting Santander, the most distinguished New Granadan produced by the War of Independence. Roscio and Azuola died shortly after.

Meanwhile the time for convening the Congress approached and, as the appointment of Nariño was as yet unknown to the members and no presiding officer appeared, they began, as usual, to murmur against the Liberator, accusing him, who had first proposed and convened the Congress, of indifference to, and neglect of, the legislative body. At this very moment, however, Bolívar wrote to Doctor Gual, then Minister of the Treasury: "Use for the Congress the funds destined for the army; because, in a little while, half the soldiers will have been killed and the other half will need nothing, whether victorious or vanquished. It is not just that the Congress should adjourn for lack of what is necessary." The Congress held its sessions in the little village of El Rosario, near San José de Cúcuta.

Even at the risk of being too prolix, Bolívar's letter addressed to the Vice-President, is here reproduced:

Sir:

The august act of the installation of the general Congress of Colombia composed of the Representatives of twenty-two free provinces, has crowned my

most ardent desires. Founded upon the most complete representation of the inhabitants of Cundinamarca and Venezuela, the Republic will rise to the summit of the happiness and liberty to which this Nation aspires and I, seeing that the legitimate depositaries of the sovereignty of the people exercise their sacred functions, will consider myself absolved from all authority.

Appointed by the Congress of Venezuela President *pro tem.*, and your representation being that of Colombia, I am not the President of this Republic — because I have not been appointed by it; because I do not possess the talents demanded by it for the acquisition of its glory and welfare; because my office of soldier is incompatible with that of magistrate; because I am weary of hearing myself called *tyrant* by my enemies, and because my character and sentiments oppose an insurmountable repugnance.

Deign, Gentlemen, to accept, with all benevolence, my most reverent homage; the profession which I make to you of my most cordial adhesion, and the most solemn oath that I present to you of my blindest obedience. But if the sovereign Congress persists, as I fear it will, to still continue me in the Presidency of the State, I shall resign at once and forever the glorious title of Citizen of Colombia and, in fact, abandon the shores of my country.

I am, Sir, with the profoundest submission and respect, your most humble subject,

Simón Bolívar.

The Congress did persist and Bolívar was dissuaded from abandoning the shores of Colombia by a beautiful and well-deserved reply, which said in part: “The Congress can not recall, without an emotion of tender gratitude, that to your Excellency’s constant valor and perseverance, aided

BOLÍVAR

by the glorious victories achieved by the worthy defenders of Colombia and by the generous sacrifices of her inhabitants, the nation owes to-day that it is legally constituted and in a position to pronounce its wishes. Your Excellency's memory will ever be united with the history of the National Representation and its laws will be other reminders of the times when the valiant soldiers of the Republic, led by your Excellency, made possible the fulfillment of the votes of the people and assured the hope of their future prosperity.'"

Bolívar's resignations were perhaps too frequent and his fixed determination to separate himself from the supreme power too easily overcome, not to arouse a doubt of his entire sincerity. He was wedded to command and when finally compelled to relinquish it, his heart broke, accentuating his physical ailments, and he died.

The Liberator marched from Cúcuta to Guanare, where he arrived on the 19th of May, with that part of the army which was to distinguish itself shortly at Carabobo. In Guanare he received the news of the non-acceptance of his resignation by the Congress, to which he replied by renouncing the salaries of \$25,000 as General-in-chief, and of \$50,000 as President of the Republic, due him since 1819, only retaining the sum of \$14,000 drawn in that year and devoted to his own necessities and to those of his companions-in-arms and their families. Bolívar was ever unselfish in money matters, and his generosity absolutely impoverished him.

The Congress replied as follows: "The Liberator, Simón Bolívar, can renounce before the future Congress the salaries, thanks and emoluments due him under the law; but considering his love of liberty, his indefatigable constancy in its defense, his integrity and unselfishness, he can never renounce the gratitude of Colombia, which is his noblest patrimony."

In Guanare the Liberator learned that Latorre had advanced in force as far as Araure and thence had concentrated his troops at Valencia. Bolívar at once ordered General

Cedeño to occupy San Carlos. Soubllette, who was co-operating with the principal movement planned by the Liberator, had ordered Bermúdez to march on Caracas and Monagas to reinforce Zaraza in his operations upon Calabozo. The march of Bermúdez was well concerted for it attracted the attention of Latorre and caused him to detach the battalion "Valencey" to the support of General Correa, who was unable to resist alone and finally had to abandon Caracas. Morales was likewise detached with 800 men to Aragua, thus fractioning the royalist army and unduly weakening it, since it was opposed by the bulk of the patriot forces under Bolívar.

On the 1st of June the Liberator established his headquarters at San Carlos and there awaited the concentration of the patriot army. The first troops to arrive were 1,000 horsemen, the pick of the Apure, under their famous leader General Páez. Two days later the remainder of his *llaneros* joined him and subsequently Urdaneta arrived. Latorre was encamped upon the plains of Carabobo. It will be recalled that Bolívar had fought Cajigal and Ceballos upon these same plains in 1814 and here, seven years later, the Spanish power in Venezuela was to be destroyed forever.

On the 20th of June the Liberator marched from San Carlos; on the 23rd he assembled his troops, about 6,000 in number, at Tinaquillo and the next day moved against the enemy. The signal for the attack was given at 11 a. m. Bolívar commanded in person and the battle lasted but an hour. Near the end of the engagement, General Cedeño, "the bravest of the brave," was shot through the heart and instantly killed. Only a small number of the patriot troops were actively engaged, but the victory was complete. Latorre, with about 400 men, took refuge in Puerto Cabello. The cavalry, under Morales, were dispersed and escaped in the direction of the *llanos*. Entire battalions surrendered. Others threw away their arms and fled precipitately. Many standards and large quantities of munitions of war and of other stores, fell into the hands of the victors.

BOLÍVAR

In his report to the Congress the Liberator enumerates among his forces "the brave British battalion" and later says: "The British battalion, commanded by the worthy General Ferrier, was enabled to distinguish itself among so many valiant men and lost a great number of its officers." He does not relate in detail the events of the battle. From the nature and topography of the country and the relatively small number of troops engaged, the struggle for independence comprised skirmishes in great part; but even when a pitched battle was fought, the scale was not a large one, however decisive the action, as at Carabobo. Generally these battles partook more of the nature of combats. It is, therefore, interesting to quote, in this connection, from a letter of a British officer, which was published in *All the Year Round*.

We halted at dusk, on the 23rd, at the foot of the ridge. The rain fell in torrents all night, and reminded us of the night before Waterloo. Next morning the sky was cloudless when we stood to arms, and presently Bolívar sent us the order to advance. We were moving to get around the enemy's right flank, where his guns and infantry were partly hidden by trees and broken ground. Bolívar, after reconnoitering, ordered us to attack by a deep ravine between the Spanish infantry and artillery. The enemy's guns opened fire and our men began to fall. Meanwhile the *Bravos de Apure* had advanced within pistol shot of the Spaniards, and received such a murderous volley from 3,000 muskets that they broke and fled back in disorder upon us.

It was a critical moment, but we managed to keep our ground until the fugitives had got through our ranks, back into the ravine, and then our grenadier company, gallantly led by Captain Minchin, formed up and poured in their fire upon the Spaniards, who were only a few paces from them.

Checked by this volley, the enemy fell back a little, while our men, pressing eagerly on, formed and delivered their fire, company after company.

Receding before our fire and the long line of British bayonets, the Spaniards fell back to the position from which they had rushed in pursuit of the *Apure Bravos*. But from thence they kept up a tremendous fire upon us, which we returned as rapidly as we could. As they outnumbered us in the ratio of four to one, and were strongly posted and supported by guns, we waited for reinforcements before storming their position. Not a man, however, came to help us, and after an hour passed in this manner, our ammunition failed. It then really seemed to be all over with us. We tried as best we could to make signals of our distress; the men kept springing their ramrods, and Colonel Thomas Ferrier, our commanding officer, apprised General Páez of our situation, and called on him to get up a supply of cartridges. It came at last, but by this many of our officers and men had fallen, and among them Colonel Ferrier. You may imagine we were not long in breaking open the ammunition boxes; the men numbered off anew, and after delivering a couple of volleys we prepared to charge. At this moment our cavalry, passing as before by our right flank, charged with General Páez at their head. They went on very gallantly, but soon came galloping back, and passed again to our rear, without having done any execution on the enemy, while they had themselves suffered considerably.

Why Bolívar at this time and indeed during the period since our first advance sent us no support, I have never been able to guess. Whatever the motive, it is certain that the second and third divisions of the Army quietly looked on while we were being slaughtered, and made no attempt to

help us. The curses of our men were loud and deep, but seeing that they must not expect any help they made up their minds to carry the enemy's position or perish, but of 900 men we had not above 600 left. Captain Scott, who succeeded Colonel Ferrier, had fallen, and had bequeathed the command to Captain Minchin; and the colors of the regiment had seven times changed hands and had literally been cut to ribands, and dyed with the blood of the gallant fellows who carried them. But, in spite of all this, the word was passed to charge with the bayonet, and on we went, keeping our line as steadily as on a parade day, and with a loud "hurrah" we were upon them. I must do the Spaniards the justice to say that they met us gallantly, and the struggle was for a brief time fierce and the event doubtful. But the bayonet in the hands of British soldiers, more especially such a forlorn hope as we were, is irresistible. The Spaniards, five to one as they were, began to give ground, and at last broke and fled.

Then it was, and not till then, that two companies of the "Tiradores" came up to our help, and our cavalry, hitherto of little use, fiercely pursued the retreating enemy.

The remains of the corps passed before the Liberator with trailed arms at double quick, and received with a cheer, but without halting, his words, "*Salvadores de mi Patria*" ("Saviors of my Country").

Of course this not disinterested account must be taken *cum grano salis*. However correct, the Liberator chiefly attributed the victory of Carabobo to the valor and military skill of General Páez, whom he named general-in-chief on the battlefield, a promotion which was confirmed by the Congress. The *Bravos de Apure* were General Páez's famous *llaneros* or "rough riders" from the Apure river. Their

employment against the Spaniards in retreat was strictly tactical. The combat lasted such a short time that perhaps the appearance of the supporting "Tiradores" was delayed no longer than was necessary.

Upon the afternoon of the battle, the Liberator entered Valencia and upon the following day the army arrived. Here he sent sundry columns in further pursuit of the enemy and reorganized the army, placing General Mariño in command. Meanwhile, accompanied by several battalions of infantry and by a part of the cavalry of General Páez, he proceeded to Caracas. His object, according to Larrazábal, was to get in rear of, and cut off, Pereira, who had been sent by Latorre to oppose Bermúdez, in the latter's march upon the capital.

Pereira, after hearing of Latorre's defeat at Carabobo, attempted to gain the *llanos*, but received orders to proceed to La Guayra, which was then changed to Puerto Cabello. He did, in fact, go to La Guayra, it being impracticable for him to join his chief at the former port. Bolívar could have destroyed him, but holding him in considerable estimation because of his good qualities, he offered him a capitulation, which was accepted. Of his 700 soldiers, 500 joined the Republicans and 200 were permitted to march under Pereira to Puerto Cabello, where that officer shortly after succumbed to a fever, the result of exposure and anxiety.

The genius of Bolívar was one of organization; and as soon as he reached Caracas, he ordered General Soublette, who was Vice-President of Venezuela, to take charge of the capital and province. He then returned to Valencia, which city he reached on the 11th of July. Here he sent Mariño, with three battalions, westward, with instructions to push the siege of Puerto Cabello, himself returning to Caracas on the 22nd of July. The Liberator was tireless in activity when there was something to be done. He now divided Venezuela into three military departments, placing the Western under the command of Mariño, whom he widely separated from his eastern friends; the Central, including the *llanos*, under Páez, and the

Eastern under Bermúdez, whom, with the approval of the Congress, he had also made a general-in-chief.

In explanation of this tripartite division, it is interesting to quote Bolívar's letter to Gual, which will enlighten the reader with regard to affairs at this time and subsequently. "You can not form an exact idea," he wrote, "of the spirit which animates our military officers. They are not those you knew; *you do not know them*: they are men who have fought for years and believe themselves meritorious, but are humiliated and impoverished, with no hope of enjoying the fruit of the *acquisitions of their lances*. They are often resolute *llaneros*, ignorant and never think themselves the equals of other men who know more and appear to better advantage. Even I, who have always been at their head, do not yet know of what they are capable. I treat them with the greatest consideration, but this consideration does not suffice to inspire them with the confidence and frankness which ought to exist among comrades and fellow-citizens. Believe me, Gual, we are upon an abysm, or rather, over a volcano ready to erupt. *I fear peace even more than war*; and with this statement I give you an idea of all that I do not and can not say." In short, Bolívar was compelled to make this tripartite division of military Venezuela in order to satisfy and calm the ambitions of his three able but jealous lieutenants, Bermúdez, Páez and Mariño. Almost from the beginning he had been handicapped in his great work by the rivalries and machinations of his own officers. The independence of Colombia was not yet assured. He had triumphed at Boyacá and Carabobo, but the Spaniards still held Puerto Cabello and Cumaná. Their guerrillas maintained themselves in the provinces of Caracas and Coro, and a permanent peace could not be expected until they had been driven from Quito and Peru. It was to this larger field in the south, that the eyes and heart of the Liberator were now turned, and it was necessary to temporize with Páez and — with Mariño.

Bolívar left Caracas for the western provinces on the 1st of August. His purpose was to lead some troops by way of

Rio Hacha and Santa Marta against Cartagena, capture this city and occupy the Isthmus of Panamá, thence embarking for Guayaquil and Quito. Later he changed his proposed route because, from Trujillo, he wrote to Soublette: "It is essential to terminate the war in America in a splendid way. In three or four days I shall be in Maracaibo, preparing the expedition; and when I have everything ready, I shall proceed to Santa Marta. Thence I shall ascend the Magdalena in the direction of the south! Matters there are not going very well and San Martín has made an armistice with the enemy. Pray God he may not have evacuated Peru!"

San Martín had no intention of evacuating Peru and Bolívar had also made an armistice with the enemy. But the latter's ambition was boundless. His patriotism was no less great and, indeed, there could be no safety for Colombia until the Spaniards had been expelled from the entire continent. In leaving an unconquered enemy behind him, however, there is little doubt that Bolívar was largely actuated by his love of glory and the irrepressible desire to be first everywhere within the range of his activities. San Martín was approaching dangerously near. "The Lion of the Andes" and "the Eagle of the Orinoco," as a Chilean historian called them, were fated to meet and one of them, probably the least selfish, was to give way before the other. Bolívar, indeed, wrote to San Martín, Admiral Cochrane, Sucre and the Government of Guayaquil, of his plans for the conquest of the southern provinces, sending these letters by his aide-de-camp, Colonel Ibarra. Meanwhile he placed General Salom in command of the expedition along the New Granadan coast and sent him with the battalion, "Rifles," to Rio Hacha. Both Gual, the Minister of the Treasury, and various members of the Congress, wrote to him, insisting upon his presence with the young government. To the former he replied: "You tell me what *history will say of my magnificent plans*. I think it will find nothing so great as my relinquishment of command and my absolute devotion to arms and to the salvation of the government and fatherland. History will say: 'Bolívar took command in order to liberate

BOLÍVAR

his fellow-countrymen and, when they were free, he left them to govern themselves by their own laws and not by his will.' It appears that everywhere the emancipation of America is being completed. Iturbide, we are assured, entered Mexico in June; San Martín should have entered Lima at the same time; consequently it is I who am yet to round off Colombia before peace is made — to complete the emancipation of the New Continent. See, my friend, if under these circumstances, I should lose time and give opportunity to some amateur to take possession of the *vehicle of the world!*''

Such was, in short, one of the controlling motives of Bolívar; and who will say that it was wrong to aspire to the title of Liberator, not merely of his fatherland, but of the entire continent? Larrazábal understands by *vehicle of the world*, the Isthmus of Panamá, and eulogizes the Liberator's perspicacity, quoting Sucre, who said: "Bolívar is incredibly foreseeing. For him the future guards no secrets." If this was his meaning, he perhaps gave an exaggerated political importance to the Isthmus, even with the canal completed. That of Suez has revolutionized certain lines of travel and of traffic, but is far from exercising the local influence anticipated by its builders, and so it is likely to be with that of Panamá.

It gives pleasure to record an incident like the following. Bolívar, it will be recalled, was preserved from Monteverde's fury by a Spaniard, Don Francisco Iturbe, who was now a refugee in Curaçoa. About this time the Liberator addressed this note to the Congress which, it is needless to add, immediately took favorable action thereon.

I was presented to Monteverde by a man who was as generous as I was unfortunate. With this speech Don Francisco Iturbe presented me to the victor: "Here is the Commandant of Puerto Cabello, Don Simón Bolívar, for whom I have offered my guarantee; if he is to receive punishment, I will suffer it. I will give my life for his."

Can I forget so magnanimous a man?

And without ingratitude, can Colombia punish him?

Don Francisco Iturbe emigrated for a point of honor, not as an enemy of the Republic; and even if he were such, he has contributed to its liberation from its oppressors, serving humanity in accordance with his own sentiments and not otherwise. Colombia, in adopting men like Iturbe, fills her bosom with rare beings.

If necessary to confiscate the property of Don Francisco Iturbe, I offer mine instead, as he offered his life for mine; and if the sovereign Congress will pardon him, it is I that will be benefited; I am the debtor.

Bolívar.

When certain members of the Congress received the letters from the Liberator, explaining his future plans and announcing his approaching departure for the south, it was determined to proceed to the election of a President and Vice-President of Colombia, and to require both to take the oath of office. The election was held on the 7th of September. Out of fifty-nine deputies present, fifty voted for General Bolívar and he was declared President of the Republic. General Santander was elected Vice-President. Both arrived in El Rosario about the same time.

Bolívar, in a letter addressed to the President of the Congress, protested against accepting the honor, declaring his unfitness for such a high civil position and his desire to serve his country only in the capacity of a soldier. He agreed, however, to accept the Presidency, if the Congress insisted upon it, provided that he might remain in command of the army and leave the exercise of the Executive Power in the hands of Vice-President Santander, to which propositions, of course, the Congress agreed. General Nariño's appointment as Vice-President, had only been temporary.

BOLÍVAR

On the 3rd of October, the ceremony of subscribing to the Constitution, which comprised the formula of taking the oath in question, was duly performed. Bolívar addressed the Congress and was answered by its President. He then affixed his signature to a copy of the instrument, amid enthusiastic cheers. The members of the cabinet or secretaries of state for the various portfolios, were then announced, after which, in an eloquent allocution, Bolívar paid this merited compliment to his colleague, Santander: "Colombians! The law has designated the Vice-President of Colombia as the Chief of State, while I remain a soldier. He will be a just, beneficent, diligent, incomparable and worthy leader of Colombia. I am sure that he will procure your happiness." In his several addresses he declared his purpose to wage the war in the south, limiting himself to the province and city of Quito and begged the Congress to support this necessary enterprise.

In his impatience to proceed, the Liberator altered his plans with reference to Panamá, as has been said, and ordered Salom and his troops at Santa Marta to meet him in Bogotá, whither Bolívar preceded them. At the same time he sent commissioners to Mexico, and to Peru, Chile and Buenos Aires, with the object of effecting an offensive and defensive league among the New Republics, and received the news of the expulsion of the Colombian Mission from Madrid, whither it had gone to promote, if possible, negotiations for peace and independence. This disagreeable news was compensated for, however, by the tidings of the capture of Cumaná by Bermúdez and of Cartagena, after fourteen months' siege, by Montilla, to whom, it will be recalled, the Liberator had confided the command of the expedition organized for this purpose, in token of their reconciliation. Montilla, in transmitting him the keys of the city, wrote him a graceful and loyal acknowledgment, a method of procedure upon the part of his lieutenants to which the Liberator had been little accustomed. A large quantity of arms, ammunition and other stores, fell into the hands of the Patriots, with the surrender of Cartagena. Bolívar returned the keys to

Montilla with an equally graceful and friendly letter and, at the same time, charged him with the operations against the city of Panamá which, with Puerto Cabello, were the only places in northern South America remaining in the hands of the Spaniards. Henceforth the Liberator was free to proceed to Quito.

The expedition to the Isthmus was rendered unnecessary, however, by the spontaneous uprising of its inhabitants, who thus achieved their own independence but subsequently annexed themselves to Colombia, with which political entity it remained, notwithstanding sundry revolutions, until its secession in 1903. Only Puerto Cabello now sheltered the Spanish arms upon the Caribbean Sea.

The march of the troops from the coast to Bogotá occupied two months. On the 13th of December Bolívar set out for Popayán, which city he had named as the point of concentration and whither several battalions had preceded him. While at Bogotá, the Liberator learned of the poverty of the widow of his former friend and the President of the New Granadan Congress, Doctor Camilo Torres, who had been executed by Morillo in 1816. He immediately wrote to Vice-President Santander and requested him to direct to her use, yearly, ten thousand of the thirty thousand *pesos* which constituted his salary. Bolívar was no less generous in his praise of his subordinates, to whose wise counsels and loyal co-operation, he frankly attributed most of his success.

The close of the year 1821 found the Liberator traversing the beautiful valley of the Cauca, justly called the "Switzerland of South America", *en route* to Quito, which city and province he was determined to free and thus round out Colombia, since they, as well as Guayaquil, had belonged to the Viceroyalty of Santa Fe (Bogotá) or New Granada. Sucre, who proved to be the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* of the war, awaited him.

CHAPTER XIII

1822

Bolívar reaches Cali—Proclamation—Arrival of Spanish fleet in the Pacific—Bolívar changes plans—At Popayán—Marches upon Pasto—Battle of Bomboná—Pichincha—Capitulation of García—Sucre enters Quito—Bolívar at Pasto—Proclamation—Salgado capitulates—Recognition of independence of Spanish-American republics by United States—Bolívar arrives at Quito—He reorganizes the government—*Status* of Guayaquil—Arrival of Bolívar—His reception—Proclamation—Correspondence with San Martín—The latter arrives at Guayaquil—Meeting with Bolívar—Departure of San Martín—Appreciations by Vicuña MacKenna—Guayaquil annexed to Colombia—Bolívar at Cuenca—Sends troops to Peru—Uprising in Pasto—Sucre takes city—Federalism proposed—Combated by Bolívar.

ON THE 5th of January, the Liberator arrived at Cali, one of the most important cities of the Cauca Valley and which had been last named as the point of concentration of the patriot army. While here, he published the following proclamation:

Colombians of the South! The Liberating Army comes to bring you repose and freedom.

Caucanos! The day of your recompense has arrived. The heroism of your sacrifices forever assures your happiness: it will be the patrimony of your sons, the fruit of your glory.

Pastusos! You have caused tears, blood and chains in the south, but Colombia forgets her sorrow and consoles herself by folding her unfortunate sons in a maternal embrace. For her, all are innocent; none are guilty. Do not fear, for her arms are sheltering, not murderous.

Quiteños! The Colombian Guard is directing its steps towards the ancient temple of the Father of

REPUBLICA DE COLOMBIA.

Cuartel General de la *Alpujarra*

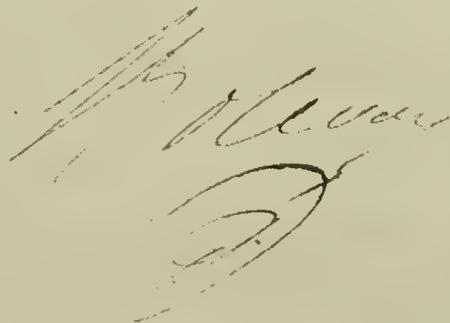
á 22 de *Marzo* de 1822. *12* Duplicado

Al *Comandante* *Córdova* ó al Jefe que mande las fuerzas que
estén en *Panamá*.

Hej marchan la 1^{ra} y 2^a Division del Ejercito, y manan
inaxelto yo con las demas.

U.S. esta autorizado para obrar sobre *Punto* con
las fuerzas de su mando, mas arriba del *Judion* de los
Yemas, que e. *buena* *parte*, e por el *baguero*, en inteligencia
de que U.S. tendrá que *batir* por *esta* *direccion* e *cuatro*
cientos ó *quinientos* hombres que podrá el enemigo oponer
á U.S. por *esta* *parte*. Si U.S. *fuera* *conveniente* seguir
mi *movimiento*, esta *autorizado* para *hacerlo*, pues el
Ejercito *necesita* de *esta* *columna* para *continuar* sus
operaciones sobre *Punto*.

Deo que a U.S. m. a.



Light. Confide in it your hopes. Soon you shall see
the irised banners sustained by the angel of victory.
Bolívar.

General Headquarters, Cali,
17th of January 1822.

The *Caucanos* were the inhabitants of the beautiful valley of the Cauca River in New Granada; the *Pastusos*, those of the province and city of Pasto, who were intensely loyal to the King and Mother Country, while the *Quiteños* were those of the province and city of Quito, the capital of the present Republic of Ecuador.

Briefly, the plan of the Liberator was to occupy Popayán with the troops of Colonel Joaquín París, while he himself, marched with the greater part of his army to Buenaventura and embarked for Guayaquil, the government of which province and port was undecided whether to annex itself to Colombia or Peru, or finally to maintain its own independence. The execution of this plan would have enabled him to avoid a long and tedious march, much of it through an unsanitary region, and to attack the enemy at a point where his appearance was least expected. A part of the army had already proceeded to the port when Bolívar changed his mind and ordered the return of the troops to Popayán, where he joined them. The cause of this retrograde movement was the receipt of letters from General Sucre announcing the arrival of Captain-General Juan de la Cruz Mourgeón with a royalist expedition at Quito and the appearance in the Pacific of a Spanish fleet comprising the corvette *Alejandro* and four smaller armed vessels. As the Republicans possessed not a single gunboat in the Pacific, the Liberator was compelled to abandon his well-conceived plan and to undertake the extensive and sanguinary campaign against Pasto. Bolívar was a great reader of men, the study of whom, he claimed, was worth more than the study of books. An enemy, he said, should be known thoroughly. He desired, therefore, to learn what manner of man was the new Captain-General — to find

out upon which foot he limped, as he tersely expressed it. Hence he dispatched a commission to Quito, ostensibly to treat of an exchange of prisoners. The Captain-General refused to receive the commission, however, in terms sufficiently harsh and intemperate to show the Liberator the kind of wild animal with which he had to treat. Colonel José María Obando commanded the Spanish advanced posts near Popayán, where he visited Bolívar officially. The magnetism of the latter was so irresistible that Obando deserted the royalist army and with two officers and a handful of soldiers joined the Patriots, in whose cause he rendered valuable service during the war.

The task of the Liberator was most difficult. There were no roads between New Granada and Quito — nothing but mountain paths, through a region made almost impassable by its topography and climate. The country was wholly unprovided with resources. Besides these obstacles, the inhabitants were fanatical Royalists, servile adorers of the King, whom the Spanish clergy had taught them to revere as the vice-gerent of God upon the earth. As had so often occurred before, the Liberator was compelled to fight a part of his own people, native Americans (who neither desired independence nor knew its meaning) as well as the Spaniards; and at the same time to overcome almost insuperable natural obstacles. Larrazábal declares that nothing so difficult confronted Hannibal in his invasion of Italy; and extravagant as the assertion appears, the careful student, disregarding the difference in scale of the two enterprises, will find in it more than a semblance of truth.

On the 8th of March the Liberator and his staff left Popayán. The Colombian army had preceded him, directing its march upon the Juanambú. When Bolívar overtook the column, it had already been reduced one third by sickness. There remained only 2,000 soldiers with whom to march upon Pasto, which was occupied by Spaniards and native Royalists. The Liberator had apprised Sucre of his change of plan and knew that he could count upon the latter's loyalty and obedience, but he had received no further tidings from him. On the 24th of March Bolívar arrived at the Juanambú, which he

succeeded in fording with his little army at a place called Burreros. He had left the main road to Pasto in order to avoid the fortified points occupied by the Royalists, with the intention of attacking Quito first, but this plan he was unable to carry out.

The forces opposing him comprised 2,000 men of the Spanish army of the south and with them were many native hunters who were excellent marksmen, thoroughly acquainted with the mountain fastnesses through which Bolívar had to pass. Their commander, Colonel García, was an indomitable soldier and promised himself an easy victory over an equal number of Patriots. The Liberator personally reconnoitered the steep banks of the Guáitara, but was unable to cross it. At only two points were there bridges. That at Veracruz had been destroyed by the Spaniards and its reconstruction was prevented by an intrenched force, provided with two pieces of artillery. Bolívar, therefore, determined to attempt the passage of the river at the second bridge, that of Yacuanquer, by way of Sandoná and Consacá, and to approach Pasto upon the south.

On the 6th of April, when the Patriots arrived at Consacá, the Royalists occupied the heights of Cariaco, three miles distant. The intermediate ground of Bomboná was unoccupied. On the morning of the 7th, Colonels París and Barreto were ordered to reconnoiter the position of the enemy, whom they reported strongly posted, with the left wing resting upon the volcano of Pasto, the right upon the Guáitara and the centre covered by a dense forest, which had been made formidable by felling trees and forming *abatis*. The line seemed impenetrable. Bolívar personally inspected it and returning to his camp, said: "The position is indeed formidable. But we can not remain here, nor can we retreat. We must conquer, and we will." General Valdés was ordered to climb the volcano and attack the left wing with the Battalion "Rifles". The assault of the right wing and the centre was assigned to General Torres, at the head of the Battalions "Bogotá" and "Vargas", with two squadrons of the "Guías" (Guides).

BOLÍVAR

The battalion "*Vencedor en Boyacá*" ("Victor at Boyacá") and two squadrons of cavalry, remained in reserve. Bolívar commanded the action in person.

Through a misunderstanding upon the part of General Torres, Valdés was permitted to approach the enemy while the troops of his colleague were still eating their scanty breakfast. When Bolívar made this fortunate discovery, he said: "General Torres, you will immediately turn over your command to Colonel Barreto, who assuredly will obey better than you, the orders I give him." Torres was a brave and distinguished officer, and dismounting from his horse and seizing a musket, he replied: "Liberator! If unworthy to serve my country as a general, I will at least serve her as a soldier!" Bolívar, who was extremely warm-hearted and impulsive, likewise dismounted and embracing Torres, restored him to his command.

Torres now attacked the enemy furiously and endeavored to penetrate the right wing, but it was impossible. He then, at two o'clock p. m., attempted to cross the deep glen of the Consacá, but arriving before the *abatis* constructed by the enemy, his troops were exposed to a withering fire of artillery and infantry and all but six of his officers and many of his men were either killed or wounded. Torres was followed by París; París by Barreto; Barreto by Sanders; Sanders by Carvajal. Nobody would retire. The battalion "Vargas" almost disappeared and that of "Bogotá" was reduced to shreds!

While this carnage was decimating the centre, Valdés with the intrepid "Rifles", ascending by an improvised ladder formed of bayonets inserted in the crevices of the precipice, succeeded in climbing the flank of the volcano and threw himself and his men, with greatest fury, upon the surprised foe. The celebrated battalion "Aragón" defended this point, until that moment considered impregnable, but was compelled to retire before the impetuous attack of Valdés. The afternoon was calm and the smoke concealed the combatants. As through a rift in the clouds, however, Bolívar saw this partial success and immediately hurled the battalion

“Vencedor,” until then held in reserve, against the parapets and trenches of the terrible centre. “Battalion ‘Vencedor,’” he exclaimed, “your name alone will suffice for victory. Forward and assure our triumph!” The attack was executed with the greatest intrepidity. Night was soon upon them and a brilliant moon shone down upon the scene when Bolívar received the news that the Spaniards were in full flight. The cries of “*Viva Colombia!*” assured him of victory, but he prudently dispatched his aides-de-camp to the different columns, with orders not to pursue farther the retreating enemy, for the Patriots were operating in an unknown and extremely rugged region. The battlefield with artillery, some booty and many prisoners and wounded, remained in the hands of the Republicans.

Thus ended the battle of Bomboná, which Restrepo unjustly calls “a sterile triumph.” Costly it was, but hardly sterile, although but a step in the march upon Quito, which itself led to Ayacucho and the ultimate independence of Colombia and of Peru.

Notwithstanding the Patriots had remained in possession of the royalist position, on the 16th of April, after the interchange of a series of letters which led to nothing, Bolívar retired in the direction of Hato-Viejo to await the arrival of reinforcements from Popayán, for lack of animals leaving in the hospital at Consacá some three hundred wounded, among them the brave General Torres, who died shortly after. Harassed daily by the royalist guerrillas and with his provisions nearly exhausted, Bolívar confronted the enemy until the 10th of May when, with but three days’ rations remaining, he recrossed the Juanambú under fire. At Mercaderes he began to receive the expected reinforcements, conducted by Colonels Lara and Paz del Castillo. At El Trapiche, Colonel Barreto brought him more auxiliaries. Altogether his force barely numbered 2,000 men as before, the cavalry badly mounted and the expedition ill provided with pack animals.

On the 23rd of May, being still at El Trapiche, Bolívar offered Colonel García, *for the last time*, the capitulation which

BOLÍVAR

had been the subject of much correspondence, and on the 28th, the Spanish commander replied, accepting the offer. The delay was due to the resistance of the native population, the Pastusos, who clamored for "war against the insurgents" until news was received of the victory of Pichincha, in which the gallant Sucre triumphed over Captain-General Aymerich, whom he obliged to capitulate and surrender. Cuenca and Alausí had successively fallen into Sucre's hands and on the 22nd of April he had captured Riobamba, after a brilliant struggle against superior forces. On the 24th of May, upon the heights above Quito which form the crest of the volcano of Pichincha, the famous action of this name was fought. Many prisoners, among them 160 officers, 14 pieces of artillery, 1,700 muskets, numerous standards and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Patriots. On the 25th of May, the illustrious lieutenant of the Liberator entered Quito. Upon the receipt of this good news, Bolívar placed himself at the head of the army and marched upon Pasto. At Berruecos, near the Juanambú, he found García's commissioners awaiting him and the convention was soon signed and ratified. Shortly after, he received a dispatch from Colonel García apprising him of the state of agitation that prevailed in Pasto and requesting him to hasten his march to, and entrance into, the city. The Liberator selected a few companies as an escort; but meeting García at some distance from the city, they rode ahead of the patriot troops and together entered Pasto, where the Spanish guard received him with the honors due the President of Colombia and remained in formation until relieved by the patriot army.

The same day Bolívar published the following proclamation:

Headquarters of the Liberator in Pasto,
8th of June 1822.

Colombians!

At last the whole of your beautiful land is free. The victories of Bomboná and Pichincha have completed the work of your heroism. From the banks

of the Orinoco to the Andes of Peru, the Liberating Army, marching in triumph, has covered with its protecting arms the entire extent of Colombia. Only a single place resists, but it will fall.

Colombians of the South!

The blood of your brothers has redeemed you from the horrors of war! It has opened for you the gate to the enjoyment of the most holy rights of liberty and of equality. The statutes of Colombia consecrate the alliance of social prerogatives with natural laws. The Constitution of Colombia is the model of a representative, republican and strong government. Do not expect to find a better one in the political institutions of the world until it, itself, reaches perfection.

Bolívar.

The remainder of the republican army arrived on the 9th and went into quarters at Pasto. Upon the afternoon of the same day, Larrazábal relates that Colonel Salgado, with the Spanish battalion "Cataluña", reached Pasto from Quito, to reinforce García, to whom he reported and added:

"I regret to be the bearer of the fatal news of the fall of Quito. However, my force is intact and I flatter myself that, in union with your Excellency, we may yet save the province."

García heard him without interruption and then asked:

"Where did you leave your troops, Colonel?"

"Outside the city," he replied.

"And have you not observed the streets filled with soldiers?"

"Yes, sir. I have seen them."

"Well, all these men belong to General Simón Bolívar, to whom yesterday I surrendered the city, and the arms and munitions of my army," said García, with an air of resignation.

BOLÍVAR

“Has your Excellency capitulated?” asked Salgado.

“I could do nothing else and I advise you to submit to this same capitulation for, upon the part of General Bolívar, I expect there will be no difficulty.”

The two colonels, accompanied by Major Germán, who commanded the cavalry, then called upon the Liberator, who had no objection to extending the terms of the capitulation to the new-comers and the next day they entered the city and surrendered their arms, ammunition, equipments, horses and public funds.

The southern portion of Colombia was now free and Aymerich and García, with other officers, embarked for Spain. Bolívar had prophesied this result, while yet in Cúcuta, in 1821.

Although Henry Clay had labored for the recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American republics since 1820, the long and unjustly delayed act did not occur until this year, 1822. President James Monroe only recommended it on the 8th of March, for his Secretary of State, that shrewd politician and statesman, John Quincy Adams, had hitherto opposed it, alleging as a reason that he did not believe the South Americans were ready for self-government. However, the committee charged with the matter presented a favorable report, saying: “To deny to the people of Spanish-America the right to independence would be to virtually renounce our own.” Congress, therefore, in committee of the whole, resolved “to recognize the independence of the American nations which were formerly Spanish colonies.” Of 160 votes, 159 were cast in favor of the measure, Mr. Garnett enjoying the distinction of being the only one voting against the resolution. The step taken by the United States was soon followed by various European powers and Colombia, the child of the genius of Bolívar, was admitted as an equal in the galaxy of nations.

As so often remarked, Bolívar was certainly endowed with the genius of organization, and in a few days the province of Pasto, until now intensely monarchical, was thoroughly

reorganized under a republican administration. The Bishop of Popayán requested his passports in order to return to Spain, but the Liberator, in a charming letter, invited him to remain; and from a bigoted and intolerant royalist, he was soon converted into a staunch friend and patriot.

On the 11th of June, accompanied by 200 infantry and a squadron of cavalry, Bolívar set out for Quito. In Túquerres, Ibarra and other cities *en route*, he was received with the utmost enthusiasm. He arrived at Quito on the 16th of June. His entrance into the city was a veritable triumph, than which nothing gratified more the laudable, if excessive, ambition of the Liberator, whose love of glory was intense. The municipality, in solemn conclave, in the name of the people which composed the ancient kingdom of Quito, recognizing that they were in possession of their inalienable rights through the tutelar genius of Colombia and by the hand of the immortal Bolívar, manifested their desire to be reunited to the Republic of Colombia, of which they believed themselves to be an integral part. It likewise decreed the erection of a pyramid upon the battlefield of Pichincha, to be known as the "Summit of Liberty". Upon the front it was to bear the inscription: "The Sons of Ecuador to Simón Bolívar, Angel of Peace and of Colombian Liberty", to be followed by the name of General Sucre and the date: "Quito Free, 24th of May 1822". It also decreed the placing of busts of Bolívar and of Sucre in the palace of Government, the presentation to the Liberator, by a deputation of citizens, of a commemorative medal adorned with precious stones, and honorific distinctions for the Liberating Army. Some, but not all of these provisions were complied with. Bolívar made an eloquent and characteristic reply to these manifestations.

As usual the Liberator immediately devoted himself to the reorganization of the captured provinces, including Quito, Cuenca and Loja, comprising a vast and populous department; and Sucre, promoted to be general of division, was appointed its governor. Distinctions and promotions were likewise conferred upon other officers who fought at Pichincha,

particularly upon members of the Peruvian division; and on the 17th of June, Bolívar wrote to General San Martín, the Protector of Peru, saying: "The war in Colombia is over and my army is ready to march wherever called by our brothers, especially to the country of our neighbors to the south." Following the example of Quito, the port and province of Guayaquil were likewise declared united to Colombia by a popular assembly which convened on the 31st of July; but as the events preceding this act are of great interest, they will be briefly described.

Before the capitulation of Quito and Pasto, Guayaquil came near being the cause of a struggle between Colombia and Peru. This province had declared its independence of Spain in October 1820 and Sucre was sent by the Liberator, among other reasons, to secure its incorporation as a part of Colombia. At the time of the armistice between Bolívar and Morillo, the Spanish General Aymerich declared Guayaquil to be under the jurisdiction of Peru, which, however, was untrue. The Protector, General San Martín, recognizing the importance (especially of the port) of Guayaquil, had also dispatched a commissioner to solicit its annexation to Peru. Both independence and Peruvian annexation had their adherents among the inhabitants, but upon the arrival of Sucre, he succeeded in having the province place itself under the protection of Colombia. The Spanish residents, however, availed themselves of this division among the Patriots to bring about a movement in favor of the King; but Sucre flew to the rescue and with the aid of Colombian troops, succeeded in frustrating the culmination of such an improvident measure. Aymerich then marched against the city, but was defeated by Sucre at Yaguachí and incontinently abandoned both the field and his purpose. When a commissioner from Aymerich arrived to propose an exchange of prisoners, 250 of the latter, who were Americans, protested and enlisted in the army of Sucre who, doubly reinforced by troops and victory, again essayed to bring about the incorporation of Guayaquil with Colombia. The municipality admitted that the friends of Colombia were

now in the ascendancy, but proposed a popular election to decide the matter. Meanwhile the Royalists had been reinforced and giving battle to Sucre near Ambato, he was defeated, although not incapacitated for the defense of Guayaquil. However, the fickle inhabitants again wavered between the several plans proposed for their future and Sucre, realizing that the moment was inopportune, succeeded in having the matter definitely postponed.

About this time Colonel Ibarra, Aide-de-Camp to the Liberator, arrived with dispatches from the latter for Sucre, San Martín and O'Higgins. To the Protector of Peru, the Liberator offered his aid for the complete elimination of the Spaniards from America and added that he was marching with troops upon Guayaquil. San Martín promptly sent a commissioner to Guayaquil, ostensibly to confer with the Liberator upon his arrival, but according to Larrazábal, with the ulterior object of bringing about the annexation of the province to Peru. Sucre was not only an excellent soldier, but tactful and diplomatic in the extreme. He was a man who did exceedingly well everything that he attempted. When, however, the Liberator determined to operate against Pasto, Sucre was directed to create a diversion upon the side of Cuenca and Riobamba, which orders he obeyed, although a crisis was approaching in Guayaquil, where General Lamar, a staunch friend of San Martín's agent Salazar, was Commander-in-chief. Bolívar, notwithstanding his arduous duties in the field, did not forget the political situation or omit any effort to clear it up. Accordingly he wrote to the Junta of Guayaquil, urging it to declare promptly for incorporation with Colombia, which proposal excited General San Martín to such a degree that, it is said, he convoked the Council of State to consider whether or not *war should be declared against Colombia*. And indeed, the Council, with the exception of Minister Monteagudo and General Alvarado, voted in the affirmative. Fortunately the scandal of a fratricidal struggle between the two patriot soldiers of greatest renown and before the Spaniards had

been expelled from the land, was prevented by occurrences of the War of Independence itself. Bomboná and Pichincha undoubtedly produced a mollifying effect. Bolívar's commissioner, Mosquera, had presented to San Martín's Secretary of State, Monteagudo, a "treaty of union, alliance and perpetual confederation between Colombia and Peru," which had been prepared by Doctor Gual, with the ultimate view of including Chile and Buenos Aires; but this proposed treaty contained a stipulation including Guayaquil as a part of Colombia. It was, therefore, the subject of long and frequent discussions not to say altercations, between the representatives concerned, who were finally compelled to omit the matter of territorial limits undecided and deferred, in order to arrive at a favorable conclusion upon the remaining sections of the treaty. By this time the Liberator had reached Quito. He viewed with displeasure the fact that, to assure the integrity of Colombia in the south, only Guayaquil was lacking and he determined to go there in person and terminate, in one way or another, but most likely in his own way, this state of indecision. Three battalions of the Colombian Guard were dispatched in advance and with them marched the Peruvian division "Santa Cruz," returning to its own country by way of Guayaquil and Callao. The Liberator caused the Peruvian troops to be accompanied by this detachment of the Colombian Guard because he had learned that their presence in the former port was to be the signal for the friends of San Martín to declare the annexation of the province to Peru.

The Liberator entered Guayaquil on the 11th of July and the inhabitants of the city turned out *en masse* and hastened to the point of disembarkation, eager to view and perhaps touch this extraordinary man, whose genius had redeemed an entire nation. The troops made the honors of war and the batteries fired the regulation salute. A triumphal arch had been erected. Upon one face were the words:

1822

To
Simón Bolívar
President of Colombia
From the People of Guayaquil

and upon the other:

To
Simón Bolívar
The Lightning of War—the Rainbow of Peace
From the People of Guayaquil

The Liberator was welcomed by various discourses, to which he replied in three eloquent speeches. “The summits of the Andes,” he said, “have been humiliated by the victorious tread of the Liberating Army.” Olmedo, himself a learned man and charming poet, who was the chief supporter of a separate and independent existence for Guayaquil, was fascinated by the eloquence and personal magnetism of the Liberator. Upon the following day the signs of the adhesion of the people were pronounced and numerous. In the evening, the Junta gave a splendid banquet to celebrate the arrival of the President of Colombia, at which Bolívar proposed as a toast: “The liberty of the people and the stability of the Governments of America, founded upon their mutual, fraternal and indissoluble union.”

On the 13th the Liberator published the following proclamation:

Inhabitants of Guayaquil! Upon terminating the war in Colombia, my first desire has been to complete the work of the Congress by placing the provinces of the South under the shield of liberty and the laws of Colombia. The Liberating Army has not left in its rear a single town that is not under the custody of the Constitution and of the arms of the Republic. Only you are reduced to the

BOLÍVAR

falsest and most absurd and ambiguous situation, alike in politics and in war. Your position was a phenomenon which was threatening anarchy, but I have come, Inhabitants of Guayaquil, to bring you the ark of salvation. Colombia offers you, through my lips, justice and order, peace and glory.

Inhabitants of Guayaquil! You are Colombians at heart because all your vows and your outcries have been for Colombia and because, from time immemorial, you have belonged to the territory that today has the happiness of hearing the name of the Father of the New World. But I desire to consult your wishes so that it may never be said there is a single Colombian who does not love his country and its laws.

The effect of this proclamation was immediate. Everywhere the people demanded to be received under the protection of Colombia and a majority of the inhabitants unitedly made this request of Bolívar, to which he acceded, declaring that such protection would be paternal and that in no way would the liberty of the representatives of the people to frankly express their opinion in assembly, be controlled or controverted. The representation of the province had been convoked by the Junta for the 30th of July, which period the Liberator wisely abstained from abridging, although petitioned to do so.

Meanwhile one of the most interesting, dramatic and far-reaching events of the War of Independence was about to occur at Guayaquil, namely, the meeting of Generals Bolívar and San Martín. As early as the 6th of February, San Martín had embarked for Paita, with the purpose of meeting Bolívar, and in the official gazette of Lima had thus explained the object of his journey:

When I resolved to put myself at the head of the administration of Peru and to assume the weight

of such a vast responsibility, I declared that the motives which impelled me to make this sacrifice were inscribed upon the foundation of my conscience. The testimony that I have since received of the public confidence, animates my own and urges me anew to consecrate myself entirely to the maintenance of the rights which I have re-established. I have no choice except in the election of the means of contributing to the perfection of this great work, because long ago I ceased to belong to myself but to the cause of the American continent. This required me to charge myself with the exercise of the Supreme Authority and I submitted with zeal to this conviction. To-day I am called upon to realize my design, the contemplation of which encourages my dearest hopes: I go to meet in Guayaquil the Liberator of Colombia. The general interests of both states, the energetic termination of the war we sustain and the stability of the destiny to which America is rapidly approaching, make our interview necessary, since the course of events has made us, in a high degree, responsible for the success of this sublime enterprise. I shall return to put myself at the head of public affairs at the time appointed for the reunion of the Congress. I will hasten to the side of my former companions-in-arms, if necessary for me to participate in the danger and glory which combats offer and, under all circumstances, I shall be the first to obey the public will and to maintain it.

However, General San Martín returned shortly after from Paita, as he learned that the Liberator could not go to Guayaquil. Perhaps Bolívar was not ready for the meeting or he wished to precede the Protector, as he did eventually. On the 13th of July San Martín wrote: "Although my desire was frustrated in the month of February by circumstances

BOLÍVAR

which then occurred, I think of not delaying longer. It is necessary to combine upon a large scale the interests confided to us by the people, in order that a solid and stable prosperity may make them know better the benefits of their independence. Before the 18th instant I shall leave Callao and, as soon as I disembark in Guayaquil, I shall march to salute your Excellency in Quito. My soul is filled with emotion and with pleasure when I contemplate that moment. We shall see each other and I forecast that America will not forget the day we embrace.”

Bolívar, as has been seen, arrived at Guayaquil on the 11th of July and presently wrote an official communication to San Martín which concluded as follows: “In approaching Peru, I find myself more strongly animated by the desire to see your Excellency and to employ myself in the service of the Peruvian nation.” This official letter was accompanied by the following personal note:

Guayaquil, 25th of July 1822.

It is with great satisfaction, esteemed friend, that I give you for the first time the title which long ago my heart had consecrated to you. Friend, I call you, and this title should remain with us during life, for friendship is the only bond which corresponds to brothers-in-arms, in-enterprise and in-opinion: therefore I congratulate myself that you have honored me with this expression of your affection.

I would regret your not coming to this city as much as I should if we were defeated in many battles; but no, you will not mock the anxiety I feel to embrace upon Colombian soil, the first friend of my heart and of my country. How can you come so far and yet leave us without the positive possession in Guayaquil of the one man whom all long to know, and, if possible, to touch?

It can not be, esteemed friend. I expect you

and will also go to meet you wherever you will have the kindness to await me, but without excusing you from honoring us in this city. A few hours, as you say, will suffice for soldiers like you and me to understand each other; but these same few hours will not be enough to satisfy the passion of a friendship that is about to begin to enjoy the happiness of knowing the dear object, hitherto beloved only from hearsay, only from fame.

I reiterate to you my frankest sentiments, with which I am your most affectionate, fond servant and friend.

Bolívar.

The Liberator had scarcely written and dispatched the above note when, on the same day, the 25th of July, it was announced that the *Macedonia*, with General San Martín on board, had anchored in the harbor. Bolívar immediately designated four of his aides-de-camp to visit the Protector in his name and to offer him lodgings in, and the hospitality of, the city. The Liberator had, indeed, ordered prepared a magnificent private residence for the entertainment of General San Martín, who returned his thanks for such courteous invitation and said he would disembark upon the following morning.

Accordingly the next day the Protector and Supreme Chief of Peru landed and was received by the Liberator and President of Colombia, accompanied by his generals and staff, with the military honors due to the exalted rank of his illustrious guest. The populace manifested the greatest enthusiasm and constantly cheered both Bolívar and San Martín. Representatives of the civil governments of the province and municipality, with many ladies, were present at, and took part in, the reception.

San Martín was tall and well-formed; grave of aspect, but frank and simple in manner. He spoke rarely and to the point, and his conversation revealed a man of the world.

Larrazábal relates that he listened to the Liberator with a respectful but circumspect air, and manifested in his admiration that he found him greater and nobler than he had expected. Upon his side, Bolívar surpassed himself in the affability and elegance of his manner and discourse. At table, General San Martín was placed at his right and the Liberator treated him with the greatest deference.

After dinner these two, the most renowned men ever produced in Spanish America, retired to a solitary room where they conversed long and earnestly, Bolívar pacing up and down the chamber with his usual inquietude and San Martín walking beside him. After some time San Martín sat down and Bolívar followed his example, but soon resumed his customary restless perambulation.

What passed between these illustrious soldiers and rulers may be conjectured but is not actually known. Years after, one or two of Bolívar's aides-de-camp claimed to have been present, but it is not believed that they heard much, if any, of the conversation. Probably their entrance was accidental and their presence of short duration. Neither Bolívar nor San Martín wanted, or would submit to, witnesses under such peculiar circumstances. The one had marched and fought from the Orinoco to the equator; the other from the Rio de la Plata to Peru. Both had crossed the Andes with their armies and had freed entire nations from the Spanish yoke: Bolívar, the present states of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador; San Martín, those of Argentina, Chile and partially Peru. And now they had met upon the banks of the Guayas, to discuss the future of this immense territory.

Among other things, the annexation of Guayaquil to Colombia or to Peru, was undoubtedly argued.

Whether America septentrional should be monarchical or republican: this was a second matter for debate.

And third, would Colombia aid Peru to complete her independence and at what price?

In a measure, the first question was already resolved

favorably to Colombia. The presence of the Protector of Peru, however, had served to renew the agitation in favor of annexation to the latter country and but for the firmness of the Liberator, a conflict might have been precipitated. "After all," said Bolívar, "the fathers of families and the most notable persons in the city, have sent me a manifestation requesting the incorporation of Guayaquil with Colombia. Nevertheless, the Representatives have been convoked especially to decide this matter and in a few days it will be determined. I have left with the people of the state all the liberty necessary for its establishment."

San Martín then asked who would command the Colombian contingent in Peru, and was greatly pleased when Bolívar informed him that General Castillo, who had served under the Protector, would be appointed. This led naturally to a discussion of the prospective campaign and to the future of the freed colonies. San Martín was not a partisan of republics and manifested to Bolívar his opinion that the independence of these countries could not be established upon a solid basis under the system of government adopted. The Liberator, however, frankly and warmly combated the monarchical idea, with his usual irresistible eloquence. "What would the world say of me," he exclaimed, "who have proclaimed the freedom of the slaves; who have given it to those I inherited, and who said to the Congress of Guayana that the best recompense my services could merit, would be the law of emancipation in favor of these unfortunate beings, our brothers and fellow-patriots? Never, General, will I contribute to translate to the New World the offspring of the old dynasties of Europe. If we should attempt such a thing, Colombia in mass would say to me that I had become unworthy of the name of Liberator, with which my countrymen have honored me."

San Martín remained fascinated, if not convinced, by the eloquence of this remarkable man. "Neither ourselves nor the generation that succeeds us," added Bolívar, "will witness the splendor of the Republic which we are forming. I con-

BOLÍVAR

sider America in a chrysalis state; there will be a metamorphosis in the physical existence of its inhabitants; in short, there will be a new caste of all the races which will produce the homogeneity of the people. Let us not detain the march of the human species with institutions that are exotic, as I have told you, to the virgin soil of America.”

Great as was San Martín, there can be little doubt that he felt himself overshadowed by the genius and glory of Bolívar. Of his unselfishness in retiring, as he did, before the Liberator, there can be but one opinion. It is even said that he offered to serve under Bolívar, but immense as was the theatre of operations, it was too small to contain the Liberator and any other not absolutely subordinate to him. When it was finally decided to send a Colombian army to Peru, Bolívar declared that he would command it in person. He then placed in the hands of the Protector some letters which he had just received from the Colombian envoy in Lima, informing him of the defection of San Martín's principal adherents and the probable fall of the Ministry and his favorite Montecagudo. “If this happens,” said the Protector, “I will embark for Europe and bid an eternal adieu to South America.”¹

Lima was, indeed, in a state of anarchy. General San Martín remained only twenty-four hours in Guayaquil. There

¹ Not until after the death of Bolívar did San Martín give to the world a letter which he had written to that commander, from Lima, one month after the conference at Guayaquil. This letter is quoted at length by Professor Robertson and is here reproduced. *It was not among Bolívar's papers.*

“The results of our interview have not been those which, as I promised myself, would promote the speedy termination of the war. Unfortunately, I am fully convinced either that you did not believe that the offer which I made to serve under your orders was sincere, or that else you felt that my presence in your army would be an impediment to your success. Permit me to say that the two reasons which you expressed to me: first, that your delicacy would not permit you to command me; and, second, that even if this difficulty were overcome, you were certain that the congress of Colombia would not consent to your departure from that republic, do not appear plausible to me. The first reason refutes itself. In respect to the second reason, I am strongly of the opinion that the slightest suggestion from you to the congress of Colombia would be received with unanimous approval, provided that it was concerned with the cooperation of yourself and your army in the struggle in which we are engaged. The high honor of terminating the struggle for independence would reflect as much credit upon you as upon the republic over which you preside.

General, do not delude yourself. The reports which you have received of the royalist forces are misleading: in Upper and Lower Peru they amount to over nineteen thousand veteran soldiers who can be united within two months. The patriot army is decimated by sickness; there cannot be placed in battle array more than eight thousand five hundred men of whom the greater number are recruits. . . . The division of fourteen hundred Colombian soldiers that you

were, of course, fêtes, a ball and general rejoicing, but the Protector had no heart for such things. Dissimulating his bitterness beneath a calm and dignified exterior, he hastened to re-embark and to return to Callao.

Guayaquil remained a part of Colombia.

Neither Peru, nor any other of the Spanish colonies in South America, when freed, became monarchical.

The Colombian army, under Bolívar, entered Peru and liberated the "Children of the Sun".

General San Martín reached Callao on the 19th of August and resumed command. Upon his arrival in Lima, he published the following brief notification:

Manifestation of the Protector of Peru, relative to the Liberator.

The 26th of last July, when I had the satisfaction of embracing the hero of the South, was one of the happiest days of my life. The Liberator of Colombia not only aids this state with three of his brave battalions which, united to the valiant division of Peru, under the command of General Santa Cruz, are coming to terminate the war in America, but also

might send would be necessary to maintain the garrison of Callao and to preserve order in Lima. . . . Thus the struggle will be prolonged for an indefinite period. I say an indefinite period; for I am profoundly convinced that, whatever the vicissitudes of the present war, the independence of America is inevitable. I am convinced, however, that the prolongation of the war will cause the ruin of her people; hence it is a sacred duty of those men to whom America's destinies are confided to prevent the continuation of great evils.

Lastly, general, my decision has been irrevocably made. I have convened the first congress of Peru for the twentieth of next month: on the day following that on which congress convenes, I shall embark for Chile, for I am convinced that my presence is the only obstacle which prevents you from marching to Peru with your army. It would have been the acme of happiness for me to have terminated the war of independence under the orders of a general to whom America owes her liberty. Fate decreed otherwise. . . .

I will say nothing to you regarding the reunion of Guayaquil to the republic of Colombia. Permit me, however, to suggest that, in my opinion, we were not called upon to decide that important affair. After the war had terminated, the respective governments could have adjusted this question without causing results which may now prejudice the interests of the new South-American states.

I have spoken to you, general, with frankness, but the sentiments which this letter contains will remain buried in the most profound silence: if they were to become public, our enemies might profit by them and injure the cause of liberty, while ambitious and intriguing persons might use them to foment discord.

With Commander Delgado, the bearer of this letter, I send to you a gun and a pair of pistols, as well as a pacer which I offered to you in Guayaquil. Accept this remembrance from the first of your admirers."

remits, with the same object, a considerable armament. Let all of us tribute eternal gratitude to the immortal Bolívar.

San Martín.

“The Protector of Peru,” says Larrazábal, “knew how to conceal under a reserved conduct, all that did not accord with his plans or interests. At this juncture, he was a model of prudence, of disinterestedness and of consummate moderation.”

San Martín wrote to General O’Higgins in Chile: “The Liberator is not what we had thought.” Speaking privately of Bolívar, he said: “He is the most extraordinary man in South America; one to whom difficulties but add strength.”

Vicuña MacKenna, the Chilean historian, characterizes General José de San Martín as the greatest of the Creoles of the New World. He was born in Uruguay and his parents were Spanish and noble. Hence he was educated in Spain and served twenty-two years in the Royal army, in which he distinguished himself and reached the grade of lieutenant-colonel. Technically there is little doubt that he was a better soldier than Bolívar. His passage of the Andes was perhaps a finer performance than the Liberator’s, due to the much greater severity of the climate; but he did not possess the latter’s all-absorbing enthusiasm, activity, genius, political ability and personal magnetism. Quoting from Vicuña MacKenna:

San Martín is the first American captain who knows how to organize an army in all its details; to lay out a fixed plan of campaign; to execute it with soldiers as if upon a map, and to reach a given end by means of strategical combinations and scientific recourses. San Martín is a great combiner and executor of plans. Bolívar is the man of supreme and instantaneous inspirations, of sublime boldness upon the field of glory. On this account, San Martín liber-

ates almost the half of America without battles. Bolívar gives the Spaniards almost a daily combat and, victor or vanquished, returns to fight a hundred and a hundred times.

Bolívar, a chieftain improvised from the multitudes of his rebellious land, presents himself, without masters, in camp; he invents a war of prodigies. During ten years he counts fourteen campaigns and as many pitched battles. San Martín made only the campaigns of Chile and Peru and fought no more battles than Maipó and Chacabuco. But Bolívar, as the military leader of a people, is much greater than San Martín, commander-in-chief of armies. Bolívar assimilates himself by his heroism, by his constancy, by his glory, by his disasters even, to the nation that marches behind his steps in ardent crowds; and thus every one of his great battles is followed by delirious ovations from the multitude which spreads laurels beneath his conquering tread.

Bolívar is the flight, the bird, the eagle of the plains which ascends to the stars and makes resound under the vault of the firmament the hoarse cries of his victories. To judge San Martín, on the contrary, one must descend the abysses, interrogate their granite sides, demand of the eternal mysteries the explanation of his greatness, at times terrible, but still incomprehensible.

And when the hour of triumph arrives for these champions, how differently it is received by their souls, so diversely tempered, so diversely grand. "*We have completely gained the action:*" that is the bulletin of Maipó.—"*South America,*" exclaims Bolívar, tiptoeing upon the Andes which still reverberate with the discharges of Ayacucho — "*South America is covered with the trophies of your valor, but Ayacucho, like Chimborazo, raises its head proudly over all. Soldiers of Colombia! Hundreds of victories*

BOLÍVAR

lengthen your lives until the end of the world!"

As men, the diversity is even more sustained. Bolívar has the organization of the eagle, the nervous structure, the fiery glance, the bronzed skin, the agile step, the heart ever aflame. San Martín is like the oaks of the primitive forest where he first saw the light, which hide under their rough bark all that is ardent and fecund in the sap that nourishes them.

Bolívar, younger, more brilliant, better endowed than San Martín in all that illuminates and fascinates, enters the struggle of America like the paladin who offers the homage of adoration to a celestial deity and pledges his knightly loyalty until the last sigh. For this reason when condemned to leave her, repudiated by her, nothing and nobody succeeds in tearing him away from the beloved shore, and he dies in Santa Marta, because his soul could not be separated from that land of *Colombia*, which was the consecration of his amours. — San Martín, on the contrary, severe and inexorable, had upon our soil the mission of a father. When he thought he was no longer necessary or that his tutelage was not recognized, he said an eternal adieu to the land he had redeemed and went away to love it in silence, beyond the sea.

Bolívar, great captain, great poet, great orator, everything at once, is the prodigious multiplicity of the faculties of genius. San Martín is the inflexible unity of genius itself.

In an address of abdication, San Martín said:

“The presence of a fortunate general in the country he has conquered, is detrimental to the state. I have won the independence of Peru, and now I cease to be a public man.” Julian Hawthorne says: “History records few acts of so great abnegation and true patriotism.”

From Callao San Martín returned to Chile, thence to

Mendoza and in 1823 he embarked for Europe. In 1828 he returned to America but was ill-received in Buenos Aires, the capital of the nation to which he had chiefly contributed to give life and liberty. He was in Montevideo in 1829, but in the same year he returned to Europe and died on the 17th of August 1850, at Boulogne, France, 72 years of age. His bones repose, however, in the Argentine metropolis, whither they were triumphantly conveyed some years later.

History records little to the detriment of General San Martín, but Admiral Cochrane, the British sailor in the employment of Chile, was his bitter enemy and accused him openly and officially of appropriating for his personal use a large amount of treasure acquired by the confiscation of church services and clerical ornaments. However this may be, while he lived abroad in leisure, during many years, his was an extremely quiet and simple, if not impoverished, life.

That Bolívar was sincere in his opposition to the establishment of monarchies in America and that he did not desire a throne even for himself, although he may have aspired to universal command in South America, can scarcely be doubted. "Extravagances!" he said, "the soil of America, illumined by the flames of liberty, would devour thrones. Our people, rich in fancy, impressionable, of quick intelligence and headlong valor, in whom there has already been awakened the strong love of independence and equality, would never consent to be oppressed by kings or by tyrants."

On the 30th of June, in conformity with the decree of convocation, the electoral college convened in Guayaquil and by acclamation resolved to annex the province to Colombia. In this manner the different parties were extinguished, an element of discord was removed and the integrity of the Republic was preserved. The Liberator appointed Colonel Salom intendant of the department which he thoroughly re-organized and then, on the 1st of September, set out nominally to visit the southern part of the province but doubtless to be nearer Peru, in whose aid he had already dispatched the three Battalions "Pichincha", "Yaguachí" and "Boyacá",

comprising about 2,500 men, with considerable armament and ammunition, by way of Callao. This force, united to the Battalion "Numancia," now called "Voltigeros," under the command of General Castillo, was to form the Colombian auxiliary division in the army of Peru. From Cuenca, Bolívar proposed new plans to more actively continue the war; and he offered to send 4,000 additional Colombian troops, exacting an equal number from each of the governments of Chile and Buenos Aires, for the purpose of expelling the Spaniards from the continent "because," he said, "*from whatever point, they would be a menace to the liberty of all the states.*"

During the absence of the Liberator in the south, one of the Spanish prisoners named Benito Boves and said to be a nephew of the famous or rather infamous royalist of that name, of 1814, escaped and raised the standard of revolt in Pasto, where Fernando VII was acclaimed on the 28th of October. Bolívar immediately sent Sucre against the rebels and, although he was rightly considered the finest soldier in the Liberating Army, he was compelled to retire at Taindala, at which well-nigh inaccessible point he encountered the enemy. Sucre, however, was promptly reinforced and drove the rebels before him into Pasto itself. When he sent a flag of truce into the city to intimate its surrender, his emissary was treacherously imprisoned by the ignorant and fanatical Pastusos. It was necessary to assault the place and to fight his way through the streets. At this juncture the Royalists fled to the mountains, leaving behind them only nuns (of whom there were many) and a few women and children, old men and the sick. The remainder of the population had dispersed rather than remain to receive the enemies of the King and of the Holy Inquisition, although they brought with them life and liberty. Pasto, indeed, had been in a state of chronic rebellion to the patriot cause since the memorable 19th of April 1810. It was necessary, this time, to make an example of the city and, by Bolívar's orders, the greatest severity was exercised.

The year 1822 was not to terminate without another in-

ternal commotion, but happily the firmness and decision of the Liberator frustrated the plans of the mischievous innovators. Bolívar, it will be remembered, had always opposed the federation. The disgust with, and the horror of, the interminable subaltern agitations, sterile of everything but anarchy and innate, as it were, to the germ of federalism; the evidence of its evils; the intelligence of its dangers, which increase with the division of the public power; the rivalries of the states; the antagonisms and secret jealousies of the smaller capitals: — all this, which the Liberator foresaw, made odious this form of government for South America. The Constitution had been adopted with the proviso that it should remain intact for ten years, and the Congress to assemble in 1823 was to be the first Constitutional Congress. Even before its convocation, the amendment of the Constitution or the substitution therefor of a new one, was being publicly advocated, both by Representatives, whose only duty was to comply with and protect it, and by the Press. When the Liberator learned of this proposition, he promptly wrote to the Congress as follows:

Faithful to my oath to obey the fundamental law of the Republic, I reiterate to the Legislators of Colombia my promise to die, sword in hand and at the head of the Colombian Army, before I will permit an infringement of the covenant of union that has given to the world a nation composed of Venezuela and New Granada. The Constitution of Colombia is sacred for ten years. It will not be violated with impunity while blood flows in my veins and the Liberators are under my orders.

To Vice-President Santander he wrote:

Your Excellency knows, and entire Colombia also knows, that I have consecrated my life to the integrity of Colombia, to its liberty, to its happiness. My policy has always favored its stability, its

strength, its independence. The Constitution is unalterable for ten years; and it might be, according to the social contract of the first republican of the world — it might be, I say, unalterable for an entire generation, because a generation may constitute itself for life. The sovereignty of the people is not illimitable: justice is its base and perfect utility its end. Wherein can the Representatives of the people believe themselves authorized to change constantly the social organization? What, then, will be the foundation of the rights, of the property, of the honor, of the life, of the citizens? It would be better to live under a ferocious despotism; for, at last, what is sacred to men would have some support in the power itself which oppresses them. I believe myself authorized to insist that the Executive Power make the most efficient efforts for the purpose of obtaining that the present Legislature alter in nothing the fundamental code. I declare, for my part, that bound to this code by oath, I should not obey any law which endangers or violates it, and that my resolution is firm to separate myself from Colombia before I will give aid to measures which annihilate the marvellous work of the Liberating Army.

The decisive tone of the Liberator frustrated the project of alteration of the fundamental law and caused the disappearance of the indiscreet ideas of federalism.

CHAPTER XIV

1823

Bolívar at Pasto—Harsh measures—Arrives at Quito—At Guayaquil — Conditions at Lima — Bolívar invited to Peru — Dispatches troops—Recalled to Colombia—Starts for Bogotá—Sends Sucre to Lima — Returns from Sabaneta to Guayaquil — Lima occupied and evacuated by Spaniards—Uprising in Pasto—Bolívar goes to Quito — Defeats Pastusos at Ibarra — Returns to Quito — Thence to Guayaquil — Embarks for Callao — Situation in Peru — Bolívar arrives at Callao and enters Lima — Reception — The Congress appoints Bolívar to supreme military command — His response — Patriotic banquet — Bolívar seeks loans — Lamentable state of troops — Vain negotiations with Riva-Agüero — The latter imprisoned and exiled—Bolívar at Cajamalca—Organizes Peruvian army — Difficulties—Spanish fleet arrives in Pacific—Bolívar returns to Lima and Callao—Chilean troops fail to arrive—Loss of horses—Letter to Sucre.

ON THE 1st of January the Liberator arrived at Pasto, where he remained until the 14th of the same month, when he set out for Quito. Before his departure he proclaimed amnesty for those inhabitants who presented themselves within a certain period; imposed a war contribution upon the rebellious province at large and the confiscation of the property of the insurrectionists, in order to provide funds for the maintenance of the army; ordered the conscription of all able-bodied men and the imprisonment of those who resisted; expelled the royalist priests and friars who had inspired the rebellion and directed, finally, that these harsh measures should be strictly enforced, without clemency for the perverse and fanatical people. The same thing had to be done in part upon his arrival in Quito and in order to eradicate the very root of the evil, all Spaniards and the Americans who were known to be hostile to the cause of independence, were ordered to leave Colombian territory. These measures have been severely criticized, but they were clearly necessary and justifiable at the time and their earlier application would have been easily defensible. Throughout the war

of independence, Bolívar had been extremely generous to those of his countrymen who preferred loyalty to the King to liberty, and not less so to the Spaniards themselves except during the period when no quarter was given on either side and frequent reprisals were thought necessary.

Upon the arrival of Bolívar at Quito, he learned that the division dispatched by him, at the request of San Martín, in aid of Peru, had been returned by the Junta which, since the retirement of the Protector, governed that province. Alarmed by this news and in order to inform himself more definitely with regard to the situation and communicate with greater facility and dispatch, he proceeded to the port of Guayaquil, where he arrived on the 30th of January. Here he learned of the catastrophies of Toratá and Moquehua, at which points the Royalists, by means of better discipline and superior forces, had completely triumphed over the Republicans. Fearing the invasion of Colombia itself, the Liberator immediately ordered troops to assemble upon the southern frontier and that ample munitions should be provided for their use. After twelve years of incessant combats, Bolívar was not the man to quietly leave Peru in possession of the Spaniards. The independence of Colombia would have been continually jeopardized by their proximity. Such reasons very properly dominated the mind of the Liberator, but in the absence of General San Martín, there is no doubt that Bolívar needed little incentive to determine him to march to Peru. Circumstances and his own desires coincided; the time was propitious: the Liberator decreed the redemption of the Land of the Incas. The Viceroy Laserna had 23,000 European soldiers. He had ample resources. But these obstacles did not deter Bolívar. Indeed, Peru had been his dream for months, if not for years. The world of Columbus in its entirety should cease to be Spanish. This was his determination.

San Martín, with the allied army of Buenos Aires and Chile, comprising less than 5,000 men, had succeeded in entering Lima after its evacuation by the Spaniards on the 8th of

July 1821, without fighting a battle, because, as he, himself, wrote to General O'Higgins: "At last, with patience and manoeuvring, we have obliged the enemy to abandon the capital of the Pizarros." In this campaign, however, he had been assisted by the triumph of Arenales over O'Reilly; by the brilliant successes of Admiral Cochrane in command of the Chilean squadron, and by the opportune loss to the Spaniards of the famous battalion "Numancia" which, composed entirely of loyal Venezuelans, had been sent to Lima to reinforce the Royalists and went over bodily to the Republicans. The adventurous Cochrane, under a perfect shower of balls, entered the harbor of Callao, seized the Spanish frigate *Esmeralda* which was anchored in the port, and towed her out to sea.

The good fortune, as well as the political and military sagacity of San Martín, seemed to desert him after he reached Lima. It has been seen how little able he was to cope with the greater genius of Bolívar; and previous to their celebrated interview, he had quietly permitted the Spanish generals in the interior to regain much of their lost prestige and had offended his best friends and strongest adherents by his political and military inaction and especially by his monarchical schemes. Cochrane had sailed away in high dudgeon and thus the Protector lost both the army and squadron. The issue of some millions of fiat money, both of paper and of copper, in this, the land of gold and silver, but added to the difficulties of the situation. Congress was inexpert and was entirely controlled by its President, the clerical Luna-Pizarro and by his successor, Doctor Riva-Agüero.

After the departure of San Martín, the Congress named a governing committee of three members, among them General José Lamar, to exercise the executive power; and it was this committee that had decreed the return to Guayaquil of the four Colombian battalions already mentioned as having been dispatched by Bolívar to aid the Peruvians. The disasters of Toratá and Moquehúa, however, caused a profound impression among the Republicans in Lima, who were not slow in

denouncing the governing committee for incapacity. The officers of the army of observation, commanded by General Arenales, petitioned Congress to remove them and when this request was denied, the army marched from Lima to Balconcillo, under the command of General Santa Cruz and peremptorily demanded the reform previously requested. Under these circumstances the Congress acceded and elected Doctor José de la Riva-Agüero, President of the Republic.

Such was the state of affairs in Lima when Bolívar found himself at Guayaquil. The Republicans were disheartened and threatened with anarchy, while the Royalists were correspondingly elated. What Peru needed was a strong hand and, other than the Liberator, there was no one to guide the helm. Once more Providence had brought the man, the hour and the place together. The salvation of Peru was now assured.

As soon as the Liberator learned of the disaster at Moquehua, disregarding the affront of the governing committee in refusing his auxiliary battalions, he sent Colonel Luis Urdaneta to Lima to offer the immediate assistance of 2,000 Colombians and the co-operation of 4,000 more, within a brief period, to aid in the destruction of the Spanish army. Urdaneta had scarcely departed, however, when, convinced by later news of the superiority of the Spaniards and the urgency of the circumstances, the Liberator dispatched by sea 3,000 Colombians, convoyed by the corvettes *Bomboná* and *Chimborazo*, and offered to follow in person at the head of as many more. This was on the 13th of March. He also invited the Governments of Buenos Aires and of Chile to send similar contingents to aid in the destruction of the Spaniards now dominating Peru. What Bolívar feared was the capture of the capital Lima and of its seaport Callao, with their prestige and resources, and their permanent occupation by the enemy. This he determined to prevent at all hazards.

At the same time that the Liberator dispatched Colonel Urdaneta to Lima, President Riva-Agüero sent General Portocarrero to Bolívar, with full powers to contract for the auxil-

aries that Peru required and which had been so freely offered. The Liberator received the Peruvian Commissioner with the greatest cordiality and said to him: "Colombia will do her duty by Peru. She will send her soldiers as far as Potosí, and these braves will return to their homes with the sole recompense of having contributed to the destruction of the last tyrants in the New World. Colombia does not want a grain of sand from Peru, because her glory, her happiness and her security, will be found in the preservation of her own liberty and of the independence of her sister republics."

In a communication of the 18th of March which Portocarrero sent to the Liberator, thanking him for anticipating his request for auxiliaries, he added that there was but one thing more to ask, which was that Bolívar would go to Peru and personally direct the campaign, "without which singular favor," he added, "I shall have accomplished nothing to merit the approbation of my government and the applause of my fellow-citizens. This auxiliary is the principal one, the greatest and the only one that can save the Land of the Incas and it is likewise the principal, the greatest request of my Government. The mere presence of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, will terminate the eclipse from which the beautiful sun of Peru suffers. It will encourage the low-spirited and confound the miserable remnant of adventurous Spaniards who have oppressed the Peruvian people."

Upon the same day the Liberator replied as follows:

Guayaquil, 18th of March 1823.

General:

It is with the greatest satisfaction that I answer your note of this date.

The Republic of Colombia takes pleasure in making sacrifices for the liberty of Peru and at this moment our battalions are navigating in search of her tyrants. Very soon other battalions and other squadrons will complete the 6,000 men which Colombia offers her brothers of the south, so that our brave

soldiers may prove to have been the first to take up liberating arms and the last to deposit them in the temple of liberty of the New World.

As for me, I am ready to march with my beloved companions-in-arms to the confines of the land oppressed by tyrants; and Peru will be the first, when she needs my services.

If the general Congress of Colombia does not oppose my absence, I shall have the honor to be a soldier of the great American army¹ assembled upon the soil of the Incas and sent there by all southerly America.

I have the honor to be, General, etc.

Bolívar.

The Liberator immediately proceeded to prepare the second contingent of 3,000 men which he had promised. Funds and munitions of war were both well nigh exhausted, but with his usual activity and aided by the departments of Quito and Guayaquil, which made great sacrifices when appealed to by his magical word, he set about the work. He was in the midst of these preparations when he received the alarming intelligence from Vice-President Santander that the Spanish general Morales, with a numerous division, was marching from Mérida upon Cúcuta. At the same time he had letters from Doctor Gual and from Briceño Méndez, urging him to return. Bolívar debated long and earnestly what he should do: Peru, upon the one hand, needed his services and called him; Colombia, upon the other, was threatened by the enemy in its very heart. "Never," said the Liberator, "never have I doubted so much which part to take; but at last, after a long interior struggle, my love of country prevailed and with General Valdés, I started for Bogotá."

Before leaving Guayaquil, Bolívar sent General Sucre to

¹ Throughout this work wherever quotations mention "Americans," "American Army," etc., *South Americans* and *South American Army*, etc., should be understood.

Lima as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. His principal purpose was to have a capable man like Sucre at the Peruvian capital, to arrange the most convenient plan as to time, place and circumstances, under which the Colombian troops were to operate against the Spaniards. He gave Sucre, in writing, the minutest instructions, which were to govern him.

On the 26th of April, when all was ready for his journey to Bogotá, two more commissioners arrived from Lima, sent by President Riva-Agüero and bearing letters urging his immediate presence in command of the united armies, since *any other course would be very uncertain of success*; to which Bolívar replied that he vehemently desired to go to Peru and fight against the Spaniards, but that he could not absent himself from Colombian territory without the consent of Congress. This once obtained, he said, he would fly to Lima or to whatever point where his services might be needed.

Effectively, on the 30th of April, he left Guayaquil for Bogotá, but at Sabaneta, he met a messenger who had been dispatched by Briceño Méndez, giving him the grateful news of the retreat of Morales with largely reduced forces. Immediately he determined to return to Guayaquil. On the 3rd of May he wrote: "To-morrow I shall return to Guayaquil to direct an immense machine that I must put in action to drive the Spaniards from Peru. These are enemies of much consequence, because they dispose of infinite resources, with a carefully selected base and chiefs. Unfortunately the Patriots of Peru are divided like those of the rest of America; moreover, a part of the Government is royalist and all of it is inept. Their officers have no cohesion and exercise no authority. The southern continent needs a man of weight who has every means at his disposal."

Before the last commissioners returned to Lima, the Congress had passed the following decree which was communicated to Bolívar by President Riva-Agüero in a letter no less urgent, in which he declared that the Liberator's presence was *the only means of saving Peru*:

BOLÍVAR

The Constitutional Congress of Peru :

Whereas it is known that, in spite of the repeated invitation of the President of this Republic to the Liberator President of Colombia, that he come quickly to our territory, he delays his coming because he lacks the permission of the Congress of Colombia ; and believing it to be its duty to remove this difficulty —

Resolved that the President of the Republic request the Liberator President of Colombia to make known to her sovereign Congress that the wishes of Peru are unanimous and most ardent that said invitation have the earliest possible effect.

Given, etc., — Lima, May 4, 1823.

Carlos Pedemonte,
President.

Upon the following day, the Congress decreed that “taking into consideration the eminent services which the immortal Simón Bolívar, Liberator President of Colombia, has given to the American cause from the beginning of our holy revolution, and especially those he has given Peru with the auxiliary of his ever-victorious troops, it is unanimously resolved to vote a solemn action of thanks to said Liberator President of Colombia.”

Bolívar expressed his profound gratitude for the honor conferred upon him. “Peru,” he said, “has judged me capable of serving her liberty and I can not repay this confidence except by employing all my efforts in fulfilling such flattering hopes. I would have flown to draw my sword for our allies and companions-in-arms, if a religious respect for the letter of our institutions had not detained me in an inaction that torments me, while our brothers are gloriously struggling for the just cause of liberty. I protest to your Excellency that an immortal impatience oppresses me night and day when I feel that Peru is in danger or fighting for her life and that I do not aid her as a soldier.”

Meanwhile the Liberator counseled the avoidance of a decisive battle, because he believed that the European policy and especially that of England would soon support the independence of half of the New World and that it was imprudent to expose to the fate of arms what might be secured by negotiation and the powerful effect of time. "We should imitate Fabius and not Caesar, in the actual state of affairs," he wrote to Riva-Agüero. To Sucre he wrote with greater frankness and volubility, but in the same vein. On the 24th of May he said: "I can not have the reply of Congress, respecting my march to Peru, until the 15th of next month, but I do not greatly regret this delay because, in the interval our troops will arrive and rest. The recruits will have been disciplined and we shall learn the result of events in Europe before we attempt anything decisive in Peru."

The Spaniards occupied, in force, excellent positions in the Sierras with headquarters in the temporary capital of the Viceroyalty at the ancient city of Cuzco. An expedition under General Santa Cruz had been sent against them but seemed destined to failure, like those of Tristán and Alvarado before him. But now Generals Canterac and Valdez at the head of 8,000 veterans, approached Lima and the Republicans, unable to oppose them with an equal force, decided to evacuate the city and retire to the port and fort of Callao. Sucre, until now, had refused to command the united army but, under the stress of this new danger, he accepted it and, under his orders and with great regularity, the troops began to retreat. In Callao all was confusion and, notwithstanding the common peril, party spirit ran high and committed excesses. The Congress deposed President Riva-Agüera, expelling him from Peruvian territory and named Francisco Valdivieso in his place. Riva-Agüero, upon his part, paid no attention to the Congress and continued to exercise the Executive Power as if the legislators were so many mummies. Sucre, who did not wish to meddle in Peruvian political affairs, remained quietly at Callao, organizing and drilling the army and putting the port and its fort in a better state of defense, while President

Riva-Agüero, Congress and the entire Government, in short, were being transported to Trujillo.

Meanwhile Canterac reached Lima, signaling his entry of the city by a forced loan of half a million dollars and seizing the golden and silver services of the churches, the coining machinery of the mint and everything else that he thought might be useful; but a few days later he evacuated the capital and marched in the direction of Huancavélica.

Seeing Lima free, Sucre delegated the authority he had received from the Congress to the Marquis of Torretagle, whom he left in command and on the 19th of July embarked for Chala, with the intention of heading an expedition against Intermedios, which had been ordered by Bolívar. The latter, meanwhile, remained at Guayaquil, still awaiting the permission of the Congress of Colombia to march to the aid of Peru, when he received the tidings of another uprising of the stiff-necked and fanatical Pastusos, who defeated Colonel Flores, in command of their city and forced him to retire to Popayán. Not content with this victory the insurgents marched upon Quito. The Liberator had no troops of the line with which to oppose them, but hurried to Quito with 400 recruits and 2,000 muskets, with which he armed the citizens. Meanwhile the rebels, 1,500 strong, reached the town of Ibarra where, upon the 18th of July, Bolívar, with an equal force but principally composed of militia, attacked and completely routed them, notwithstanding the fact that they fought with the greatest valor and tenacity. Eight hundred were left dead upon the battlefield and few, escaping to the mountains, succeeded in recrossing the Guáitara. Their arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.

The Liberator returned to Quito from Chota, on the 20th of July, turning over his command to Salom, whom he ordered to reoccupy Pasto and complete its pacification. In Quito he established two commissions, the first to determine the obnoxious and partisan Spaniards and Americans who were to be expelled from the country, and the second to distribute in the department a monthly contribution of 125,000 *pesos*, for

the maintenance of the garrisons charged with the defense of the territory. After this he returned to Guayaquil, where he found awaiting him a new deputation from Lima, headed by José Joaquín Olmedo. Again he was besought to hasten to the aid of Peru, to defend the land from both external and internal foes; and again he made the same reply he had always made, to wit, that he would fly to their assistance the moment the Congress of Colombia granted him the permission he had so earnestly and persistently requested. In expectation, however, that a favorable response to his prayer would be forthcoming in a few days, he made preparations for an early departure. This authorization, indeed, had been given on the 5th of June, but on account of the insurrection at Pasto, it had been greatly delayed. It arrived, at last, on the 6th of August and the next day the Liberator embarked at Guayaquil for Callao, in the brigantine *Chimborazo*.

Says Larrazábal: "Navigating the waters of the Pacific, let us leave the Liberator, who is to give happiness, glory and liberty to Peru — who goes eagerly to battle with Canterac, to gather fresh laurels with which to adorn his brow. It is not Napoleon, going to Moscow, as has been said, to abandon his enterprise. It is not Charles XII, going to Poltava, to sepulchre his glory. It is Bolívar, the Benjamin of good fortune; the Alcides of fame, who, unembarrassed by his great honors, seeks to merit others even greater. Give him space for this, since nothing in him has revealed signs of a narrow spirit. In March 1813 when, aided by the governments of Cartagena and of the Union, he appeared upon the streets of the recaptured city of San Antonio, he had to declare, even to his compatriots, who he was and whence he came: 'I am one of your brothers from Caracas!' Now he needs not to pronounce his name. Who does not know it? The Congresses call him 'The Liberator of Colombia'; Olmedo calls him 'The Revenger of America.' Soon he will be the Savior of Peru and the Father and Founder of Bolivia."

During his entire career Bolívar had been obliged to combat the rivalries, the jealousies and the treacheries of his

own people as strenuously as he opposed the Spaniards themselves, but in Colombia these were child's play compared to the internal dissensions he found awaiting his arrival in Peru and which, but for him, might have continued to this day or left the afflicted country permanently Spanish. Everywhere there were jealousy of command, both civil and military; irreconcilable enmity, reciprocal injury and civil war. And yet these people were at the same time battling for the most sacred gift vouchsafed by Providence to mankind — liberty!

As has been stated, the Congress deposed President Riva-Agüero, and the latter, without paying any attention to such deposition, dissolved the Congress, declaring that its existence was prejudicial under the circumstances and that laws were less necessary than soldiers with whom to fight the enemy. Expelled from Trujillo, the deputies returned to Lima, one by one, and when a legal number could assemble, the Congress resumed its sessions and elected José Bernardo Tagle, Marquis of Torretagle, President, *pro tem.*, of the Republic.

Thus there were two presidents, one in Trujillo and the other in Lima. There were likewise two legislative bodies for, notwithstanding President Riva-Agüero's declaration concerning the inutility of the Congress, he had created a Senate at Trujillo. "Peru," says Larrazábal, "was doubly unfortunate. Threatened with dire subjection by the Royalists, she was also rent by internal dissensions. . . . The country seemed destined to destruction and death, after having been the scandal of America. Happily a pure and refulgent light shone through this exceptional misfortune. This light was Bolívar, in whom the patriotic Peruvians deposited all their hopes."

On the 1st of September the Liberator arrived at Callao and the same day he made his public entry in Lima, in the presence, it may be truthfully said, of everybody in the capital. The applause was vociferous and enthusiastic and accompanied him as far as the door of the palace that had been prepared for him.

The following day the Congress published a decree authorizing the Liberator to put an end to the dissensions

arising from the continuance of the Government of Riva-Agüero and expressing the entire confidence it entertained in him (Bolívar) *whose personal protection it had solicited as the only means of consolidating the liberties of the country.*

On the 10th of September, by another decree, the Congress conferred the supreme military command of the Republic upon the Liberator, who was received in its bosom and given the first seat. "The Constitutional Congress of Peru," he said, "has covered me with the measure of its benevolence. Never can my gratitude reach the immensity of its confidence. I will fill this chair, nevertheless, with the sacrifice of my life. I will do for Peru much more than my capacity admits, because I count upon the assistance of my generous companions. The wisdom of the Congress shall be my guide in the chaos of difficulties and dangers in which I find myself submerged. The President of the State, by his services, patriotism and virtues, would alone have saved his country, if this glorious task had been confided to him. The Executive Power shall be my right hand and the instrument of all my operations. I count upon the talent and virtue of all Peruvians, to elevate the edifice of this splendid Republic. They have placed upon the altars of the fatherland all their offerings. Only their heart remains, but for me this heart is the palladium of their liberty.

"Sir: the Liberating soldiers who have come from the Plata, the Maule, the Magdalena and the Orinoco, will not return to their native land except covered with laurels, passing under triumphant arches, bearing as trophies the banners of Castile. They will conquer and leave Peru free, or they will all die. *I promise this*, I offer you victory, confiding in the valor of the United Army and in the good faith of the Peruvian people. Thus Peru shall remain independent and sovereign during all the centuries of existence vouchsafed her by Divine Providence."

Says Larrazábal: "The gift of speaking with facility and promptness possessed by the Liberator, was wonderful, he being most happy in the art of collecting his ideas rapidly.

BOLÍVAR

His soul mounted quickly to the serene heights of thought and thence overflowed in torrents of eloquence. The paraphernalia of the Congress was not necessary to his exercise of speech: he spoke on campaigns, in the palace, at the entrance to the cities where hundreds of persons sallied to meet him; wherever it was essential to sow the seed of American liberty, there his speech broke forth like a prodigy, splendid with images, irresistibly insinuating. But it was in Peru that the imagination of Bolívar shone most and where his discourses were truly seductive.”

Requested by the Congress to give further expression to his views, the Liberator pronounced an eloquent and convincing address, replete with patriotism and disinterestedness.

On the 9th of September a splendid banquet was given in honor of the Liberator, by the city of Lima. The President of the Republic, the President of the Congress, General O’Higgins of Chile and all who were most distinguished in Peru, were present. The utmost enthusiasm and cordiality prevailed. Bolívar’s presence acted like a miraculous charm. Numerous toasts were drunk and the Liberator responded by proposing the health of San Martín and O’Higgins, eulogizing the patriotism and love of liberty that had brought the one from Buenos Aires and the other from Chile, to which the latter General eloquently replied. Finally the Liberator arose and pronounced a beautiful discourse, which electrified all present and concluded with the following famous words: “To the battlefield whereon shall be united the banners of the Plata, Peru and Colombia, and which shall witness the victory of the Americans or prove their sepulchre. The sons of America will never consent to elevate a throne upon their territory; and as Napoleon was submerged in the immensity of the ocean and the Emperor Iturbide hurled from his throne in Mexico, so may the usurpers of the rights of the people fall and not one remain triumphant in all the vast extent of the New World.”

O'Higgins, unable to restrain his enthusiasm, shouted: "Bolívar is the greatest man in South America."

One of the first preoccupations of Bolívar in Lima was to treat with General Riva-Agüero, both by letter and commissions, for the cessation of the civil war. He also requested the loan of two million dollars from Chile and the prompt dispatch of the forces which that Republic had offered Peru. Meanwhile a greater loan was being negotiated in England, which he facilitated by numerous letters. An expedition to the Sierra of Jauja was prepared and spies were sent in advance to locate the enemy. He likewise made an exhaustive study of the maps of the country. Thus the first fifteen days of September passed, not to mention the great number of entertainments that were gotten up by these hospitable people for the delectation of the Liberator.

In Lima there were but two battalions of infantry, the regiment of mounted grenadiers from Buenos Aires and a small squadron of Peruvian horse. The remainder of the troops were with Sucre, in a state of lamentable defection, or with Riva-Agüero at Trujillo. With this arch-rebel no representations availed and the Liberator was impotent to wage war against the Spaniards until he could calm the internal dissensions which consumed the country. Santa Cruz, as Bolívar had predicted, had lost all but 600 men of the 5,550, with which his expedition started.

Two months and a half were lost in vainly treating with Riva-Agüero, but at last communications from him to the Viceroy Laserna made it evident that he was negotiating to establish a king in Peru, to be selected from the *illustrious* and *holy* family of Bourbon! When these facts were clearly demonstrated to the Liberator, he determined to act at once. As has been said, however, Lima was almost denuded of troops. Bolívar wrote, therefore, to Quito and Guayaquil, for Colombian soldiers and ordered provisions sent to Callao. The militia, in all these provinces, was directed to be enrolled and disciplined. And then, with what force he could assemble, he set out for Trujillo to subdue Riva-Agüero.

BOLÍVAR

Sucre had refused to accept this command because of personal antagonism to the former President and, indeed, disapproved of the intervention of Colombia in the internal affairs of Peru; so Bolívar saw no alternative but to go in person. Unwilling, however, to destroy the Peruvian troops who remained loyal to Riva-Agüero, Bolívar dispatched an officer of his staff to intimate to their commander that a pardon would be extended to all the members of his division if he would retire with it to Cajamalca, which intimation was happily effective. He also succeeded in personally attracting to his aid Colonel Gutiérrez de la Fuente, who commanded the regiment of cuirassiers, one of the best in the service but which had adhered to the cause of Riva-Agüero, by convincing him of the treachery of the latter. On the 25th of November Colonel Gutiérrez entered Trujillo, reduced to prison both the ex-President and his minister, Herrera, and surrendered all the troops of the garrison to Bolívar. Thus ended the insurrection without the shedding of a drop of Peruvian blood. Riva-Agüero was sent a prisoner to Guayaquil, where Bolívar directed him to be released in order that he might proceed to Europe, which he did.

When Sucre declined the command of the army to operate against Riva-Agüero, the Liberator requested him to accompany the expedition unofficially, telling him: "You are the man for war; I am the man for difficulties." He now appointed Sucre to the command of the army and himself departed for Cajamalca, where he arrived on the 15th of September and immediately set about organizing the army of Peru. This was a task of no ordinary difficulty and is best described in the Liberator's own words: "The country receives us with enthusiasm, but gives us little or nothing. We have need of much tact and of great moderation to prevent this nation from becoming entirely reactionary. For the same reason money is needed to replace the contributions which we can not and ought not to demand of these unfortunate people, for here the era of home government has been an era of crime and pillage. The inhabitants are sound

enough, but they are opposed to military service, for which reason it will be very difficult to organize an army in Lower Peru. The natives are what they were at the beginning of the world. In San Marcos the women abandoned the men who were conscripted. The country is patriotic, but does not like the service; it is good, but apathetic; there are provisions and transportation, but not much will to furnish them. Truly, it is a troublesome work that we have in hand; it is an immense field of difficulties, because there reigns a disorder which appals the most determined. The theatre of war is Meridional America: our enemies are everywhere and our soldiers are men of all parties and of all countries, each one of which has its dialect, its color, its law and its separate interest. Only Providence can bring order out of this chaos with his omnipotent hand.”

The same day the Liberator arrived at Cajamalca, some intercepted royalist dispatches were brought him from which he learned of the arrival in the Pacific of a Spanish fleet, which disconcerted his plans extremely as he was expecting reinforcements, supplies — everything, in short, to arrive by sea from Colombia. Colonel López relates that, after the receipt of this news, Bolívar worked a night and a day without rest and then dispatched his wearied secretaries as bearers of their own dispatches, with instructions not to sleep until they reached their destination. It had been necessary to change all the orders he had given upon the supposition that the coast was free from Spanish intrusion.

After this the Liberator went to Trujillo, where he gave orders for the cantonment of the army, its increase and discipline, and then proceeded to Lima and Callao, to place the latter in a better state of defense. The superiority of the Spaniards, especially in numbers and resources, was very apparent; and yet, sooner or later, the result of a battle would have to be risked. In the event of defeat, Bolívar knew the Peruvians would disperse in their own country, the soldiers from Quito would desert and return to their homes and only the Colombians would remain; but of these

last, the Liberator, by dint of years of campaigns and battles, had succeeded in forming a nucleus, at least, of veteran and disciplined troops. But they were very few. The situation was critical, and it was to grow worse before it became better. "We shall see him alone," writes Larrazábal, "upon a heap of ruins, overshadowed by the blackest defections, the vilest and most criminal treachery, without troops, without money, without subsistence, without arms, without munitions and threatened by a powerful army, create everything in a moment, vanquish his enemies and liberate Peru."

New and unexpected misfortunes were added to the difficulties already enumerated. The 2,500 men destined by the government of Chile to aid that of Peru, arrived at Arica but not finding the expected expedition of Santa Cruz, whose army had been dissipated like smoke, started north. At sea they met General Alvarado, who made them return to Coquimbo, thus depriving the Colombians of this valuable auxiliary. At the same time 300 splendid horses arrived at Arica for the mounted grenadiers; but as there was no forage on board and on land they would have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, the captain of the transport ordered their throats cut and their carcasses thrown into the sea. These are two of the many disappointments that afflicted the Liberator. Day by day everything went wrong. Bolívar meditated long and seriously but in the end he exclaimed: "We must conquer or die, and we shall conquer, because Heaven does not wish us to be enslaved."

To Sucre he wrote a long and confidential letter at this time, of which the following is an extract:

. . . . The state of things demands, my dear General, that we should know exactly upon what we can count: what support we have in these parts, what resources, what climates, what forage and what obstacles. We can do nothing without a great mass of troops and for these I do not believe the supplies are adequate, unless we can assemble everything

with much anticipation, in large quantities and with intelligence. Before all, we must know the country and count the means. Afterwards we can discuss if the means are sufficient for offense or defense and presently obtain and employ them. Especially, I beg of you, my dear General, to aid me with all your soul to form and carry out the plan. If not you, I have nobody who can give me such intelligent assistance. On the contrary, there is such a dislocation of things, men and principles, that I am confounded at every instant. At times I am even discouraged. Only my love of country reanimates me with the spirit which I lose in contemplating these obstacles. Upon one hand the inconveniences end, only to increase upon the other. . . .

CHAPTER XV

1824

Bolívar ill at Pativilca — Mosquera's visit — Bolívar resigns the Presidency of Colombia and salary — Letter to Sucre — Treachery of President Torretagle and minister — Troops of Buenos Aires surrender Callao — Bolívar made Dictator — Situation in Lima — Letter to Sucre — Concentration of army — Battle of Junín — Retreat of Canterac — Bolívar returns to coast leaving Sucre in command — The Liberator deposed by Colombian Congress — He arrives at Lima — Laserna descends from Cuzco — Captures Huamanga — Patriot reverse at Lima — Battle of Ayacucho — Spanish capitulation — Bolívar's proclamation — Sucre named Grand Marshal — Resistance of Rodil — Bolívar's dispositions — Convocation of Congress — Bolívar proposes Pan-American conference at Panamá — His letter to Colombian senate.

ON THE 1st of January 1824, the Liberator was at Pativilca, a little seaport ninety miles to the north of Lima. Here he suffered from an attack of bilious fever that completely prostrated him for a week. On the 8th, the fever began to decline and on the 11th, the patient entered the period of convalescence. His friend Mosquera, Colombian Envoy at Lima, went to his assistance and found him a mere skeleton. After a few inquiries concerning his health, Mosquera naturally reverted to the political situation and asked what he proposed to do.

“Triumph,” replied Bolívar.

“How?” insisted Mosquera.

“Look here,” said Bolívar, in a tone full of confidence. “I have given orders to raise a strong force of cavalry. Horse-shoes are being made in Cuenca, Guayaquil and Trujillo; I have directed that all the good horses in the country be impressed for service and have engaged all the forage to keep them in condition. As soon as I regain my strength, I will go to Trujillo. If the Spaniards descend the Cordillera, I shall infallibly defeat them with my cavalry. If they do not

descend, within three months I shall have a force organized to attack them. I will ascend the Cordillera and defeat them in Jauja.’’

These words only anticipated what actually occurred.

At this time some thoughtless speech uttered by the deputies from Quito to the Colombian Congress, succeeded in wounding the sensibility of the Liberator to such a degree, that he promptly forwarded his resignation as President of the Republic. “While the gratitude of the nation,” he wrote to the President of the Senate, “has extravagantly rewarded my consecration to the military service, I have been enabled to support the weight of such enormous responsibility; but now that the fruits of peace begin to intoxicate the people, it is time for me to remove myself from the horrible danger of civil controversies and to place in safety the only treasure I possess: my reputation. Therefore I resign for the last time the Presidency of Colombia. I have never exercised it; therefore I can not have committed the least fault. If my country should need a soldier, I shall always be ready to defend its cause. I can not too earnestly express to your Excellency the vehement desire which animates me to obtain this favor from the Congress. I may add that the Protector of Peru has only recently afforded me a terrible example, and my grief would be very great should I have to imitate him.’’

At the same time he resigned the annual pension of thirty thousand *pesos*, saying that he did not need it in order to live and that the public treasury was exhausted.

To Sucre he wrote confidentially: “I have sent my resignation to the Congress. This step can not fail to produce some good. If I had not taken it, I should have to separate myself entirely from the service, for I am determined not to lose Colombia while in my hands and much less to have to liberate her a second time. Such a work is not to be repeated. I am nearly ready to give the Spaniards one battle, in order to terminate the war in America, but no more than one. I am tired; I am old; and now I have nothing to expect (but ingratitude). On the contrary, I am like a sick miser who is

fearful that he may be robbed of his money. All is dread and anxiety. It seems to me every moment that I shall lose my reputation, which is the recompense and the fortune I have obtained at so great a sacrifice. To you it will appear otherwise; but I may tell you that you are still very young and have much to look forward to. I would I were in your place instead of trembling for my own fortune; at least I should have desires — I should have hopes — which would console me!”

Meanwhile the organizing and disciplining of the army progressed, and the reinforcements from Colombia and from Chile, were awaited with great anxiety. Desirous, if possible, to avoid risking everything upon a single battle, Bolívar made a last attempt to negotiate, if not a final peace, at least an armistice, and caused President Torretagle to send his Minister of War, General Berindoaga, to discuss terms with the Spanish Commander-in-chief, General Canterac. Berindoaga did, indeed, penetrate as far as Jauja, where he had several conferences, but without effect; for while the perfidious minister was pretending to arrange terms for Bolívar, he was secretly negotiating in his own name and that of President Torretagle, for the destruction, by means of the blackest treachery, of the independence of his native land. “Envious of the glory of Bolívar and aspiring to be his rivals, although unworthy to be his enemies,” the President and his minister offered to surrender everything to Canterac and to re-establish in Lima the power of the King! There were, indeed, many loyal Patriots in the land, but before independence was finally achieved, the title “Peruvian” had become almost a synonym for that of “traitor.”

Under such circumstances and when this infamous intrigue was progressing daily, a deplorable event occurred at Callao.

Bolívar had ordered the Colombian battalion “Vargas,” which garrisoned the port and fort of Callao, to Cajatambo, replacing it by two battalions of the auxiliary army of Buenos Aires, under the command of General Alvarado. With

the pretext of not having been paid for their services, properly rationed or provided with transports for their return to their own country, these troops rose in insurrection on the 5th of February and, headed by a sergeant, one Dámaso Moyano, released the Spanish prisoners confined in the fortress and imprisoned Alvarado and the other officers of the garrison, hoisted the flag of Spain and, in spite of all the efforts made by Bolívar to prevent the sacrifice (when apprised of the affair), surrendered the stronghold with its munitions of war and stores, with the patriot boats at anchor in the port, to the royalist squadron which suddenly made its appearance in the harbor. For this purpose, it transpired, that emissaries had been sent to the Viceroy at Cuzco, who, to reward the treachery of Sergeant Moyano, sent him the commission of colonel in the royal army.

These events caused universal consternation. The Congress, overwhelmed by this almost irreparable disaster, turned to the Liberator as the only means of salvation for the country. It suspended the constitution and the laws, deposited in General Bolívar unlimited confidence and, declaring itself in recess, clothed him with the absolute and immense powers of Dictator.

The Spanish historian Torrente thus describes the situation: "The Republic of Peru marched with gigantic strides to its ruin; the Congress knew it and well aware that in such grave crises violent remedies were necessary, conceded to Bolívar the absolute dictatorship, that he might sustain its dying cause. The royalist army was composed at this time of 18,000 men, formed upon a footing of the most brilliant organization and discipline and possessed of all the pride natural to its repeated and glorious triumphs. The Viceroy, with 12,000 men, expected to open the campaign against Bolívar, who had taken refuge in Trujillo, leaving 6,000 men to cover Salta and maintain tranquility in Upper Peru (now Bolivia) and upon the southern coast. All the insurgents had succumbed to the arms of Castile; the only one that survived

was the obstinate Bolívar, isolated in a small town; and although he had from four to six thousand Colombians and four thousand Peruvians, they were greatly disheartened and were without resources. Everything combined to fill with joy and confidence the good Royalists, who considered as sure their complete triumph and the total annihilation of the insurrection in Upper and Lower Peru, and very probably the re-establishment of the royal authority in the remaining border states, their happy desires reaching to the point of thinking of the extirpation of the genius of evil in all South America and perhaps even of extending their influence as far as North America."

When the decree of the Congress conferring absolute dictatorial powers was put in the hands of Bolívar, he exclaimed: "Let us save this unhappy land from anarchy, oppression and ignorance."

The headquarters of the Liberator were ninety miles from the capital and comprised only himself and his incomplete staff, for the Colombian army was in cantonment, three hundred miles distant. When the Spaniards approached, it became necessary to save what munitions of war still existed at Lima and the Liberator charged General Pinto, a Chilean, with this important operation; but alleging illness and finally the necessity of returning to Chile, he failed to obey his orders. He was replaced by General Necochea but, although the latter did his best, when he arrived at the capital, there remained very little to save. Lima was in dire straits and the utmost confusion prevailed.

The principal authorities of the city had all gone over to the enemy; the employees had abandoned their desks and the officers their garrisons. President Torretagle and his Minister of War, Berindoaga, had taken refuge under the Spanish flag at Callao. Of one hundred officers of the army who remained at Lima, fifty-five or more than half, had joined the enemy, General Portocarrero among them. The regiment of mounted grenadiers from Buenos Aires, marched to Callao and was enrolled in the royalist army. Two officers, Novajas

and Ezeta, mutinied with their squadrons at Supe and arresting their Colombian commander, Colonel Ortega, with this offering presented themselves before the enemy in Lima.

Larrazábal says: "Disloyalty was the fashion." And he adds: "Bolívar was amazed — terrified at so much villainy and at such profound corruption. The scarcity of resources did not matter, not even the lack of confidence which already was everywhere felt. He was accustomed to create everything out of nothing: resources, arms, soldiers, horses, money, subsistence, and knew how to mould public opinion; but how could he fail to be astonished at so much perfidy — by such execrable deceptions and treachery, which dishonored mankind!" And to crown his misfortunes, another contingent from Chile which arrived by sea, ignorant of the defection of the troops from the Plata and of the loss of Lima and Callao, upon seeing the Spanish flag hoisted over the latter, returned to Valparaiso!

It seemed as if destiny, perfidy and tyranny had combined to humiliate the land and preserve it in a state of degrading slavery. The faithless Peruvians now turned against Bolívar and proclaimed everywhere that the war was over and that there only remained the pretended Liberators, whose purpose was to conquer Peru and annex it to Colombia!

Superior to all the reverses of fate and to the miseries that afflict mankind, Bolívar, with a spirit truly heroic, seized the pen of the dictatorship offered him by the Congress and thus addressed the Peruvians:

The state of affairs is horrible, but let us not despair of the Republic. She is expiring, but she is not dead yet. The army of Colombia is invincible. Do you demand more hope, Peruvians? In five months we have experienced five treacheries and defections; but against a million and a half of enemies, there are fourteen millions of Americans, who will protect you with the shield of their arms. Justice is

also upon your side ; and when you fight with justice, Heaven will not fail to give you the victory.

Peruvians! Your chiefs, your internal enemies, have slandered Colombia, her brave soldiers, and myself. It has been said that we intend to usurp your rights, your territory and your independence. I declare to you, in the name of Colombia and upon the honor of the Liberating Army, that my authority shall not extend beyond the time indispensable to prepare for victory. The battlefield that witnesses the valor of our soldiers, the triumph of our liberty — this fortunate field shall see me put far from me the palm of the dictatorship ; and thence I will return to Colombia with my companions-in-arms, without taking a grain of sand of Peru and leaving you with liberty.

To Sucre he wrote: "This army is the safeguard of Peru, the vanguard of Colombia and the military support of meridional America. If we expose it without having previously impeded its fall by fresh reinforcements and reserves, we shall be inconsiderate and imprudent. With time we can receive new troops and new political successes. Heres said the secret of the day was reduced to knowing who would first occupy Huanuco ; but I tell you, the secret consists in conserving the Northern Army. Lose, if necessary, opportunity, ground, cattle, horses, men and even funds ; but let us not lose the *morale* and the *matériel* of our army, even if we have to lose some of the *personnel*. Let us preserve above everything else, the favorable prestige that has been conceived of the Colombian army ; let us preserve our fame immaculate and I promise you a final result worthy of the glory of our cause. Engrave these ideas profoundly upon your soul, profess them with the day's faith and love them with your heart, so that resistance may not combat and perhaps destroy them. Remove from your mind every consideration that does not tend to fortify this plan. Call to your aid all the thoughts and all

the passions which may serve to fulfill it. Your mind is fertile in expedients, inexhaustible in means. Your efficiency, zeal and activity, are limitless. Employ all these and something more, *to preserve the liberty of America and the honor of Colombia*. The design is grand and beautiful and for this reason worthy of you.

Finally, what is best for us is to preserve ourselves intact at every cost. *The year shall not terminate before we are in Potosí.*"

Again he wrote to Sucre: "I am resolved to spare no means whatever and to compromise even my soul, to save this land."

To General Salom: "We must liberate these people in spite of themselves, in order to terminate this war and return to our homes; otherwise we shall be campaigning to the end of the world."

The Liberator had selected Trujillo for his headquarters, as it was the centre of operations and where he could most easily receive the auxiliaries he had requested. In this extremity, however, letters arrived from Vice-President Santander saying that the Government of Colombia would dispatch neither reinforcements, nor muskets, nor money, nor any of the things asked for, without the express authority of Congress, which he (Santander) would request with great urgency. But this required time and the affairs of Peru were most pressing. Canterac had begun to assemble his forces to open the campaign, by marching upon the cantonments of Bolívar. His troops were superior in numbers and equipment, and his resources were abundant. All the probabilities were in his favor and a single battle lost by the Republicans would be at the cost of the subjugation of Peru, the life of Colombia, the liberty of all Spanish America and of the reputation of the Liberator.

Larrazábal says: "It is not possible to paint the situation of that memorable epoch, and the most fecund imagination would be weak to transmit to history the details of all the occurrences. Bolívar was alone and had to create everything

— and he created it admirably. There were uniforms, lances, saddles, horse-shoes, staves, muskets, provisions, horses, men! And one is filled with amazement to think of the means which the Liberator improvised for so many and such great things.”

By imposing contributions upon the richest inhabitants of the departments of Trujillo, Huamachuco and Huanuco, the only territory occupied by his troops, and also upon the churches, which gave their gold or silver service, Bolívar succeeded in procuring about one hundred thousand of the four hundred thousand *pesos* he considered necessary and asked for. With this pitiful sum and in less than two months, he created an army which he clothed, armed, fed, drilled and disciplined. The Liberator personally saw to everything. Indeed, his extraordinary care and foresight are a constant reminder of the same qualities exhibited by the great Corsican in the early years of his career, for the soldiers of the army of Italy.

Such was the activity displayed by the Liberator that on the 15th of April he wrote to Colonel Heres: “This half month must be spent in preparation; that of May in marching and June in fighting.” And to Sucre: “I am ready for anything. I am possessed of the very devil of war and am in the notion of putting an end to this struggle. It would seem that the genius of America and that of my destiny have taken possession of my head. The enemy will come with 8,000 men; and as we shall go to the battlefield with as many, *the victory must be ours infallibly.*”

The Liberator ordered the army to mobilize in May. Some corps, stationed in Cajamalca, had to march six hundred miles and all of them had to cross the steep and frozen summits of the highest Cordillera before arriving at Pazco, which was the point designated for the general assembly of the independent forces.

Under the Liberator, General Lamar commanded the army of Peru and Sucre that of Colombia. With the latter were Generals Lara and Córdova. General Necochea was

chief of cavalry, General Miller, a gallant Englishman¹, commanding that of Peru and Colonel Carvajal that of Colombia.

The month of June was passed in crossing the summits of the Andes. "This was accomplished," writes Torrente, "with such constancy and suffering that it would be an act of injustice to deny them the great merit acquired in this campaign. It seems inconceivable that, in so short a time, the insurgents could have succeeded in entering the campaign with so numerous a force and upon such a respectable footing as to arrangement and good direction. There abounded military and commissary stores, arms, clothing, means of transportation and all the warlike elements necessary to open an important campaign."

On the 2nd of August the Liberator reviewed the army upon the plains of the Sacramento, which extend between Rancas and Pazco, when the following proclamation was read to the troops:

Soldiers! You are going to complete the grandest work with which Heaven can charge mankind: that of saving an entire world from slavery.

Soldiers! The enemy that you are going to dispossess, *boasts of fourteen years of triumphs*; they are worthy, therefore, of measuring their arms with yours, which have shone in a thousand combats.

Soldiers! Peru and all America look to you for peace, the daughter of victory; and even liberal Europe contemplates you with joy, because the liberty of the New World is the hope of the Universe. Will you mock it? No! No! You are invincible.

Bolívar.

Canterac commanded a strong division of 7,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, the latter very well mounted and equipped. On the 1st of August he marched from Jauja in

¹ General Miller was born in Wingham, Kent, England, in 1796. When he died at Callao, in 1861, two bullets were extracted from his body, which showed *twenty-two* wounds.

the direction of Pazco. On the 4th he arrived at the town of Los Reyes and the next day reached Carhuamacho, while his cavalry advanced to Pazco. Bolívar marched in a parallel direction and upon arriving near Los Reyes, attempted to get in Canterac's rear. He had given orders to effect this purpose when his scouts brought him the news that the enemy was retiring from Pazco by the same road upon which they had advanced. Immediately the Liberator brought his cavalry to the front and accompanied by Generals Sucre, Lamar and Santa Cruz, he placed himself at its head and moved rapidly in pursuit, the infantry following, much of the way at double-time. About four o'clock the enemy was discovered marching across the plain at quick-time, his rear protected by cavalry. A large lake separated the two bodies of horse. Knowing that his cavalry was superior in numbers and observing the general officers marching at the head of the patriot column, Canterac determined to await their approach and to charge with his entire body of horse, being sure of his victory, as he stated in some dispatches intercepted after the engagement.

Necochea commanded the patriot cavalry and as it debouched upon the plain of Junín, the Spanish horse, sheltered behind a covered ridge, charged in line of battle followed by the reserve. General Necochea promptly gave orders to effect a like formation and it was during its execution that the shock came. The patriot horsemen that had already arrived upon the line were thrown into some confusion and gave way, but they were quickly avenged by their comrades who, forming at will behind their officers, countercharged impetuously. *Not a shot was fired.* First the lance was employed and then the sabre—the cold *arme blanche* of the old Romans. For one hour the cavalry of the two armies charged and countercharged and then, night coming on, the Spanish horsemen fled and took refuge among the files of their infantry. General Necochea fell, his body pierced seven times by lance or sabre and, unfortunately, was taken prisoner but was subsequently recaptured. In his

report of the action, Canterac says: "My army being superior in numbers and its officers valiant without exception, it was natural to expect a victory and I counted upon it with greater reason, because the insurgent chiefs Necochea, Lamar, Soler and Placencia were dead (*sic!*) and Bolívar, himself, wounded; but when the Patriots seemed to be in disorder and lost, *without being able to imagine what was the cause, the Spanish cavalry turned tail and took to shameless flight, leaving the victory to the enemy.*"

Such was the brilliant, if not decisive action of Junín; but nevertheless its result exercised an important influence upon the Peruvian campaign. The *morale* of the Spanish army suffered greatly and the royalist troops began to distrust themselves and to regard the Independents as invincible. Canterac retreated for a distance of four hundred and fifty miles, crossing rough valleys and steep summits, which was worth another victory to the Patriots who were enabled thereby to occupy the extensive, rich and populated territory north of the Apurimac. In their headlong march, the Spaniards resumed their former tactics of killing Americans, even those belonging to their own army, when sick and unable to keep up. At Junín the Spaniards lost 1,000 men, 700 muskets, ammunition, cattle and horses in abundance.

The Liberator reviewed the assembled army in Huamanga. After this ceremony there was a banquet, at which he said: "May the valiant swords of those who surround me pierce my breast a thousand times, if ever I oppress the nations that I now lead to liberty! May the authority of the people be the only power that shall exist upon the earth! And may the name even of tyranny be obliterated from and forgotten in, the language of nations!"

During the early part of October, the Liberator hurriedly journeyed over and inspected the freed territory. The enemy had retired. Realizing the imprudence of attacking superior forces in a good defensive position, Bolívar determined to return to the coast and to dispatch reinforcements

as speedily as possible. With this plan in view, he offered the command of the army to General Lamar, who was of higher grade than Sucre; but upon the former's declination, he hastened to confer it upon the latter, who was his first and, indeed, only choice. Sucre accepted the appointment and Lamar, who was thoroughly acquainted with the country, patriotically offered to serve, if not under, at least with him and to give him the benefit of his technical knowledge.

The night before his departure, the Liberator sent for General Sucre and, in a long and earnest conversation, impressed upon him the great need of caution. A battle was not to be risked until the arrival of reinforcements and not even then, if he were not assured of victory. Meanwhile he was to follow the retreat of the Royalists and to occupy all important points evacuated by them.

Having made these arrangements, the Liberator left for the coast and a few days later the army resumed its march to the department of Huamanga, now called Ayacucho. The day before arriving at Huamanga, the battalion "Caracas" and the Second Squadron of Mounted Grenadiers, which had just arrived from Colombia and had been hurried forward by Bolívar, were incorporated into the patriot army.

While *en route* to the coast, the Liberator received the act by which the Colombian Congress deprived him of the *extraordinary faculties* that had been conferred upon him in 1821 and which he had since been exercising; and its last paragraph likewise deposed him from the command of the Colombian army. The new law gave these faculties to the Executive Power, but Santander, Vice-President and Acting President in the absence of Bolívar, conferred them upon the commanding generals of the southern departments of Colombia and appointed Sucre General-in-chief of the army. The excuse for these summary changes was the acceptance by the Liberator of the Dictatorship of Peru and of the command of the Peruvian army; but although these reasons, by a strict and zealous interpretation, might be perfectly valid,

it was certain that Bolívar was stung to the quick by such action. The occult influence and yet secret rivalry of General Santander, was plainly to be seen therein.

Immediately the Liberator wrote to Sucre from Huancaayo, informing him of everything: he confirmed his appointment as Commander-in-chief of the Colombian army and declared that, in the future, he would not interfere directly with these troops and only generally as the Dictator of Peru, in supreme charge of the military operations within its territory.

Three royalist spies were arrested about this time but the Liberator returned them, safe and sound, to the Spanish headquarters, with a letter from Santa Cruz, his Chief of Staff, of which the following is an extract: "His Excellency, the Liberator, releases the spies so that they may give correct information to the Spanish general. His Excellency has no objection to freely permit any officer of the royalist army to examine our own, ocularly and to the fullest extent, in order to avoid, in the future, the sending of these unhappy wretches who, by the laws of war, deserve to be victims, and the compromise of persons who, under other circumstances, would not be compelled to make involuntary and painful journeys."

And this was the same General who in 1813, had proclaimed *war to the death!*

From Chancay the Liberator wrote to Vice-President Santander, but far from intimating in the smallest degree his resentment for the slight put upon him, he paid no attention to it and confined himself to commending in the most cordial manner the efficiency of the auxiliaries dispatched from Colombia and in requesting further assistance.

"I express again my cordial gratitude to your Excellency," he wrote, "for your generous efforts to aid Peru, in the midst of the most complicated and difficult circumstances; thus Peru will never forget that the Vice-President of Colombia was her most efficient protector, when her fate was most desperate; and neither will I ever forget that the

army of my native land was promised and aided by your Excellency, to triumph so gloriously.”

Larrazábal says: “This greatness of soul, this entire forgetfulness of self in attributing to another the merit of his triumphs, gave Bolívar an inestimable splendor.”

To his intimate friend, the Marquis del Toro, he wrote somewhat differently but uncomplainingly; yet his words seem prophetic when he says: “I can frankly assure you that the past appears a path of flowers and that my sorrows exist only in the days to come. The future is my torment — my martyrdom. . . . Yet if I should lose everything on earth, there would still remain to me the glory of having done my duty to the last extremity, *and this glory will be eternally my welfare and my happiness.*”

It was about the middle of November when Bolívar reached Chancay, some thirty-six miles north of Callao, in which stronghold the Spanish general Rodil had shut himself and his forces. Lima had been evacuated by the enemy and thither the Liberator repaired, arriving on the 1st of December; but when he purposed returning to Chancay, with the object of operating against Callao, the fickle Peruvians who, a few months before had shouted: “Down with Bolívar! Down with the Colombians!” now detained and overwhelmed him with a homage which was enthusiastic to the degree of servility. His house was surrounded, night and day, by his admirers and when he appeared in public, they hoisted him bodily to their shoulders and carried him thus, from place to place. At times he was almost smothered by the multitude, which gave incessant cheers for the country and its Redeemer.

When Canterac’s cavalry was so brilliantly routed upon the plains of Junín, Viceroy Laserna was at Cuzco. Immediately he gave urgent orders for Valdez, one of the best of the Spanish generals, to go to his succor by forced marches. Valdez was at Chuquisaca and obeyed instantly. Upon his arrival at Cuzco, the Viceroy formed an army variously estimated at 11,000 to 13,000 men, comprising three divisions

of infantry, one of cavalry and one of twenty-four pieces of artillery. Laserna commanded in person and burned to avenge the insult of Junín.

At the end of October the army left Cuzco, making a long *détour* to reach the Apurimac. The year before Laserna had overwhelmed Santa Cruz and the Spanish general apparently counted upon duplicating this success, but Sucre was a different man from Santa Cruz. The Patriots marched upon Huaylas, with the purpose of encountering the Royalists.

A few days later the patriot army assembled at a little Indian village, situated in a cane brake and near hills of considerable height. From various spies it was learned positively that the enemy was distant but a few miles and nothing had been heard or seen of the Commander-in-chief. The generals and field officers held a council of war and although they did not know positively the strength of the Spaniards, it was unanimously agreed to await their approach and give battle. A few hours later, however, General Sucre arrived. In person he had been observing the enemy, and convinced of the latter's superiority in numbers, in accordance with the instructions he had received from the Liberator, he resolved to retire in good order and await a better opportunity for attack. Meanwhile Laserna made incomprehensible marches and countermarches but in the end occupied Huamanga, capturing the patriot detachment stationed there as well as a quantity of military stores, and cutting the communications of the independent army with the north and with the coast. This created considerable alarm. The luggage of General Sucre and, among other articles, his dress uniform, fell into the hands of the Spaniards who, incapable of the slightest courtesy towards the republican commander and, on the contrary, desirous of showing their contempt for him, *clothed one of their drum-majors in it!* General Rodil, in like manner, refused to give General Salom his military title, but later Laserna surrendered to Sucre and Rodil to Salom, and both were received with the utmost civility by their victors.

After his partial success at Huamanga, the Viceroy retreated. Sucre reported the fact to Bolívar, who wrote him: "Since we can not fly like our enemies, let us conserve ourselves with prudence and circumspection. Sooner or later they will have to halt and then we shall fight them. . . . If they come to the coast, they will lose their army but save their persons; if they give battle where they are, they will lose it and naturally will fall prisoners." Did the Liberator already foresee Ayacucho?

On the 2nd of December Sucre believed the propitious moment had arrived and ordered Colonel Silva to the front with a squadron of carbineers, to provoke a combat by some desultory firing; but the enemy, notwithstanding his numerical superiority and the equality of position for both armies, ignored the challenge. In this threatening attitude the two forces remained an entire day. Several more days were passed in reconnoitering by both armies and each sought the most advantageous position to give battle. On the morning of the 5th of December, an aide-de-camp arrived, bringing letters from the Liberator, who informed Sucre of a reverse sustained by the few patriot troops at Lima, who were greatly outnumbered by the Spanish garrison at Callao. Bolívar arrived in time to prevent the total destruction of the republican detachment, which was commanded by Colonel Urdaneta. Nothing had been heard from General Salom, who was expected to arrive with auxiliaries from Colombia; and despairing of bettering conditions and fearing the effect of further delay upon the patriot army, the Liberator ordered Sucre to give battle. His own presence in Lima was indispensable, to restrain the enemy at Callao, to receive and dispatch reinforcements from Colombia and finally, in the event of a disaster to Sucre, to collect the remnants of the republican army and present a new front to the enemy.

On the morning of the 8th of December, the enemy advanced upon the republican position and encamped early at less than three miles distance, but separated by a canyon of considerable depth. Later he broke camp and ascended

the heights, disappearing from view and apparently descending upon the other side. Generals Sucre and Lamar watched this movement with powerful glasses and endeavored to estimate the strength of the enemy. Lamar, who had served with the Spaniards and was well acquainted with their methods, remarked to Sucre: "The Viceroy is afraid to compromise his army in the passage of the canyon and in order to flank it beyond our sight, has ascended to the summit and will go around it at its source, descending upon our side to attack us here, because his tactics are based upon always assaulting his adversary from a height and rarely has he presented himself upon level ground." And Lamar was correct in his judgment, as the sequel will show.

At 5 o'clock, p. m., the enemy, in mass, began to descend the slope at the very point indicated by General Lamar; and without halting until he reached the brow, took a position which commanded the patriot camp. His light artillery formed in battery with great celerity and opened fire by piece, which lasted for half an hour; but notwithstanding the concentration of the Patriots, no harm was done because the cannon had too great an elevation and the projectiles passed overhead. General Sucre ordered the single piece in possession of the republican army to reply and the native gunners being more expert than the Spaniards, the first shot fell in the midst of a column of infantry, obliging it to change position. At dusk he covered his camp with advanced guards and pickets and the enemy followed suit, the outposts remaining so near to each other that communications were possible and Generals Córdova and Monet, who commanded them respectively, conversed for some time.

At daybreak, on the 9th of December, both camps were in movement. Reveille sounded simultaneously, like one and the same signal. After the usual formation and inspection, the arms were stacked and the soldiers of both armies prepared their simple breakfast. Thus peacefully dawned the day of Ayacucho.

Shortly after 9 o'clock, General Monet descended to the

patriot line and had a short interview with General Córdova. Many other officers, of both armies, bound by ties of blood and of friendship, advanced and embraced one another. There were not lacking even brothers, of distinct political opinions and affiliations, who met after a long separation and wept for joy. Strange spectacle for two hostile armies about to engage in a death struggle!

After half an hour of these unusual and pathetic scenes, the friendly combatants separated and retired, each to his own camp, to prepare for battle. Lunch was prepared and eaten in both armies with unusual calmness and not until 11 o'clock did General Monet again approach and inform General Córdova that the Spaniards were ready to begin the conflict.

The Royalists had 9,230 men of all arms and eleven pieces of artillery; while the Republicans had but 6,000 cavalry and infantry and a single cannon. They were formed in three divisions and a reserve. A deep ravine shielded and partly concealed their front, while the flanks were protected by lateral bluffs. General Sucre, splendidly mounted, rode along the lines before the combat began and harangued his soldiers. "Upon your efforts to-day," he said, "depends the fate of South America. This shall be a day of glory, that will crown your constancy. Soldiers! Long live the Liberator! Long live Bolívar, the Savior of Peru!" These few words produced unbounded enthusiasm and were wildly cheered.

It fell to General Valdez to begin the battle by an attack upon the division Lamar, on the patriot left; and so impetuously did the Spaniards advance, that the Republicans at first gave way, seeing which, Sucre, who watched the combat from a slight eminence, ordered Córdova, commanding the patriot centre, to assault that of the enemy. At the same time he sent reinforcements to the stricken left. Córdova, almost a boy in years, was the youngest general in the Colombian army. Dismounting from his horse and drawing his sword, he killed the animal on the spot in the presence of his troops, saying: "I want no means of escape



GENERAL ANTONIO JOSÉ SUCRE
From a painting in the Capitol at Caracas

Photo of Kamirez & Co.



and only keep my sword in order to conquer." Then putting himself at their head, he gave the command never before heard upon a battlefield: "*Adelante! Paso de vencedores!*" — "Forward! Victors' step!" Nor was this mere fanfarronade, for encouraged by their young commander's example, his soldiers charged with the utmost gallantry and desperation, carrying everything before them. Villalobos, who commanded the Spanish centre, gave way before such impetuosity. Monet hastened with his own division, to his assistance, but in a few minutes was himself wounded, many of his officers were killed, and his soldiers were dispersed. Two battalions attempted to reform, but Córdova gave them no time. Silva, severely wounded by the first discharge, gallantly stuck to his saddle and charged at the front of the Colombian cavalry, sweeping everything before him. The astonished and terrified Viceroy ordered his reserve under Canterac to make a last and desperate effort to save the day, but all was in vain. The rout became general and as the official report frankly states, was complete and absolute. Lamar and Lara pursued the flying Spaniards while Córdova, climbing the rugged slope of the Condorcanqui, captured the Viceroy Laserna and many of his staff. Before night fell, there were more royalist prisoners than patriot guards! General Valdez sent an aide-de-camp to propose a capitulation, in which he was presently joined by General Canterac and Carratalá. Canterac signed because of the capture of Laserna. Sixteen general officers, 16 colonels, 68 lieutenant-colonels, 484 other officers and all of the troops, numbering 9,510, but of whom 2,400 were killed or wounded, were the human spoils of this victory which, because of their number, has been called "the battle of generals". There were 5,780 Patriots. Córdova was the admiration of everybody and although but twenty-five years of age, was promoted to major-general by Sucre, upon the battlefield. Lamar, Lara, Silva and the gallant Englishman Miller, who commanded the Hussars of Junín, greatly distinguished themselves. "Sucre",

BOLÍVAR

says General Miller in his Memoirs, "exposed during the action to every danger, because he went wherever his presence was necessary, exhibited wonderful coolness and his example produced the greatest effect."

The victor was as generous in the conditions accorded his fallen foe, as he was modest; and the capitulation granted by him might have served as a model for another given the Spaniards nearly three quarters of a century later: the former expelled him from the American continent; the latter from his last stronghold, which he had been pleased to call "The ever-faithful Isle", in the New World.

Briefly: 1. The Spanish soldiers were to be returned to Spain at the cost of the Republic, drawing half-pay until their repatriation, or entering the Army of Peru with the same grade; 2. Nobody was to be molested on account of his political opinions or military services, those who elected to return to Spain, being given three years in which to dispose of their effects; 3. All officers were to be paroled, preserving their uniforms and swords, but were prohibited from fighting again in the War of Independence or going to any point in America occupied by the Spanish army; 4. The remainder of the royalist forces in Peru were to be surrendered to the patriot army, including the port and fort of Callao; but the Spanish ships, whether of war or merchant marine, were to be given ample time to revictual and depart for Spain.

The battle of Ayacucho on the 9th of December 1824, terminated the War for the Independence of the American continent begun on the 19th of April 1775, at Lexington, but not until 1898 was the Spanish power wholly expelled from the New World; while the struggle initiated on the 19th of April 1810, was terminated after nearly fifteen years of constant warfare, chiefly under the auspices of the Liberator, General Simón Bolívar.

On the very day of the battle of Ayacucho, the King of Spain created the title "Count of the Andes" for Viceroy Laserna, then a prisoner of war in the hands of General

Sucre, the trusted lieutenant, friend and pupil of the immortal Bolívar.

Although the Liberator ever gave Sucre the glory of Ayacucho, the latter always modestly attributed his success to the plans and counsels of Bolívar. Under date of the 10th of December, in transmitting the articles of capitulation to the Liberator, Sucre says:

The entire Royal Army, all the provinces which it occupies in this Republic, all its strongholds, parks, storehouses and fifteen Spanish generals, are the trophies the United Army offers to your Excellency as pledges that correspond to the illustrious Savior of Peru who, since Junín, pointed out the plains of Ayacucho, upon which to complete the glory of the liberating arms. "The campaign of Peru is terminated. Its independence and the peace of America have been signed upon this battlefield. The United Army hopes that its trophies in the victory of Ayacucho are an offering worthy of the Liberator of Colombia."

Bolívar announced the victory in the following proclamation:

Soldiers! You have given liberty to Meridional America and a fourth part of the world is the monument to your glory. Where have you not conquered?

South America is covered with the trophies of your valor; but Ayacucho, like Chimborazo, raises its proud head above all.

Soldiers! Colombia owes to you the glory which newly has been given her; Peru, life, liberty and peace. La Plata and Chile are also your debtors for immense benefits. The good cause, the cause of the rights of man, has won with your arms its terrible struggle against oppression. Contem-

BOLÍVAR

plate, therefore, the good you have accomplished for humanity by your heroic sacrifices.

Soldiers! Receive the illimitable gratitude which I give you in the name of Peru. I promise also that you shall be recompensed as you deserve, before you return to your beautiful land. But no! You will never be sufficiently rewarded; your services are priceless.

Soldiers of Peru! Your country will always count you among her first Saviors.

Soldiers of Colombia! Hundreds of victories prolong your lives until the end of the world.

Bolívar.

General Dictatorial Headquarters at Lima, 25th of December 1824.

And of Sucre in this memorable action, which will ever constitute his glory, the Liberator, without rivalry, or jealousy, or envy, wrote the following beautiful conception:

The battle of Ayacucho is the climax of American glory and the work of General Sucre. His dispositions for it were perfect and their execution was divine. Quick and skillful movements destroyed in an hour the victors of fourteen years and an enemy perfectly organized and expertly commanded. Ayacucho is the despair of our enemies and the envy of our friends. Like Waterloo, which decided the destiny of Europe, it has fixed the fate of America. Coming generations attend the victory of Ayacucho to bless and contemplate it, seated upon the throne of liberty, dictating to humanity the exercise of its rights and the sacred dominion of nature. General Sucre is the father of Ayacucho: he is the redeemer of the children of the Sun; he has broken the chains with which Pizarro bound the empire of the Incas. Posterity will represent Sucre with one foot on

Pichincha and the other on Potosí, bearing in his arms the cradle of Manco Capac and contemplating the chains broken by his sword.

Hyperbole, doubtless, and yet a sublime example of abnegation and magnanimity.

The Liberator also issued a decree conferring brilliant honors upon the victors of Ayacucho, in the way of titles and medals; authorized the erection of a monument, bearing the bust of Sucre, upon the battlefield, and ordered the perpetual payment to their families of the salaries enjoyed by those killed and permanently invalided. In a separate paragraph it was ordained:

10. General-in-chief Antonio José de Sucre is appointed Grand Marshal, with the surname of "General Liberator of Peru."

When Cantarac's order to Rodil to surrender the port and fortress of Callao was attempted to be delivered by parliamentaries, he absolutely refused to receive it, even when presented by the captain of H. B. M. ship *Cambridge*, of whose services Bolívar finally availed himself. Rodil even denied the fact of the capitulation, characterizing the whole story as a forgery. Subsequently he declined a visit from his companion-in-arms, the royalist general Monet, whom he insulted; and he continued to resist even when he knew that the Spanish generals and ships had sailed for Spain.

The Liberator devoted the last days of the year (1824) to the reorganization of the liberated territory. He ordered that conscription throughout the country should cease, saying: "My greatest pleasure is that civilians should enjoy a life of peace, limited exclusively to the occupations upon which their subsistence depends." In like manner he declared the inhabitants of the towns burned by the Spaniards, exempt from every class of contribution; established the blockade of Callao; pardoned the deserters; opened the port of Chorillos;

assembled the Supreme Court, and convened the Congress for the 10th of February 1825. To those who thought this convocation premature, he said: "The lamentable circumstances which obliged the Congress to confer the extraordinary authority of a dictatorship, have ceased and it is a case of the Republic constituting and organizing itself as it pleases."

The Congress was convoked in the following proclamation:

Peruvians! The Liberating Army, under the orders of the intrepid and skilful General Sucre, has terminated the war in Peru and upon the American continent, by the most glorious victory of all those obtained by arms in the New World. Thus the army has fulfilled the pledge that I gave you in its name, *to complete this year the liberty of Peru.*

Peruvians! It is time for me to fulfill the promise I made to you to surrender the Dictatorship the very day upon which victory should decide your destiny. The Congress of Peru, therefore, will convene on the 10th of next February, the anniversary of the decree by which supreme authority was conferred upon me and that I shall return to the legislative body which honored me with its confidence.

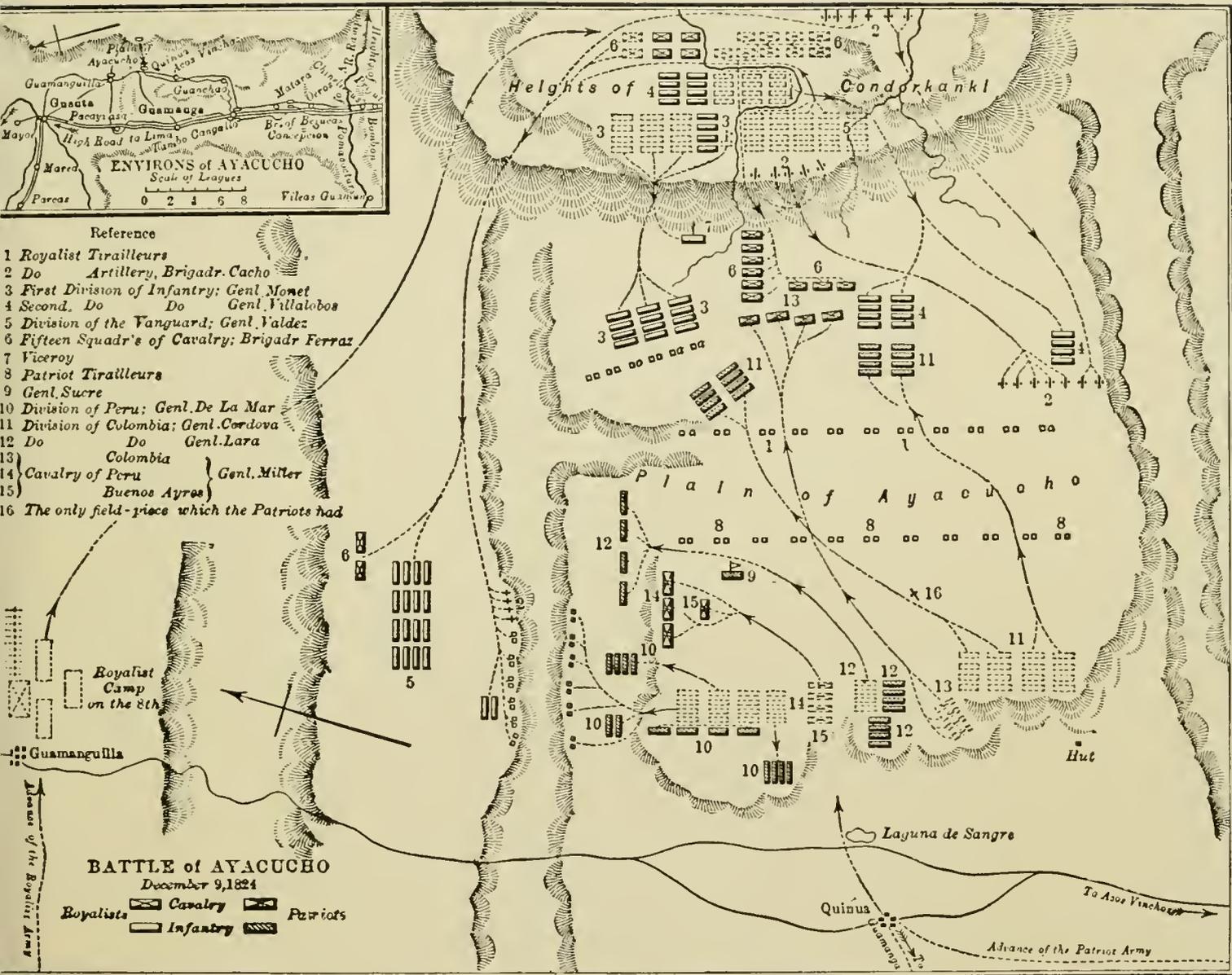
This confidence has not been derided.

Peruvians! Peace has succeeded war; union . . . discord; order . . . chaos, and happiness . . . misfortune. But do not forget, I beseech you, that you owe everything to the illustrious victors of Ayacucho.

Peruvians! The day that your Congress convenes will be a day of glory for me: a day in which the most vehement desires of my ambition will be crowned — *to command no longer!*

Bolívar.

General Headquarters of the Liberator in Lima,
25th of December 1824.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF AYACUCHO

From the *Memoirs of General Miller*

Courtesy of Prof. Wm. S. Robertson

Before the close of the year the Liberator sent a circular to the different governments upon the American continent, inviting them to send plenipotentiaries to an assembly to convene in Panamá, for the purpose of counsel in great conflicts, to establish a point of contact in common danger, for the faithful interpretation of public treaties and of conciliation in differences. Thus the first Pan-American Conference was an emanation from the fertile brain of Bolívar. The idea was grandiose, although in this instance and in the several successive attempts, it was not, and has never been, fully realized.

“The day,” he said, “in which our plenipotentiaries exchange their credentials, will fix an immortal epoch in the diplomatic history of America. When, after a hundred years, posterity shall seek the origin of our public law and recall the compacts which have consolidated our destiny, it will remember with respect the protocols of the Isthmus. In them will be found the basis of the first alliances which will trace the march of our relations with the world. What then will be the Isthmus of Corinth compared to that of Panamá?”

As early as 1818 he was preoccupied with this idea, which he communicated in a letter to the Supreme Director of the Provinces of the Plata — Pueyrredón.

On the 22nd of December, the Liberator wrote from Lima to the President of the Senate of Colombia, as follows:

Excellent Sir:

The peace of Peru, which our arms have secured by the most glorious victory of the New World, has terminated the war upon the American Continent. Thus Colombia has no more enemies upon her soil nor upon that of her neighbors.

I have accomplished, therefore, my mission. Consequently it is time to fulfill the offer I have so many times made, not to continue longer in public life, when there were no more enemies in America.

Everybody sees and says that my permanence in Colombia is now unnecessary and no one knows it

better than I. Let me say further, that I believe my glory reached its acme, in seeing my country free, constituted and tranquil, upon quitting its illustrious shores. The test has been made in my coming to Peru and I flatter myself that, in the future, the liberty and glory of Colombia will be infinitely greater. The Legislative Body, the Vice-President, the army and the people, have shown in the first years of their career, that they are worthy to enjoy their independence and fully capable of maintaining it, in the midst of the greatest difficulties. I will say at once, Sir: I want Europe and America to be convinced of my horror of supreme power, under whatever aspect or name it may be exercised. My conscience suffers under the weight of the atrocious calumnies which are lavished upon me, now by the free in America, now by the servile in Europe. Night and day I am tormented by the thought, which my enemies entertain, that my services to freedom are prompted by ambition. Finally I take the liberty of saying to your Excellency, with an excessive frankness which I hope may be pardoned, that I fear the glory of Colombia suffers with my permanence upon her soil, because she is always supposed to be threatened by a tyrant and this outrage attributed to me, dulls a portion of the brilliancy of her virtues, since I comprise a part, however small, of the Republic.

Most Excellent Sir: I beg you will have the kindness to submit to the wisdom of the Senate, the resignation which I hereby make of the Presidency of Colombia, the acceptance of which will be the recompense of my services in these two republics.

Accept, your Excellency, the testimony of my distinguished consideration.

Bolívar.

CHAPTER XVI

1825

Spanish idiosyncrasies—Sucre at Cuzco and in Alto-Peru—Congress convenes—Address of Bolívar—His dictatorship continued—“Restorer of the Republic”—Decree of the Congress—Bolívar declines grant of one million dollars but accepts it for charitable institutions in Caracas—Bolívar’s abnegation—His letter to Santander—Sucre’s victory at Tumusla—Bolívar organizes civil administration—Leaves Lima for Arequipa—Arrives at Cuzco—Bestows golden wreath upon Sucre—At Lake Titicaca—La Paz—New state named Bolivia—At Potosí—Appreciation by General Miller—Bolívar’s eloquence—He receives commissioners from Buenos Aires—Goes to Plata—Ends year at Chuquisaca.

JUST as in 1898 the Spanish press celebrated the false news of the defeat of Admiral Dewey at Manila and later the escape of Cervera from Santiago de Cuba, so in the beginning of the year 1825, when the Peruvian Government was asking for bids from owners of ships, to transport the vanquished royalist army to Spain, the *Madrid Gazette* announced “the destruction of the ambitious and foolish Bolívar,” with all his army, in Peru!

After the battle of Ayacucho, the Liberator sent General Sucre to Cuzco; and although there were some preliminary attempts at resistance, the commanding officers of the Spanish forces, which were widely disseminated, one by one acknowledged their adhesion to the terms of the capitulation. Only Olañeta remained in Alto-Peru (Upper Peru, now Bolivia), and thither Sucre marched with the united army and very soon was able to declare with noble pride: “There is not one soldier hostile to liberty upon the American continent.”

On the 25th of January the municipality of Lima gave a splendid ball to the Liberator, in the halls of the University, in which the utmost cordiality and enthusiasm prevailed. Everybody now declared: “Bolívar is the Redeemer of Peru!”

The Constitutional Congress of Peru convened on the 10th of February. A commission was sent to inform the

BOLÍVAR

Liberator of the fact and to invite him to be present. Accompanied by the civil, ecclesiastical and military authorities of the city and, indeed, by the entire population, Bolívar proceeded to the halls of Congress. The streets through which he passed were adorned with countless banners and decorated at intervals with triumphant arches, bearing the most flattering legends. Never had the Liberator enjoyed a more complete or enthusiastic triumph. When he entered the precincts of the Congress, the cheering became frenetic and deafening. "Long live Bolívar! Long live the Redeemer of Peru!"

In an eloquent and forceful address, the Liberator reviewed the events of the previous year, referred to the Pan-American conference he had invited to assemble at Panamá and then said:

Legislators! Upon restoring to the Congress the Supreme Power which it deposited in my hands, permit me to congratulate the Nation upon having freed itself from what is most terrible in the world: from War with the victory of Ayacucho, and from Despotism with my resignation. Proscribe forever, I beseech you, such tremendous authority — that authority which was the sepulchre of Rome! It was laudable, doubtless, in order to avoid horrible abysses and turn aside terrible tempests, for the Congress to spike its laws upon the bayonets of the Liberating Army; but now that the Nation has obtained domestic peace and political liberty, it should permit no other than its laws to govern.

Gentlemen! The Congress is installed. My office as an auxiliary soldier calls me to contribute to the liberty of Upper Peru and the reduction of Callao, the last bulwark of Spanish power in meridional America. Then I will return to give an account to the Representatives of the Colombian Nation, of my mission to Peru, of your liberty and of the glory of the Liberating Army!"



BOLÍVAR

From a painting made in Lima in 1825 which Bolívar pronounced an excellent portrait

By Gil

To this discourse the President of the Congress, Doctor José María Galdiano replied: "Liberator! The sacred interests of the Nation, the heroic actions of the united army, the fortunate days of the year 1824, our vacillating security, public opinion and the unanimous vote of this assembly — all, all oppose the resignation of your command which, having emancipated us from the old colonial system, now sustains us against the ambitions machinations of anarchists and tyrants."

Bolívar arose and replied at length, promising not to abandon Peru until the Spaniards were expelled from the highlands and from Callao. "After this, Gentlemen," he added, "there remains nothing for me to do in this Republic. My permanence in it is an absurd phenomenon: it is the opprobrium of Peru. I am a foreigner; I have come to aid you as a soldier, not to govern you as a politician. The legislators of Colombia — my own companions-in-arms, would condemn me for a service which I ought not to consecrate except to my own country; for both have had no other design than that of giving independence to this great nation. Should I accept your offer, Peru would become a parasitical nation, tied to Colombia, whose President I am and upon whose soil I was born. I can not, Sir, admit a power that is repugnant to my conscience. Neither can the legislators cede an authority which the people have confided to them only as the representatives of their sovereignty. The future generations of Peru would cover you with execration. You have no power to convey a right with which you are not invested. The sovereignty of a nation, not being alienable, can only be represented by those who are the organs of its will; but a foreigner, Gentlemen, can not be the organ of the national will. He is an intruder in this nascent Republic.

Nevertheless I shall not desert Peru. I will serve her with my sword and with my heart, so long as a single enemy treads her soil. Then, joining the hands of the Republics of Peru and Colombia, we shall give an example of the great

BOLÍVAR

confederation which should fix the future destinies of this New Universe.”

The Congress, refused, however, to accept Bolívar's resignation and passed a resolution insisting upon his exercising the dictatorship until its reunion in the following year, or longer, if internal or external conditions should make it advisable, authorizing him to suspend the Constitution and all laws and decrees in contravention of his own desires or acts, as well as to delegate the supreme power to one or more assistants or to a substitute, as he might see fit or believe necessary for the good of the country. A commission from the body of the Congress was sent to inform Bolívar of this resolution, to which he agreed upon the sole condition that the “odious title” of Dictator should be omitted. When this reply was conveyed to the Congress, the entire body, with its President at its head and accompanied by an immense concourse of people, waited upon the Liberator, acclaiming him as the “Restorer of the Republic.”

Upon the same day the Congress decreed: 1. A vote of thanks, in the name of the Republic, to Simón Bolívar, “the Father and Savior of Peru”; 2. A medal of honor which should have his bust and “To her Liberator, Simón Bolívar” upon the obverse, and upon the reverse, the Arms of the Republic with “Peru restored in Ayacucho, 1824”; 3. The erection of an equestrian statue of Bolívar in the Plaza of the Constitution in Lima; 4. the location in the principal plaza of the capitals of the departments of a stone tablet with an inscription of gratitude to the Liberator; 5. The placing of his portrait in every municipality; 6. The enjoyment for all time by the Liberator of the honors of President of the Republic; 7. One million dollars for the Liberator and another million for the officers and soldiers of the Liberating Army; 8. A vote of thanks from the Congress of Peru to that of Colombia for the services of Bolívar and of the Liberating Army; 9. The title of Grand Marshal of Ayacucho to General Antonio José de Sucre, for the memorable victory obtained by him, and 10.

Citizenship in Peru for every individual who took part in the liberating campaign.

When this act of the Congress was communicated to Bolívar, he immediately and resolutely refused to accept the million dollars voted him and on the 12th of February, in an official note to the President of the Congress, he expressed his gratitude for the kingly offer but reiterated in unmistakable language his refusal to accept a money consideration for his services. The Congress, however, insisted upon conferring this fortune upon the Liberator and sent a commission from its body to inform him of the unanimous desire of the Representatives of the Peruvian people that he should consent to be the recipient of this large sum, which, under date of the 23rd of February, in an official letter, he again refused to accept. On the 26th of February, the President of the Congress informed him that, in compliance with his wishes, that body had withdrawn the appropriation of one million dollars for his personal use but had voted the same amount for charitable purposes and institutions in the city of Bolívar's birth, which sum, in a communication of the 27th of February, he accepted for, and in the name of, Caracas. This correspondence is interesting and worthy of perusal, showing as it undoubtedly does, the great delicacy which characterized the Liberator in such matters.

General Bolívar had emancipated his slaves and had been ruined by the war, before which he was enormously rich; he had declined the life pension assigned him by the Colombian Congress and now, when poor, he resolutely refused to accept the million dollars voted him by that of Peru. In his own and in more modern days, many successful soldiers and sailors, even of the Anglo-Saxon race, have shown far less abnegation. "The 10th of February 1825," says Larrazábal, "is worth a hundred years of morality." And the Archbishop of Mechlin, Monsignor de Pradt, says: "The morality of the world, weakened with so many examples of violence, baseness, ambition, covetousness and hypocrisy, was in need of a stimulus like Bolívar, whose moderation and whose unheard-of

abnegation in the full possession of power have rendered ambition hateful. The example of this great, virtuous man may serve as a general purification, strong enough to disinfect society.”

Of all these effusively generous acts of the Peruvian Congress, the Liberator made timely reports to General Santander, the Vice-President of Colombia. Concerning his acceptance of the dictatorship for another twelve-month, he said: “The Congress has insisted in refusing to receive the Supreme Command conferred upon me a year ago: — has closed its ears to my energetic entreaties and even to my reproaches, which the respect due to sovereignty should have strangled on my lips. I desired to wound the national pride in order that my voice might be heeded and Peru might not be ruled by a Colombian, but all was in vain. The outcry from Peru has been louder than that of my conscience. I have acquiesced from complaisance, but not from conviction. I have been unable to resist a people that believes me necessary for its conservation, although its existence is already assured by its victories and by its laws. A panicky terror of anarchy still rules the spirit of the Peruvians. To calm this unfortunate sentiment, I have believed myself compelled to offer my permanence here until the reunion of the next Congress in the year 1826, it being always understood that the Representatives of the national sovereignty of Colombia permit this absence and the exercise of an authority which I recognize to be monstrous in itself and entirely improper for me.

“I beseech your Excellency to be good enough to submit to the National Congress, the documents which I have the honor to enclose. If the Congress deign to approve my conduct, my joy will be extreme; and if it recall me, no cause shall detain me, since my first duty is obedience to Colombia.”

Meanwhile Sucre continued his march to Alto-Peru. Olañeta retired to Potosí, but resolved to fight. On the 1st of April, at Tumusla, occurred the last action of the war, in which Olañeta was killed and the Patriots were entirely successful. By the 8th of April, in the campaign from Ayacucho

to Potosí, 18,598 Spaniards had been killed or wounded, or had capitulated. And this was accomplished by Sucre chiefly, in command of 6,000 Colombians!

The War of Independence was over. Bolívar now devoted himself to the public administration of the Republic and of its capital. He appointed a commission of twelve distinguished jurists to form a project for the civil and criminal codes; created the general inspection of the army; established normal schools in the several departments and superior courts of justice in Cuzco and Arequipa; converted the Missionary College of Santa Rosa de Ocupa into a public school; named technical directors in the different mining districts; ordered roads constructed from Lima to Cuzco, Puno and Arequipa; founded asylums and hospitals for orphans and invalids of the poorer classes; favored commerce and trade, removing disturbing elements and, after organizing a provisional government, departed for Arequipa. His object was to visit Cuzco, La Paz and Potosí.

From Cañete and Chíncha the Liberator wrote to the provisional government at Lima, especially recommending to its attention and care the establishment of a public school system and the redemption of agriculture, which had been almost totally destroyed by the war. Thus his paternal solicitude for the nation never left him, wherever he went and whatever his occupation. At Ica he first learned of the death of Olañeta and the submission of Upper Peru. On the 10th of May he arrived at Arequipa, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm, the women despoiling themselves of their jewels and laying them at his feet, with the request that he should distribute their proceeds to the soldiers of the Liberating Army. And the Army itself, not to be outdone in these manifestations of affection and gratitude, voted a part of its pay to poor students and orphans.

In Arequipa, Bolívar decreed the formation of a new state of Upper Peru, convoking a popular assembly for the purpose of adopting a constitution, the plan of which had been formed by himself. Upon his arrival at Cuzco, the Liberator

BOLÍVAR

was met by a thousand young and beautiful matrons, headed by the wife of the Prefect, who presented him with a golden wreath, set with pearls and diamonds; but Bolívar, in turn, gave it General Sucre, saying "It is he who deserves all these gifts from Peru. He is the victor of Ayacucho and the true liberator of this Republic."

Wherever Bolívar went, he reformed abuses and did everything possible to alleviate the distress caused by the war and to initiate a new period of liberty and welfare. From Cuzco he proceeded to Puno and visited the celebrated lake of Titicaca which, according to the Indian tradition, was the cradle of Manco Capac, the founder and first legislator of the empire of the Incas. Thence he went to La Paz, where he arrived on the 18th of September. Here he received the deputies of the assembly of Upper Peru, convoked at Chuquisaca, who, in the transports of their enthusiasm, had just named the new state after its founder — *Bolivia*.

From La Paz the Liberator journeyed to Potosí, thus realizing the spoken word that had seemed more like a dream in the forests of the Orinoco: "We shall bear our triumphant arms to the summits of the Potosí." The city was decorated with the flags of Colombia, Peru, Chile and Buenos Aires, and numerous triumphal arches, while portraits of Bolívar, hastily painted, were everywhere. He was met by a group of beautiful young women, one of whom delivered an address of welcome, while her companions crowned him with a laurel wreath. The Liberator's reply was characterized by his usual eloquence and even the ordinarily imperturbable Englishman, General Miller, who witnessed the indescribable scenes at Potosí, was moved to record: "Really, in improvisation, Bolívar had no rival. In a single day I heard him reply to seventeen successive harangues, with the most marvellous propriety and with a coloring, of which I must renounce giving the slightest idea. What poesy! What luxury of images! What liveliness of imagination! And with all this, what discourse so full of grace and ease! What epithets so proper! What turns so surprising! In proposing a toast, in returning thanks or in

speaking upon any given subject, perhaps Bolívar can not be surpassed.”

During seven weeks the Liberator remained at Potosí and they were seven weeks of continuous and increasing enjoyment. On the 26th of October, accompanied by Sucre, the Prefect and other persons of distinction, he ascended the famous silver mountain which had given untold riches to Spain. Upon its summit he electrified his audience with a speech as celebrated in South America as Bonaparte's harangue to his troops at the battle of Ambabah in Egypt: “From yonder pyramids twenty centuries behold your actions!” Sucre wept like a child with emotion and the Irishman O’Leary characterized it as the *Sublimity of Bolívar*. “We have marched, conquering,” he said in part, “from the coasts of the Atlantic and in fifteen years of a struggle of giants, we have overthrown the edifice of tyranny erected quietly during three centuries of usurpation and violence. The miserable vestiges of the ‘Lords of Creation’ were subjected to the most degrading slavery; what must be our joy in contemplating so many millions of mankind restored to their rights, through our perseverance and exertions! As for me, standing upon this silver hill called Potosí, whose rich veins were the treasure of Spain during three hundred years, I esteem this opulence as nothing compared to the glory of having brought triumphantly the standard of liberty from the torrid banks of the Orinoco, to plant it here, upon the summit of this mountain, whose bosom is the wonder and envy of the Universe.”

At Potosí, in his character of Supreme Chief of the Peruvian Republic, Bolívar received the commission sent from Buenos Aires to congratulate him for his triumphs and for the eminent services he had given to the cause of South American liberty. Upon this occasion Bolívar availed himself of the opportunity to condemn, in no unsparing manner, the arbitrary acts of the Emperor Pedro I of Brazil and openly declared his intention to ask the Republic of Colombia to permit him to march to Buenos Aires and avenge these insults. The Liberator made no secret of his desire to cross the Andes

and descend to the Atlantic, in pursuit of new triumphs and additional glory, and did, indeed, make the request of his government. With this plan in view he ordered several divisions of the army to advance as far as Cochabamba, and on the 1st of November himself set out for the town of Plata, where he arrived two days later. Here he halted and meanwhile devoted all his time to giving Bolivia its first independent organization. During five months the Liberator had introduced innumerable reforms, covering such a variety of subjects, that their mere enumeration would be laborious. Here he had to create nearly everything, because almost nothing existed. After publishing the decree of elections and delegating the command to General Sucre, he closed this, his most brilliant period of administration.

On the 9th of December, Bolívar celebrated the 1st anniversary of the battle of Ayacucho in Chuquisaca, and in his speech upon this occasion he gave eminent and just praise to General Sucre, designating him as the "Conqueror of the Spanish Power in Peru". Here the close of the year 1825 found him.

CHAPTER XVII

1826

Bolívar abandons idea of march to Atlantic—Plans to free Cuba—Opposition in U. S. Congress—Bolívar returns to Lima—Surrender of Callao—Proposition to make Bolívar ‘Emperor of the Andes’—His reply to Páez—Washington’s family sends medal to the Liberator—Uprising of Páez—Santander beseeches Bolívar to return to Colombia—Sorrow and protests of Peruvians—Rejoicings at delay—Bolívar embarks at Callao—Arrives at Guayaquil—At Quito—Pasto—Popayán—Neiva—Bogotá—Reception—Proclamation—Pamplona—Civil war in Venezuela—Bolívar arrives at Maracaibo—Proclamation—Writes Páez—Marches from Coro to Puerto Cabello—Adhesions of towns—Revolution fails at Bolívar’s approach.

THE DELAY at Plata and Chuquisaca and, it must be confessed, the little encouragement he received from the Commission from Buenos Aires, succeeded in calming the Liberator’s at-one-time vehement desire to march to the Atlantic. Then, too, the necessity, real or imagined, no longer existed, in the same degree. Bolívar resolved, therefore, to dispatch the Venezuelan troops to their homes. At this time, however, he received letters and important documents from a rich and prominent Cuban, Señor Iznaga, who had come to Lima for the express purpose of seeing the Liberator and of interesting him in the independence of the ‘Ever Faithful Isle’. This, it was easy to do. Bolívar never had enough of glory and was, by nature or by long habit, both a fighter and a revolutionist. The independence of Cuba and of Puerto Rico might have followed that of the mainland, but for the early departure of Iznaga, who did not await the arrival of the Liberator, and the dissensions which soon rent Colombia. A squadron for the contemplated invasion, by General Sucre, was being prepared, however, when the plan was frustrated by the opposition of the Representatives in Congress from the slave states of the American Union, who feared the re-enactment in Cuba of the

terrible scenes in San Domingo and Haiti and their possible spread to the continent itself. Years later the United States was to make a thorough, if tardy, atonement by expending millions of treasure and many lives in freeing Cuba.

On the 10th of January 1826, Bolívar left Chuquisaca for Cochabamba and thence for the coast, arriving at Tacna on the 30th of the same month. A few days later he embarked in Arica on the *Chimborazo* (the same brigantine of war that in 1823 had carried him from Guayaquil to Callao), and arrived at Chorrillos on the 7th of February. On the 10th he made his public entry into Lima, where he was acclaimed with unbounded enthusiasm. He was greatly disappointed to learn of Señor Iznaga's departure.

During the Liberator's journey to the coast, that is, on the 23rd of January 1826, General Salom had the honor to receive the sword of General Rodil and the surrender of the fortress and port of Callao, the last stronghold upon the American continent occupied by the Spaniards. Puerto Cabello, in Venezuela, had capitulated to General Páez, on the 7th of November 1823. Of her immense American empire, only Cuba and Puerto Rico and the unimportant Chiloé Islands off the coast of Chile which were soon evacuated, remained to Spain.

Larrazábal infers the object of the Liberator's precipitate journey to the coast from a letter the latter wrote to Colonel Heres, from Cuzco, as early as the 9th of July 1825, in which he says:

At the end of December or in January, I shall go your way, to terminate my Peruvian administration and report upon Upper Peru and the Southern Provinces. I shall be happy if I can leave the Government satisfied; its Congress in session; its legal organization perfected; the country free; General Lamar at the head of affairs; anarchy destroyed and the Constitution reformed by the legitimate representatives of the nation.

On the 1st of January 1826, he had declared to the people of Upper Peru.

A sacred duty for a Republican imposes upon me the agreeable necessity of giving an account to the representatives of the nation, of my administration. The Peruvian Congress is about to convene and I must return the command of the Republic which it confided to me. Therefore I go to the capital of Lima, but filled with profound sorrow at leaving you.

Restrepo, commenting upon the conclusion, at this juncture, of the grand work of Bolívar, says :

How happy would he have been, and Colombia as well, if at that moment he had said an eternal adieu to the coasts of Peru. . . . It was a deplorable occurrence for the glory of Bolívar, in not persisting in the resolution announced from Oruro and La Paz to the Colombian Government that, in February of this year, he would return to Colombia with the last remnants of the auxiliary army. To so far-seeing a man, it should not have been hidden that Colombia needed the arms of her valiant sons; that the permanence of the Colombian troops in Peru was a constant menace to her liberty and true independence; that it was also onerous for her exchequer, exhausted by such expenses; that very soon the Colombians and even the Liberator himself would make themselves odious to the Peruvians. Moreover, he had offered repeatedly and in the most solemn manner that the last battlefield should see him throw away the palm of the dictatorship and return thence to Colombia with his brothers-in-arms, without taking a grain of sand from Peru, but leaving her free!

BOLÍVAR

If Bolívar, by a deplorable fatality, had not forgotten these promises and all these considerations; if he had not delayed so long in the mountains and in Upper Peru, organizing the country recently liberated, tasting the obsequiousness of the people, enthusiastic for their liberator, and intoxicating himself with the sweets of power; finally, if he had not been seduced by the alluring and perhaps perfidious counsels which flattered his vanity and self-love, making him believe that he was the only man who, while he lived, should rule in South America, the splendor of his glory would not have grown less during his last years. Neither would he have suffered the pain and bitterness which lacerated his sensitive heart and conducted him to the sepulchre before old age. Colombia equally would not have had to lament the immorality and lack of discipline of her army which, led to Peru by like officers, made it the scourge of the people and the assassin of liberty.

Larrazábal defends the Liberator with his usual partiality and while he certainly diminishes the burden of Restrepo's charges, he does not succeed in wholly refuting them. Bolívar did, indeed, reiterate, again and again, his abhorrence of the supreme command or dictatorship and his vehement desire to relinquish it forever and become a simple citizen; but in spite of these oft-repeated protestations, the truth is he remained in power until almost forced out. Nor does this fact detract from his glory as a successful soldier and ruler, although it may qualify our esteem for his character as a man. He was intensely ambitious and every effort to prove the contrary will inevitably fail. At the same time he was patriotic to a degree and generous to a fault. His admirers should be content with his many eminent and admirable qualities and not attempt to make a demi-god of him.

It is true that Peru worshipped the Liberator at this time with the most servile adoration. The Commissioners sent to Colombia to return thanks for the auxiliary army, especially requested that Bolívar should be permitted to remain indefinitely the ruler of Peru, and fifty-two deputies of the Congress itself implored him not to convoke that body. Petitions against his relinquishment of command were signed by all classes of society. Señor Vidaurre wrote him: "The moment the Sun departs from our soil, the putrid waters of discord will descend in torrents and the fang of the alligator, hungry for civil war, will show itself." It was the fear of reaction—of a counter revolution, if not of anarchy itself, that largely actuated the Peruvians. Again the Liberator replied: "My intention is to resign all command in this Republic; to leave its Congress in the most ample liberty for its deliberations to promulgate and sanction the laws it wishes to give the country, and to determine its future. Certainly nobody better than its deputies can secure the welfare of the nation, because they represent it in all its plenitude. These are my sentiments and you may believe that I shall realize them." And still he lingered!

The Liberator wished that General Lamar should be the President of the Council of Government, for which purpose he ordered him from Guayaquil. Lamar was a man of force and distinction and with him at the head of affairs, Bolívar felt that he could absent himself without great difficulty. Unfortunately, Lamar was unwilling to accept the place. The Liberator then thought of General Santa Cruz, but he was in Bolivia and unable to leave before June.

At this time there was a strong monarchical party in the freed colonies, now become republics, the members of which openly proposed and advocated the making of General Bolívar, "Emperor of the Andes", that is, of United Colombia (which comprised Venezuela, New Granada and the present Republic of Ecuador), Peru and Bolivia. The enemies of the Liberator have accused him of secretly conniving at this scheme, but an impartial examination seems to reveal the

fact that, on the contrary, he opposed it. Even General Páez wrote to him from Venezuela suggesting that he follow the example of Bonaparte in France. Under the date of the 6th of March 1826, Bolívar replied to Páez at length, refusing his assent to such proposition. "You have not judged, it seems to me, with sufficient impartiality of the state of things and of men. Colombia is not France; neither am I, Napoleon. In France, they think much and know still more; the population is homogeneous and besides, the war placed them upon the edge of a precipice; there was no republic greater than the French and France had always been a kingdom. The republican Government was discredited and exhausted to the point of entering an abysm of execration. The monsters who ruled France were equally cruel and inept. Napoleon was great, sole and extremely ambitious. Here there is nothing of the kind. I am not Napoleon and have no wish to be: neither do I desire to imitate Caesar, much less Iturbide. Such examples appear to me unworthy of my glory. The title of Liberator is superior to all those that human pride has conceived."

On the 15th of March, Bolívar was re-elected President of Colombia, receiving 582 votes of the 608 cast. For the fourth time he resigned the Presidency, but as usual his resignation was not accepted.

About this time the family of Washington, at Mount Vernon, availing itself of the visit of La Fayette to the United States, confided to the hands of the eminent Frenchman, for transmission to Bolívar, a gold medal containing a miniature of the illustrious American and several locks of his hair. La Fayette wrote:

My religious and filial devotion to General Washington could not be better recognized by his family than by honoring me with the commission they have entrusted to me. . . . Of all men living, and even of all men in history, Bolívar is the very one to whom my paternal friend would have pre-

ferred to send this present. What else can I say to the great citizen whom South America has honored with the name of Liberator, confirmed in him by two worlds, a man endowed with an influence equal to his self-denial, who carries in his heart the sole love of freedom and of the republic?

Bolívar answered:

There are no words with which I can express how my heart appreciates this gift. . . . Washington's family honors me beyond my greatest hopes, because Washington's gift presented by La Fayette is the crown of all human rewards.

General Bolívar frequently wore this medal and he requested that all paintings or statues made of him should exhibit it upon his heart, which apparently has been done.

It will be recalled that after the second battle of Carabobo, when the Liberator resolved to make his famous march to the south, in absenting himself from Venezuela he divided the country into three military departments, placing them under the command of the three generals who had shown him the most jealousy and greatest infidelity, to wit: Páez, Mariño and Bermúdez. This he did because his soul was too big to harbor resentment and also to pacify them, for he well knew their envious and ambitious natures. Páez commanded the central department, with headquarters at Caracas. In his slowness in obeying the law of general conscription, Páez, who disliked Vice-President Santander, encouraged the people in their tacit resistance to its operation and then, when the necessity for obedience was made evident to him, he took blind and summary measures to enforce its execution. For this he was summoned to appear before the proper authorities but, instead of obeying, he relinquished his post and retired as a simple citizen to Valencia. Here his supporters swarmed about him and persuaded him to

reassume command, in doing which the usual arbitrary and despotic acts were performed, which gave to the proceedings the appearance of an uprising or revolution. Under the new republic, Páez was the first to abuse his military power. Valencia was full of rebellion. Páez called himself "Civil and Military Chief" and continued to govern in both capacities. Unfortunately Mariño took the part of Páez, but Bermúdez remained firm in support of the laws and the constitution. Arismendi and Urdaneta likewise opposed the pretensions of Páez. Civil war existed, therefore, in the province of Venezuela and Páez, one of her most distinguished patriots and valiant soldiers, had invoked it.

Under these circumstances Vice-President Santander hastened to write to the Liberator, beseeching him to return.

Bolívar received the news of these unfortunate events, on the 5th of July. Immediately he determined to go back to Colombia and began to make preparations for his departure. When this resolution became known, upon all sides were heard lamentations and protestations. On the 13th of August an immense concourse of people assembled and begged the Liberator to desist from his purpose. The municipality convened at the palace of Government and officially preferred the same request. On the 15th of the month the tribunals and corporations, in reunion, besought the Liberator to remain but, while deeply sensible of these manifestations of affection and confidence, Bolívar never wavered in his determination, although he delayed its execution.

The national army united its supplications to those of the people. Finally the matrons of the capital proceeded in a body to the palace and implored him to stay. It was impossible not to be moved by such display, and the silence of the Liberator was accepted as a sign of acquiescence. In consequence, sundry entertainments were projected. On the 1st of September, the anniversary of his arrival at Callao, a splendid banquet was given upon the banks of the Rímac. The path of the Liberator was strewn with flowers and thous-

ands of voices acclaimed his arrival. "In all the route," says Larrazábal, "only *vivas* and benedictions were heard; and tears of tenderness flowed in abundance when the venerable curate of San Lázaro advanced and, weeping like a child, covered with flowers and sprinkled with aromatic waters, the ground which Bolívar was to tread." After a day of almost oriental splendor and triumph, a magnificent ball was given, which the Liberator attended but from which he retired at midnight, to dictate the following proclamation to his secretary:

Peruvians!

Colombia calls me and I obey. In parting from you, I feel how much I love you; for I can not tear myself from you, without tender emotions of sorrow.

I dared to think of leaving you under obligations to me; but I am oppressed by the honored weight of your munificence. My poor services disappear before the monuments that the generosity of Peru has consecrated to me, and even their recollection will be lost in the immensity of your gratitude. You have conquered me!

I do not separate myself from you entirely. My love for you remains in your President and Council of Government, worthy depositaries of the supreme authority; in my confidence; in the magistrates who govern you; in my intimate political thoughts; in the project of the constitution; in the custody of your independence, and in the victors of Ayacucho. Next year, your legislators will shed all the benefits of liberty through the wisdom of their laws. Only one evil need you fear: I offer you the remedy. Preserve the dread with which anarchy has inspired you. Terror so ample will constitute your safety!

Peruvians! You have a thousand claims upon

BOLÍVAR

my heart. I leave it to you forever. Your welfare and your misfortune shall be mine; our fates the same.

Bolívar.

On the 4th of September the Liberator departed for Callao, to embark upon the brigantine *Congress*, which was to convey him to Guayaquil.

Before he abandoned the shores of Peru, the electors of the province of Lima declared that *General Bolívar ought to be the President for life of the Republic*, and subsequently all the remaining electoral colleges, numbering fifty-eight, made the same declaration; but the Liberator replied: "Peru has many eminent men capable of filling the supreme magistracy: to them it falls, not to me, to possess it. I can not and ought not to accept the proposition. I am a Colombian; I belong to Colombia." Thus Bolívar left the Land of the Incas forever. To few men, perhaps to none, has it ever fallen to enjoy such unmixed triumph and popularity as Bolívar did in Peru. The assertions of his enemies that he endeavored to perpetuate his power and even to make himself the "Emperor of the Andes", are best disproved by the fact that he did neither, when almost omnipotent. Bolívar was extremely jealous of his fame and loved the *glory* he had acquired, more than ambition — more than power.

On the 11th of September the Liberator arrived at Guayaquil and there learned with displeasure that, on account of the menacing state of affairs, his friends had proclaimed him Dictator. The next day he disembarked and was enthusiastically received by the populace. He refused the dictatorship, declaring that *all should continue to observe the constitutional regimen, because the law is the guaranty of all and that which saves all*. And upon treading Colombian soil, he published the following proclamation:

Colombians!

The cry of your discord penetrated my ears in the capital of Peru and I have come to bring you an

olive branch. Accept it as the ark of salvation. What! Has Colombia no enemies left? Are there no more Spaniards in the world? Even if the entire earth were allied to us, we should remain submissive slaves to the laws and bound together by the vehemence of our love. I offer you anew my services: the services of a brother. I have not cared to know who is to blame; I have never forgotten that you are my blood-brothers and companions-in-arms. I bring you a kiss in common and two arms to press you to my bosom: in it will enter, to the very depths of my heart, Granadans and Venezuelans, the just and the unjust, the Liberating Army, all citizens of the great Republic.

In your quarrel, there is only one guilty: it is I. I have not come in time, but I give myself to you as a victim, for your sacrifice. Let your blows fall upon me; they will be grateful to me, if they satisfy your enemies.

Colombians! I tread the soil of the fatherland. Therefore let the scandal of your outrages, the sins of discord, cease. There is no longer Venezuela — no longer Cundinamarca: let us be Colombians or death will cover the deserts which anarchy leaves.

Simón Bolívar.

Guayaquil, 13th of September 1826.

On the 18th of September, the Liberator left Guayaquil, escorted by an immense concourse of people and on the 28th of the same month he arrived at Quito, where, he was enthusiastically welcomed by all classes. Here he remained until the 5th of October, when he set out upon the long and difficult journey to Bogotá. Everywhere he was hailed as the happiness, the hope of Colombia. On the 13th he passed through Pasto and on the 23rd he reached Popayán. In the latter city he received every demonstration of love and esteem. On the 28th of October, he gave a magnificent banquet and left on the 30th,

arriving at Neiva on the 5th of November. Here the governor of the province and the municipality of the city, besought him to accept the dictatorship, but the Liberator replied that there was no occasion to appeal to tyrannical power when the laws sufficed to secure the happiness of the people; that he abhorred command and especially the title of Dictator; that his work during so many years of war had been directed to the destruction of the absolute power of kings and the substitution therefor of the gentle empire of reason. He added: "If it is possible, I do not wish to hear the word *Dictatorship*."

On the 11th of November he arrived at Tocaima, about 54 miles from Bogotá, where he found Vice-President Santander and the Secretaries of War and of Foreign Affairs, awaiting him; and on the 14th, he reached Bogotá itself. Unfortunately a heavy rain interfered with the splendor of his reception. The high functionaries of the Government were assembled in the Presidential Palace, upon entering which Bolívar cheered Vice-President Santander and the Colombian constitution—"that sacred book, the gospel of the Colombian people." Speeches followed, of course, in which the Liberator said in part: "Permit me, Gentlemen, when I see the Colombian family divided, to call myself its father and to invite you to forget your injuries and join together cordially in elevating our beloved country to the highest grade of happiness. I have consecrated my services to the liberty and independence of Colombia and I will devote them forever to the Union, and to the reign of the laws."

Upon reinvesting himself with the Executive Power, Bolívar published the following proclamation:

Colombians!

Five years ago I left this capital to march at the head of the Liberating Army, from the banks of the Cauca to the silver summits of Potosí. A million Colombians and two sister republics have obtained their independence under the shadow of your banners

and the world of Columbus has ceased to be Spanish. Such has been our absence.

Your troubles have called me to Colombia. I come, full of zeal, to devote myself to the national will: this is my code because, being sovereign, it is infallible.

The national will has compelled me to assume supreme command. I hate it mortally because, on this account, I am accused of ambition and of an attempt at monarchy. What! Do they think me so foolish that I wish to descend? Do they not know that the distinction of Liberator is more sublime than a throne?

Colombians! I return to submit to the insupportable weight of the magistracy because, in moments of peril, it would be cowardice, not moderation, to divest myself of it; but do not count upon me longer than when the law or the people recover their sovereignty. Permit me to serve you then as a simple soldier and true republican, as a citizen armed in defense of the beautiful trophies of our victories:— your rights.

Simón Bolívar.

Palace of the Government at Bogotá,
23rd of November 1826 — 16.

Only during two days did the Liberator exercise the Executive Power; but in this brief period, with his habitual energy and wonderful address, he made many and important reforms in the Government.

On the morning of the 25th of November, Bolívar departed from Bogotá for Venezuela. The support which he gave to the laws and to the Constitution, his moderation in all things and his affability, satisfied everybody, even his enemies. Vice-President Santander published an article in the *Gaceta*, highly eulogizing the Liberator and entertained him splendidly at Hato Grande, the end of his first day's journey. For

nearly three days he was accompanied by the committee which escorted him from the capital, after which he proceeded upon his long and arduous journey, attended only by the officers of his staff.

Near Pamplona he learned that Páez had issued a decree convoking a Constitutional Congress in Venezuela, to meet at Valencia on the 15th of January 1827. The revolution, although thus far bloodless, was in full blast. It was the only one in Colombia since the establishment of independence — the first of a long series which were to afflict the several countries constituting the Grand Republic of Colombia, and its leader had been one of the most valorous and distinguished generals in the struggle for liberty. But separation had to come, sooner or later. It was in the *genius* of the people — their rivalries, their jealousies, their ambitions, exaggerated by the immense distances that separated them and the lack of communications. The presence of the Liberator was to delay, but could not entirely avert it.

In approaching the frontier of Venezuela, Bolívar endeavored to assemble sufficient troops to inspire respect in the disaffected provinces; but he soon learned that Páez had attacked Puerto Cabello, which city had remained loyal to the general government, and that blood had been shed both there and at Cumaná. He concluded, therefore, that he should have to quell the revolt by force of arms and earnestly requested Vice-President Santander to provide troops, munitions and funds for this purpose.

On the 16th of December the Liberator arrived at Maracaibo, from which point he issued the following proclamation:

Venezuelans!

Already you have stained the glory of your braves with the crime of fratricide. Was this the crown due to your work of virtue and of valor? No! Hide, then, your parricidal arms: do not destroy the fatherland. Listen to the voice of your brother and comrade, before consummating the last sacrifice

of blood escaped from tyrants, which Heaven spared to preserve the republic of heroes.

Venezuelans! I pledge you my word — I solemnly offer to call the people together, to deliberate with calmness upon their welfare and their own sovereignty. Very soon — this same year, you shall be consulted in order that you may say when, where and upon what terms you are willing to celebrate this great national convention. There, the people shall freely exercise their omnipotence; there, they shall decree their fundamental laws. Only they know their welfare and are the masters of their destiny — but not one powerful man, not a party, not a faction. Nobody but the majority is sovereign. He is a tyrant who puts himself in the place of the people. His power is usurpation.

Venezuelans! I go to you, to put myself between your swords and your hearts. I would rather die than see you in ignominy, which is even worse than tyranny itself; and against the latter, what have we not sacrificed? Unhappy those who do not heed my words — who do not do their duty.

Simón Bolívar.

General Liberator Headquarters in Maracaibo,
16th of December 1826 — 16.

In order that General Páez and his adherents, compromised in the plan for the disorganization of Venezuela, might not make sport of his advice and promises, the Liberator determined to oppose them with force and placed Urdaneta in command of the army he was raising. Also he declared the departments of Maturín, Venezuela, Orinoco and Zulia, subject to his exclusive orders and arranged to govern them through his general secretary, Revenga.

Bolívar remained but two days at Maracaibo. Previous to his departure from Bogotá, he had sent letters to Páez, but

the only result was an absurd proclamation by the latter announcing the approach of "the Liberator," his "brother," his "friend and the hero of the fatherland, who comes for our happiness, not to destroy the civil and military authority which I have received at the hands of the people, but to aid us with his advice, his wisdom and experience, to perfect the work of reforms."

When Bolívar read this publication in Coro, he wrote Páez a long, earnest and conciliatory letter which called forth from Revenga, his Secretary-General, the biblical quotation of "casting pearls before swine". Páez, in fact, prepared to resist, writing to this effect to all his friends and especially to his own people, the *llaneros*. But with the coming of the Liberator, one by one the generals, the battalions, the towns, declared their adhesion to the Government, and upon the arrival of Bolívar at Puerto Cabello, on the 31st of December, the revolution had been frustrated, not by force of arms, not by the magic of his presence, but simply by the knowledge of his approach.

CHAPTER XVIII

1827

Amnesty proclamation — Submission of General Páez — Bolívar enters Valencia in triumph — Occurrence at banquet — Triumphant entry in Caracas — Speech of Páez — Bolívar resigns Presidency — Santander's attacks — Bolívar's letter to a friend — Uprisings in South — News celebrated in Bogotá — Plots against the Liberator — He determines to return to Bogotá — Sails for Cartagena — His reception — He approaches the capital — Alarm of Santander — Talk of secession — Energetic action of Soublette and Urdaneta — Bolívar arrives at Bogotá — Takes oath of office — At zenith of power — Menaces from Peru.

ON THE 1st of January 1827, Bolívar, by virtue of the extraordinary faculties conferred upon him as President of Colombia, published a decree granting ample amnesty to all concerned in the revolution of General Páez and even continuing the latter in the exercise of the civil and military authority as Supreme Chief of Venezuela. At the same time he promised to convoke the national convention already offered in his proclamation from Maracaibo. Many of the Liberator's friends and adherents had expected that he would fall upon Páez and annihilate him, which the largely increased forces of the Government might have enabled him to do. But Bolívar was opposed to civil strife and could not forget the great and distinguished services of Páez in the War of Independence. Páez, who remained at Valencia, now recognized the authority of Bolívar as President of Colombia, annulled the decrees convoking a congress and ordered that the Liberator should be given a triumphant entry into all the towns in his journey to Caracas — honors which had been decreed by the Congress of the Republic upon his return from Peru.

Bolívar received with patriotic joy the news of this action upon the part of General Páez and immediately published the following proclamation :

Colombians!

Order and law have returned to their celestial reign in all the angles of the Republic. The loathsome and sanguinary serpent of discord flees affrighted from the Iris of Colombia. There are no more domestic enemies: embraces, kisses, tears of joy, the shouts of a delirious happiness, fill the hearts of the country. To-day is the triumph of peace!

Granadans! Your Venezuelan brothers are the same as ever: fellow-citizens, companions-in-arms, sons of the same fate, brothers in Cúcuta, Niquitao, La Victoria, Carabobo, Chires, Yagual, Mucuritas, Calabozo, Queseras, Boyacá, Cartagena, Maracaibo; Puerto Cabello, Bomboná, Pinchicha, Junín, Ayacucho; and in the Congress of Guayana, Cúcuta and Bogotá: all brothers in the field of glory and in the councils of wisdom.

Venezuelans, men of Apure, men of Maturín! The dominion of evil has ceased. Myself one of you, I bring you an olive branch, under whose shade we may celebrate the feast of liberty, of peace and of glory. Let us bury in the abysses of time the year '26; let a thousand centuries separate us from it and let it be lost forever in remotest utter darkness. I know not what has happened.

Colombians! Forget what you know of the days of grief; let your silence blot out its recollection.

Simón Bolívar.

General Headquarters of the Liberator in Puerto Cabello, 3rd of January 1827 — 17.

Páez, after recognizing the authority of the Liberator, asked to be brought to trial; but such request was no longer in order, after the proclamation of amnesty. His ideas of duty and of delicacy had been slow in awakening. However, Bolívar, through his secretary, denied the application, in a manner most flattering to General Páez. For this act and for

his decree of general amnesty, Bolívar was censured by not a few of his countrymen.

The Liberator entered Valencia in triumph on the 4th of January. Páez, with a numerous escort, awaited him at the foot of the hill of Naguanagua. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed among the inhabitants of the city. Bolívar accepted the hospitality offered by General Páez and lodged in the latter's house. At the banquet which followed, however, there was a serious altercation between the Liberator's chaplain and one of the followers of General Páez who had left the Spanish ranks shortly before the close of the War of Independence. Angered by the incident, Bolívar supported his chaplain and then, carried away by passion, exclaimed: "Here there is no authority but mine. I am like the sun among all my lieutenants who, if they shine, it is by my reflected light."

After this remark, the dinner was concluded in silence.

From Valencia the Liberator proceeded to Caracas, where nothing could surpass the splendor and enthusiasm of his triumphal entry. Here, indeed, he seemed truly beloved. From the Potosí, he had returned to his own, after six years of absence, during which he had liberated and founded three republics and destroyed forever the Spanish power in America. Arches had been erected at intervals in the streets through which the Liberator was to pass. No Roman conqueror was ever received with more enthusiasm. After a solemn *Te Deum* chanted in the cathedral, the Liberator was conducted to a beautiful house which had been newly and handsomely decorated and furnished for his residence. Here groups of young girls presented him with two laurel wreaths, one for his victory over the tyrants who had oppressed the land, the other for his triumph over the civil war that had recently menaced the country. These Bolívar accepted, but exclaiming that they were emblems of power and therefore belonged, one to the sovereign people and the other to the Liberating Army, to which nearly all had belonged, he graciously handed them to the assembled multitude. Other maidens presented him with the flags of Colombia, Peru and

Bolivia, which he, in turn, designating them by suitable qualities, passed to his generals. To Páez, who had accompanied him in his carriage, he dedicated the flag signifying valor. Addresses followed, and long after the official ceremony was concluded, the Liberator remained standing in the drawing-room, embracing fraternally the many friends who had come to pay their respects.

A grand banquet followed a few days later, at which General Páez made the following speech:

Gentlemen: Permit me to express a sentiment of pride. I can not retain it in my heart, because it is a noble pride. Gentlemen: The Liberator has crowned the measure of his benefits, of my glory and even that of his power: he can give me nothing more, for he has given me the sword with which he has liberated a world.

If that of Frederick, which did nothing more than defend his heritage and usurp that of others, could be an inestimable gift for the sovereign of Europe, what can I say upon seeing in my possession the sword of terror for tyrants, the redeeming sword of the human species? Among earthly gifts has there been one — can there be another, its equal? Bolívar himself can give no more.

And, what use shall I make of this sword? How preserve its laurels, its glories and its unique honor? It increases my obligations a hundred-fold; it demands of me strength which only Bolívar possesses. It confounds me. The redeeming sword of humanity!

Yet, in my hands, it will never be other than Bolívar's: his will shall direct it; my arm will carry it. I shall perish a hundred times and all my blood be spilled before this sword shall quit my hands or ever attempt to shed the blood that until now it has liberated. Fellow citizens! Bolívar's sword is in my

hands: for you and for him, I will go with it to eternity.

Let us drink to the inviolability of this oath.

This history will show how badly it was fulfilled and how ill-requited were the benefits bestowed upon Páez, by the Liberator. Meanwhile, the pacific means adopted by Bolívar to quell the revolution in Venezuela and the presentation of his sword to Páez, whom, in a moment of generous enthusiasm he characterized as the "savior of the country" — all this was severely criticized by the enemies of Bolívar in Bogotá, especially by Vice-President Santander, who had begun openly, but with the caution of his nature, to oppose his chief.

After a brief visit to La Guayra, the Liberator returned to Caracas and on the 6th of February addressed a communication to the presiding officer of the Senate (the Congress being in session in Bogotá) and again resigned the Presidency of Colombia. After reviewing the peaceful conditions which obtained in the entire Republic, he said:

The suspicions of a tyrannical usurpation surround me and trouble the hearts of the Colombians. Zealous republicans can not regard me without a secret fear, because history teaches them that all like me have been ambitious. In vain does the example of Washington appear to defend me and, in truth, one or many exceptions count for nothing against the history of a world, ever oppressed by the powerful.

I writhe between the distress of my fellow-citizens and the judgment of posterity. For I am not free from ambition; but for the same reason I wish to break loose from the claws of this fury, to free my countrymen from unrest and to assure, after my death, a memory which shall deserve well of liberty. Entertaining such sentiments, I resign a thousand — one million times the Presidency of the Republic. The Congress and the Nation should consider this resignation irrevocable. Nothing can make me

continue in the public service after having devoted to it my entire life. And now that the triumph of liberty has put all in possession of such sublime right, shall I alone be deprived of this prerogative? No! The Congress and the Colombian people are just: they will not condemn me to the ignominy of *desertion*. Few days remain to me; more than two-thirds of my life have passed. Permit me, therefore, to await an obscure death in the silence of the paternal hearth. My sword and my heart, nevertheless, will ever be Colombia's; and my last sighs will ask her happiness of Heaven.

I implore the Congress and the Nation the favor of being a *simple citizen*.

God preserve your Excellency.

Simón Bolívar.

In Bogotá, the enemies of the Liberator advocated the secession of New Granada, which would have deprived Bolívar, he being a Venezuelan, of the Presidency of the Union; while Páez and his friends although temporarily suppressed, still worked for the separation of Venezuela, alleging that they would be commanded by Santander, a new Granadan, if Bolívar retired; and yet the object of all this rancor, the liberator and father of his country, was himself pleading with the National Congress for the favor of being as he said, a *simple citizen*!

To published articles of General Santander, arraiging him as President, Bolívar made no reply. These were unworthy of, and indelicate in, the Vice-President. To a friend, the Liberator wrote: "As to Santander's attacks, I have nothing to say. The world knows us. It would be very easy for me to write as many other articles in my own eulogy and in scorn of another, but this is not my vocation. The country and the general welfare occupy with me the time that Mr. Santander employs in arousing passions, which is highly improper in a magistrate." While in Caracas the Liberator

received the news of the uprising in Lima of the Third Division of the auxiliary army in Peru, the imprisonment of their officers and, in short, of the successful revolution of the order of things implanted by him. When these tidings were received in Bogotá, strange to say, they were celebrated by Bolívar's enemies by the ringing of church bells and by music and revelry in the public parks and streets, in which, stranger still, Vice-President Santander took part. It was regarded as the beginning of the fall of the Liberator, hence this unworthy merriment. Vidaurre and Pando, both formerly sycophantic in their admiration of Bolívar and the latter one of his ministers, now bitterly assailed him and his work, in the public press of Lima. One of their infamous designs was the separation of the provinces of Quito and Guayaquil, now Ecuador, from the Republic of Colombia and their annexation to Peru; and to Bustamente, the leader in the mutiny of the Colombian troops, was intrusted the corresponding military operations, while to López Méndez, a former friend and protégé of Bolívar's, was promised the civil rule of the annexed territory. The soldiers were told they were to return to their homes. The revolution broke out in Guayaquil on the morning of the 16th of April and Lamar, who owed everything to the Liberator, had the little delicacy to accept the post of civil and military chief, which he held until elected President of Peru.

Bolívar, who had expected to retire from public life in accordance with his tendered resignation, now determined to return to Bogotá and to take active steps to put down this shameful attempt at the dismemberment of the great Republic, and on the 19th of June, at Caracas, he issued an energetic proclamation to this effect. On the 5th of July he left his native city, which was never to see him again, alive, and sailed from the port of La Guayra to that of Cartagena. His parting words were as follows:

Do not think that I leave you from ambitious motives. I do not go to other departments of the

BOLÍVAR

Republic to increase the radius of my command, but to prevent the civil war which seeks their destruction, from extending to you. Neither do I want the Presidency of Colombia, so desired by other Colombians. I promise you that as soon as the Grand Convention is convoked and exercises its beneficent dominion over your happiness, you shall see me always in the land of my parents, my brothers and my friends, assisting you to alleviate the public calamities suffered during the war and the revolution.

Caracans! Born a citizen of Caracas, my greatest ambition will be to preserve this precious title: a private life among you will be my delight, my glory and the revenge I hope to take against my enemies.

Simón Bolívar.

General Headquarters of the Liberator in Caracas,
4th of July 1827-17.

Bolívar made the passage in the English frigate *Druid*, with Sir A. Cockburn, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, who had gone to Caracas to pay his respects to the great South American, in the name of the British Government.

At the end of four days they arrived at Cartagena, where he was received with the warmest demonstrations of joy and affection. Even Bolívar was surprised. "Your benevolence," he said, "has surpassed itself in manifestations of the purest love for me. I did not expect so much, for you owe me nothing. If Caracas gave me life, Cartagena gave me fame. With you I began the glory of Colombia. The valor of Cartagena and of Mompox opened for me the door to Venezuela in the year '12."

The Liberator left Cartagena for Bogotá by way of Ocaña. When it became known at the capital that Bolívar approached with troops destined for the defense of the

southern frontier, Santander and his friends gave a cry of alarm. The Vice-President even presented a message to Congress, accusing the President of entertaining designs against the liberty of the country; but while the matter was discussed in the Senate, nothing definite was done. The adherents of Santander again openly advocated the secession of New Granada from the Union, in the public press, even if it were necessary for her to assume the entire debt of the Republic. But for the timely and patriotic counsels of General Soublette, the Minister of War, the Vice-President and his friends would have launched the revolution on the 21st of July. Santander declared that he preferred the colony under Spain to the Republic under the Liberator; and that between Morillo and Bolívar, he preferred the former. To such length had his resentment gone against the man whom he had formerly eulogized almost with servility. He seemed to forget entirely that he was Vice-President and that Bolívar was President of the Republic. With respect to the troops, however, who were under the orders of the Executive Power, General Santander, then and since known as "the man of laws", was technically right, especially when Urdaneta advanced to Chocontá and refused to obey any orders except those of Bolívar, who had not taken the oath of office since his last election to the Presidency. Under the circumstances, Santander convoked the Council of Ministers, to whom he made various propositions; but as nearly all of the members were friends of Bolívar, they voted against the recommendations of the Vice-President. The influence of the Liberator was, in short, too potent to be overcome and the Vice-President soon saw that there was nothing to do but resign, absent himself temporarily or submit, and the last he did. Various officers of the army advanced beyond Socorro to meet Bolívar. From Zipaquirá, some twenty-five miles distant, the Liberator sent Colonel Mosquera to Bogotá to announce his intention of taking the oath of office and assuming command immediately upon his arrival, — and the Congress assembled for this purpose in the

temple of Santo Domingo where, on the 10th of September, Bolívar swore to observe the Constitution and the laws — an act which was greatly applauded by his friends because his enemies had stupidly and blindly insisted that he would not again submit to this ordeal.

The Vice-President and Ministers awaited the President in the palace of the Government, and Santander delivered a most friendly and patriotic speech, to which Bolívar replied in his usually urbane and delicate manner. Presently the President and Vice-President were left alone and conversed confidentially for an hour. They even dined together; but the antagonism engendered at this time and subsequently, between the adherents of Bolívar and Santander, continues to this day to divide and agitate the two political parties in Colombia, to which it gave birth.

“The Liberator,” says Larrazábal, “gave in those moments, the most splendid testimony to the grandeur of his soul. When the public welfare was under discussion, he knew no enemies. He endeavored to forget injuries and to pardon personal disloyalty and ingratitude. His heart was a sea of generosity and of nobility.”

Upon the entrance of the Liberator into Bogotá, his principal enemies, who had filled the public press with calumnies, absented themselves; but Bolívar laughed at their fears and said: “Let them live tranquil and secure, for my heart guards neither hatred nor vengeance against anybody.”

After assuming the Executive Power, the Liberator disposed that the Congress should continue in extraordinary session, for the purpose of investigating his acts when in the exercise of extraordinary faculties and meanwhile he devoted himself, as usual, to a detailed inspection of the various departments of the Government and made numerous reforms in the methods of its administration. Seeing him govern with so much moderation, even his enemies were compelled to acknowledge his great patriotism, probity and disinterestedness. Beloved at home for his excellent qualities as a



SIMÓN BOLÍVAR

Oil painting upon wood in Virginia State Library, Richmond, donated by the brother of Captain William K. Smith, U. S. Navy, who brought it from Lima in 1827

ruler, admired and respected abroad for his great genius, Bolívar was now at the very summit of his glory. Peace and territorial integrity had been preserved in all parts of the Republic.

But this condition, with its prospect of happiness and prosperity, was not to last. The trouble at Guayaquil, which had been quelled, broke out afresh; and fostered by the Captain-General of Puerto Rico, uprisings in favor of the King of Spain occurred in the provinces of Caracas, Coro, Barinas and Guayana. In Lima, President Lamar, the Congress and the principal functionaries of Peru, were now arrayed against the Liberator, having imprisoned and then violently expelled the Colombian Minister in that capital. At the same time, they menaced the independence of Bolivia and prepared to occupy the southern provinces of Colombia, as far as the Juanambú, for which purpose they assembled troops at Piura and Puna. This was the moment chosen by Vice-President Santander and his adherents, forming the so-called Liberal party, to slander and antagonize Bolívar. The Congress, however, gave the President the most brilliant proofs of its confidence, approving the extraordinary measures he had dictated in Venezuela, and authorizing him to make promotions in the army even during its sessions; to sell the men-of-war he considered unnecessary; to construct and improve the roads at his discretion, and to make such arrangements in the fiscal department of the Government as he should find convenient. It likewise decreed the convocation of the General Convention promised by the Liberator to take place on the 2nd of March 1828, at Ocaña and promulgated the regulations governing the election of its deputies. These several acts closed the year 1827.

CHAPTER XIX

1828

Guayaquil uprising quelled—Machinations of Santander—Bolívar assumes extraordinary faculties—Leaves Bogotá—Uprising in Cartagena—Convention of Ocaña—Bolívar at Bucaramanga and Socorro—Dissolution of convention—Popular assembly in Bogotá petitions the Liberator—He reaches the capital—His reception—Petitions of departments and cities—Bolívar decrees himself “President Liberator”—Creates Council of State—Proclamation—Bolívar appoints Santander Minister at Washington—Conspiracy of 25th of September—Treatment of conspirators—Letters of Santander—Troubles in South—General Córdova dispatched with troops—Bolívar decrees convocation of Constitutional Congress—Leaves Bogotá for Popayán.

THE Liberator had promptly adopted means to quell the revolution in Guayaquil and by assembling troops at Popayán, had arrested its spread. Meanwhile General Flores succeeded, not only in suffocating this uprising and in driving its military leader, Bustamente, beyond the frontiers, but in forestalling the movement in favor of Peru, which was attempted by the agents of the latter Republic, through the purchase and corruption of the Colombian troops.

It was more difficult, however, to successfully oppose the machinations of his arch-enemy, Vice-President Santander, who began quietly stacking the General Convention with his friends and supporters, by unfair means. President Bolívar had contented himself with recommending, through a circular of his Minister of the Interior, the election of deputies of virtue and intelligence and did not interfere himself, nor permit any of his subordinates to interfere, with the free expression of the public opinion by suffrage. At a political meeting at Zipaquirá, presided over by Santander, one of his adherents, alluding to the Liberator, declared publicly that it was necessary *not merely to overthrow, but to kill the tyrant*. To further complicate matters, at this moment a Spanish fleet of three ships, loaded with arms and ammunition for the

guerrillas whose uprising in certain provinces has been referred to, appeared off the coasts of Venezuela. Fearing for the result should they succeed in landing these munitions, General Bolívar, on the 13th of March, declared himself invested, under the Constitution, with extraordinary faculties, in all parts of the Republic, except in Ocaña, where the General Convention was in session. He also made sundry changes in his cabinet, to which he appointed General Urdaneta, and on the 16th of the same month he left Bogotá for Tunja, *en route* to Cúcuta. Happily he received, upon the road, letters from General Páez, assuring him of the failure of the Spanish fleet to communicate with the insurgents, of the defeat of the latter and of the tranquility of Venezuela. Scarcely was his anxiety allayed by these tidings, however, than he learned of the uprising in Cartagena, headed by General Padilla, who remained in power but a week. The Liberator halted at Bucaramanga, undecided whether to go to Cartagena, to Cúcuta, to Ocaña, where his presence was demanded by his friends, or to return to Bogotá.

At Ocaña, 67 out of 108 delegates had convened, but not until the 9th of April. Thomas Janvier calls Mexico "The Land of *Mañana*" (To-morrow), but the Central and South American Republics are no less under the thralldom of that thief of time — procrastination.

Although the Vice-President, with his most devoted followers, Azuero, Soto and Gómez, were all deputies, Castillo and Briceño Méndez headed the party of President Bolívar which, in contradistinction to Santander's Liberal party, was known as the Conservatives. And these designations are maintained to-day. A third affiliation, headed by the Mosqueras, was called the Independents. In the Convention, the Liberals were the most numerous. Among the deputies were men of intelligence and patriotism, but many others were governed solely by party spirit. Upon the installation of the assembly, the message of the Liberator President of the 29th of February, was read. "In representing the legitimacy of Colombia," he said, "you find yourselves clothed with the most

sublime powers. I also participate in the greatest good fortune, of returning to you the authority which has been deposited in my tired hands. To the chosen representatives of the people belong the sovereign attributes, the supreme rights, as delegates of the august omnipotence of which I am a subject and a soldier. To what more eminent jurisdiction could I confide the President's baton, the general's sword? Dispose freely of these symbols of command and of glory, for the benefit of the popular cause, without attending to personal considerations which would prevent you from effecting proper reforms."

But the Liberator's recommendations for a new constitution were misunderstood by the Convention — purposely, perhaps, by his enemies. No one knew better than Bolívar, the necessity for a strong government. Santander had always been a blind partisan of centralization; but now, according to Restrepo, as soon as the President's views were known, the Vice-President went to the other extreme and advocated a federation, with great curtailment of the powers of the executive and complete elimination of the extraordinary faculties granted him by the Constitution, in time of war or of public turmoil.

From the installation of the Convention, there was nothing but discord and recrimination among the deputies. No measure of the Conservatives passed unassailed by the Liberals, and *vice versa*. Many petitions were received from all parts of the Republic, insisting that the Liberator be retained at the head of the Government, "as the only man who, because of his talents, great services and powerful influence, could maintain Colombia united and tranquil." These petitions were characterized as "the productions of servility and abjection" by the Liberals. No stone was left unturned, in short, to exasperate the Conservatives and chiefly Bolívar, in the hope of separating him from command, although again and again he had tendered his resignation to the Congress and insisted upon, even besought, its acceptance. Among other absurd projects for a new constitution was one based

upon that of the first and ephemeral French Republic, exaggerating individual liberty and emasculating the government of all power to compel obedience to the laws and preserve order. This plan was approved in commission and submitted to the Convention for discussion.

Alarmed at this turn of affairs, the friends of the Liberator entreated him to hasten to Ocaña; and Castillo, on the 14th of May, offered a resolution to this effect but, without debate, it was rejected by forty votes to twenty-eight. "To maintain the liberty of opinion of the constituents," said Santander, "General Bolívar should not even approach Ocaña; because, from this moment, nobody would have any will or thought of his own, for the arguments of the Liberator are powerful and his instruction incomparable. Such is his influence and the secret force of his mind that, upon an infinite number of occasions even I, full of vengeance, have encountered him and merely seeing and hearing him, have been disarmed and have gone away filled with admiration. Nobody can oppose General Bolívar, face to face; and unhappy he that attempts it. An instant later, he will have confessed his defeat." To a friend he wrote of the Liberator at this time: "He is the supreme perturbator of the Republic."

The Liberals having presented their plan of a constitution, the Conservatives followed suit and submitted one of their own; and strange as it may appear, it was agreed to consider both projects *at the same time!* Perhaps the turmoil and acrimony engendered by these discussions can be better imagined than described. To such lengths did they go that finally the Conservatives announced their intention to quit the Convention and Santander, with some of his immediate followers, petitioned the Government to authorize them to withdraw if their *liberal tendencies* were an obstacle to the adoption of needed reforms. But for the seriousness of the matter, this would seem to have been mere child's play; yet on the 10th of June nineteen Conservatives actually absented themselves from the Convention and left Ocaña, alleging in a manifestation which they made to their constituents, that they

were unable to submit to the tyranny and exactions of the majority. As this left but fifty-four members, or one less than a quorum, the sessions of the Grand Convention were declared suspended indefinitely.

When the Convention was thus dissolved, Bolívar was in Socorro. Alarmed at the course of events, he wrote to the Council of Government, on the 12th of June, instructing it to convene and consider what measures it was necessary to adopt. As soon, however, as the news of the dissolution of the Convention reached Bogotá, Colonel Herrán, the Governor of Cundinamarca, the department in which the capital was situated, promoted the reunion of the fathers of families and of the well-known and influential citizens, to deliberate upon the threatening emergency. The Liberator was *en route* to the capital with the firm intention, it was understood, to resign all command and retire to private life. Everybody believed civil war was inevitable and that even the national integrity was in danger. Bolívar was regarded as the only bond of union among Colombians.

The assembly convened at the instance of Colonel Herrán, was numerous and essentially popular. Complete order and perfect freedom of opinion prevailed during its deliberations and it unanimously adopted a resolution entreating the Liberator to declare himself invested with supreme and full power in all the departments and hasten his arrival at the capital. A similar proposition was adopted by the Council of Government, composed of the ministers or members of the cabinet, in a separate and distinct session, and the results of both meetings were hurriedly dispatched to Bolívar. These documents were received by him on the 16th of June and the next day he departed for Bogotá, where he arrived on the 24th of June, after an absence of three months. The Council of Government, many public functionaries and an immense concourse of people, met him three miles from the city. Without a moment's delay the Liberator proceeded direct to the cathedral to give thanks for his safe arrival and to ask the blessing of the Almighty in the disturbed condition of the

Republic. He was then conducted to the principal plaza of the city, since named for him, where a small pavilion had been hastily erected. Here various speeches were made by high dignitaries of the Government, to which General Bolívar replied with "that patriotic fire, of which," says Larrazábal, "no idea can be conveyed." At the official palace a luncheon was served, at which the Liberator proposed the prosperity of Colombia. "This prosperity", he said, "can not consist in an odious dictatorship; but in wise laws, in public tranquility, in the mutual esteem of the citizens and in their horror of anarchy. Dictatorships may be glorious when they close the abysm of revolutions; but unhappy the nation that accustoms itself to live under dictatorial domination."

Although invested with supreme powers under the acts of the 13th of June, Bolívar made spare use of them until the consent of the Republic had been obtained. All the capitals of departments and principal cities, including Quito, Cuenca, Guayaquil, Cartagena, Panamá, Medellín, Mompox, Antioquia, Popayán, Caracas, Valencia, Maracaibo and Cumaná, signed acts similar to that adopted by the popular assembly in Bogotá; while the senior generals, Páez, Mariño, Urdaneta, Soublette, Arismendi, Bermúdez, Carreño, Salom, Córdova, Montilla, Toro, Flores and others, signified their adhesion in writing. When this had been done, Bolívar determined to decree a fundamental act that should serve as a constitution, by which he, himself, limited the discretionary power conferred upon him.

On the 27th of August, Bolívar issued the organic decree defining the new authority he exercised. He did not call himself Dictator, or Supreme Chief, but President Liberator, a title which both the laws and universal suffrage had already given him. Besides fixing the attributions which corresponded to him, he created a Council of State, ordered the respect for, and conservation of, all the guarantees conceded the people by the Constitution of Cúcuta and proposed to convoke the national representation for the 2nd of May, 1830, for the purpose of enacting the fundamental law of the Republic.

BOLÍVAR

Accompanying the decree was a proclamation announcing the dissolution of the Great Convention without having given an organic law to the Republic and this, after destroying the Constitution of Cúcuta, by unanimously declaring its insufficiency and the necessity for its reform. In conclusion Bolívar said:

The nation, penetrated by the gravity of the evils which threaten its existence, reassumed the part of its rights that had been delegated; and employing at once the plenitude of its sovereignty, it, itself, provided for its future security. As sovereign, it desired to honor me with the title of its Minister and authorized me to fulfill its commands. My character as First Magistrate imposed upon me the obligation of obedience and of serving it even in the impossible. I have not been able to deny myself, in such solemn moment, the fulfilment of the national confidence: of that confidence which oppresses me with immense glory, although at the same time it annihilates me, in making me seem what I am not. Colombians! I will not retain the supreme authority longer than the day in which you tell me to return it; and if you do not sooner dispose otherwise, I will convoke the national representation within a year.

Colombians! I will not speak to you of liberty because, if I fulfill my promise, you will be more than free: *you shall be respected*. Besides, under a dictatorship, who can speak of liberty?

Let us mutually commiserate each other — the people who obey and the *man who rules alone!*

Baralt says: "It was not without cause that Bolívar asked compassion for himself and for the nation, which he considered could not be governed by ordinary means. The dictatorship of 1828 is the great mistake of Bolívar; a mistake that can not be excused by the fear of anarchy, the misfor-

tunes of the country or the intentions of Santander and his principal friends." Larrazábal combats this opinion and generally the course of the Liberator is approved or condemned, according as his critic is his friend or foe. The dispassionate reader may conclude that, under the circumstances, no other course was open to him. Bolívar was manifestly the only man who could successfully cope with the disintegrating elements of the first Colombia, and no sooner was his strong hand withdrawn, than she resolved into her original constituents which, in turn, from that day until recently, have rarely been free from internal turmoil and revolution.

Bolívar, according to Larrazábal, did not aspire to the dictatorship. "The Constitutional faculties," wrote the Liberator, "suffice for me."

General Santander, having ceased to be Vice-President of the Republic through the assumption by Bolívar of extraordinary powers, was appointed by the latter Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, which position he accepted, selecting as Secretary of Legation, Luis Vargas Tejada, one of his warmest supporters and an exalted enemy of the Liberator. Nevertheless, the Government approved his selection but, before the departure of the mission, a transcendental event occurred which, but for its fortunate ending, would have forever disgraced Colombia.

Bolívar, by his generous and impartial conduct, thought to disarm his enemies. His choice of a Council of State, comprising some of the most distinguished citizens, among them the Archbishop of Bogotá, was highly commended. The Council was installed on the 30th of August. However, nothing availed against the studied enmity and discontent of a few factious spirits, among them some of the former deputies to the convention of Ocaña.

At this time there existed in Bogotá a society of young men who, under the guise of students and a laudable purpose, held frequent political meetings of a dangerous tendency. They were largely directed by a certain Jacobin Frenchman named Arganil, a pretended *savant* but a veritable charlatan,

BOLÍVAR

a *sans culotte* of Marseilles in the time of the Revolution. He also presided over another secret organization of which one Horment, also a Frenchman, Pedro Carujo and Florentino Gonzales, the editor of *El Conductor*, a Liberal journal, were members. According to Larrazábal, General Santander gave efficient aid and protection to the latter association, in which, to its shame, the assassination of the Liberator was proposed and considered.

The first intention of these miscreants was to put their plan into execution at the masked ball, on the evening of the 10th of August, the anniversary of the entrance of the Liberator into the capital after the glorious victory of Boyacá. Bolívar attended the ball and passed from one *salon* to another, among the dancers. The conspirators masked and armed, were also present. A hundred times an opportunity was presented, but their plan was not yet ripe. The battalion of artillery had not been seduced.

On the 21st of September the Liberator made an excursion to Soacha, a neighboring village, and again it was proposed to assassinate him; but Santander, it is alleged, opposed the execution of the plan outside of Bogotá and before the necessary troops had been corrupted, because the Council of State would still remain intact. Moreover, it was deemed essential to await the freedom of General Padilla, who was imprisoned but had been selected to command the mutinous troops. For these reasons it was resolved to await a more favorable opportunity.

Meetings were held in the house of Vargas Tejada who, as already stated, had been appointed by the Liberator Secretary of Legation to General Santander, at the latter's request. Finally, the night of the 28th of October, the birthday of Bolívar, with diabolical ingenuity, was fixed upon as the fatal day.

On the afternoon of the 25th of September, however, the conspiracy was discovered by one Salazar, a second lieutenant of the battalion "Junín," whom a Captain Triana endeavored to seduce. The order for the arrest and im-

prisonment of the latter officer was given immediately and its execution was entrusted to Colonel Guerra, chief of the departmental staff. Guerra was one of the conspirators.

Alarmed by the arrest of Triana and believing themselves discovered, the conspirators assembled at the house of Vargas Tejada at 7 p. m. and remained until 11 o'clock when they resolved to give the blow without further delay. The posts of the different conspirators were assigned them and every one proceeded to the execution of his particular part of the plan. It was eighteen minutes past eleven. The garrison of artillery was to serve them as a base, although all of the non-commissioned officers had not yet been secured. However, the conspirators succeeded in arming the battalion by alleging that Bolívar's guard had mutinied.

Carujo, a bold and valiant man, put himself at the head of a platoon of artillerymen and accompanied by Horment and a dozen civilians, proceeded to attack the palace. In this he was aided by Lieutenant López of the artillery, who brought assurances of assistance from the commandant of his battalion, Rudecindo Silva, who had been seduced by Vargas Tejada. Meanwhile other conspirators were dispatched to find and assassinate the officers of the battalions "Vargas" and "Granaderos," whose loyalty had been proof against their vile seductions. Two other parties were to attack the barracks of these battalions and to release General Padilla, who was confined in the prison room of the latter organization.

The attack began by the assault upon the palace.

Carujo was able to surprise the officer of the guard and his twenty men, because he had learned the countersign. Four of the loyal soldiers were killed in the first encounter and Horment quickly occupied the *salons* upon the second story. Nobody opposed their unexpected and fierce onset, except a young lieutenant, named Ibarra, a mere boy, whom Bolívar affectionately called Ibarrita, and him López promptly sabred.

The first impulse of the Liberator was not to fly but, on the contrary, to defend himself. When he heard the turmoil,

he grasped his sword and pistol and started to oppose the invaders who were violating the sanctity of his apartments, but from this hazardous attempt he was fortunately dissuaded by Manuela Sáenz, a native of Quito and a woman of rare beauty, intelligence and valor, ostensibly his house-keeper but said to have been his mistress. Showing him the balcony which gave upon the side-street and entreating him not to waste precious moments but escape while it was yet possible, she then turned her attention to the intruders, whom she endeavored to delay. Meanwhile Bolívar, realizing the futility of resistance, leaped from the balcony to the street and, accompanied by his butler who fortunately witnessed his escape, proceeded rapidly in the direction of the convent El Carmen, where he took refuge under the bridge which spans the steep banks of the little stream known as San Agustín.

Foiled in their nefarious attempt, the conspirators sallied from the palace with shouts of "Death to the Tyrant!" and "Long live General Santander and the Constitution of Cúcuta!" At the entrance to the palace they encountered Colonel Ferguson, an Irishman and Aide-de camp to the Liberator, to whose assistance he was hastening. Without giving him time for speech, Carujo shot him through the heart. Ferguson was his friend, had protected him upon several occasions and had procured his last promotion.

Meanwhile Commandant Silva of the artillery had unsuccessfully attacked the barracks of battalion "Vargas," and his men were fleeing in all directions. Captains Mendoza and Briceño, however, had succeeded in entering the prison of General Padilla, by scaling the walls. Padilla was in the custody of the valiant Colonel José Bolívar, who was killed as he lay sleeping by his side. Girding his person with the belt and sword of the victim, Padilla sallied forth to put himself at the head of the troops. Mendoza, only a few days previous, by forging a story of his poverty, had succeeded in obtaining from Colonel Bolívar, the loan of a considerable sum in gold. All of the conspirators and especially Hor-

ment, López, Guerra, Carujo, Silva, Mendoza and Vargas Tejada, had received favors at the hands of the Liberator.

Vargas Tejada had gone in search of General Urdaneta, the Minister of War, with the firm intention of assassinating him; but when he found him, he was in too great fear to attempt the execution of his villainous plot. Urdaneta, accompanied by Generals París, Vélez, Córdova and Ortega, and by Colonel Herrán, now took possession of the principal plaza of the city with troops and of the palace, where they soon restored order, although the fighting continued in remote streets until the conspirators were either captured or dispersed.

Three mortal hours Bolívar remained in his uncomfortable position until, hearing shouts of "Long live the Liberator!" by a detachment of "Vargas", he joined them, accompanied them to their barracks and thence proceeded to the plaza, where he was received by his friends with indescribable joy. At daybreak he returned to the palace. The conspirators, having failed in their attempt to assassinate the Liberator, had vented their spleen by destroying everything of value in the palace and by cruelly maltreating *Señora Sáenz*.

Horment, López, Azuero, Zuláivar, Silva, Galindo and others were apprehended that same night and Guerra shortly after, although in the meantime he had had the effrontery to visit the Liberator. Generals Santander and Padilla were also reduced to prison the next morning. The remainder of the conspirators were gradually apprehended in, and delivered into custody by, the various towns in which they had sought refuge.

The deplorable events of the 25th of September made a profound and grievous impression upon the spirit of the Liberator. "From all sides," he wrote to General Carabaño, "I receive proofs of the indignation which this occurrence has caused. Nevertheless, it has given me such deep pain that, however much some extol it as good fortune, I regard it as the greatest calamity. My heart is broken and the

prestige of my name is gone.” And to General París he said: “I am morally assassinated. Here (indicating his heart), here have penetrated their daggers. Is this the premium of my services to Colombia and to American independence? How have I offended against liberty? Against these men? Santander is the cause of it all. But I will be generous, since my glory compels me to be so.”

Larrazábal says:

The Liberator was exalted by his moral sufferings. Santander was the soul of the conspiracy; but he was not directly culpable for the assassinations of the 25th of September. He aspired to change the order of things, but this, after he was absent. . . . He dulled the lustre of the principles of his Government; he debased his character and the high prerogatives of his station to the smallness of men without credit and of little note; he inflamed their malevolence to the point of making it degenerate into sedition and afterwards he was affrighted by the animosity of Carujo, by the crazy enormity of his plans and by the injury which they might cause the country. . . Ingratitude is the stain upon the character of Santander; and his troubles were due to this filthy and poisonous fountain, which holds all evils in solution.

Santander, indeed, largely owed his position and influence to Bolívar, whom he at one time almost servilely admired and praised, characterizing him in public documents as “the rainbow of salvation”, “the first citizen of the Republic”, “the man of immortal decrees”, etc., etc.

The tribunals of the Republic condemned Santander to be shot for “having given counsel and aid to the conspiracy”; but the Council of State endorsed upon the sentence the following words: “This punishment is merited, since it has been proved that General Santander knew of

the conspiracy; that he countenanced it and gave it the benefit of his advice and opinions, but he wished it to take place after his departure from Colombia. However, he took no part in the occurrences of the 25th and his execution might be regarded as unjust, excessively severe and, perhaps, as partial and revengeful." The Liberator, guided always by the inspirations of his noble and generous heart, commuted the death sentence to banishment. He even pardoned Carujo, Gonzales, Briceño, Mendoza, Arganil, Acevedo and others. Nevertheless, Carujo, who had been a Spanish officer of the school of Boves, publicly proclaimed some years later: "I experience the bitterest grief when I recall that Bolívar escaped." Such were the men who attempted to assassinate the Liberator. The only ones that were executed, were Horment, Zuláivar, Silva, Galindo, López (all of whom confessed), Padilla, Guerra, Azuero, Hinestrosa, a sergeant and four privates of artillery.

From Cartagena, on his way into exile, Santander wrote to Bolívar: "By the side of this unjust sentence will glow the page that records the indulgence with which your Excellency has reformed the judgment unfairly pronounced, imposing pains less severe, saving my life, my property and even my hope of being useful to my country another time. Such conduct has been most worthy of your Excellency, because the execution of an unmerited sentence would have stained the glory and reputation of the Liberator of Colombia. Your Excellency, more fortunate than Maurice of Holland, has not abased yourself, like him, in the midst of his illustrious exploits, with the death of a Barneveldt; because your Excellency has not the predatory designs of that prince, but shelters in your bosom another kind of heart. Arms, Sir (your Excellency knows it better than I), maintain order by fear; but generosity and indulgence maintain it by conviction, winning hearts and attracting them by an irresistible force. The Liberator of Colombia should be, in all respects, superior to common men, because his mission is much more illustrious and much more exemplary, having been

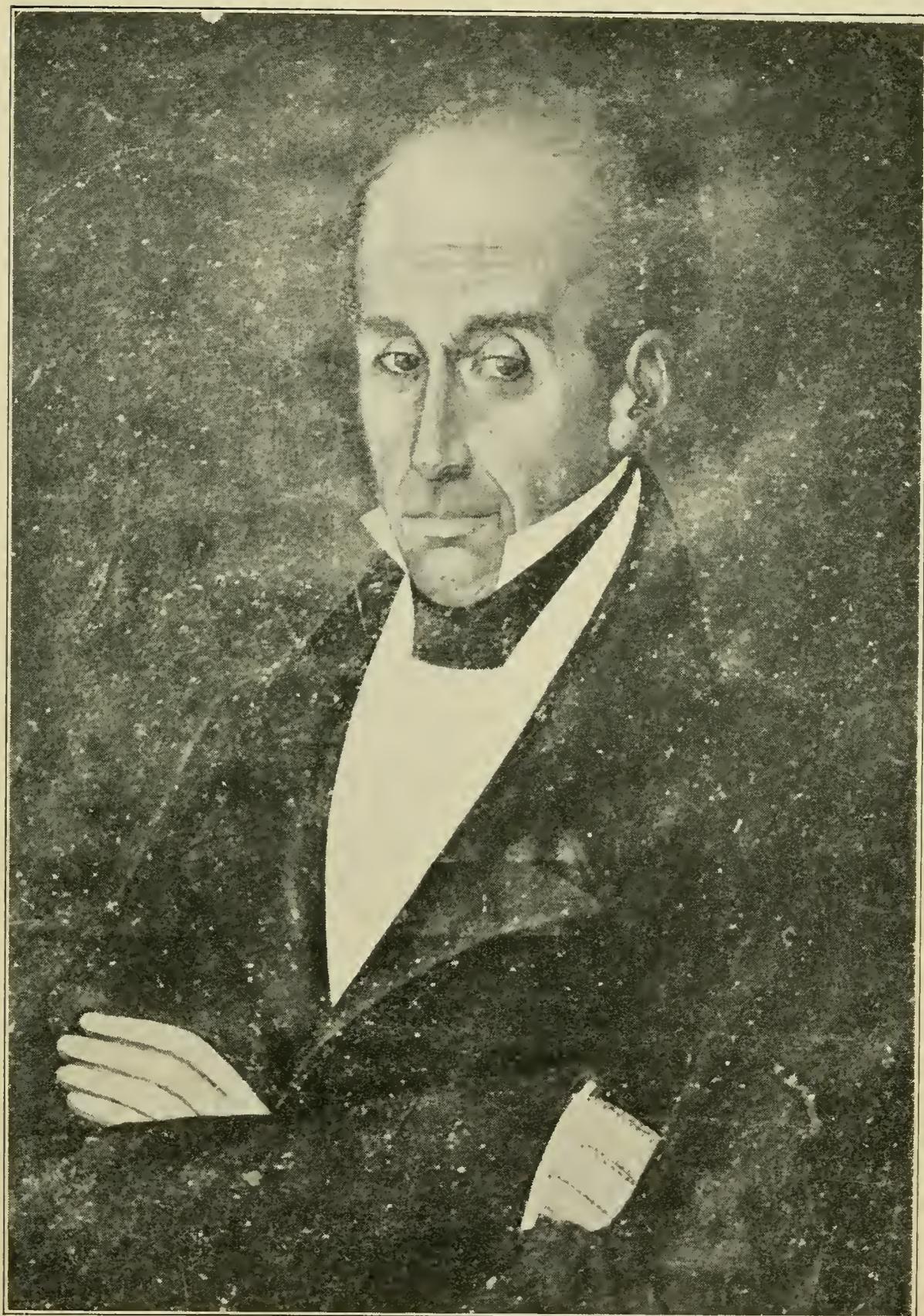
BOLÍVAR

called to be *the benefactor of all the world.*" And later he added: "Now that my misfortune deprives me of friendships and of performing services, I am grateful to your Excellency for your conduct in my adversity and I will never omit an occasion to say so. When your Excellency commuted to life the unjust sentence of death pronounced against me on the 7th of November, your Excellency, in the image of the Creator, gave me a new being, made a new creation." Years later Santander became President of New Granada.¹

Although a remarkable man in many respects, the reference of General Santander to Maurice of Holland and to John of Barneveldt, flattered him while it failed to do justice to the Liberator.

Meanwhile President Sucre of Bolivia, wounded and insulted in a cowardly manner by a Peruvian faction, resigned his post and embarked for Guayaquil, while the new Government at Lima, without a declaration of war, invaded the Republic which Bolívar had created after the battle of Ayacucho—a perfidious aggression, having for its object the destruction of the work of the Liberator and the extension of the territory of Peru. President Lamar likewise declared blockaded the Colombian ports in the Pacific and, refusing to receive the Commissioner of Peace dispatched by Bolívar, whom he characterized as a *tyrant, usurper* and *aggressor of national rights*, he proceeded in person to Piura, to take command of an army with which he proposed to invade his northern neighbor and former ally. Nor was this the worst; for Colonels José Mariá Obando and José Hilario López, by agreement with the Peruvians, were in open insurrection in Popayán, declaring against Bolívar and in favor of the political constitution of Cúcuta. Thus the Liberator President was threatened by both a foreign and a civil war, the latter again sustained by the perfidious and obstinate Pastusos.

¹ In the hall of the beautiful Pan-American Union (the gift of Andrew Carnegie) in Washington, side by side, may be seen the busts of the Liberator and of General Santander. The author remarked to the courteous and distinguished assistant Director, the apparent coldness of these two marble effigies. "Yes," replied Doctor Yanes, "they never converse."



THE LIBERATOR

From a portrait painted shortly before his death, in possession
of Dr. Raimundo Santamaría, by Antonio Meucci

When these tidings reached the capital, Bolívar, with his usual activity, prepared in a few days an expedition of 1,500 men, the command of which, pending his own arrival, was conferred upon General Córdova. With this force he felt sure of crushing Obando, who had cut the Government's communications with the southern provinces at a most critical moment; and then, reinforced, he hoped to defeat the Peruvians, obliging them to make peace, his overtures for which they had rejected.

Before his departure, Bolívar made every disposition for the proper administration of the national affairs during his absence and promulgated the decree convoking the General Constitutional Congress of Colombia for the 2nd of January 1830, prescribing rules, conforming to the most liberal principles, for the election of the delegates.

On the 28th of December the Liberator left Bogotá for Popayán, sick in spirit as well as in body, ever since the conspiracy of September. His health had visibly declined and he who had formerly ridden all over the Republic, was now unable to remain in the saddle more than a couple of hours. Under such unhappy conditions, closed the eventful year of 1828.

CHAPTER XX

1829

War with Peru — Bolívar's efforts for peace — Sucre appointed to command—Battles of Saraguro and Tarquí—Convention of Jirón—Submission of Obando and López—Bolívar at Quito—Treachery of Lamar—Colombia recovers Guayaquil—Death of Lamar—Bolívar at Guayaquil—His illness—Returns to Quito—Sets out for Bogotá—Defection of Córdova—Uprising—Battle of El Santuario—Death of Córdova—Talk of crowning Bolívar—Monarchical designs—Arrival of M. Bresson at Bogotá—Action of Council of State—Reply of Bolívar—Resignation of ministers—New Council named—Appreciations of Restrepo—Bolívar's letter to Vergara—To O'Leary—To Urdaneta—To Sucre—General Harrison, lately U. S. Minister, protests to Liberator.

“THE scandal of an American war was assured,” say Baralt and Díaz. “Colombia and Peru, scarcely freed from foreign domination, novices in political science, ignorant of the beneficent arts of peace and when they should have directed all their resources to repairing the heap of evils born of their long struggle with the Spaniards, now found themselves involved in a fratricidal attempt with the weakened forces which hardly sufficed to prevent internal commotions and uprisings.” Chile and Buenos Aires offered a friendly intervention, but owing to the great distance, their commissioners arrived too late.

The first shot had been fired by the Peruvian corvette *Libertad*, against the coast of Tumbes. Bolívar loved Peru. He did not desire war and made every effort to avoid it. In Lamar's proclamation he said: “The arms of Peru are those of liberty, which entire America is menaced with losing. She should rise *en masse* against the ambitious projects of the Dictator of Colombia.” He also eulogized the vile and criminal assault of the 25th of September, against the life of the Liberator and invited the provinces to take part in a treachery which he classified as *worthy* and *generous*. In a detestable manifesto to the Colombian soldiers, he urged them to desert

and to unite against the tyranny of Bolívar. Nevertheless, the Liberator again wrote his peace agent, Colonel O'Leary, to endeavor to open negotiations with the Peruvians, but to O'Leary's communications, Lamar would make no reply.

Sucre, meanwhile, had been appointed to the civil and military command of the southern department, with full powers, and from Cuenca he proposed to Lamar to avoid the shedding of American blood by naming commissioners to consider the terms of a stable peace—a proposition made by order of Bolívar but which somewhat humiliated Colombia, since Peru had invaded her territory (Loja) and further menaced her. But all overtures were in vain.

In the month of January the Peruvians occupied not only Loja, but Guayaquil. Their army comprised 8,400 men, perfectly equipped and efficiently officered. That of Colombia, assembled at Cuenca, scarcely consisted of 6,000, badly uniformed and lacking in everything except valor and patriotism, and these Sucre further aroused with an eloquent proclamation. "An honorable peace or a splendid victory", he said, "is essential to the national dignity and to the repose of the people of the south. We have vainly offered peace to the enemy; the victory lies in our bayonets. One more triumph will very little enhance the celebrity of your exploits, the lustre of your name; but we must obtain it in order not to stain the brilliancy of our arms. . . . A hundred battlefields and three republics redeemed by your valor in a career of triumphs from the Orinoco to the Potosí, should remind you in this moment of your duty to your country, to your glory and to Bolívar."

Sucre, now an expert and astute soldier, endeavored to flank Lamar's position, which was considered impregnable; but he received orders from Bolívar not to venture a battle with his inferior forces and to limit himself to manoeuvring upon the defensive until, after the pacification of the insurgent provinces, the Liberator could reinforce him. In obedience to these instructions, Sucre endeavored to avoid a battle, but at Saraguro, on the 12th of February, he defeated Lamar and at Tarquí, on the 26th of February, he completely routed him.

The Peruvians abandoned the field precipitately, leaving 2,500 killed, wounded or prisoners, including 60 officers. Sucre, as noble as he was valorous, refrained from pursuing the enemy "because," he said, "the honor of Colombia satisfied, it is useless to shed more American blood;" and he sent a commissioner to Lamar, offering him a capitulation.

When the Peruvian general received Sucre's message, he assembled a council of war, the members of which unanimously reported that "the offer of the generous Marshal of Ayacucho ought to be accepted." In consequence, a convention was signed on the 28th of February, by the terms of which it was agreed to limit the forces of Colombia and of Peru, upon their common frontier, to 3,000 men, and to appoint a commission to arrange the boundary and liquidate the debt of Peru to Colombia. It was further agreed that neither of the contracting parties would interfere with the domestic affairs of the other; that Peru would return the corvette *Pichincha*; that she would pay one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to satisfy the debts contracted by her army and squadron, and that the army of Lamar would evacuate the territory of Colombia, including the city and port of Guayaquil, within twenty days.

This was known as the Convention of Jirón.

The Peruvian army, now reduced to 2,500, the remnant of 8,400, began the evacuation on the 2nd of March. "Lamar," says Larrazábal, "urged by the envy fomented in his pride and by his personal hatred of the Liberator, had dreamed of imposing his will upon Colombia and of destroying the most illustrious of her heroes, but he got nothing out of the campaign except confusion and ignominy."

Meanwhile Bolívar had issued a proclamation of amnesty and, aided by a pastoral from the Bishop of Popayán and a commission of peace composed of other distinguished ecclesiastics, had succeeded in averting civil war. Obando and López submitted to the Government; and although Bolívar in his manifesto had said of the former, to the Pastusos: "Do not follow him; abandon him to the curse which pursues him

or throw him into the torrent of the Guáitara or Juanambú," Obando, a rather contemptible figure in the history of Colombia (although subsequently, like his colleague, López, President of New Granada), in turn published a proclamation in which he characterized his former allies the Peruvians, as "the perfidious ones of the earth" and Bolívar as "the great soldier who gave the people glory, a country and liberty."

On the 12th of March, at Cumbal, the Liberator learned of the brilliant successes of Sucre and the Convention of Jirón. In consequence of this news he set out for Quito, where he arrived on the evening of the 17th. There, in the presence of the civil, military and ecclesiastical authorities, Sucre presented him with the Peruvian flags captured at the battle of Tarquí, in a beautiful speech which so overcame the Liberator that he was unable to respond, but silently and with tears inundating his eyes, embraced the modest and generous victor. The heart of the great Liberator was torn by the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens and his fellow-patriots, the Peruvians, whom, next to his own countrymen, he had served so gloriously, and a word of sympathy and affection from the ever-loyal Sucre, had sufficed to make it well up and overflow. Twice the Liberator essayed to reply to the Grand Marshal of Ayacucho, and twice he failed. But Sucre understood.

While at Quito the Liberator received the manifesto of Páez, published in February, and execrating the attempted assassination of the preceeding September. In it he reiterated his former pledge: "The redeeming sword of humanity! In my hand it will never be other than the sword of Bolívar: his will shall direct it, my arm will carry it." It was not long, however, before he turned his back on the Liberator, broke up Colombia, Bolívar's cherished work and joined the ranks of the latter's bitterest enemies.

Although Lamar, in the Convention of Jirón, had agreed to evacuate Guayaquil and had sent his adjutant-general, Porras, with the Colombian generals, Cordero and Sandes, the former to deliver and the two latter to receive the city, Porras bore secret instructions to the contrary and, upon their ar-

rival, he caused the arrest and detention of his companions. At the same time Lamar, now beyond the reach of Sucre, wrote the latter that he had suspended the fulfilment of the Convention of Jirón until Sucre should reform his official report of the battle of Tarquí which, he said, was injurious to Peru, and revoke the decree ordering the erection upon the battlefield of a column to perpetuate the memory of the triumph obtained there. "Otherwise," he added, "it will be indispensable, although in violation of the wishes of the Peruvian Republic, which in reality aspires to a peace that will not stain her honor or compromise her responsibility, to proceed to prevent the construction of this monument of infamy." And, in fact, Lamar began to assemble and reorganize the Peruvian army at Piura. The Liberator had partially disbanded the Colombian army after the Convention of Jirón, but he now ordered the veterans who were in cantonments at Popayán and vicinity, to march towards Quito and sent General Flores to take Guayaquil. On the 3rd of April, at Quito, he published a proclamation explaining and justifying these measures, while appealing to the patriotism of the Colombians. Privately he took measures to avoid hostilities, if possible, but the Peruvian authorities, to whom he wrote, replied that "the stipulations of Jirón were not obligatory" and defended Lamar as "a politician and statesman". Having made every possible concession, without avail, the Liberator prepared to enforce his demands for compliance with the terms of the treaty. On the 26th day of June, he removed his headquarters to Buijo, at the junction of the Daule and Babahoyos rivers and almost in front of Guayaquil, which he resolved to take by assault; but a political change which Bolívar, with his wonderful perspicacity had foreseen, made it unnecessary to fire a shot, and Colombia recovered her invaded territory peacefully. The war had been wholly unpopular in Peru and by one of those revolutions which subsequently became so common in Spanish America, Lamar, a Colombian by birth, was removed from command and exiled to Guatemala. His successors, Lafuente and Gamarra, of their

own accord or forced by public opinion, did justice to Colombia; for the former, in a proclamation, characterized the war as "insensate, criminal and directed with depraved designs." A lasting and honorable peace was soon concluded and Guayaquil was restored to Colombia. Lamar died shortly after, in exile.

The Liberator now removed his headquarters to Guayaquil where, on the 10th of August, he became dangerously ill. On the 31st of the same month he was transferred to the island of Santay, where he recovered sufficiently, in a few weeks, to go to Quito, arriving on the 20th of October. On the 29th he left for Bogotá, leaving General Flores in command of the southern provinces, both as civil and military chief.

It will be recalled that General Córdova, one of the heroes of Ayacucho, had been entrusted with the command of the troops sent against Obando and López. Larrazábal reports an interesting conversation held at this time between the youthful general and Colonel Tomás Cipriano Mosquera. "We must think seriously of saving our country," said Córdova, "and for this reason we must separate New Granada from Venezuela. The Liberator is old; his days are already few, and, without lacking in respect, we ought to remove him from command. Quito will constitute another state and we Granadan chiefs must take charge of the realization of this plan. I will be the Supreme Chief and you shall be my Secretary of War; Herrán (Mosquera's son-in-law) will continue in command of the interior at Bogotá; López will go to Popayán; Borrero to the Cauca; Obando will remain in Pasto, which region he knows, and we shall send Colonel Espinar to the Isthmus."

"And where and when will you convene the national representation?" asked Mosquera.

"What representation?" replied Córdova. "Nothing of representation! This is nonsense. We must exterminate the lawyers. Our republic must be military. The military spirit

created it and after existing by our valor, the *togas* are ruling it.”

Mosquera showed him that such an idea was impracticable and that he could not count upon him in anything which involved the element of infidelity. “It would be an indelible stain for us and an opprobrium for the country to abuse our position by imprisoning the Liberator, whose useful and glorious life would be endangered. Such a thing, my friend, is not worthy of you, or of me.”

This was Mosquera’s reply. Many years later, when President, he was himself imprisoned by a general-in-chief of his own creation.

Córdova continued to seek fellow-conspirators and among them Mariño and Páez, although it was said the latter had once tied him to a tree and threatened to shoot him for desertion. Finally the Liberator heard of his insensate plans but, overlooking the base ingratitude of the youthful general, he contented himself with sending for him and amicably talking to him. Córdova, although brusque almost to rudeness, satisfied Bolívar, who attributed his manner to the custom he had of living among his soldiers.

“What shall we do,” wrote the Liberator to a friend, “with these conspiring generals? If I restrain them, I am a tyrant; if I wait for them to sin, before punishing them, I am a cruel assassin. I shall have to remain both a victim and a tyrant, to the end. If I do much, they abuse me; if little, they complain. There is no remedy.”

The Liberator had especially distinguished General Córdova, whom he esteemed as a valiant soldier, by appointing him Minister of Marine. And through his influence, a brother-in-law had been appointed governor of Antioquia and his brother, commandant of arms. Nevertheless, while Bolívar was convalescing upon the island of Santay, Córdova, on the 12th of September, raised the banner of revolt, calling himself the “Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Liberty,” while demanding the rejected constitution of Cúcuta and the blood of Bolívar, “the tyrant of the fatherland.” When

the Liberator received the news of this uprising, he could not believe it true. "Córdova," he said, "is indebted to me for both life and fortune. He has always been loyal to me. Now, perhaps, he has been bribed, yet I can not credit what I hear." Nevertheless it was true and it became necessary to operate actively against the insurgents. General O'Leary was ordered to subdue them and destroyed them in the battle of El Santuario, in which Córdova himself was killed. Before the combat, O'Leary offered an amnesty, which Córdova indignantly repulsed. The young general fought valiantly but, being wounded, he took refuge, with a score of his men, in a neighboring house. Here he was ingloriously dispatched by an Englishman named Hand, who had been ordered to assault the building.

With the termination of the revolution in Antioquia, the country was again at peace.

Previous to, and at this time several propositions were made to the Liberator to establish a monarchy in Colombia and himself accept the crown. Restrepo says: "The idea that various European Governments had conceived of the talents, virtues, elevation of character and eminent services of Bolívar to his country, was so high that, if he had had the insensate pretension to make himself king, nations of the first order would have recognized him and the most ancient families and distinguished sovereigns of the old world would have saluted him as a brother and companion of monarchs. This is a circumstance that is accredited by authentic documents. Yet Bolívar was very far from entertaining such projects." Moreover, many officers of high rank, among them Páez, Mosquera, Briceño Méndez, Flores, Urdaneta, Mariño, etc., openly spoke of crowning him. How many of them were sincere, is another matter. "But," says Larrazábal, "that idea of infidelity to republican principles — that thought of making America monarchical, to which San Martín was so much addicted, never entered the heart of Bolívar. Those who traduce his reputation on this point, have no writing, not a single word, uttered however

inadvertently, upon which to base their suspicion." On the contrary, time and time again Bolívar pronounced against the monarchy. As has been said, many of his officers, among them even his enemies, desired to see him King, because they thought, by this means, to do away with elections, congresses, conventions, the liberty of the press and, in some instances, perhaps, the inviolability of the hearth and the sanctity of private correspondence. Thus the entire nation would again become and continue a military camp. This was what some of these gentlemen of the sword desired. And many civilians of intelligence and influence, among them members of the Council of State, feared the country could not acquire and maintain order and stability, except as a monarchy. The constant recurrence of revolutionary attempts — that of Bustamente in Guayaquil, of Páez in Venezuela, of Obando and López in the Cauca, of Padilla in Cartagena, of Córdova in Antioquia and of Santander in Bogotá itself — was not calculated to impress the thoughtful beholder with confidence in the durability of the Republic.

About this time M. Bresson, commissioned by the French king to examine into the condition of the Spanish-American Republics before entering into diplomatic relations with them, arrived in Bogotá. His appearance was the signal for a concentration of the monarchical sympathizers, of which movement M. Bresson was not slow to take advantage. *The Liberator was still in the South.*

Under these circumstances, the Council of State was moved seriously to consider the matter and it decided unanimously that a constitutional monarchy offered all the guarantees of vigor and stability that a good government required. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was instructed, therefore, to consult secretly the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain and France and ascertain if their respective sovereigns would approve the crowning of Bolívar as king and, after his death, of a European prince. Apparently no thought was given to the probable action of the United States in the latter event, although the Monroe Doctrine was

as much in force then as it has ever been. At first the Liberator knew nothing of these negotiations but, when sufficiently advanced, he was made acquainted with them. To the individual members of the Council he replied with some bitterness, disapproving their course and, at the same time, he dictated to his general secretary the following manifesto:

Japio, 18th of December 1829.

Upon learning of the proceedings of the Council of State, with regard to the founding of a monarchy, the throne of which the Liberator was to occupy, his Excellency believed it to be his duty to disapprove the scheme, because his devotion to the cause of the people would be fruitless from the moment that, his reputation stained by an act so contradictory to his career and to his principles, he entered upon the beaten path of monarchs. Whether convenient or not for Colombia to erect a throne, the Liberator should not be the one to occupy it; moreover, he should not co-operate in its erection nor himself admit the insufficiency of the present form of government.

In view of the foregoing, when the Liberator returned to Bogotá early in January 1830, the Ministers resigned and were replaced by others, who were understood to be opposed to a monarchy.

“Thus terminated the project of a monarchy,” says Larrazábal, “and it failed because Bolívar disapproved of it in a strong and decided manner.”

Restrepo, who was one of the members of the Council of State in favor of a monarchy and of the Liberator for the king, writes: “The ambition of Bolívar and his aspirations to be the monarch of Colombia and even of other sections of America formerly Spanish, which his enemies attribute to him, are gratuitous calumnies without any foundation. His ideas were ever noble, elevated and republican; his plans

were designed to consolidate the true liberty of the people, assuring upon the solid base of the national opinion, the stability of the Government and of the institutions of the fatherland." But after emitting this conception he adds the following: "The Liberator could have, and should have, prevented the uncertainties and the innumerable annoyances, so that we would not have counted upon his support in that difficult enterprise. Such conduct would have been noble, loyal and generous — like Bolívar. Not later than the month of May, the members of the Council communicated to the Liberator the plan they meditated as to the monarchy. Four months elapsed before the famous agreement of the 3rd of September. There was more than sufficient time to have said to them implicitly that he could not support such intention, a step he should have taken, at least for the sake of friendship. He was silent, however, for three more months, at the end of which period he sent his harsh official disapproval. The language of the facts is eloquent."

It is true, nevertheless, that the opinion of the Liberator upon this subject, was perfectly well known to all the members of the Council, for he had frequently expressed it, both verbally and in writing; and this accusation, in view of Restrepo's first concept, is somewhat singular.

As late as the 13th of July 1829, the Liberator wrote from Buijo, in front of Guayaquil, to Vergara, a member of the Council of State, as follows:

First: Not being able to continue long at the head of the Government, as soon as I am out, the country will be divided, in the midst of civil war and the most frightful disorders.

Second: To prevent such horrible evils, which would necessarily happen within ten years, it would be better to divide the country legally, in peace and harmony.

As to the thought of a foreign monarchy to succeed me in power, however advantageous it might

be in its results, I can see a thousand inconveniences in its execution: 1. No foreign prince would accept as a patrimony, an anarchical principality without guarantees; 2. The national debts and the poverty of the country only afford the means to maintain a prince and a court miserably; 3. The lower classes would be alarmed, fearing the effects of an aristocracy and of inequality, and 4. The generals and the ambitious of all ranks could not bear the idea of seeing themselves deprived of supreme command.

As for me, you must imagine me tired of serving and weary of so many ingritudes, of so many crimes that are daily committed against me. You saw the extreme case in which the Great Convention placed me — that of seeing the country sacrificed or of saving it at my own cost. The article of which you speak, the most favorable that can be written in my honor, says *that my usurpation is happy and civic*. I, a usurper! A usurpation committed by me! My friend, this is horrible. I can not support the idea, and the repugnance it produces in me is such that I prefer the ruin of Colombia to having myself called by such an epithet.

At the same time he wrote to General O'Leary: "I can not conceive the possibility of establishing a king in a country that is *constitutionally* democratic; because the lower and most numerous classes reclaim this prerogative with incontestable right, for legal equality is indispensable where there is physical inequality, to correct, to a certain extent, the injustice of nature. Besides: who can be king in Colombia? Nobody; for no foreign prince would accept a throne surrounded with danger and poverty; and the generals would at least have to submit to an associate and resign forever the supreme authority. . . . Let us talk no more, therefore, of this chimera!" To General Urdaneta, also a member of the Council of State, he wrote: "It is easier to nominate a President than a Prince.

BOLÍVAR

In any event, count upon my being neither one nor the other. The 1st of January my functions shall cease, come what may, whether the Congress meet or not." To General Sucre the Liberator wrote somewhat facetiously: "They have offered me a crown, but it does not fit my head."¹

¹ An almost unknown letter upon this subject, will be found in the Appendix. It was written to the Liberator by General William Henry Harrison, who had just been recalled as our Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Colombia, and who was subsequently President of the United States. General Harrison had never met the Liberator, but had become *persona non grata*.

CHAPTER XXI

1830

The "admirable" Congress convenes—Is personally installed by the Liberator—His address and resignation—Duplicity of Páez—Defection of Venezuela—Congress refuses to accept Bolívar's resignation—Commission sent to Venezuela—New constitution promulgated—Proclamation of amnesty for conspirators of 25th of September—Bolívar retires to Fucha—Returns to Bogotá—Defections—Bolívar addresses Congress—Insists upon separation from command—Invitation from Quito—Doctor Mosquera and General Caicedo elected President and Vice-President—Bolívar quits government palace—Receives popular address—He leaves Bogotá for Cartagena—Venezuelan ingratitude—Decree of Congress—Bolívar's poverty—His arrival at Cartagena—Assassination of General Sucre—Venezuelan Congress passes act of expulsion against the Liberator—Revolution in Bogotá—Also in Tunja and Cartagena—Bolívar resists recall—His letters to Urdaneta and Vergara—He goes to Barranquilla—Appointment from Bolivia—The Liberator goes to Santa Marta—At San Pedro Alejandrino—Last words—Death of Bolívar.

THE Congress which the Liberator subsequently characterized as "admirable," was convened to meet on the 2nd of January 1830; but upon this date only thirty-four deputies were present and forty-five or three-fourths were required for a quorum. Bolívar arrived at the capital from the south, on the 15th of January and was received with the pomp and honors that were always tributed to him in Bogotá. On the 20th he personally installed the Congress, of which Marshal Sucre was elected presiding officer. In the Liberator's message, he earnestly besought the Congress to choose another President for Colombia. He had many times formally resigned and this was the fourth national constituent representation that he had convoked. "I fear," he said, "with some foundation, that you may doubt my sincerity when I speak to you of the magistrate who should govern the Republic. The Congress must be convinced that its honor would preclude any thought of me for such place and that mine should prevent its acceptance. Would you have, perchance, this precious privilege recoil upon him who has suggested it to you? Dare

you, without diminishing your reputation, concede me your suffrages? Would not this be appointing myself? Far be such ignoble act from you and from me! Obligated as you are to constitute the government of the Republic, within and without your body you will find illustrious citizens to fill the Presidency of the state with glory and advantage. All, all my fellow citizens enjoy the inestimable fortune of appearing guiltless to the eyes of suspicion; I alone am accused of aspiring to tyranny. Free me, I beseech you, from the censure which awaits me if I continue to occupy a position from which the reproach of ambition can never be separated. Believe me, a new magistrate is already indispensable to the Republic. The people desire to know if I will ever desist from commanding them. The American states regard me with a certain inquietude which may one day cause Colombia evils similar to those of the war with Peru. In Europe itself there are not lacking people who fear I discredit with my conduct the beautiful cause of liberty. . . . Show yourselves worthy, fellow citizens, of representing a free nation, casting aside all idea that I consider myself necessary to the Republic. If one man were necessary to maintain the state, that state ought not to exist and in the end would cease to exist.

“The magistrate whom you select will be, without doubt, an iris of domestic concord, a bond of fraternity, a consolation for the wearied parties. . . . I will obey, with the most cordial respect, this legitimate magistrate; I will follow him as an angel of peace; I will sustain him with my sword and with all my strength. . . . The Republic will be happy if, while accepting my resignation, you name as President a citizen beloved by the nation; it will succumb, if you insist upon my ruling it.

“Hear my petition: save the Republic; conserve my glory, which is also Colombia’s.

“Dispose of the Presidency, which I respectfully abdicate into your hands. From to-day I am only a citizen, armed to defend the country and to obey the Government. My public functions cease *forever*. I make you a formal and solemn

delivery of the supreme authority conferred upon me by the national suffrage.”

At the same time the *Liberator* published a proclamation in which he said :

Colombians! To-day I have ceased to command you. During twenty years I have served you as a soldier and as a magistrate. In this long period we have conquered the country, liberated three republics, overthrown many civil wars and four times I have returned to the people their omnipotence, convening spontaneously four constituent congresses. To your virtues, valor and patriotism, are due these services; to me, the glory of having directed them. The constituent Congress installed to-day, is charged by Providence with giving the nation the institutions it desires, in pursuance of the trend of circumstances and the nature of things.

Fearing that I might be considered an obstacle to seating the Republic upon the true foundation of its happiness, I have precipitated myself from the high magistracy to which your goodness had elevated me.

Colombians! I have been the victim of ignominious suspicions, without the purity of my principles being able to defend me. Those who aspire to the supreme command have endeavored to tear me from your hearts by attributing to me their own sentiments; by making me appear to be the author of projects which they have conceived; by representing me, in short, with aspirations for a crown, which they have offered me more than once and which I have declined with the indignation of the proudest Republican. Never, never, I swear to you, has the ambition of a kingdom sullied my mind, a concept artfully forged by my enemies to deprive me of your good opinion. Undeceive yourselves, Colombians.

BOLÍVAR

My only desire has been to contribute to your liberty and to the conservation of your repose. If for this I am guilty, more than others I deserve your indignation. Do not listen, I beg of you, to the vile calumny and the stupid cupidity, which everywhere arouse discord. Will you permit yourselves to be deceived by the impostures of my detractors? You are not so insensate.

Compatriots! Listen to my last speech upon terminating my political career: in the name of Colombia I ask you, I beg you, to remain united, so that you may not be the assassins of the fatherland and your own executioners.

But, notwithstanding the protestations of the Liberator, his enemies continued to accuse him of endeavoring to have himself crowned king, especially certain of his own countrymen in Venezuela. The conduct of Páez, who had had every opportunity of learning Bolívar's true sentiments, was full of duplicity. While pretending to the government at Bogotá that he would proceed in accordance with its views, he dexterously availed himself of circumstances, with a view to obtaining the first magistracy of an independent state, by destroying the Colombian union.

The public press of Caracas, currying favor with General Páez or else directly influenced by him, published daily the most scandalous and absurd calumnies against the Liberator. Having received in Valencia the circular issued by Bolívar at Guayaquil, on the 31st of August, asking for a free expression of opinion with respect to the form of government, the fundamental code and the chief who should preside over the administration, Páez embraced this opportunity to have *pronunciamentos* forwarded from every quarter, energetically demanding the separation of Venezuela. At the same time he instituted, directly or indirectly, outrageous defamations against the Liberator. The inhabitants of Valencia, where Páez resided, were the first to invoke the ostracism of Bolívar,

and their example was speedily followed at Puerto Cabello and Calabozo, where Páez exercised great influence. Puerto Cabello, indeed, consigned to oblivion the illustrious name of "Liberator" and Caracas, the city of his birth, refused longer to acknowledge his authority. General Páez, although the soul of the revolution in Venezuela, dissimulated in the beginning, but he soon abandoned his moderation, threw off the mask and proceeded to Caracas where he approved the manifesto against Bolívar, offering to sustain it by force of arms; declared Venezuela a sovereign state, appointed ministers and convened a congress to meet in Valencia. He also asked for contributions from the different towns for "the expenses of the war against Bolívar" and "hastened," adds Larrazábal, "to pierce the bosom of the magnanimous Liberator with that 'redeeming sword of humanity,'" with which, it will be recalled, he had been presented by Bolívar. To the Liberator, himself, he wrote a personal letter, threatening, if interfered with, to cover Venezuela with guerrillas who would destroy it and, as a last resort, to turn the country over to the Spaniards!¹

The constituent Congress, in reply to the Liberator's message and resignation, refused to accept the latter and loaded Bolívar with eulogies, approving all his acts and begged him to continue in office in order to preserve the country from the anarchy which threatened it — and this Bolívar agreed to do

¹ Professor Roberston says: "In the South American wars for independence, Venezuelan warriors played the most notable part: besides liberating their own state, they aided effectively to liberate the territories within the present republics of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia." After much investigation, the author believes that the New Granadans then comprising the Union of Cundinamarca and Cartagena, "played the most notable part," always excepting Bolívar and Sucre, who were Venezuelans. The "Liberators of Venezuela" in the campaign of 1813, were almost entirely New Granadans, the nucleus of the little army having accompanied Bolívar from Barranca, Tenerife and Mompox on the Magdalena, and the remainder having been furnished him by the New Granadan Congress at Tunja. In the invasion of New Granada in 1819, both countries were represented, but Santander's troops were principally from Casanare, a province of New Granada. Páez and the *llaneros* remained behind in Venezuela. The most decisive battles of the war were Boyacá in New Granada, and Ayacucho in Peru, where Córdova and his troops, all New Granadans, took such a prominent part. Caracas was twice taken from the Spaniards and Bogotá but once. In Peru, the auxiliaries sent by Vice-President Santander, were chiefly New Granadans, as they were nearest the southern frontier. Cartagena and Santa Marta were surrendered to New Granadans. In the matter of general officers, there was nearly an equality, but the defections were almost all upon the part of Venezuelans; and in Peru, of Peruvians.

provisionally, but declared again, so that the Congress might not think longer of him for the Presidency that, *whatever the circumstances of the Republic, whether fortunate or unfortunate, even should it find itself in the arms of death, never again would he accept a permanent command, which he hated worse than tyranny.*

On the 27th of January the Liberator sent a message to the Congress proposing to go to Venezuela, "with the object", he said, "of amicably arranging the differences that unhappily disturbed the order and tranquility of the nation." In its reply, the Congress expressed its regret should the Liberator absent himself at such time but, having been convoked for the purpose of voting a constitution and electing officers, it believed itself authorized to intervene in the matter of the proposed journey. At the same time it expressed its unbounded confidence in the Liberator and offered to sustain him in whatever he found necessary to do. The journey was therefore abandoned.

In an endeavor to save the situation in Venezuela, the Congress resolved to send a commission to that department and selected for this purpose its own President and Vice-President, General Sucre and Doctor José María Estévez, the Bishop of Santa Marta. The commission left Bogotá for Cúcuta on the 17th of February, with explicit instructions from the Congress. On the 20th of the same month, the new Constitution was promulgated and the Liberator magnanimously celebrated the occasion by pardoning all who were suffering exile or imprisonment for the nefarious conspiracy of the 25th of September 1828. Meanwhile, as his health was beginning to fail, he retired to his country house at Fucha, naming his Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Domingo Caicedo, President of the Council of State, temporarily in charge of the executive power. This was on the 1st of March and Bolívar never again assumed actively the reins of government.

When the Peace Commissioners arrived at the frontier, they found that General Páez had given orders not to permit

them to enter Venezuelan territory; and although they protested against this unusual and arbitrary behavior, all expostulation was in vain. Upon their return to Cúcuta, however, they learned that General Mariño and two other commissioners had been appointed by Páez, to meet them upon the boundary. At the same time they received the proclamation of the 2nd of March, issued by General Páez, a document principally remarkable for the deceptions and falsehoods it contained. Páez not only announced his intention to maintain the independence of Venezuela, but *to liberate New Granada!*

Under these circumstances the meeting of the Peace Commissioners was necessarily a failure and, perceiving the futility of discussion, General Sucre and Bishop Estévez shortly retired.

Upon learning of an uprising in Casanare, promoted by Páez, the Liberator returned to Bogotá, where some of his friends endeavored to persuade him to resume the exercise of the executive power; but Bolívar was already descending to the tomb and felt his own incapacity. Nevertheless, on the 21st of April, he assembled the Ministers and some friends in his house to consider the matter informally. Apparently a lack of frankness prevented any decision from being reached. Altercations occurred daily, in Congress and on the streets, between the adherents and the enemies of the Liberator, and the situation hourly became more strained. Among his intimate friends and his personal and official entourage, who owed him many favors and distinctions and publicly adored him — among his Ministers even, including the President of the Council, there were defections of which the Liberator had never dreamed. He suffered them in calmness and silence, however bitterly they pierced his heart.

At last, believing that his absence from his native land might contribute, if not to the re-establishment of the Union, at least to peace and tranquility, he addressed the Congress the following message:

BOLÍVAR

Fellow Citizens!

The Constitution completed and charged by the Nation as you are, with naming the high functionaries who should preside over the Republic, I have deemed it proper to reiterate my repeated protests against accepting another time the chief magistracy of the State, even should you honor me with your suffrages. You must know that the good of the country exacts from me the sacrifice of separating myself from the land of my birth, in order that my permanence in Colombia may not be an obstacle to the happiness of my compatriots.

Venezuela has alleged, in order to effect her separation, ambitious views upon my part. Presently she would assert that my reëlection was an impediment to reconciliation and, in the end, the Republic would have to suffer dismemberment or a civil war.

Upon the day of its installation I submitted considerations to the wisdom of the Congress which, united to many others, must contribute to persuade the Congress that its most imperious obligation is giving the Colombian nation new magistrates, clothed with the eminent qualities which the law and the public welfare demand.

I beg you, my fellow-citizens, to receive this message as a proof of my most ardent patriotism and of the love which I have always professed for the Colombians.

Bolívar.

Bogotá, 27th of April 1830.

To this document the Congress made a most honorable and satisfactory reply. After eulogizing the patriotism and unselfishness of Bolívar's message, it added: "Whatever, sir, may be the fate that Providence prepares for the Nation and for yourself, the Congress expects that every Colombian, sensible of the honor and of the glory of his country, will regard

you with the respect and consideration due to the services you have rendered to the cause of America and will see to it, ever preserving the lustre of your name, that it shall descend to posterity, under any circumstances, as *that of the Founder of the Independence of Colombia.*”

Meanwhile the Liberator, while preparing to go to Cartagena with the object of embarking for Europe or Jamaica, begged his friends privately to *give him liberty, freeing him from the prison of command.*

It was at this time that he received a document signed by the principal inhabitants of Quito, beseeching him to choose a residence among them — a paper in marked contrast to that in which Páez and his party demanded his ostracism and exile and threatened him with death itself.

The Constitution of Colombia was signed on the 3rd of May and on the following day the election for the two principal magistrates of the Republic took place.

Doctor Joaquín Mosquera was elected President and General Domingo Caicedo, Vice-President of Colombia.

The Liberator did not receive a single vote.

In the absence of President Mosquera at Popayán, Vice-President Caicedo was sworn in and assumed the executive power. This fact was communicated to the Liberator by a commission of the Congress which informed him that, having complied with the objects of its convocation, as a consequence the organic decree of the 28th of August 1828, and the faculties reserved by the Liberator in that of convocation, ceased to be operative. It also expressed the gratitude of the Nation for the services he had rendered.

Bolívar manifested his pleasure at the receipt of this message, congratulated the Congress upon the termination of its labors and the election of magistrates who merited the confidence of the people and added: *“I remain reduced to the private life which I have so greatly desired; and if the Congress wishes a special proof of my blind obedience to the Constitution and the laws, I am ready to give any that it may require of me.”*

BOLÍVAR

The Liberator then left the palace and went to live in the house of General Herrán.

Upon the following day, the inhabitants of Bogotá presented him with an address, most respectful, decorous and affectionate in its terms in which occurs the following paragraph:

Your Excellency conquered the plane upon which must be raised the edifice of our future happiness and believing yourself an obstacle thereto, voluntarily abdicated the First Magistracy, protesting that you would never again assume the reins of government. An act so noble, generous and magnanimous, places your Excellency in the sphere of heroes. History fills its pages with the actions of valiant soldiers and successful warriors; but it can only embellish them with those of a Washington or a Bolívar.

On the 8th of May the Liberator left Bogotá. He was accompanied for several miles by public functionaries, members of the diplomatic corps, many officers and citizens and by all the foreigners. When they returned to the capital, Colonel Campbell, the British Minister, remarked: "He is gone — the gentleman of Colombia!"

En route to Cartagena, the Liberator was everywhere received with the respect and attention due to one who had governed Colombia during so many years and was the standard-bearer of its independence. Meanwhile, in Venezuela, Páez was declaring that "the existence of Bolívar was ominous for the Republic and that his name deserved to be condemned to oblivion;" Bermúdez, that "he was a despot, a false idolator of republican principles, an aspirant of monarchy, a man of criminal designs and of the vilest ambitions;" Arismendi, that "he was the tyrant of Colombia, an ungrateful son of Caracas, a being with iniquitous purposes."

All had been friends and subordinates if not creatures, of the Liberator.

The Congress, composed principally of New Granadans, issued the following decree :

Considering:

That the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, not only has given birth and existence to Colombia by his incessant and unheard-of exertions, and has excited the admiration of the Universe by his deeds and eminent services to the American cause ;

That he has ceased to be President of Colombia because, insisting upon resigning, the Congress has named his successor ;

That the disinterestedness and noble devotion of which he has given the most distinguished proofs since he began his public career, demand a demonstration of national gratitude which shall shelter him from the results of such generous and unequalled magnanimity ;

Resolved:

Art. 1. The Constituent Congress, in the name of the Colombian nation, presents to the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, the tribute of gratitude and of admiration to which so justly he is entitled by his eminent merits and heroic services in the cause of American emancipation ;

Art. 2. In whatever part of the Republic the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, may reside, he shall ever be treated with the respect and consideration due to the first and best citizen of Colombia ;

Art. 3. The Executive Power will give the most punctual and exact obedience to the decree of the Congress of the 23rd of July 1823, by which was conceded to the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, the pension of thirty thousand dollars annually, during his life, from the day in which he should terminate his

BOLÍVAR

functions as President of the Republic, and that this provision shall take effect whatever may be his place of residence.

Given in Bogotá, May 9, 1830-20.

The President of the Congress,
Vicente Borrero.

The Liberator needed this pension for, from great riches he had been reduced to absolute poverty. "The man who dominated from the Orinoco to the Potosí," says Larrazábal, "and who, for so many years, with unlimited power had managed the abundant revenues of Peru and Colombia, had scarcely enough to pay for a voyage abroad." His principal remaining property in Venezuela was involved in a lawsuit in which, through the paramount influence of Páez, the most simple justice was denied him in the courts of his own creation and in his native land.

The Liberator arrived at Turbaco on the 25th of May. *En route* his counsel to his friends and adherents everywhere, had been *respect for the law; love for, and obedience to the Government*. On the 24th of June he reached Cartagena, where he remained awaiting remittances from his agent in Venezuela, which never came. "In this condition, needing everything," he exclaimed, "how can I go to Europe or anywhere that the name of Colombia is known. For myself, I require very little; but the poverty in which I should be compelled to live, would be an affront to America." He was unwilling to trust wholly to a pension, the payment of which might be immediately affected by a change of government or a civil war; and meanwhile the little money he had brought from Bogotá disappeared, largely into the pockets of his indigent friends, for Bolívar could deny nothing to his former companions-in-arms.

On the 29th of June he received *pronunciamientos* from various supporters in Venezuela, who declared in favor of the integrity of Colombia and of the continuance of Bolívar as President. These he forwarded to the Minister of the

Interior and replied to the senders begging them to proceed with greater prudence and to make every effort to avoid the terrible evils of a civil war.

On the 1st of July he received the awful tidings of the assassination of General Antonio José Sucre, the Grand Marshal of Ayacucho, by order or with the connivance of Generals Obando and López, it was alleged, but it was never proven. Both of these officers, as well as General Santander, were subsequently Presidents of New Granada. The Liberator was profoundly affected by the death of Sucre—the “Bayard” of the War of Independence. “It is difficult to conceive,” says Baralt, “why Sucre had enemies, having been moderate in his opinions, disinterested in his services, courteous and agreeable in his manners, good of heart and generous to an extreme.”

Meanwhile the new Congress of Venezuela passed acts of expulsion against the Liberator, prohibiting relations of any nature with Bogotá, so long as General Bolívar remained upon Colombian soil.

President Mosquera was soon compelled by ill health to leave Vice-President Caicedo in charge of the Executive Power and during the incumbency of the latter, a revolution occurred at the capital, headed by Colonel Florencio Jiménez and the battalion “Callao”, seconded in Socorro by General Justo Briceño and in Tunja by General Pedro Mares. They proclaimed Bolívar “Chief of the Republic”, with illimitable powers, and during his absence deposited the command, with equal authority, in General Urdaneta. The Government made an attempt at resistance, but the revolution triumphed. Urdaneta assumed provisional charge of the Republic on the 5th of September, appointed a Ministry and then despatched a commission to escort the Liberator, who was still at Cartagena, upon his expected return to Bogotá. Many of Bolívar’s friends, among them the ministers of the United States¹ and of Great Britain, wrote to him urging him to adopt this course. In a few days there was also an uprising

¹ Colonel Thomas P. Moore.

in Cartagena of prominent officers of the army, in connection with the Prefect and other departmental authorities, who begged the Liberator to assume the position of *Commander-in-chief of the Army*.

Bolívar resisted their petition nevertheless, although as many as five provinces had now declared in his favor. "For a long time," says Baralt, "the Liberator resisted, although vainly, the disloyal suggestions of the insensate crowd. He could not then oppose them with the vigor and energy of his happier years." Larrazábal declares, however, that the Liberator not only did not wish to assume command of the army, but characterized as unnecessary and improper the acts of his friends in Cartagena and sent General O'Leary to them to counsel them, in his name, to limit themselves to the *right of petition* and to energetically disapprove the course they had pursued. Upon the arrival of the Commission from Bogotá, a committee of five persons presented the Liberator with several manifestos, and García del Rio, with great ability, succeeded in tempering the spirit of Bolívar by reminding him of his glories, his patriotism and his duty to Colombia. The reply of the Liberator was as follows:

I have offered, Gentlemen, to serve the country, as far as depends upon me, as a citizen and as a soldier. The same thing I have the honor to repeat now; but say to your Commissioners that, however respectable the *pronunciamentos* of the provinces that have considered it well to acclaim me Supreme Chief of the State, their votes do not yet constitute that majority which alone can legitimize such an act, in the midst of the conflagration and frightful anarchy that surround us on all sides. Tell them that, if they obtain that majority, my repose, my existence, my reputation even, I will immolate, without hesitation, upon the altars of the adored country, to the end of saving it from the horrors of intestinal disturbances and from the dangers of

foreign aggression, by returning to present Colombia before the world and before future generations, tranquil, respected, prosperous and happy.”

Acting with subjection to these principles and with the laudable intent to avoid civil war and anarchy, the Liberator counseled his friends to sustain the Government as the only centre of national unity.

The following extracts are from a letter written to General Urdaneta, at this time:

Yesterday the Commissioners arrived, bringing me the act and informing me of all the most notable occurrences at the capital.

However much I have desired to surrender to the arguments and exhortations of the said Commissioners and of my friends in this vicinity, as well as to the letters received from Bogotá, it has not been possible for me to decide to accept a command which has no other title than the two acts of two municipal councils. Moreover, Mr. Mosquera has not resigned his title and to-morrow he may make himself recognized in another part, as legitimate President. This event is not very remote for, upon arriving at Popayán, it may happen. Obando and López will work to this end. Mr. Mosquera has not had, until now, other aspirations than those of these two men. Then, he would be President, and I, usurper. I can not reduce myself to this situation, however much I endeavor to dominate my repugnance. Santamaría tells me that, if I do not accept the command, there will infallibly be frightful anarchy; but, what am I to do against the barrier of bronze that separates me from the Presidency? This *barrier of bronze* is the *right*. I have it not; neither has he who possesses it, ceded it. Consequently let us await the elections. When these

BOLÍVAR

occur, legitimacy will cover me with its shade or there will be a new President! The political horizon will have cleared and we shall know, in short, whether or not there is a country. Then, and then only, I may succeed to the Executive Power, always supposing that the elections are free and that they conform to the law.

To his friend Vergara, he wrote on the 25th of September, in a similar strain :

You tell me that you will presently quit the Ministry, because you must attend to your family ; and then you exact of me that I march to Bogotá, to consummate a usurpation that the *Gazette* has made manifest without disguising, by so much as a comma, the nature of the deed. No, my friend ; I can not go, *nor am I compelled to do it*, because nobody should be forced to act against his conscience and the laws. Neither have I contributed in the least to this reaction, nor have I compromised anybody to do so. If I should gather the fruit of this insurrection, I would charge myself with all its responsibility. Believe me, I have never looked with favor upon insurrections.

Even if there were nothing of what I have said above, I can not do less than confess to you that I mortally hate command, because my efforts therein have not been successful ; because my nature is opposed to a sedentary life ; because I lack the knowledge ; because I am tired, and because I am ill. I can not, my friends ; I can not return to command more ; and believe me, if I have resisted until now the attacks of my friends in Cartagena, in the future I shall be irresistible.

You may say that all this is contrary to my proclamation and to my communication to the

Government. I reply that Santamaría made me think you were going to divide into a thousand parties and completely ruin the country if emphatically I replied that I would not accept. I offered, then, to dissimulate, talking vaguely of serving as a civilian and as a soldier. Nevertheless I did not fail to manifest to General Urdaneta that I was not going to Bogotá and would not accept the command. I have said the same thing to my friends here. Consequently, I have not deceived anybody except my enemies, in order that they should not finish with you suddenly and anew.

If matters continue as they say here, I think that I, far from serving again, shall quit the country. To do this there is no inconvenience, for I will not accept any public post. I sympathize with General Urdaneta, with you and with all my friends, who think themselves compromised, with no hope of coming out well; but you should never have counted upon me for anything after having left the command and suffered so many deceptions. Nobody knows better than you do, my repugnance to serve and the good faith with which I insisted upon my separation. Since that moment, I have had a thousand motives to approve my resolution; consequently it would be an absurdity upon my part to return only to compromise myself. For you, I will add one word more to clear up this matter: all my reasons are based upon one — *I do not expect any salvation for the country*. This sentiment, or rather, this intimate conviction, stifles my desires and drags me to the cruelest despair. I believe everything is lost forever: the country and my friends submerged in a high sea of calamities. If there were but one sacrifice to make, even of my life, or my happiness, or my honor — believe me, I should not hesitate. But I am convinced that this sacrifice would be useless, be-

cause one poor man can do nothing against an entire world; and because I am unable to secure the happiness of my country, I refuse to rule it. There is still more: the tyrants of my native land have deprived me of it and I am proscribed; therefore I have no country for which to make a sacrifice.

No, the Liberator clearly had no intention to usurp the power, as his enemies claimed. At any rate, a successful revolution was effected and the command of the country and army was offered to him, but he refused it because, he said, *the fountain of legitimacy is the free suffrage of the people, not the echo of an uprising or the expression of friends.*

From Cartagena the Liberator went to Barranquilla, where he passed the months of October and November. His physical ailments continued to increase, but his mental and spiritual welfare was infinitely worse. He was quite consoled for the loss of power and of command, but the ingratitude of his former friends and especially of his own countrymen, the Venezuelans, grieved him beyond measure. A profound melancholy and great despondency aggravated his physical infirmities. At the end of November he wrote to General París: "I have scarcely strength enough to support the last days that remain for my mortification."

Unfortunately the Liberator received almost daily, periodicals from Venezuela that offended his delicacy with gross calumnies and personal outrages. His sensibility was exalted and his soul afflicted thereby, thus contributing powerfully to render useless all the resources of science and art to check his illness. The measures taken in his behalf by his friends, were much slower in reaching him. Bolivia, the youngest of his creations and his namesake, appointed him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to any European country he might desire to visit or, if agreeable, to the Holy See at Rome, but alas! he was too ill to accept.

When the Liberator observed that his infirmities were increasing, he resolved to go to Santa Marta, where General

Montilla, Bishop Estévez and other friends, were awaiting him. He hoped, too, that the short sea voyage might benefit him. He embarked, therefore, but suffered greatly *en route* and arrived on the 1st of December in such a lamentable state of prostration, that he had to be carried ashore in a hand-chair. Here, for the first time during his illness, he was attended by a physician but, alas it was too late. "The sepulchre was open and awaiting its illustrious victim." As, however, he expressed a desire to visit the country, on the afternoon of the 6th of December, he was taken to the villa of San Pedro Alejandrino, the property of Mr. Joaquín de Mier, distant but three miles from Santa Marta. Apparently improved by the change, he passed two days very cheerfully, praising the climate and writing to Bogotá that he was much better. But the same night his malady increased and the fatal symptom of hiccoughs appeared. On the 10th of December cerebral congestion was barely allayed and the last rites of the Roman Catholic church were administered by Bishop Estévez. He also made his will and addressed his last words — words which breathe all the goodness and grandeur of soul of the dying Liberator. Feeling that death was approaching, he called an amanuensis to his bedside, and dictated the following:

Colombians!

You have witnessed my efforts to implant liberty where before tyranny reigned. I have worked unselfishly, abandoning my fortune and even my tranquility. I separated myself from command when I was persuaded that you doubted my disinterestedness. My enemies abused your credulity and trampled upon what to me is most sacred — the reputation of my love of liberty. I have been the victim of my persecutors, who have brought me to the gates of the sepulchre. I forgive them.

In disappearing from your midst, my affection tells me that I should make this declaration of my last wishes. I aspire to no other glory than the con-

BOLÍVAR

solidation of Colombia: all should strive for the inestimable welfare of the Union — the people obeying the actual government, if they would be free from anarchy; the members of the sanctuary directing their prayers to Heaven; the military employing their swords in defense of social guarantees.

Colombians: My last wishes are for the happiness of the fatherland. *If my death will contribute to the cessation of parties and the consolidation of the Union*, I shall descend tranquilly into the tomb.
Villa of San Pedro, in Santa Marta,
10th of December 1830 — 20.

Rising to a sitting posture in bed, the Liberator wrote at the end of this tender farewell, his name: “Simón Bolívar.” He then dictated a letter to General Briceño, which was his last act.

His life was extinguished by minutes. Occasionally he became delirious and his delirium revealed the unhappy thoughts of his mind. “José,” he said, calling his valet, “let us go; they have turned us out. But where shall we go?”

On the 17th of December, the symptoms were aggravated. At one o’clock p. m., the Liberator ceased to exist.¹

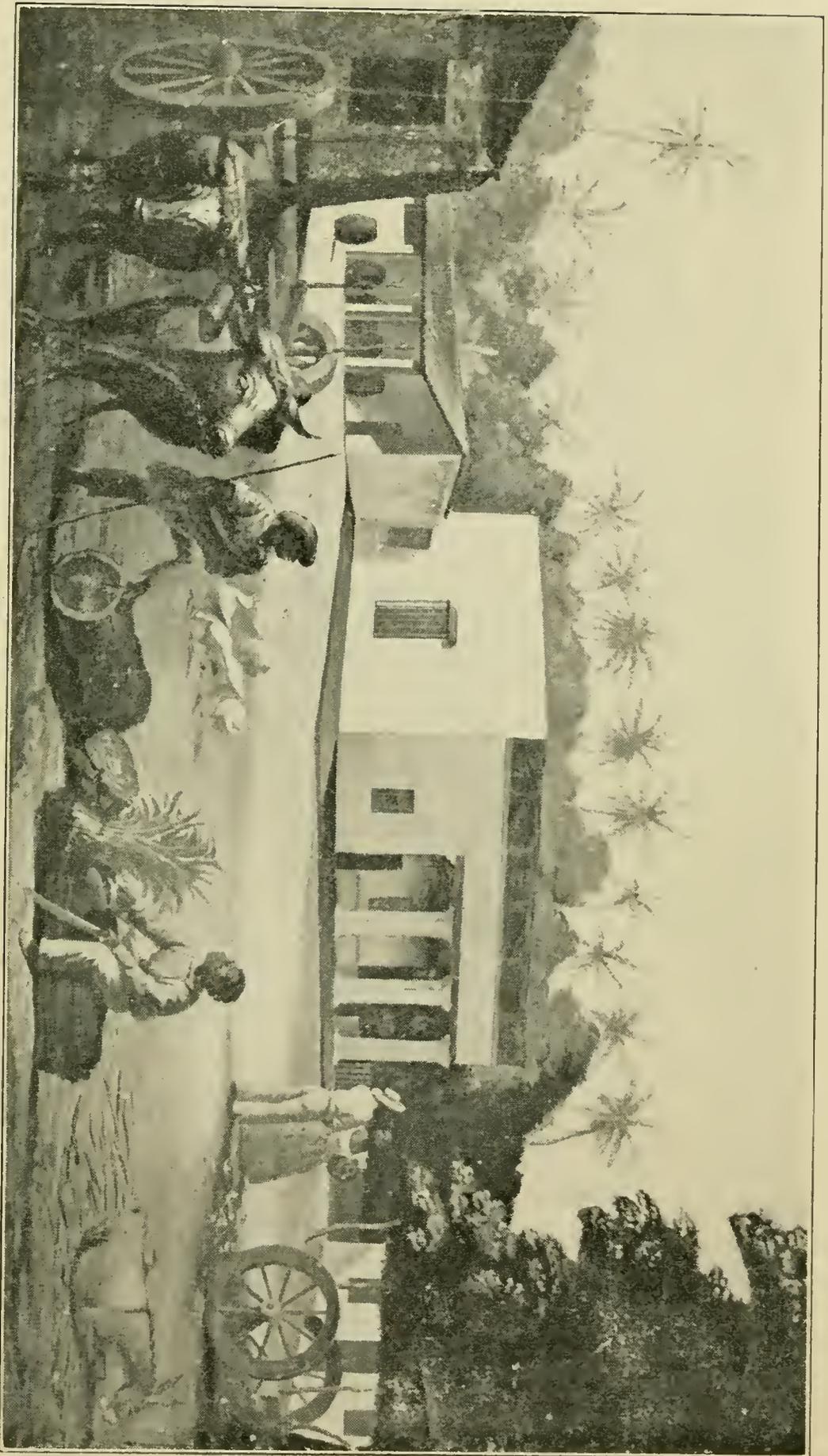
It was the anniversary and almost the hour of the proclamation creating the Republic of Colombia, eleven years before.

The Liberator was 47 years, 5 months and 23 days old, when he died.

With the death of Bolívar, the grand Republic of Colombia ceased to exist: Venezuela seceded under General Páez, and Quito and Guayaquil, as Ecuador, under General Flores. New Granada, after many vicissitudes and several changes of name, is to-day known as the Republic of Colombia.

Practised the *post mortem*, the opinion of Bolívar’s physician was as follows:

¹ The Encyclopædia Britannica mistakenly says: “Bolívar assumed the supreme power in Colombia, and continued to exercise it until his death.”



San Pedro Alejandrino, near Santa Marta, where Bolívar died
From a painting

The illness of which his Excellency, the Liberator, has died, was, in the beginning, pulmonary catarrh, which having been neglected, passed to the chronic state and degenerated into tuberculous phthisis. . . . But it must also be admitted that moral affections, lively and penetrating as must have been those that continually afflicted the spirit of the General, contributed powerfully to impress upon the infirmity a character of rapidity in its development and of gravity in its complications, which made useless the ministrations of art. It should be observed, in support of this assertion, that the Liberator, when his illness began, showed indifference to his condition and refused to admit the care of a physician. His Excellency confessed it. Precisely at this time his friends fed him to satiety and he was most exposed to the outrages of those whom his benefits had made ingrates. When his Excellency arrived at Santa Marta, under much more favorable auspices, with the hope of a happier future for the country of which he saw brilliant defenders among those surrounding him, conservative nature recovered her rights. Then he anxiously asked for medicinal aid. But ah! There was no longer time! The sepulchre was open, awaiting its illustrious victim and only a miracle could have prevented his descent into it.

CHAPTER XXII

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

Appreciations—The Author — Mitre — North American and South American revolutions compared — Baralt and Díaz — Proctor — Hippisley — Ducoudray-Holstein — O'Leary — Mitre — Carlyle — Samper — Towns in United States named for Bolívar — Henry Clay — Robertson — Julian Hawthorne — Rooney — Butterworth — Cornelio Hispano — Baralt and Díaz — Ducoudray-Holstein — Hippisley — Miranda — Miller — Cochrane — Andrés Bello — Vicuña Mackenna — Santamaría — Cornelio Hispano — Ricardo Palma — Cornelio Hispano — Diario de Bucaramanga (Perú de Lacroix) — Blanco — Gil Fortoul — Barbagelata — Cornelio Hispano — Larrazábal — Mitre — *El Busto del Libertador* — Burial in National Pantheon at Caracas — Centennial — Statue of Washington — Squadron of U. S. Navy participates — Statues of Bolívar — Central Park, New York City — Hawthorne.

THE story of Bolívar has now been told, as was indicated in the "Bibliography" of this volume, largely in the translated words of writers of his own race, often his contemporaries, many of them his friends and a few of them his enemies. This was thought the better plan in the case of one long dead and of a different nationality from the author, whose work, at best, is mainly a translation and compilation. The memory of the Liberator is both idolized and idealized to-day by his countrymen, by whom he is regarded as a sort of superman or demi-god. "Bolívar is a phenomenon in the annals of humanity", cries García del Río; and Villanueva writes as late as 1895: "Bolívar occupies a kingdom apart, between mankind and God." Judged by what he *did*—by what he *accomplished* during his brief life, rather than by what he *was*, Bolívar must be considered one of the greatest of modern leaders, perhaps only surpassed by Napoleon, of whom Lord Roseberry says in *The Last Phase*: "Was Napoleon a great man? If by the word 'great' is understood the combination of the highest moral and intellectual qualities, he certainly was not a great man. But that he was great in the sense of superior and extraordinary, it is impossible to doubt.

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

Yes, he was surely great if greatness consists in an innate power, in the gift of domination, in something human that surpasses humanity. Without speaking of that spark which escapes all definition and we call genius, he represents an amalgamation of intelligence and energy that has perhaps never been equalled, that in any case has never been surpassed. He carried human power as far as, within our knowledge, it has ever been carried." In a smaller way, the same thing may be said of Bolívar. Lest this seem too high an estimate, let us compare his work with that of other famous soldiers and statesmen, as well as quote the appreciations of other writers.

Bolívar was not distinguished for his piety or moral scruples. Apparently he subscribed to the tenets of the Roman Catholic church, in which he was confirmed, but his proclamations are conspicuously free from invocations to the Deity. If he prayed at all, like that modern "Hun" who harangued his troops on the eve of battle, he asked nothing of the Lord save that his enemy might await his onslaught, and he would do the rest! It is no defense of immorality to add that, like many of his prototypes in various fields — Napoleon, Goethe, Byron,¹ *et al*, he was accused of immoderate amours, if not of promiscuity in love — possibly a provision of Nature for the dissemination of genius. At least, after his brief matrimonial experience, no conjugal infidelity was involved.

In moral qualities he was certainly inferior to Washington, yet probably his equal as a soldier and as a statesman. Comparing the two, Carlos Pereira calls it "an impossible parallel." Montalvo says:

Washington presents himself to memory and imagination as a great citizen rather than as a great warrior; as a philosopher rather than as a general. . . .
Washington and Bolívar have in common their iden-

¹ Trelawney tells us that when Shelley's drowned body was found, and placed upon a pyre upon the coast at Massa, Byron withdrew to the beach and swam off to the *Bolívar*, his vessel.

BOLÍVAR

tity of purpose; both aspired to the freedom of a country and the establishment of democracy. The difference between these two illustrious men lies in the excessive difficulty one had to conquer and the abundance with which the other carried on his work to the end. Bolívar, during several periods of the war, had no resources at all, nor did he know where to get them; his indestructible love for his country, the sense of honor active in his breast, the fertile imagination, the supreme will, the prodigious activities which formed his character, inspired in him wisdom to turn the impossibility into a reality North America was rich, civilized and powerful even before its emancipation from Mother England; if the colonists had not had their leader, one hundred Washingtons would have presented themselves to fill the place, and not at a disadvantage. Washington was surrounded by men as remarkable as he was, if not better: Jefferson, Madison, men of great and deep counsel; Franklin, a genius of Heaven and earth. All these and many others, no matter how great they were, or how numerous, were as one in the service of the cause, were rivals in obedience. Bolívar had to tame his lieutenants, to fight and to conquer his own fellow citizens, to fight one thousand elements conspiring against him and against independence, at the same time that he fought the Spanish legions and conquered them or was conquered by them. Washington presents himself to the admiration of the world, more venerable and majestic, and Bolívar, higher and brighter. Washington established a republic which later became one of the greatest countries on earth; Bolívar founded also a great country but, less happy than his elder brother, saw it crumble down; and though he did not see his work destroyed, he saw it disfigured and diminished. The successors of Washington, great citizens, philosophers and

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

statesmen, never dreamed of tearing up the sacred mantle of their mother in order to cover their scars with rags of purple; Bolívar's companions, all of them, stabbed Colombia in order to take for themselves the greatest prize. Washington, his work finished, accepted the trivial presents of his fellow citizens; Bolívar refused millions offered by Peru. Washington declined a third presidential term in the United States and, like a patriarch withdrew to live tranquilly in the bosom of private life, enjoying without any mixture of hate the respect of his fellow citizens, venerated by the people and loved by his friends. This singular and happy man had no enemies. Bolívar accepted the tempting command that came to harass his spirit for the third time, and this time from an impure source, and he died rejected, persecuted, insulted by many of his contemporaries. Death has erased this small blemish and we see only the light which surrounds the greatest of South Americans. Washington and Bolívar were august men, the glory of the New World.

Both Washington and Bolívar were lovers of liberty and intensely patriotic, but Bolívar was more ambitious. Had he retired to private life, as did Washington, how much of anguish of soul and disappointment of spirit, might he not have avoided, says one of his most recent biographers (Cornelio Hispano).

Bolívar was not an educated, not a trained, soldier, like San Martín; and his crossing the Andes with an army was perhaps a smaller achievement than the same feat performed by the latter, for whom the difference in latitude and season involved severer climatic conditions, hence greater hardships; but both of these generals may be said to have rivalled Bonaparte's passage of the Alps since, unlike him, they followed no paved military roads, but only steep and tortuous mountain paths. The biting *páramos* of the Andes, even in equatorial

BOLÍVAR

regions, are perhaps comparable to the snow and ice of the Alps, the altitude is greater and the change from the sweltering heat of tropical lowlands to the cold of the elevated plateaus, or the reverse, is more dangerous. Only those who have campaigned in the torrid zone can properly appreciate these facts. Although winterless, as we understand the term, Bolívar experienced many Valley Forges and, bad as were Washington's resources, Bolívar's were worse. He created armies, armaments, munitions, provisions, transportation, out of nothing or, at least, where apparently none had existed before. If not pre-eminently great, he was surely pre-eminently remarkable. Nothing discouraged him, on the contrary obstacles seemed but to enthuse, even to exhilarate him. San Martín said of him: "His feats of arms entitle him to be considered the most extraordinary character that South America has produced; his is a constancy to which difficulties only add strength." He was absolutely tireless. Henri Rochefort said of José Martí, the Cuban patriot, whom he called the Antillian Mazzini, that he was "an organizer of the first order, writer, counsellor, indefatigable conspirator." Bolívar was all of these. He had what Mazzini himself calls "the genius of action," to a wonderful degree. Eloquent, ambitious, bold, tenacious, somewhat unscrupulous or, at any rate, believing that the end justifies the means, he was an ideal Revolutionist. Had he possessed no other virtues, these qualities would have sufficed to make him great. Again, to quote Mazzini: "Discouragement is but disenchanting egotism." Perhaps this partially explains the marvellous activity of Bolívar. He was never discouraged and was grandly egotistic. He believed in himself and never lost confidence in his ultimate triumph.

Bolívar was accused of aspiring to a crown, but so was Washington.² Indeed, it was offered to Bolívar and the best final proof of his republicanism is that he might have been

² Professor Robertson says: "To North American readers, who are acquainted with the proposals of Colonel Nicola to crown General Washington king, the projects of Bolívar and his contemporaries will not seem altogether fanciful. Animated by a somewhat different spirit from that of George Washington, Simón de Bolívar coquetted with the monarchists but refrained from placing the tiara upon his own head."

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

king, yet was not. Perhaps nothing worse was ever said of Bolívar than was printed in our own press against Washington, whose enemies even accused him of malfeasance in office. Although of noble Spanish blood, as has been said, Bolívar ignored his titles, even dropping the aristocratic “de.” He democratized and impoverished himself by freeing his slaves, and this in 1810; and after controlling the treasuries of five republics during the better part of twenty years, he died in poverty. He was, however, extremely fond of the title of “Liberator.” Our own Senate, it may be recalled, proposed that of “His High Mightiness, the President of the United States and Defender of its Liberties,” for Washington which, it was understood, he approved; but the House of Representatives failed to concur. “The Father of his Country” did not object, however, to having his wife called “Lady Washington,” and is said to have been the only one of our Presidents who never shook hands at levees.

Morally, and physically as will be seen, Bolívar was the antithesis of Washington — “a gigantic man, 6 feet, 3 inches tall and broad in proportion;” and it is related that the latter “had ever an eye for a fine woman,” in which respect they were not dissimilar. Of the three generals, only San Martín had received a military education, but he retired before the indefatigable energy and the boundless ambition of the fiery Venezuelan. Mitre says: “Bolívar was more a soldier by instinct than by education, but he knew that results are only to be obtained by method and discipline.” And further: “Bolívar learned from San Martín and, learning these lessons, he grew from a mere warrior to be a great captain; without the science and mathematical precision of San Martín, but with greater boldness and a larger crop of laurels.” His invasion of Venezuela in 1813 was almost a copy of Monteverde’s campaign of the preceding year, but he beat that astute yet ordinary sailor, at his own game. Again, Mitre says: “Bolívar showed that though he had no military education, he possessed the talents of a great revolutionary leader and the inspiration of genius. At one step he gained a place

BOLÍVAR

among the celebrated captains of his time. He formed his plans quickly and executed them with daring resolution, while he lost no time in securing the fruits of his victory. With 600 men in 90 days, he fought six battles, defeated and dispersed 4,500 men, captured fifty guns and three deposits of war material, reconquered the whole of western Venezuela from the Cordillera to the sea and redeemed the Republic. Never, with such small means, was so much accomplished, over so vast an extent of country, in so short a time.

“After Washington, San Martín and Bolívar are the only two men of the New World whose names figure in the catalogue of the heroes of humanity at large. They were greater as liberators than as men of thought, but the influence of the deeds accomplished by them yet lives and works in their posterity. . . . San Martín acted more from calculation than from inspiration; Bolívar more from instinct than method, yet both were necessary, each in his own place.”

However, it should be borne in mind that Mitre was a compatriot, if not strictly a countryman, of San Martín.

With respect to duration, distance and area, our own Revolution did not compare with the War of Independence in South America. From Lexington to Yorktown there elapsed about six years; while from Coro in 1810 to the surrender of Callao in 1826, there were nearly sixteen years, with not much difference in the size of the armies engaged, but many more combats, if not battles, in the southern hemisphere, where there were recorded approximately 467 engagements. Again, from Boston to Savannah there are less than 1,000 miles by sea and not many more over a level and beautiful country, crossed, even at the time of our Revolution, by cart roads; but from Angostura to Potosí, as the armies marched, it is at least 3,000 miles, intersected by three cordilleras of the highest and most rugged mountains in America and provided with little more than zig-zag trails for pack animals, then, and even today. Over these Bolívar passed on horseback many times, but his last, long and meteoric ride to and from the Argentine frontier to eastern Venezuela, perhaps 5,000 miles by the



MAP TO FOLLOW BOLÍVAR'S CAMPAIGNS AND LONGEST RIDES FROM 1819

The boundary lines of Colombia are taken from Codazzi's Atlas, 1821-1823. The other boundaries are taken from Rand McNally's Atlas, 1919

SCALE
 Statute Miles 189-1 inch
 0 25 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400

Note From Sherwell's Bolívar

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

paths he followed and interrupted only by the short voyage from Callao to Guayaquil, is the most remarkable in the annals of horsemanship. Almost immediately he retraced his steps halfway, to Guayaquil, and returned to Bogotá. This was more difficult than it would be to ride from Vladivostock to the Hook of Holland. The marches of his army exceeded in the aggregate those of Alexander to India and of Hannibal through Africa, Spain and France to Italy, as well as of Jenghis and Kublai Khan and Tamerlane, across Asia. As for the theatre of war, Massachusetts and Georgia, with the nine intervening states, give an area of 258,222 square miles; while Venezuela, New Granada (to-day Colombia), Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, represent an area of 2,620,352 square miles, nearly equal to the entire continental area of the United States, outside of Alaska. Professor Robertson says: "The territory which became free as the result of the wars between Spain and her colonies, was about seven times as large as the territory conceded to the United States by the treaty of 1783."

Writing upon this subject, Baralt and Díaz say: "Immense distances, generally without roads or bridges; impassable deserts; a scant and ignorant population, partly hostile; ambitious companions whom misfortune attracted to his side as friends but who became enemies at the first sign of triumph or hope; powerful, implacable and active opponents with every resource, exterior and interior: for him, destitution. Examine the annals of revolutions; see those of Switzerland, Holland, United States, France, in which everything favored the new cause against the old. Meditate carefully the task of Bolívar and it must be confessed that never did an equal sum of embarrassments oppose any human project; that never did a popular leader possess fewer means of defense and of safety, and finally, that never was such constancy exhibited in a longer succession of victories and defeats." Taine says: "Napoleon conquered 70,000 square leagues"; "Bolívar," says Cornelio Hispano, "liberated 1,500,000!"

Bolívar had to *create* love of liberty — a desire for independence; and whereas Washington had but one Benedict

Arnold, Bolívar had a score: not all of them traitors to their country, it is true, but disloyal to such a degree to its liberator, that they constantly endangered its independence.

General Mitre, although not always unprejudiced or consistent, writes most entertainingly, if not understandingly, of Bolívar. He says:

All the works of Bolívar, both political and military, are so impressed with his own character that it has been necessary to invent special words to express them. His system of warfare was a mixture of the warlike propensities of the indigenous races, with European discipline. With little knowledge of tactics and less of strategy, he gained his victories by audacity, by impetuosity in attack and unfailing constancy in defeat, somewhat after the style of Charles XII. His power was symbolized by a new title, involving a permanent dictatorship: he called himself the *Liberator*. His policy was neither democratic, nor aristocratic; the historian has to invent a new word to express it: *Monocratic*. For the new republic formed in Upper Peru, he invented a new name, derived from his own, Bolivia.

The constitution drawn up by him for the new state is an amalgam of ancient traditions with modern practice. It has something of the Greek Republics, something of Roman Caesarism, something of the English monarchy, something of the Consular constitution of Napoleon. The base of the system is a President, nominated for life, with power to name his successor and elected by a representative assembly, appointed by an electoral body. The legislative power was shared by three chambers, one of which exercised a species of censorship over the other two, like to that of the Council of the Areopagus of Athens.

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

With some slight modifications, this constitution was adopted by the constituent assembly and Sucre was elected President, with power subordinate to that of the Liberator when he was present.

But Bolivia was too small a sphere of action for Bolívar. For the realization of his plan, it was necessary to impose the same constitution upon Peru and Colombia, binding the three states together by one supreme authority vested in his own person as Liberator.

Colombia had been an efficient war machine in the hands of Bolívar, by which the independence of South America was secured, but was an anachronism as a nation. The interests of the different sections were antagonistic and the military organization given to the country only strengthened the germs of disorder. Venezuela and New Granada were geographically marked out as independent nations. Quito (Ecuador), from historical antecedents, aspired to autonomy.

When his own bayonets turned against him, he went so far as to despair of the republican system altogether and sought the protection of a foreign king for the last fragment of his shattered monarchy.

Bolívar appealed to the Ministers of Great Britain and the United States to interfere to prevent anarchy. He then proposed to Colonel Campbell, British Chargé d'Affaires, to appoint a prince of a reigning family in Europe, King of Colombia. Many of the chief dignitaries of Bogotá accepted the idea and an understanding was arrived at with Campbell and Bresson (the French Minister), but after three months, Bolívar changed his mind — said it was impossible and that Venezuela must be separated from Colombia.

When Bolívar convened the promised constituent assembly on the 30th of June 1830, he said: "I

BOLÍVAR

blush to say that independence is the only benefit we have gained, but at the sacrifice of everything else.”

According to Gervinus, the Liberator now tore off the mask and showed the vulgar ambition that lay beneath; yet he was not a tyrant; he was simply a despot driving he knew not whither.

Young men talked of the dagger of Brutus but the attempted assassination failed—the principal conspirators died on the gibbet. Santander, who had joined the conspiracy but had opposed the assassination, was sent into exile.

However, everybody was tired of Bolívar.

Writing of the battle of Ayacucho, Mitre says:

Bolívar was now at the apogee of his glorious career; his name was famous throughout the world; South America acclaimed him as her Liberator. The exaggerated honors paid to him were but clouds of impure incense that could not obscure his real heroism and which a breath of common sense would have dispersed. He had the power to solve the political problems in a manner that would have made him the equal of Washington, but it was not in his nature to do so. He lacked the moral strength to keep a cool head at the height to which he had attained. As was the case with San Martín, the apogee of his career, marked the commencement of his downfall.

The revolution in South America was twofold in its action, internal and external. One force was directed against the common enemy, the other against the elementary organism of the people themselves. The spirit of South America was genuinely democratic, so it could not be other than republican. The first development was into anarchy, from which was to arise a new national life. To check this anarchy, monarchical projects were hatched in the United

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

Provinces which resulted in their dissolution. The idea of establishing a monarchy in Peru, destroyed the moral power of San Martín. The Empire of Mexico furnished proof enough of the error of this plan. The prolonged dictatorship of O'Higgins in Chile, brought him to the ground. The oligarchical theories of Bolívar, which tended to monarchy, were rejected by congresses of republicans, and brought about his fall. The Liberators, with all their power and all their glory, could not turn the revolution from its natural sphere of action. The day they ceased to go with it, they were cast aside as obstacles to the march of progress.

Bolívar's several flights from impending danger have sometimes been criticised as displaying a lack of physical courage, but a general, and especially the commander-in-chief, is not expected to cross the bridge in advance of his troops, flagstaff in hand, as did Bonaparte at Lodi. Writing of the action of La Puerta, Mitre says: "Bolívar lost in this battle even his private papers and appears to have lost his head as well. He exposed himself in the most reckless manner wherever the fighting was hottest, seeming to count death as some expiation of the errors he had committed."

Of Bolívar's attack on Ceballos at Araure, Mitre adds: "One patriot battalion, advancing incautiously, was cut to pieces but Bolívar, nothing daunted, brought up the remainder of his troops and ordered a charge with the bayonet, which was his favorite manoeuvre. He was no tactician; he hurled his men in masses upon the enemy and trusted to their valor."

And of Bolívar's decree of extermination:

It utterly failed to accomplish its purpose — that of stamping out the spirit of reaction — and only served as a pretext for the perpetration of

BOLÍVAR

equally brutal atrocities by the Royalists. In later years Bolívar spoke of this decree as "a delirium."

Much must be forgiven Bolívar for the good he accomplished. He did not wish to be a tyrant, but he did not understand that a people can not be at once half free and half enslaved. His plan of a monarchy was a reaction against the revolution and against the independence of the new republics; it was a return to another colonial system, even worse than the one that had been destroyed. The paternal government of a distant and hereditary monarch was a lesser evil than would be a government dependent upon the life of one man. A crown had been offered to Bolívar; he had rejected the idea with scorn, but now he demanded greater power than that of any king.

Engaged in these dreams, Bolívar had led for two years in Lima the voluptuous life of an Eastern prince, when news reached him from his native land, which apparently he had quite forgotten. The Venezuelans, with Páez at their head, had risen against the general government and had demanded federal autonomy. In New Granada, the Liberal press vigorously attacked the principles of monarchy. On the 26th of September 1826, he went to Guayaquil and resumed his absolute powers as President of the Republic of Colombia. From there he went on to Bogotá, and was met by a deputation of the people and of the authorities, who assured him that he could count upon their obedience under the Constitution and under the laws which he had sworn to respect and uphold. He answered angrily that he expected a welcome, and not counsel. Thence he went to Venezuela and arranged with Páez to reform the Constitution of Cúcuta, which in 1821 he had sworn should remain unaltered for ten years.

As illustrating the servility of the Peruvians,

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

when Bolívar threatened to leave them to their fate, one high dignitary actually besought him to put his foot on his neck in order that he might have the honor of bearing the weight of the greatest man of the age.

Proctor, an English traveler, thus describes Bolívar: “He is very thin, but his whole person shows great activity. The fire of his black eyes draws attention at once. Never did the exterior give a more exact idea of the man himself. Egoism, determination, activity, intrigue and a persevering spirit, are clearly expressed in his bearing and in every movement of his body.”

When Bolívar joined Páez on the Apure, he was attired in a green spencer with red facings and three rows of buttons; while on his head was a dragoon's helmet, which had been sent him as a sample. He wore *llanero* gaiters and carried in his hand a short lance with black pennon adorned with skull and cross-bones, under which might be read the inscription: “Liberty or Death!” A picturesque figure — the Liberator, upon this occasion, but no less so were his troopers. Colonel Hippiusley, an Englishman who fought in Venezuela, thus describes this quaint and motley cavalry:

Cedeño's *llaneros* were composed of all sorts and sizes, from the man to the boy, from the horse to the mule. Some of the troops with saddles, many of them without. Some with bits, leather head-stalls and reins; others with rope lines, with a bight of the rope placed over the tongue of the horse as a bit; some with old pistols hung over the saddle bow (I can not call it the pommel), either encased in tiger skin or ox-hide holster pipes, or hanging by a thong of hide, one on each side. As for the troopers themselves, they were from thirteen to thirty-six or forty years of age; black, brown, sallow complexions, according to the castes of their parents. The adults

wore coarse large mustachios, and short hair, either wooly or black, according to climate or descent. They had a ferocious, savage look, which the regimentals they appeared in, did not tend to harmonize or improve. Mounted on miserable, half-starved, jaded beasts, whether horse or mule; some without trousers, small-clothes or any covering except a bandage of blue cloth or cotton round their loins, the end of which passing between their legs, fastened to the girth, round the waist; others with trousers, but without stockings, boots, or shoes, and a spur generally gracing the heel on one side; and some wearing a kind of sandal made of hide, with the hair side outward. In their left hand they hold their reins, and in the right a pole from eight to ten feet in length, with an iron spear, very sharp at the point and sides, and rather flat; in shape like our sergeant's halberd. A blanket of about a yard square, with a hole, or rather a slit cut in the centre, through which the wearer thrusts his head, falls on each side of his shoulders, thus covering his body, and leaving his bare arms at perfect liberty to manage his horse or mule, and lance. Sometimes an old musket, the barrel of which has been shortened twelve inches, forms his carbine; and with a large sabre, or hanger, or cut and thrust, or even a small sword, hanging by a leathern thong to his side, together with a flat hat, a tiger skin or hide cap on his head, with a white feather, or even a white rag, stuck into it. These troopers of the legion of Cedeño appeared complete and ready for action. My picture is a perfect transcript from the original, and by no means too highly colored.

And yet with such troopers, especially when led by the redoubtable Páez, the *León del Apure*, the Spanish veterans

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

who had fought against Napoleon, under Morillo, one of the best of their generals and of the school of Wellington, were defeated!

Ducoudrey-Holstein says:

Their manner of warfare is very much like that of the Cossacks. Like them, they attack their enemy with loud cries, and never in ranged files; they fly to form and attack again. They surround their enemy on all sides, and never suffer him to keep together. They follow an isolated corps, fall on its rear, and kill their prisoners without mercy. They plunder the wounded and fatigued. In fine, in their warfare, they are complete savages.

This description fits very well the tactics of the mounted Indians of North America, especially the Sioux.

Sherwell says:

The most admirable moral quality of Bolívar was his constancy. It rose above everything.

His energy was marvelous to carry him through the difficulties he had to encounter. In defeat he had, quoting Rodó "the virtue of Antheus as no other hero had to such a degree; a singular virtue of growing to more gigantic proportions when the fall had been deepest and hardest; he had something like a strengthening power to assimilate the sap of adversity and of discredit, not through the lessons of experience, but through the unconscious and immediate reaction of a nature which thus fulfils its own laws. His personality as a warrior has in this characteristic the seal which individualizes it, as was aptly said in a few words by his adversary, the Spanish general, Morillo: 'More fearful vanquished than victor'."

BOLÍVAR

General Daniel O'Leary, his friend and close companion, says :

Bolívar had a high but not very wide forehead, wrinkled from an early age — the mark of a thinker. Heavy and well-formed eyebrows. Black eyes, alert and penetrating. Nose long and perfect, with a small wen which preoccupied him greatly until it disappeared in 1820, leaving an almost imperceptible scar. Prominent cheek bones, but the cheeks hollow, after 1818, when I knew him. Mouth ugly and the lips rather thick. The distance from the nose to the mouth was notable. Teeth white, uniform and beautiful; he took excellent care of them. His ears were large, but well placed. Hair black, fine and curly. He wore it long from 1818 to 1821, when it began to turn gray and he wore it short. The side-whiskers and mustache were reddish; he shaved them off for the first time at Potosí, in 1825. Height, five feet, six inches, English measure. Chest narrow, body slender, especially the legs. Skin dark and somewhat rough. Hands and feet small and well-formed — a woman might have envied them. His aspect, when in a good humor, was peaceful, but terrible, when irritated; the change was incredible.

Bolívar always had a good appetite but he knew how to endure hunger better than anyone. Although highly appreciative and a connoisseur of a good *cuisine*, he ate with pleasure the simple and primitive dishes of the *llanero* or Indian. He was very temperate; his favorite wines were claret and champagne; but not even in the epoch that he drank most, did I ever see him take more than four glasses of the former or two of the latter. When he served himself, he filled the glasses of the guests seated at his side.

He took much exercise. I have never known

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

anybody that endured fatigue like him. After a journey which would have sufficed to exhaust the most robust, I have seen him work five or six hours or dancee as long, *with that passion he had for a ball.*³ He slept five or six hours out of the twenty-four, in a hammock or a cot, upon a hide or wrapped in his cape flat on the ground, as well as he might have slept upon soft feathers. His slumber was so light and his awakening so prompt, that to nothing else did he owe the salvation of his life at Rincón de los Toros. In excellence of sight and of hearing, he was not surpassed even by the *llaneros*. He was skilful in the use of arms and a most expert and bold rider, although he had not a very good seat. Passionately fond of horses, he personally inspected their care and on campaign or in the city, visited the stable several times daily. Very neat in his dress and cleanly to an extreme, he bathed daily and in hot climates as often as three times a day. He preferred life in the country to that in the city. He detested drunkards and gamblers but, even more, tattlers and liars. He was so loyal and noble that he never permitted evil to be spoken of others in his presence. Friendship with him was a sacred word. Confiding as no one else, if he discovered deception or falsehood, he pardoned nobody that had abused his confidence.

His generosity savored of prodigality. He not only gave away all he had of his own, but went in debt to serve others. And while wasteful of his own,

³ There is a New England tradition that when Commodore Isaac Hull, U. S. Navy, was in command of an American squadron in the port of Callao, Peru, he gave a series of balls and receptions on board his flagship which were attended by General Bolívar, who there met and became enamoured of an American girl, Jeanette Hart of Saybrook, Conn., the sister of Mrs. Hull. Miss Hart is said to have reciprocated the Liberator's affection, but apparently this *affaire du cœur* ended like so many others, when the parties separated. However this may be, some 40 years later, when Miss Hart died a spinster, there was found carefully preserved in her room a striking miniature of Bolívar, painted on ivory and delicately colored, with his name and the year 1824 upon it. The miniature is undoubtedly genuine. It will be found reproduced in Vol. X, of *The Connecticut Magazine*, 1906.

BOLÍVAR

he was almost mean with public funds. He might sometimes listen to praise, but he was indignant at flattery.

He talked much and well. He possessed the rare gift of conversation and liked to relate anecdotes of his past life. His style was elegant and correct; his speeches and writings are full of bold and original images. In his dispatches, clearness and precision shine on a par with splendor of style. In the orders he communicated to his lieutenants, he did not forget the most trivial details: everything was calculated, everything was foreseen.

He had the gift of persuasion and knew how to inspire confidence in others. To these qualities were due, in great measure, the astonishing triumphs he obtained in circumstances so difficult that another man without these talents and without his temper of soul, would have given up. A creative genius of the first order, he extracted resources from nothing. Always great, he was greatest in adversity. "Bolívar defeated, was more terrible than when victorious," said his enemies. Reverses made him superior to himself.

In the dispatch of civil business, which he never neglected, not even when campaigning, he was as expert and ready as in the other acts of his life. Swinging in a hammock or walking to and fro, generally with long strides (for his natural restlessness did not admit of repose), his arms folded or grasping the collar of his coat with the left hand, the index finger of the right upon the upper lip, he listened to his secretaries read the official correspondence and the innumerable memorials and personal letters that were addressed to him. As his secretary read, Bolívar dictated his decisions and these orders were generally irrevocable. Presently

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

he dictated to as many as three amanuenses at a time, his official despatches and letters, for he never failed to answer every one that he received, however humble the writer. If interrupted while dictating, I never heard him make a mistake or hesitate in resuming a sentence. When he did not know the correspondent or petitioner, he asked one or two questions. This happened very rarely because, endowed with a prodigious memory, he knew not only all the officers of the army but all the employees and notable people in the country.

A great judge of men and of the human heart, he knew at first sight for what each one would serve and very rarely made a mistake.

He read a great deal, notwithstanding the little time that his occupations left him for reading. He wrote very little himself, only to the members of his family or to some intimate friends; but before signing what he had dictated, he nearly always added a line or two in his own handwriting.

He spoke and wrote French correctly and Italian with considerable fluency. Of English he knew very little, scarcely sufficient to comprehend what he read. The Greek and Latin classics which he had studied, he knew profoundly and he always read them with pleasure in French translations.

The attacks directed against him by newspapers greatly impressed him, and calumny irritated him beyond measure. A public man for more than twenty years, his sensitive nature could never conquer this susceptibility, little known among men in eminent places. He had a high opinion of the sublime mission of the press to regulate public morality and curb passions. To the good use made of this civilizing agent in England, he attributed the greatness and rectitude of the English people.

BOLÍVAR

Mitre gives this description :

Bolívar was at that time twenty-seven years of age. There was nothing heroic in his appearance; he was short in stature, thin and narrow-chested, but his rugged, irregular features gave a look of energy to his sallow countenance. His hair was black and curly; his high, narrow forehead was deeply seamed with horizontal lines; he had thick, sensual lips and beautiful teeth; his large black eyes were sunk deep in their sockets and sparkled with an unsteady light, indicative of his character. He looked like one possessed of a latent fire, a man of feverish activity combined with duplicity and arrogance; his profile was that of a deep thinker. Altogether his aspect was that of a man of great ideas, but of little judgment: his deeds do not belie that impression.

Even the ubiquitous Mr. Carlyle wrote as follows:

And Bolívar, "the Washington of Colombia," Liberator Bolívar, he too is gone without his fame. Melancholy lithographs represent to us a long-faced, square-browed man; of stern, considerate, consciously considerate aspect, mildly aquiline form of nose; with terrible angularity of jaw; and dark, deep eyes, somewhat too close together (for which latter circumstance we earnestly hope the lithograph is alone to blame): this is Liberator Bolívar—a man of much hard fighting, hard riding, of manifold achievements, distresses, heroisms and histrionisms in this world; a many-counseled, much-enduring man; now dead and gone;—of whom, except that melancholy lithograph, the cultivated European public knows as good as nothing. Yet did he not fly hither and thither, often in the most

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

desperate manner, with wild cavalry clad in blankets, with war of Liberation “to the death”? Clad in blankets, *ponchos* the South Americans call them: it is a square blanket, with a short slit in the centre, which you draw over your head, and so leave hanging; many a liberative cavalier has ridden, in those hot climates, without further dress at all; and fought handsomely too, wrapping the blanket round his arm, when it came to the charge.

With such cavalry, and artillery and infantry to match, Bolívar has ridden, fighting all the way, through torrid deserts, hot mud swamps, through ice-chasms beyond the curve of perpetual frost — more miles than Ulysses ever sailed: let the coming Homers take note of it. He has marched over the Andes, more than once, a feat analagous to Hannibal’s, and seemed to think little of it. Often beaten, banished from the firm land, he always returned again, truculently fought again. He gained in the Cumaná regions the “immortal victory” of Carabobo and several others; under him was gained the finishing “immortal victory” of Ayacucho in Peru, where old Spain, for the last time, burnt powder in those latitudes, and then fled without return. He was Dictator, Liberator, almost Emperor, if he had lived. Some three times over did he, in solemn Colombian parliament, lay down his Dictatorship with Washingtonian eloquence; and as often, on pressing request, take it up again, being a man indispensable. Thrice, or at least twice, did he, in different places, painfully construct a Free Constitution; consisting of two chambers, and a supreme governor for life with liberty to name his successor, the reasonablest democratic constitution you could well construct; and twice, or at least once, did the people, on trial, declare it disagreeable. He was, of old, well known in Paris; in the dissolute, philosophical—

BOLÍVAR

political and other circles there. He has shone in many a gay Parisian *soirée*, this Simón Bolívar; and in his later years, in autumn 1825, he rode triumphant into Potosí and the fabulous Inca cities, with clouds of feathered Indians somersaulting and war-whooping round him; and as the famed *Cerro*, metaliferous mountain, came in sight, the bells all pealed out, and there was a thunder of artillery, says General Miller! If this is not a Ulysses, Polytlas and Polymetis, a much-enduring and much-counseled man, where was there one? Truly a Ulysses whose history were worth its ink — had the Homer that could do it made his appearance!

Doctor José María Samper, although in early life not affiliated with the political party of the Liberator, always wrote most entertainingly of him. He says:

If the character, the acts and the glory of Washington attracted his (Bolívar's) attention, as did the men and events of the French Revolution, perhaps he was more impressed by the attitude and conduct of Napoleon Bonaparte. In the former, he saw a great patriot and liberator, but not a man of genius; in the latter, he did not find the virtue of patriotism nor the sympathetic nobility of a liberator, but without doubt this model fascinated him and tempted him, as much for his military genius as for his formidable political audacity and the stamp of the grandeur of his conceptions. Perhaps Bolívar wished to make his ideal a composite of Washington and Napoleon; and as those mortals could not be cast in the same mould, he lived vascillating between the two, participating of both, endeavoring to imitate them simultaneously sometimes, at others trying to be original or in his own sphere; and from this fact proceeded the mixture of sublime greatness and of temporary weakness, of dis-

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

interested patriotism and ardent but always lofty ambition, manifested in his acts.

Bolívar, before and above everything, was a great poet, a man of action and of command, and an eminent orator. The imagination was exalted above calculation in his mind, and in all his conceptions the *lofty* predominated the *solid* and durable, the *sublime* prevailed over the simply *attainable*. His poems were written in sanguinary but grandiose prose, with the point of his sword, upon battlefields, high tablelands and the summits of a continent, entitled: *San Mateo, Bárbula, Araure, Carabobo, Boyacá, Bomboná* and *Junín!*

His language was rapid and incisive, so that in conversation (in which he was frequently indiscreet), he was always animated, brief and quick, sometimes sharp, as in his discourses and proclamations; and if in these efforts he appeared grandiloquent, dazzling and always original and elevated, in correspondence with friends or with high personages, while he reasoned and plainly showed his historical knowledge, he was more peremptory than persuasive, more concise than pleasing, on which account he ordinarily wrote laconic letters, substantial, with few or no details. His reply in conversation was prompt, often brusque and sometimes even hard and pointed; and not infrequently in delicate circumstances, he replied to compliments, to interested petitions or flattering words, by sharp speeches, very opportune but rude and even terribly epigrammatic: not the repartees of genius seeking to please, but of an impatient will that wished to make itself felt and obeyed.

Bolívar was a man of very little less than medium stature, but not without elegance in his youth; slender and not vigorously muscled; of essentially nervous temperament and quite bilious; uneasy in all his movements, indicative of a character very

BOLÍVAR

impressionable, impatient and impetuous. When young, he had been very fair (that solid white of the Venezuelan of pure Spanish race), but finally his complexion was quite dark, tanned by the sun and the storms of fifteen years of campaigns and journeys; and he walked rather rapidly than measured, frequently crossing his arms and assuming very dignified attitudes, especially in solemn moments.

The forehead broad, prominent, thoughtful, high in the upper region, which is the seat of imagination; sunken in the temples and with wide and deep depressions in the central part of the cranium; the eyebrows delicate and strongly arched; the eyes lively, resplendent in their profound sockets, dominating and penetrating as darts; the cheek bones high, in harmony with the chin and strongly outlined jaws; the nose straight and wholly Greek in profile; the mouth perfect, nervous, expressive, with severe lines; the neck slender and always erect:—everything in the head and face of the Liberator denoted elevated thought, resolution, strong will and the characters appropriate for a soul born to struggles, dangers and command. . . . Some writers have said that Bolívar had an aquiline nose, assuredly not giving this objective its true acceptation, which is that of arched, like the beak of an eagle. Far from this, the Liberator's profile was pure Biscayan and Grecian. . . . For many years he was entirely shaved, whether from habit or because his beard was neither handsome nor abundant. His hair was wavy and he always wore it curled over the top of the forehead, with the locks upon the temples combed to the front.

As is apparent in all his harangues and proclamations, the strokes most characteristic of his military and political eloquence were the grandeur of his images, the sobriety of his style and the forcefulness of his thoughts.

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

Rarely, very rarely, was Bolívar a practical politician or veritable statesman, although he had extraordinary talent as an administrator; but at no time until the beginning or middle of 1829, did he cease to be a grandly inspired man and a remarkable warrior. Some of his enemies or competitors, even denied to Bolívar the quality of soldierly courage, either because he was never seen fighting body to body in line of battle or because, in reality, he only attained three grades in the army: that of colonel, given him at Caracas in 1810, at the beginning of his campaigns, and those of brigadier and general, which were conceded him in 1813 and 1814 by the Congress of New Granada. The command-in-chief was the result of circumstances. In reality, Bolívar was born for command, began his military career commanding and never had occasion to personally exhibit the intrepidity of which he was capable, although his system of combat was always one of inspiration and audacity. But was personal courage essential to a man who had made himself supreme through the manifestation of genius — who all his life gave notorious proofs of serenity in combat, of unbroken firmness in reverses, of valor in overcoming danger, and of a marvellous talent to command armies and to conduct them with absolute confidence to victory? The soldierly courage of Bolívar is indisputable.

Doctor Vergara, a member of the Council of State which proposed a monarchy to Bolívar, said: "All that I assert is proved by credible documents in my possession; and I affirm that the responsibility was entirely mine and my colleagues'— Restrepo's, Tanco's and Urdaneta's, without any culpability upon the part of the Liberator, if there was culpability, except in delaying for several months the official disapproval of the plan, which was repugnant to his sentiments."

BOLÍVAR

But if Bolívar, although Liberator, was very far from being *liberal* and entirely *democratic*; if, in a great measure, his republicanism was reduced to the name, the forms and some vague but grandiose conceptions; if his ideas were notoriously inclined to the preponderance of the military regimen and a rigorous centralization; if sometimes he let it be known that he was not averse to life presidencies and hereditary senates — is there any reason for affirming that he seriously thought of or initiated the movement for the creation of the *Empire of the Andes* and of encircling his brow with an emperor's crown, thus committing treason against the glorious cause that he, himself, had headed? Without hesitation, I opine, as the result of an attentive study of the life of the Liberator, that he never took the initiative in such an enterprise, nor upon his part made any effort to support it, but on the contrary, opposed it with an invincible resistance.

Bolívar (and this mistake was not one of his will, but of his education, his mind and difficult position,) did not take into account, clearly and completely, what the logic of the Revolution demanded; nor did he perceive the great difference that existed between war and politics, between the art of fighting for emancipation and that of so governing as to conduct men and interests to prosperity.

Bolívar was a military leader above everything else, not much of a statesman, and a philosopher only in his moments of idleness.

Bolívar showed in all his letters of any importance, not only that he was a writer of the first order, but a veritable *littérateur*. His diction is always concise and clear, luminous without flashes of lightning, and he goes straight to the subject. The style is even, never incorrect or vulgar; in everything there is warmth, thought, life, without a phrase sought for;

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

and one feels that an inspired man is speaking, without noting any pretension to erudition or historical knowledge. In general, Bolívar's letters were models of political epistolary style, although they were always written in his own hand or dictated; and as his style was sober, vigorous and expressive, so his soul showed itself sincere and generous, magnanimous and honest.

One trait very significant in Bolívar, attracts my attention as a proof of his sincerity: his manifest aversion to anything partaking of phantasmagoria, comedy, pomp. . . . Bolívar never indulged in this vulgarity, because he never thought of deceiving the people nor was his patriotism calculated or made for show. In this respect, if he imitated any model, it was rather that of the simplicity of Washington; and having been the supreme chief of four republics, he never insulted the people with the theatrical representations of a pompous government nor with any sort of ostentation.

I have only found Bolívar weak on two occasions: upon his return from Lima to Bogotá, in 1826, and in his conduct with respect to the insurrection of Páez, at the close of the same year and the beginning of 1827 — a weakness that was very harmful to Colombia. I have not found him small except upon the night of the 25th of September 1828, and during the following two weeks. In all his other political and military acts, he appears to my eyes always great and sometimes — immense!

Doctor Samper says that the Liberator escaped from eleven attempts at assassination and continues:

I profoundly deplore having, nevertheless (since I endeavor to judge the man with a righteous criterion), to show Bolívar weak or small in some,

although very rare, circumstances. Lima, the court-like city *par excellence*, among all those of Spanish-America, was a Capua for the Liberator. The incense of the adulation that asphyxiated him; the delicious prestige of the delights with which, in that voluptuous society, men and women surrounded and showered upon him; and the resentment he felt, for one thing, because of the constant recalls made by Colombia and, for another, because of the popularity, at his own expense, attained by Santander, his dissimulated rival, in New Granada:—all this altered the mood of the great hero, made him more than ever irritable and caused him to utter impatient harangues that in Guayaquil and Quito, Popayán and Bogotá, made him appear imperious, as if desirous of breaking through the curb of legality.

And yet the weaknesses that I have indicated should have some excuse with posterity, considering the character and position of Bolívar. Men of great moral stature and much vigor of mind, fail when they miss the field in which their personal equation and destiny have struggled and triumphed.

Bolívar was exalted by his friends and adherents as a great patriot and classified by his enemies as very ambitious. Which of these two conceptions was correct? Both, because, under certain aspects, there were in Bolívar contradictions of character, of situation and of tendency. He had sacrificed in the Revolution a great fortune and a high social position; he had shown in Peru admirable disinterestedness, lavishing upon the capitals and his principal lieutenants the millions of dollars and the precious crowns the people had given him as testimonials of their admiration and gratitude; during all his public life he behaved with decency and absolute purity in the management of the funds at his disposition and,

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

at the end, he found himself in painful want and died very poor.

Bolívar was, without doubt, infinitely patriotic and extremely ambitious; but he was both, in his own way and always with grandeur. . . . In his mind, the idea of country was wholly merged with that of independence, and he did not conceive of the latter as separate or restricted to his own soil, but as embracing all of the New World. . . . His ambition, so to speak, was as great as his patriotism. Did he covet, perhaps, the possession of enormous and exclusive power? Without doubt; but not alone for the vanity of possessing it, and still less to abuse it by oppression or for his personal enjoyment. He desired power, since it was possible and necessary, as an instrument of immense force for the country and as a symbol of unfading glory for himself and for the entire American world.

The character of Bolívar was as impetuous as it was impressionable, it must be admitted, and the habit of struggling against a thousand obstacles and of exercising independent command, made him self-willed. Never or rarely was he gallant with women, nor did he feel attracted by the sweetness of family life or show that tenderness of language or manner which manifests a delicate sensibility. With men he was ordinarily brusque, at times even discourteous; his sayings and repartees were often sharp and offensive; he was much displeased by contradiction; opposition, if it came from men upon whose subordination he counted, irritated him, and he was frequently impatient, especially if his orders were not promptly obeyed.

His rude frankness led him to express himself with excessive and caustic clearness with respect to men whose conduct appeared censurable, and this in-

BOLÍVAR

temperance of language secured him vehement enmities.

It must be admitted that Bolívar had a temperament essentially *dictatorial*; for which reason, if he always felt disposed to *command*, he rarely knew how to *obey*. His moral stature was too heroic to remain at the level of the common herd and his warrior habits did not fit him for the submission of the civilian, who makes the *law* his flag and force.

He was Supreme Chief, or President, or Dictator, during nearly eighteen years of the twenty of his public career.

As an ardent and persuasive orator, no one surpassed Bolívar in the New World, and as such he was superior to all of the great men of his class.

But perhaps the most seductive and sympathetic side of the Liberator was that he showed in revealing, with entire spontaneity, the powerful poetic emotion with which his great soul palpitated. It may be that the poet in him was superior to the soldier, to the politician or the statesman and that his poetical instincts were the secret of the elegance of his writings and of his ardent eloquence as an orator of battles. Bolívar, in all situations, critical or solemn, is a poet, and a great poet; he did not know the rules of metre, never knew how nor attempted to compose a strophe, but his acts are poems.

Everything in the youth and education of Bolívar predisposed him to the lofty inspirations of poesy and everything about his person had the seal of the sculptured and heroic. His figure was one of those born to be moulded in bronze and all the lines of his severe face, illuminated by the internal light diffused in his glance, were in harmony with the statuary that seeks its inspiration in the world of heroes.

His favorite attitudes and the events of his life

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

bear eminently the stamp of poesy. With his martial posture, if mounted, on grand parade or the battle-field, his modeled figure harmonized; if afoot, with the glance raised skyward or cast down, his arms crossed upon his breast or behind his back, it was as if he were presenting the bust for the admiration of a sculptor.

The temperament of the Liberator is ever the same, at bottom, however much it may seem to be modified by changes of climate, of moral situation and the decline of his health after 1826; and nevertheless his ideas are in the most marked contrast in the first and second epochs. The man is still the same: nervous, irritable with contradiction; audacious before danger; full of confidence in his star; ingenuous or frank in speech, often even to rudeness which offends the self-respect of others; dominating, without ceasing to be insinuating and persuasive; brusque in his harangues when some external act provokes his indignation; incapable of guarding rancor with anyone; proud in the disdain with which he regards his rivals or envious ill-wishers; generous to magnanimity; disinterested in everything pertaining to the gifts of fortune and parsimonious in expending the public funds; modest in dress; rigorously abstemious and frugal; affectionate with and fond of women; benevolent with the soldier and with the needy; prompt in resolutions and inclined to take them suddenly, although he always meditated profoundly upon the foundation of things; addicted to great projects and to everything surprising and brilliant; impetuous in attack and prodigiously enduring in defeat, to such a degree that in it he displays a greater fecundity of recourse and activity to sustain the struggle; and so sovereignly a patriot, that even his vast and lofty ambition is always inseparable from patriotic views.

BOLÍVAR

If such was ever the man, notwithstanding a certain melancholy and sadness which, in his later years, characterized his physiognomy, his language and posture, and his writings, what were his ideas in in the two epochs of action, separated by the Constitution which gave form, name and life to Colombia? Two very distinct personages characterized those ideas: first, the revolutionary leader; afterwards, the organizing ruler. The first was radically a destroyer and even a demagogue; the second, essentially a conservative and autocrat. The first always invoked the rights of the people, and in the name of these rights combatted all the elements of order created by the Spanish domination; the second invoked his own glory, the welfare of all America and the principles of legality and stability. If liberty steadied his arm of bold and patriotic leader, order followed his authority as ruler and organizer of five republics.

Everywhere he was seen rousing the multitudes to a general uprising in order to convert them, with the proofs of the struggle, into nations; everywhere he improvised legions and evoked the storm. Defeated in Venezuela, he flew to re-establish the conflict in New Granada; repulsed in New Granada or again in Venezuela, he sailed for the Antilles to organize invading expeditions; liberator in the centre of Colombia, he turned to free the north and the east; victor in Carabobo and later in Boyacá, he set out to initiate the emancipation of the south in Bomboná; and after the triumph of Pichincha, prepared by him but won directly by Sucre, he carried the revolutionary standard as far as the heights of Potosí, glorifying it at Junín, Ayacucho, Desaguadero and Callao.

North Americans have written but little about Bolívar, although seven post towns are named for him in the United

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

States, one each in Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Tennessee and West Virginia, but the name is *mispronounced in all of them!* North Carolina has “Bolivia”.

As has already been related, Henry Clay said of him: “The indefatigable Bolívar, whose extraordinary exertions for the emancipation of his country have, by the unanimous voice of America and Europe, justly entitled him to the illustrious appellation of ‘the Washington of South America.’”

William Spence Robertson calls him “the most formidable military and political giant of Hispanic America” and again, “the greatest personality of the heroic age of South America.”

Daniel Webster, J. H. Perkins and Joseph Story, in the name of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, wrote Bolívar the following:

When we read of the enormous sacrifice of personal fortune, the calmness in difficult situations, the exercise without misuse of a power greater than imperial power, the repeated refusal of dictatorship, the simplicity of your republican habits and the submission to the constitution and law which has so gloriously distinguished the career of your Excellency, we believe that we see the image of our venerated Washington. At the same time that we admire and respect his virtues, we feel moved by the greatest sympathy to pay equal homage to the hero and Liberator of the South.

And Martin Van Buren wrote:

What better example could be presented of human glory than that of the great chieftain who, after having successfully resisted foreign aggression and extinguished domestic commotion, also conquered the weakness to which noble hearts have been subjected at all times.

BOLÍVAR

After quoting from one of the Liberator's discourses, Julian Hawthorne adds: "The Anglo-Saxon is inclined to smile at this sort of rodomontade; but after all, the test of a man is what he *does*, not what he *says*; and Bolívar did enough in all conscience to justify his worst extravagances of speech."

And John J. Rooney: "Wherever liberty is prized or brave deeds in a worthy cause are held dear to the heart of man, there should the name of the great Liberator be honored."

Sherwell says: "Strong resemblance might be found between Bolívar and Lincoln. Both gave freedom to slaves; both fought a real civil war, for we must not forget that most of the Royalists were Americans. Both were men of sorrows. A close examination of Bolívar's pictures and statues will reveal to the observer that in the eyes of the great man of the South is the same inexpressible melancholy which is obvious in those of our own man of sorrows, the beloved Lincoln. Bolívar was insulted and slandered as was Lincoln, and if Lincoln was assassinated by a man, Bolívar escaped the weapon of the assassin only to sink under poisonous treachery and ingratitude. It is true that Bolívar was quick-tempered, at times sharp in his repartee; his intellectual aptness had no patience with stupidity, and occasionally his remarks hurt. But when the storm had passed, he was all benevolence, enduring all, forgiving all, like Lincoln."

Hezekiah Butterworth writes: "Bolívar furnishes one of the most notable examples of persistency of purpose, in all history. . . . He had an ardent nature. Only a great soul could have accomplished what he did. He has been criticized, and not without cause, but he must be numbered among the heroes of civilization, liberty and progress. . . . Bolívar may not have been a Washington, but the struggles of his soul to fulfill what is noblest in life, appear in his proclamations, in the surrender of his private fortune to the public good, and to the peril to which he exposed his life. He must have a low vision, indeed, who can only seek in such a life incidents for criticism and detraction. A work written by an officer whom

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

Bolívar had offended and dismissed represents the Liberator as given over to his passions, as living constantly in the practice of dissimulation, as vainglorious, and as seeking the supreme power.’’

This allusion is to H. L. von Ducoudray-Holstein, a Frenchman with a hyphenated Gallic and Teutonic name, of whom Cornelio Hispano says: “The prejudice and rancor are well known with which Ducoudray, vigorous enemy of Bolívar, wrote his *Memoirs*, in which pages abound calumnies against the honor of his chief;’’ and Baralt and Díaz call him a “petulant Frenchman, full of golden words but of few good deeds, whose conduct did much harm to the Patriots in Cartagena.’’

It seems unfair, therefore, to quote from so pronounced an enemy of the Liberator and one that is himself often contradictory. However, after much abuse and vituperation, he says: “The entry of General Bolívar into Caracas was certainly the most gratifying event of his whole military career. And notwithstanding that his enterprise and his victories were greatly facilitated by the astonishing pusillanimity of his enemies, he deserves great praise for his perseverance, and for the conception of such an undertaking, in which he sacrificed a considerable part of his fortune to furnish his troops with the means of following him. . . . Bolívar has never been an avaricious or money-making man, for he is generous and cares little about money. . . . General Bolívar has ever had the fortune to profit by the bravery, skill and patriotism of others. . . . Bolívar acquired in the course of his travels, that usage of the world, that courtesy and ease of manner, for which he is so remarkable, and which has so prepossessing an influence upon those who associate with him.’’

Ducoudray-Holstein is more correct and consistent when he writes of international matters. He says: “When the Junta in Caracas, in 1810, sent Bolívar and Luis López Méndez to London, to request assistance, the British Ministry would do nothing. On the contrary, they ordered their governors in the West Indies to preserve strict neutrality as long

BOLÍVAR

as the new government should act in name and by authority of Ferdinand VII. . . . The neutral system, or rather tortuous course, pursued by the British government previously to the short ministry and lamented death of Mr. Canning, has cost millions of dollars, and the loss of 600,000 souls in America and has ruined the Spanish colonies for a long course of years. But British commerce has gained by the destruction, the misery, and the ruin of others.”

Colonel Hippisley, who commanded the British Legion for a time but who resigned at Carúpano, writes in a similar strain to Ducoudray-Holstein about Bolívar, but he, too, was a pronounced enemy of the Liberator, after quitting the service of Colombia.

Hippisley relates that he found the Liberator reading Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and writes entertainingly of Bolívar's *affaires intimes* but, if true, they need not be detailed here. “George Washington,” he says, “was a *man*, a soldier, a sage; and Simón Bolívar a Lilliputian in every respect in comparison with this great man.”

Colonel Hippisley, a trained European officer, praises Piar and Páez, as well as Santander, and utters almost a panegyric upon General Miranda, whom he styles “a profound tactician; an intrepid soldier; a man of great ability in civil administration; disinterested in his views; and who never, in the least particular, abused the dictatorial power intrusted to him by Congress, during several months. . . . Bolívar was the exact reverse of all this. . . . All who know General Miranda will agree that he was, in every respect, a much worthier man than General Bolívar.”

As a matter of fact, however, Miranda did not distinguish himself in France under Dumouriez, and the old soldier who had won a qualified renown upon European battlefields, showed himself hopelessly incompetent upon American soil. His operations against Monteverde were almost pitiable in their ineptitude until finally his sanity, if not his patriotism, was questioned. His capitulation was no doubt hastened by Bolívar's loss of Puerto Cabello. In

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

this matter and perhaps in that of Miranda's arrest and surrender to the Spaniards, Bolívar's conduct was not above reproach. "Great misfortunes exalt their victim" (Carmen Silva). This may perhaps be said of General Miranda.

In his *Memoirs*, General Miller claims that Bolívar said he could not have succeeded at Boyacá without the English and Admiral Cochrane says that Bolívar told San Martín in the famous interview at Guayaquil: "Nothing of kings; but if anybody is to be king, it will be I." Cochrane, however, was an open enemy of San Martín and accused him before the Supreme Director O'Higgins, not only of incompetence and cowardice, but of pilfering the rich service of the churches for his own use. He also charged the Protector of Peru with the excessive use of opium and *aguardiente* (native spirit).

Andrés Bello, the noted Venezuelan *littérateur*, said of Bolívar: "His great acts are dimmed by his great errors and his licentious conduct;" but the Liberator had refused to appoint Bello minister to London and had allowed him to lack funds when Secretary of Legation at Madrid.

Vicuña MacKenna, whose Chilean enthusiasm apparently overcomes his Scottish reserve, thus describes the Guayaquil meeting: "The embrace of Bolívar and San Martín in July 1822, should have been the embrace of America! But the Colossuses, exalting themselves for mutual measurement, saw each other dwarfed. The 'Liberators' wanted to be Caesars and in a rapture of extreme envy, the 'Eagle of the Orinoco' stuck his active talons in the neck of the 'Lion of the Andes,' wounding him to death in order that he might climb to their summits, disappear and, in turn, fall! Thus the one retired to die upon a rock of the Atlantic, impotent; while the other expired, after omnipotence, upon another rock of the sea!"

Domingo Santamaría, another Chilean, declares that "San Martín was a fox, while Bolívar was an eagle."

Cornelio Hispano says: "For Alexander was born Apollodorus; for Napoleon a Baurrienne, and for Bolívar, a

Pravonena," who was a Peruvian. Another Peruvian, Ricardo Palma, published a pamphlet accusing Bolívar of having had Monteagudo assassinated and Sánchez Carrión poisoned. General Mosquera, Doctor Becerra and Simón B. O'Leary, promptly and effectively defended the memory of the Liberator. As Cornelio Hispano says: "The man who was bold enough to have shot the brave Piar, the heroic Padilla, the treacherous minister Berindoaga and to banish Santander — to sacrifice in broad daylight 800 Spaniards in La Guayra; the hero, conscious of his mission, arbiter of America from 1823 to 1826, had no need of a purchased dagger in the darkness of night or of poison, to rid himself of two faithful friends, civilians, whom he had honored and elevated to power."

The same Palma said Bolívar had ordered Vargas Tejada, one of the principal conspirators of the night of the 25th of September 1828 shot, when it is well known that he was accidentally drowned, while escaping to the *llanos*. This pamphlet was only conspicuous for its errors and has been consigned to deserved obscurity.

There are diverse opinions as to the truth and even the authenticity of the so-called *Diario de Bucaramanga* by L. Perú de Lacroix, another Frenchman who served under Napoleon and later as a general officer on the staff of Bolívar, but who, in 1830, was banished from Colombia, whence he went to the Antilles and finally to Venezuela, where he was associated with Pedro Carujo, one of the conspirators of the 25th of September, in another abortive revolutionary attempt. Being expelled from Venezuela in 1836, Lacroix committed suicide, the following year, in Paris. The diary, at least the published part, is incomplete and is chiefly a relation of the intimate life of the Liberator, during the sessions of the national constituent assembly at Ocaña and of his idiosyncrasies and peccadillos, which only goes to prove that, as no man is a hero to his valet, so no general is a hero to his aide-de-camp.

Lacroix makes Bolívar criticize almost contemptuously

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

many of his lieutenants, among them Granadans and friends and declare: "Let us permit the superstitious to believe that it was Providence who sent or destined me to redeem Colombia. Circumstances, my temperament, my character, my passions, were what put me in the way; my ambitions, my constancy and the excessive vivacity of my imagination, have made me follow it and have maintained me in it."

Bolívar declared in 1815 "New Granada is the soul of South America" and Rufino Blanco, himself a Venezuelan, says: "Of all the nations to which Bolívar gave birth, that one which has best comprehended him, is perhaps the former New Granada, inheritor of the illustrious name of Colombia. The reason is obvious: to judge a spirit so high as that of Bolívar, studious and thoughtful men are required and they always abounded, more than among any other American people, in the actual Republic of Colombia." Of the September conspirators none were Bogotanos and few were Granadans, who were never detractors of Bolívar.

José Gil Fortoul, Venezuelan historian, says of the Diary of Bucaramanga: "Almost all of the confessions that Lacroix attributes to Bolívar conform exactly with his ideas and actions and with the contemporaneous events; so that said diary may always be considered as a historical document of great importance, and it is a pity that it does not figure completely in any collection."

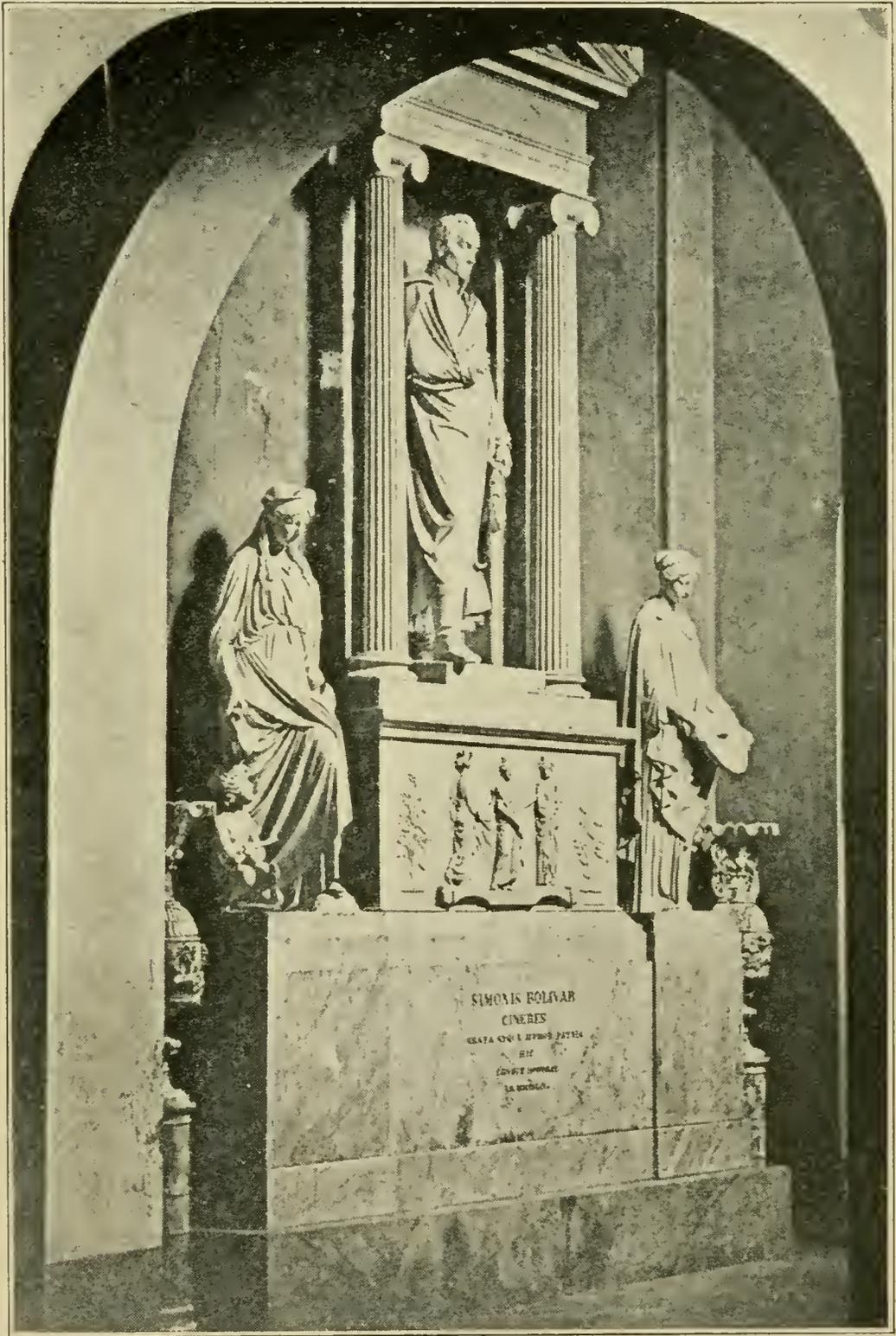
And Barbagelata, the Uruguayan historian, adds: "The fact is that, in what concerns Bolívar, Daniel F. O'Leary, the truthful and serene General O'Leary, with the tranquility characteristic of his Irish race, says: 'The diary of Lacroix is the one that best offers us intimate details of the life of the Liberator, details which we believe to be exact, because they coincide with the idea that other works give us as to the psychology, and idiosyncrasy of the immortal Caracan'."

Again to quote from Cornelio Hispano: "The star of Bolívar set with the capture of Callao, and his redeeming mission remained consummated that day, which should have been the last of his public life. Unfortunately he forgot

that it corresponded to others to constitute, organize and administer what he had established in battles with his regenerating sword but which was a disturbing element in the civic work of the state, for which task he never had any predilection. He, himself, said so admirably: '*A man like me is a dangerous citizen under a popular government*; but in this same tenacity not to abandon power, that is to say, his country in the cruel conflicts which threatened his decorum and even his existence, there was also the noble love and the irresistible abnegation of the father for his life's work and the fear of the tremendous responsibility, because he did not consider complete what he had cemented and feared that posterity might censure his conduct in its too early abandonment.'

Bolívar had intense faith in the grandeur and justice of his cause. He had created opinion and love of liberty where none existed. One of the truest sentences in Larrazábal is the following: "Struggling, instructing, conquering, giving examples of resignation and of constancy, despising dangers and scorning their risks, developing practically and laboriously the spirit of liberty, with incomparable courage, with the same energy of conviction and the same fidelity to his inmost thought—this man of iron pursued his work of emancipation, of democratic progress, of social influence, of political organization, appropriating little by little the moving force of the people and directing everything to his determined and irrevocable object: *The Independence of South America!*"

Once more to quote General Mitre: "The fate of the emancipators of South America is typical. The first revolutionists of LaPaz and of Quito, died on the scaffold. Miranda, the apostle of liberty, betrayed by his own people to his enemies, died alone and naked, in a dungeon. Moreno, the priest of the Argentine revolution and teacher of the democratic idea, died at sea and found a grave in the ocean. Hidalgo, the first popular leader of Mexico, was executed as a criminal. Belgrano, the foremost champion of Argentine in-



Tomb of Bolívar in the National Pantheon at Caracas

CONCLUSION — A SYMPOSIUM

dependence, who saved the revolution at Tucumán and Salta, died in obscurity while civil war raged around him. O'Higgins, the hero of Chile, died in exile as Carrera, his rival, had done before him. Iturbide, the real liberator of Mexico, fell a victim to his own ambition. Montúfar, the leader of the revolution in Quito, and his comrade Villavicencio, the promoter of the uprising in Cartagena, were strangled to death. The early presidents of New Granada, Lozano and Torres, fell as sacrifices to the terrorism of colonial restoration. Piar, who found the true base for the insurrection in Colombia, was shot by Bolívar, whom he had shown the way to victory. Rivadavia, the civil genius of South America, who gave form to her representative institutions, died in exile. Sucre, the conquerer at Ayacucho, was murdered by his own people, on a lonely road. Bolívar and San Martín died in banishment."

To this long list he might have added Admiral Brion, the Hollander, who, like Bolívar, sacrificed his fortune for the independence of Colombia; but his services were forgotten, and he died a beggar in the island of Curaçoa.

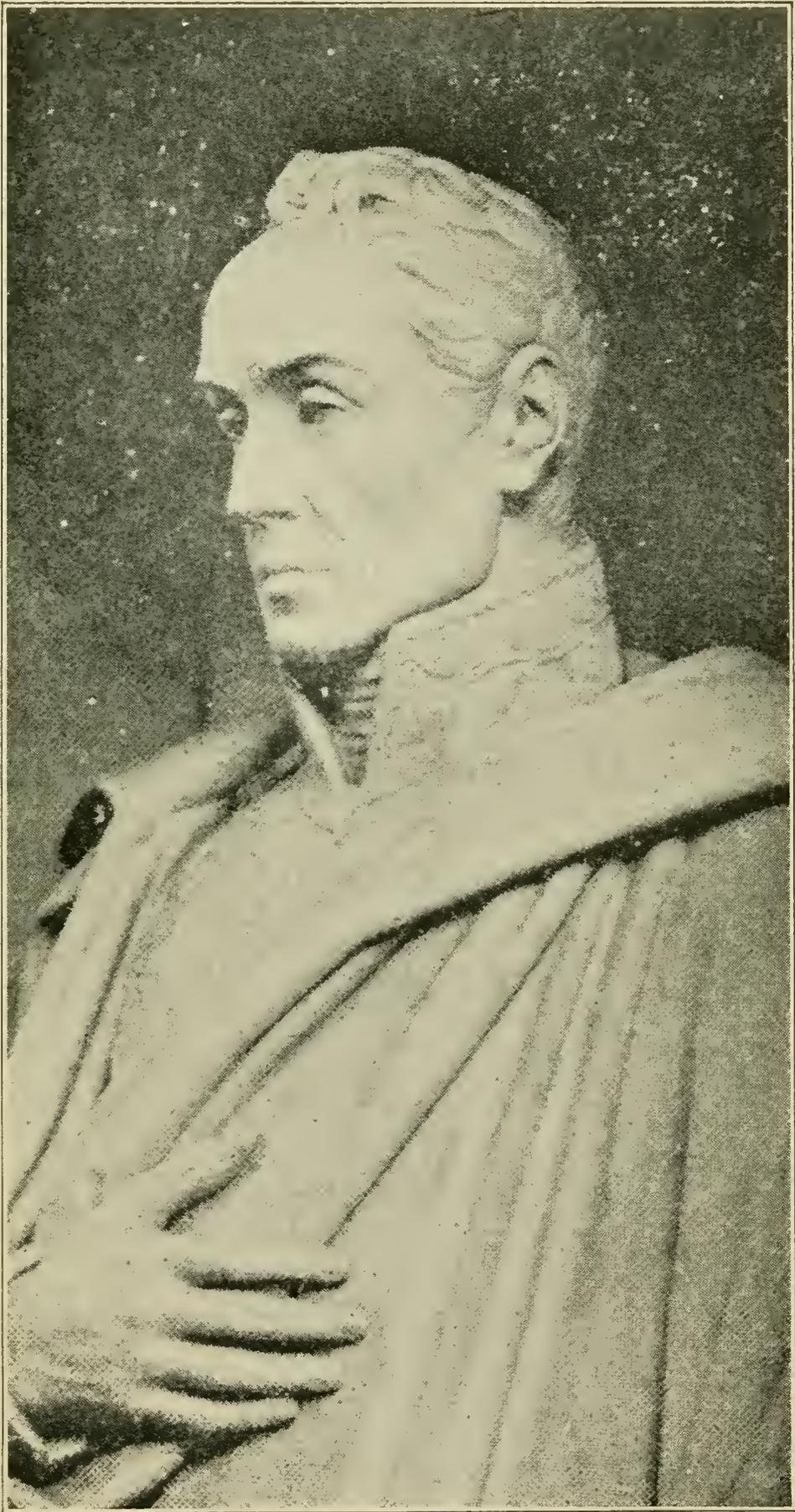
After this somewhat varied and long symposium, it only remains to narrate the few posthumous events that refer to Bolívar. President Guzmán Blanco of Venezuela created the order of *El Busto del Libertador* ("Bust of the Liberator"); and although proscribed from, and his name and eminent services anathematized in his native land during many years, in 1842 Bolívar's remains were removed to Caracas, where they were interred with great pomp in the National Pantheon. Likewise the centennial of his birth was celebrated there with an apotheosis and other distinguished tributes in 1883. A statue of Washington was unveiled in the Plaza of Santa Teresa upon this occasion and Admiral Cooper and the flagship of the North Atlantic Squadron of the United States Navy, were sent to La Guayra by the American Government, to participate in the ceremonies in honor of the Liberator.

The first statue of Bolívar erected in South America was the fine one by Tenerani, in the Plaza of Bolívar in Bogotá, but subsequently others, among them many equestrian, were

BOLÍVAR

unveiled in Bogotá, Caracas, Lima and other cities. One was presented to Central Park, New York City, by Venezuela. Under the mistaken idea that the horse and rider were not artistically correct, when everything about it was realistic of the epoch it represented, it was removed and has recently been replaced by another, at least more academic, by a North American sculptor. A fine marble bust is in the Pan-American Union building in Washington, and a painting in the State Library at Richmond, Virginia. The three last mentioned are among the illustrations of this work.

As a fitting close to this chapter of appreciations and of the volume itself, surely it may be said of Bolívar, as Julian Hawthorne said of Columbus: "His immortality is secure; and his shortcomings and follies are forgotten in the splendor of his glory."



“Bolívar’s eyes had the same melancholic expression as Lincoln’s”

From a sculpture by Tenerani

National Pantheon, Caracas, Venezuela

Guillermo A. Sherwell

Appendix

Appendix

UNOFFICIAL letter from General William Henry Harrison, late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, to General Simón Bolívar, President of Colombia:

Bogotá, 27th of September, 1829.

Sir: If there is anything, in the style, the matter, or the object, of this letter, which is calculated to give offense to your Excellency, I am persuaded, you will readily forgive it, when you reflect on the motives which induced me to write it. An old soldier could possess no feelings but those of the kindest character, towards one who has shed so much lustre on the profession of arms; nor can a citizen of the country of Washington cease to wish that, in Bolívar, the world might behold another instance of the highest military attainments, united with the purest patriotism, and the greatest capacity for civil Government.

Such, sir, have been the fond hopes, not only of the People of the United States, but of the friends of liberty throughout the world. I will not say that your Excellency has formed projects to defeat these hopes. But, there is no doubt, that they have not only been formed, but are, at this moment, in progress to maturity, and openly avowed by those who possess your entire confidence. I will not attribute to these men impure motives; but can they be disinterested advisers? Are they not the very persons who will gain most by the proposed change? — who will, indeed, gain all that is to be gained, without furnishing any part of the equivalent? That *that*, the price of their future wealth and honors, is to be furnished exclusively by yourself? And of what does it consist? Your great character. Such a one, that, if a man were wise, and possessed of the empire of the Caesars, in its best days, he would give all to obtain. Are you prepared to make this sacrifice, for such an object?

I am persuaded that those who advocate these measures, have never dared to induce you to adopt them, by any argument founded on your personal interests; and that, to succeed, it would be neces-

sary to convince you that no other course remained, to save the country from the evils of anarchy. This is the question, then, to be examined.

Does the history of this country, since the adoption of the Constitution, really exhibit unequivocal evidence that the People are unfit to be free? Is the exploded opinion of a European Philosopher, of the last age, that, "in the new hemisphere, man is a degraded being," to be renewed, and supported by the example of Colombia? The proofs should, indeed, be strong, to induce an American to adopt an opinion so humiliating.

Feeling always a deep interest in the success of the Revolutions in the late Spanish America, I have never been an inattentive observer of events pending, and posterior to the achievement of its Independence. In these events, I search, in vain, for a single fact to show that, in Colombia, at least, the state of society is unsuited to the adoption of a free Government. Will it be said that a free Government did exist, but, being found inadequate to the objects for which it had been instituted, it has been superceded by one of a different character, with the concurrence of a majority of the People?

It is the most difficult thing in the world for me to believe that a People in the possession of their rights, as freemen, would ever be willing to surrender them, and submit themselves to the will of a master. If any such instances are on record, the power thus transferred has been in a moment of extreme public danger, and, then, limited to a very short period. I do not think that it is by any means certain, that the majority of the French People, favored the elevation of Napoleon to the throne of France. But, if it were so, how different were the circumstances of that country, from those of Colombia, when the Constitution of Cúcuta was overthrown. At the period of the elevation of Napoleon to the First Consulate, all the powers of Europe were the open or secret enemies of France — civil war raged within her borders; the hereditary King possessed many partisans in every province; the People, continually betrayed by the factions which murdered and succeeded each other, had imbibed a portion of their ferocity, and every town and village, witnessed the indiscriminate slaughter of both men and women, of all parties and principles. Does the history of Colombia, since the expulsion of the Spaniards, present any parallel to these scenes? Her frontiers have been never seriously menaced — no civil war raged — not a partisan of the former Government was to be found in the whole extent of her territory — no factions contended with each other for the possession of power; the Executive Government remained in the hands of those to whom it had been committed by the People, in a fair election. In

APPENDIX

fact, no People ever passed from under the yoke of a despotic Government, to the enjoyment of entire freedom, with less disposition to abuse their newly acquired power, than those of Colombia. They submitted, indeed, to a continuance of some of the most arbitrary and unjust features which distinguished the former Government. If there was any disposition, on the part of the great mass of the People, to effect any change in the existing order of things; if the Colombians act from the same motives and upon the same principles which govern mankind elsewhere, and in all ages, they would have desired to take from the Government a part of the power, which, in their inexperience, they had confided to it. The monopoly of certain articles of agricultural produce, and the oppressive duty of the Alcavala, might have been tolerated, until the last of their tyrants were driven from the country. But when peace was restored, when not one enemy remained within its borders, it might reasonably have been supposed that the People would have desired to abolish these remains of arbitrary Government, and indeed substitute for them some tax more equal and accordant with Republican principles.

On the contrary, it is pretended, that they had become enamoured with these despotic measures, and so disgusted with the freedom they did enjoy, that they were more than willing to commit their destinies to the uncontrolled will of your Excellency. Let me assure you, sir, that these assertions will gain no credit with the present generation, or with posterity. They will demand the facts, which had induced a People, by no means deficient in intelligence, so soon to abandon the principles for which they had so gallantly fought, and tamely surrender that Liberty, which had been obtained at the expense of so much blood. And what facts can be produced? It can not be said that life and property were not as well protected, under the Republican Government, as they have ever been; nor that there existed any opposition to the Constitution and laws, too strong for the ordinary powers of the Government to put down.

If the insurrection of General Páez, in Venezuela, is adduced, I would ask, by what means was he reduced to obedience? Your Excellency, the legitimate head of the Republic, appeared, and, in a moment, all opposition ceased, and Venezuela was restored to the Republic. But, it is said, that this was effected by your personal influence, or the dread of your military talents, and that, to keep General Páez, and other ambitious chiefs, from dismembering the Republic, it was necessary to invest your Excellency with the extraordinary powers you possess. There would be some reason in this, if you had refused to act without these powers; or, having acted, as you did, you had been unable to accomplish anything without them. But you succeeded, completely, and there can be no

possible reason assigned, why you would not have succeeded, with the same means, against any future attempt of General Páez, or any other General.

There appears, however, to be one sentiment, in which all parties unite; that is, that, as matters now stand, you alone can save the country from ruin, at least, from much calamity. They differ, however, very widely, as to the measures to be taken to put your Excellency in the way to render this important service. The lesser, and more interested party, is for placing the Government in your hands for life; either with your present title, or with one which, it must be confessed, better accords with the nature of the powers to be exercised. If they adopt the less offensive title, and if they weave into their system some apparent checks to your will, it is only for the purpose of masking, in some degree, their real object; which is nothing short of the establishment of a despotism. The plea of necessity, that eternal argument of all conspirators, ancient or modern, against the rights of mankind, will be resorted to, to induce you to accede to their measures; and the unsettled state of the country, which has been designedly produced by them, will be adduced as evidence of that necessity.

There is but one way for your Excellency to escape from the snares which have been so artfully laid to entrap you, and that is, to stop short in the course which, unfortunately, has been already commenced. Every step you advance, under the influence of such councils, will make retreat more difficult, until it will become impracticable. You will be told that the intention is only to vest you with authority to correct what is wrong in the Administration, and to put down the factions, and that, when the country once enjoys tranquility, the Government may be restored to the People. Delusive will be the hopes of those who rely upon this declaration. The promised hour of tranquility will never arrive. If events tended to produce it, they would be counteracted by the Government itself. It was the strong remark of a former President of the United States, that, "Sooner will the lover be contented with the first smiles of his mistress, than a Government cease to endeavor to preserve and extend its powers." With whatever reluctance your Excellency may commence the career; with whatever disposition to abandon it, when the objects for which it was commenced have been obtained; when once fairly entered, you will be borne along by the irresistible force of pride, habit of command, and, indeed, for self-preservation, and it will be impossible to recede.

But, it is said, that it is for the benefit of the People that the proposed change is to be made; and that by your talents and influence, alone, aided by unlimited power, the ambitious chiefs in

APPENDIX

the different departments are to be restrained, and the integrity of the Republic preserved. I have said, and I most sincerely believe, that, from the state into which the country has been brought, that you alone can preserve it from the horrors of anarchy. But I can not conceive that any extraordinary powers are necessary. The authority to see that the laws are executed; to call out the strength of the country, to enforce their execution, is all that is required, and is what is possessed by the Chief Magistrate of the United States, and of every other Republic; and is what was confided to the Executive, by the Constitution of Cúcuta. Would your talents or your energies be impaired in the council, or the field, or your influence lessened, when acting as the head of a Republic?

I propose to examine, very briefly, the results which are likely to flow from the proposed change of government: 1st, in relation to the country; and, 2nd, to yourself, personally. Is the tranquility of the country to be secured by it? Is it possible for your Excellency to believe, that when the mask has been thrown off, and the People discover that a despotic government has been fixed upon them, that they will quietly submit to it? Will they forget the password which, like the cross of fire, was the signal for rallying to oppose their former tyrants? Will the virgins, at your bidding, cease to chant the songs of Liberty, which so lately animated the youth to victory? Was the patriotic blood of Colombia all expended in the fields of Vargas, Boyacá, and Carabobo? The schools may cease to enforce upon their pupils the love of country, drawn from the examples of Cato and the Bruti, Harmodius and Aristogiton, but the glorious example of patriotic devotion, exhibited in your own Hacienda, will supply their place. Depend on it, sir, that the moment which shall announce the continuance of arbitrary power in your hands, will be the commencement of commotions which will require all your talents and energies to suppress. You may succeed. The disciplined army, at your disposal, may be too powerful for an unarmed, undisciplined, and scattered population; but one unsuccessful effort will not content them, and your feelings will be eternally racked by being obliged to make war upon those who have been accustomed to call you their father, and to invoke blessings on your head, and for no cause but their adherence to principles which you yourself had taught them to regard more than their lives.

If by the strong government which the advocates for the proposed change so strenuously recommend, one without responsibility is intended, which may put men to death, and immure them in dungeons, without trial, and one where the army is everything, and the people nothing, I must say, that, if the tranquility of Colombia is to be preserved in this way, the wildest anarchy will be preferable.

Out of that anarchy a better government might arise; but the chains of military despotism once fastened upon a nation, ages might pass away before they could be shaken off.

But I contend that the strongest of all governments is that which is most free. We consider that of the United States as the strongest, precisely, because it is the most free. It possesses the faculties, equally to protect itself from foreign force or internal convulsion. In both, it has been sufficiently tried. In no country upon earth, would an armed opposition to the laws be sooner or more effectually put down. Not so much by the terrors of the guillotine and the gibbet, as from the aroused determination of the nation, exhibiting their strength, and convincing the factions that their cause was hopeless. No sir, depend upon it, that the possession of arbitrary power, by the government of Colombia, will not be the means of securing its tranquility; nor will the danger of disturbances solely arise from the opposition of the people. The power, and the military force which it will be necessary to put in the hands of the Governors of the distant provinces, added to the nature of the country, will continually present to these officers the temptation and the means of revolt.

Will the proposed change restore prosperity to the country? With the best intentions to do so, will you be able to recall commerce to its shores and give new life to the drooping state of agriculture? The cause of the constant decline, in these great interests, can not be mistaken. It arises from the fewness of those who labor, and the number of those who are to be supported by that labor. To support a swarm of luxurious and idle monks, and an army greatly disproportioned to the resources of the country, with a body of officers in a tenfold degree disproportioned to the army, every branch of industry is oppressed with burdens which deprive the ingenious man of the profits of his ingenuity, and the laborer of his reward. To satisfy the constant and pressing demands which are made upon it, the Treasury seizes upon everything within its grasp — destroying the very germ of future prosperity. Is there any prospect that these evils will cease with the proposed change? Can the army be dispensed with? Will the influence of the monks be no longer necessary? Believe me, sir that the support which the Government derives from both these sources, will be more than ever requisite.

But the most important enquiry is, the effect which this strong government is to have upon the people themselves. Will it tend to improve and elevate their character, and fit them for the freedom which it is pretended is ultimately to be bestowed upon them? The question has been answered from the age of Homer. Man does not learn under oppression those noble qualities and feelings which fit

APPENDIX

him for the enjoyment of liberty. Nor is despotism the proper school in which to acquire the knowledge of the principles of Republican government. A government whose revenues are derived from diverting the very sources of wealth from its subjects, will not find the means of improving the morals and enlightening the minds of the youth, by supporting systems of liberal education: and if it could, it would not.

In relation to the effect which this investment of power is to have upon your happiness and your fame, will the pomp and glitter of a court, and the flattery of venal courtiers, reward you for the troubles and anxieties attendant upon the exercise of sovereignty, everywhere, and those which will flow from your peculiar situation? Or power, supported by the bayonet, for that willing homage which you were wont to receive from your fellow-citizens? The groans of a dissatisfied and oppressed people will penetrate the inmost recesses of your palace, and you will be tortured by the reflection, that you no longer possess that place in their affections, which was once your pride and your boast, and which would have been your solace under every reverse of fortune. Unsupported by the people, your authority can be maintained, only, by the terrors of the sword and the scaffold. And have these ever been successful under similar circumstances? Blood may smother, for a period, but can never extinguish the fire of liberty, which you have contributed so much to kindle, in the bosom of every Colombian.

I will not urge, as an argument, the personal dangers to which you will be exposed. But I will ask if you could enjoy life, which would be preserved by the constant execution of so many human beings—your countrymen, your former friends, and almost your worshippers. The pangs of such a situation will be made more acute, by reflecting on the hallowed motive of many of those who would aim their daggers at your bosom. That, like the last of the Romans, they would strike, not from hatred to the man, but love to the country.

From a knowledge of your own disposition, and present feelings, your Excellency will not be willing to believe, that you could ever be brought to commit an act of tyranny, or even to execute justice with unnecessary rigor. But trust me, sir, that there is nothing more corrupting, nothing more destructive of the noblest and finest feelings of our nature, than the exercise of unlimited power. The man who, in the beginning of such a career, might shudder at the idea of taking away the life of a fellow-being, might soon have his conscience so seared by the repetition of crime, that the agonies of his murdered victims might become music to his soul

and the drippings of his scaffold afford "blood enough to swim in." History is full of such examples.

From this disgusting picture, permit me to call the attention of your Excellency to one of a different character. It exhibits you as the constitutional Chief Magistrate of a free people. Giving to their representatives the influence of your great name and talents, to reform the abuses which, in a long reign of tyranny and misrule, have fastened upon every branch of the administration. The army, and its swarm of officers, reduced within the limits of real usefulness, placed on the frontiers, and no longer permitted to control public opinion, and be the terror of the peaceful citizen. By the removal of this incubus from the treasury, and the establishment of order, responsibility, and economy, in the expenditures of the Government, it would soon be enabled to dispense with the odious monopolies, and the duty of the *Alcavala*, which have operated with so malign an effect upon commerce and agriculture, and, indeed, upon the revenues which they were intended to augment. No longer oppressed by these shackles, industry would everywhere revive: the farmer and the artisan cheered by the prospect of ample reward for their labor, would redouble their exertions: foreigners, with their capital and their skill in the arts, would crowd hither, to enjoy the advantages which could scarcely, elsewhere, be found: and Colombia would soon exhibit the reality of the beautiful fiction of Fénelon — Salentum rising from misery and oppression, to prosperity and happiness, under the councils and direction of the concealed goddess.

What objections can be urged against this course? Can anyone, acquainted with the circumstances of the country, doubt its success, in restoring and maintaining tranquility. The People would certainly not revolt against themselves; and none of the Chiefs who are supposed to be factiously inclined, would think of opposing the strength of the nation, when directed by your talents and authority. But it is said, that the want of intelligence amongst the people unfits them for the Government. Is it not right, however, that the experiment should be fairly tried? I have already said, that this has not been done. For myself, I do not hesitate to declare my firm belief, that it will succeed. The people of Colombia possess many traits of character suitable for a Republican government. A more orderly, forbearing, and well-disposed people are nowhere to be met with. Indeed, it may safely be asserted, that their faults and vices are attributable to the cursed Government to which they have been so long subjected, and to the intolerant character of the religion, whilst their virtues are all their own. But, admitting their present want of intelligence, no one has ever doubted their capacity to acquire knowledge, and under the strong motives which exist, to obtain it,

APPENDIX

supported by the influence of your Excellency, it would soon be obtained.

To yourself, the advantage would be as great as to the country; like acts of mercy, the blessings would be reciprocal; your personal happiness secured, and your fame elevated to a height which would leave but a single competition in the estimation of posterity. In bestowing the palm of merit, the world has become wiser than formerly. The successful warrior is no longer regarded as entitled to the first place in the temple of fame. Talents of this kind have become too common, and too often used for mischievous purposes, to be regarded as they once were. In this enlightened age, the mere hero of the field, and the successful leader of armies, may, for the moment, attract attention. But it will be such as is bestowed upon the passing meteor, whose blaze is no longer remembered, when it is no longer seen. To be esteemed eminently great, it is necessary to be eminently good. The qualities of the Hero and the General must be devoted to the advantage of mankind, before he will be permitted to assume the title of their benefactor; and the station which he will hold in their regard and affections will depend, not upon the number and the splendor of his victories, but upon the results and the use he may make of the influence he acquires from them.

If the fame of our Washington depended upon his military achievements, would the common consent of the world allow him the pre-eminence he possesses? The victories at Trenton, Monmouth, and York, brilliant as they were, exhibiting, as they certainly did, the highest grade of military talents, are scarcely thought of. The source of the veneration and esteem which is entertained for his character, by every description of politicians — the monarchist and aristocrat, as well as the republican, is to be found in his undeviating and exclusive devotedness to the interest of his country. No selfish consideration was ever suffered to intrude itself into his mind. For his country he conquered and the unrivalled and increasing prosperity of that country is constantly adding fresh glory to his name. General; the course which he pursued is open to you, and it depends upon yourself to attain the eminence which he has reached before you.

To the eyes of military men, the laurels you won on the fields of Vargas, Boyacá, and Carabobo, will be forever green; but will that content you? Are you willing that your name should descend to posterity, amongst the mass of those whose fame has been derived from shedding human blood, without a single advantage to the human race? Or, shall it be united to that of Washington, as the founder and the father of a great and happy people? The choice is before you. The friends of liberty throughout the world, and the people of the United States in particular, are waiting your decision

BOLÍVAR

with intense anxiety. Alexander toiled and conquered to attain the applause of the Athenians; will you regard as nothing the opinions of a nation which has evinced its superiority over that celebrated people, in the science most useful to man, by having carried into actual practice a system of government, of which the wisest Athenians had but a glimpse in theory, and considered as a blessing never to be realized, however ardently to be desired? The place which you are to occupy in their esteem depends upon yourself. Farewell.

W. H. HARRISON.

The foregoing letter is to be found in the Toner collection of the Library of Congress. It was published in Washington on the 22nd of March 1830, as part of a manifesto "To the Public," which General Harrison concludes as follows: "This letter was written in August, but kept by me, until my functions, as Minister, had ceased." — (Author)

INDEX



Index

A

Abrego, Mercedes, 81, 148, 149.
Adams, John, 6.
Adams, John Quincy, 234.
Aldao, Manuel, killed at La Puerta, 89.
"All the Year Round", 216.
Alexander, 395, 425.
Alps, 3, 182, 183, 391, 392.
Ambabah (battle), 309.
"American Fabius", 20.
Andes, 182, 197, 233, 239, 248, 283, 309, 391, 409.
Angostura, 48, 134, 137, 141, 150, 151, 190, 394.
Antilles, 11, 95, 138, 420, 426.
Antoñanzas, Eusebio, 55, 56, 60, 63.
Anzoátegui, José Antonio, 126, 145, 185, 186, 188.
 death of, 190.
Apure (river), 59, 60, 142, 161, 179, 180, 191, 401, 402.
Apurimac (river), 285, 289.
Aragua, 2, 11, 22, 59, 75, 94, 215.
Aranjuez, 2.
Arauca (river), 142, 181.
Araure, 19, 48, 49, 60, 61, 71, 201, 214, 215, 411.
Archbishop of Bogotá, 101, 102, 345.
Archbishop of Mechlin, 78, 305.
Arequipa, 307.
Arismendi, Juan Bautista, 55, 81, 84, 111, 120, 121, 124, 127-132, 136, 140, 141, 189, 191, 318, 343, 376.
Arnold, Benedict, 395, 396.
Asia, 52, 395.
Asturias, 63.
Asturias, Prince of, 2.
Asunción, 112, 120.
Attila, 63, 76.
Ayacucho, 133, 231, 290, 291.
 battle of, 292, 293-296, 298, 301, 304, 306, 308, 310, 352, 359, 371, 398, 409, 420, 429.
Aymerich, Captain-General, 232, 234, 236, 249.

B

Baralt, R. M., 29, 81, 145, 157, 209, 344, 379, 380.
Baralt and Díaz, 354, 395, 423.
Barbagelata, H. D., 427.
Bárbula, combat at, 57, 71, 411.
Barcelona, 14, 38, 49, 55, 112, 131.
 capture of, 135, 160, 161.
Barinas, 37, 38, 44-49, 53, 59, 76, 91, 210, 337.
Barquisimeto, 18, 19, 48, 59, 60, 84, 189.
Barranca, 31, 39, 371.

Barreiro, José María, 183, 186, 191.
Basque, 1.
Becerra, Ricardo, 426.
Bello, Andrés, 1, 425.
Bermúdez, José Francisco, 64, 84, 88, 94, 96, 111, 118, 119, 124-126, 133-136, 141, 143, 146, 147, 160, 215, 220, 224, 318, 343, 376.
Berindoaga, Juan, 276, 278, 426.
Berruecos, 232.
 where Sucre was assassinated, 379.
Berthier, Marshal, 122.
Bianchi, 95, 96.
Bilboa, 1.
Bingham, Hiram, 183.
Biscay, 1, 55, 412.
Bishop of Popayán, 137, 235, 356.
Bishop of Santa Marta, 372, 373, 385.
Black Hills, 182.
Blanco, Rufino, 427.
Bocachica, battle of, 84, 201.
Bogotá (Santa Fe de), 11, 99, 100, 132, 148, 185-187, 189, 195, 224, 260, 322, 323, 333, 336, 342, 353, 359, 362, 363, 376, 378, 379, 380-383, 395, 400, 416, 429, 430.
Bolíbar, 1.
Bolíbarjáuregui, 1.
Bolívar, Juan Vicente, 1.
Bolívar, Simón (Liberator, President),
 birth, baptism and confirmation, 1.
 family and antecedents, 1.
 early education, 1.
 visits Europe, Madrid, Aranjuez, Paris, 2.
 engagement, marriage, 2.
 goes to Venezuela, 3.
 death of wife, 3.
 returns to Europe, 3.
 goes to Rome, 4.
 oath on Mount Aventine, 4.
 returns to Venezuela, 4.
 situation, 5, 6, 9, 10.
 Commissioner to London, 11.
 civil titles, 11.
 Caracas, 12-16.
 San Jacinto, 18.
 assigned to Puerto Cabello, 20.
 loses Puerto Cabello, 22.
 writes Miranda, 23-25, 27.
 arrests Miranda, 28, 29.
 obtains passport, 30.
 goes to Curaçoa, 31.
 Cartagena, 31.
 address, 32-39.
Barranca, Tenerife, Mompox, Banco, Puerto Real, 39.
Chiriguaná, Tamalameque, Ocaña, Santa Marta, 40.
Cúcuta, Pamplona, 40.

BOLÍVAR

- crosses Táchira, brigadier-general, 42.
 dissensions with Castillo and Briceño, 43, 44.
 at Mérida, 45.
War to the Death, 46, 47, 49.
 Caracas capitulates, 50.
 triumphal entry, hailed as Liberator, 51-56.
 Bárbula, 57.
 Girardot order, 58.
 captain-general, 59.
 victor at Araure, 60, 61, 64.
 letters, 65-67.
 popular assembly, 68.
 orations, 69-78.
 proclamation, 79, 80.
 orders executions, 81, 82.
 San Mateo, 83-87.
 battle of Carabobo, 88-92.
 flees from Caracas to Barcelona, 93-96.
 sails for Cartagena, 97.
 at Pamplona, 98.
 Tunja, 99.
 takes Bogotá, 100.
 captain-general, 101, 102.
 descends Magdalena, 103.
 captures Ocaña, 103.
 Mompo, 103.
 dissensions with Castillo, 104.
 La Popa, 105-108.
 sails for Jamaica, 110, 114, 115.
 attempted assassination, 116.
 sails for Haiti, 117-119.
 arrives at Margarita, 120.
 sails for Carúpano, 121.
 Ocumare, 122, 123.
 Bonaire, 124.
 mutiny, 125.
 sails for Haiti, 126-128.
 Margarita, 129.
 Barcelona, 131-133.
 marches to Guayana, 134-143.
 arrests Piar, 144.
 convenes court-martial, 145.
 Piar executed, 145.
 proclamation, 146.
 orders arrest of Mariño, 147.
 creates Council of State, 148, 149.
 ascends Orinoco, 150.
 joins Páez, 151.
 crosses Orinoco, 152.
 takes Calabozo, 153, 154.
 defeated near Semen river, 155.
 Rincón de los Toros, 156-158.
 Angostura, 159-161.
 on Apure, 163.
 Angostura, 164.
 convenes congress, 164.
 address, 164-175.
 President, 176.
 ascends Orinoco, 177-180.
 Mantecal, 181.
 ascends Cordillera, 181.
 invades New Granada, 182, 183.
 Gámeza, Bonza, Vargas, Tunja, 184.
 battle of Boyacá, 185, 186.
 enters Bogotá, 186-190.
 Angostura, 191.
 elected President of Colombia, 192-194.
 Bogotá, 195-202.
 armistice, 203.
 meets Morillo, 204-210.
 proclamations, 211.
 resigns, 212.
 continues, 213.
 renounces salaries, 214.
 battle of Carabobo, 215-218.
 enters Caracas, 219-223.
 at Bogotá, 224, 225.
 arrives at Cali, 226.
 Popayán, 227.
 Juanambú, 228.
 Bombaná, 229, 230, 231.
 García capitulates, 232.
 enters Pasto, 232-234.
 arrives at Quito, 235-237.
 enters Guayaquil, 238-243.
 meets San Martín, 243-254.
 Quito, 255.
 Guayaquil, 256-263.
 victor at Ibarra, 264.
 returns to Quito and Guayaquil, 264.
 goes to Peru, 265.
 arrives at Lima, 266-273.
 Pativilca, 274-283.
 victor at Junín, 284, 285.
 deposed of command by Colombian congress, 286-288.
 Ayacucho, 292-297.
 proclamation, 298, 299.
 writes Colombian senate, 300, 301-306.
 Cuzco, La Paz, Potosí, 308, 309, Plata, 310, 311.
 Tacna, Arica, Lima, 312-319.
 leaves Peru, 320.
 arrives at Guayaquil, 320, 321.
 arrival at Bogotá, 322.
 leaves Bogotá, 323.
 Maracaibo, 324, 325.
 incident at Valencia, 329.
 entry at Caracas, 329, 330.
 address to Senate, 331, 332.
 sails for Cartagena, 333-335.
 arrival at Bogotá, 336-341.
 returns to Bogotá from Bucaramanga, 342.
 assumes extraordinary powers, 343, 344.
 creates Council of State, 345, 346.
 Conspiracy of September 25th, 347-352.
 leaves Bogotá for Popayán, 353-356.
 at Quito, 357, 358.
 Guayaquil, 359.
 Santay, Quito, Bogotá, 359-361.
 refuses throne, 363.
 letter to Vergara, 364.
 to O'Leary and Urdaneta, 365.
 to Sucre, 366.
 General William Henry Harrison, 366, 433 (Appendix).
 letter to congress, 368.
 proclamation, 369, 371-373.
 proclamation, 374, 375.
 leaves Bogotá, 376.
 decree of congress, 377.
 arrival at Cartagena, 378.
 revolution in Bogotá and Tunja, 379.
 letter to Urdaneta, 381.

INDEX

- to Vergara, 382, 383.
 arrival at Barranquilla, 384.
 arrival at Santa Marta, 385.
 San Pedro Alejandrino, 385.
 Farewell to Colombians, 385.
 death of the Liberator, 386.
post mortem, 387-392.
 Washington and Bolívar compared, 393.
 North and South American Revolutions compared 394-403.
 O'Leary, 404-409.
 Carlyle, 408-410.
 Samper, 410-420.
 Appendix, 433.
- Bolivia, 265, 301, 330, 352, 371, 384, 395-397.
 Bomboná, battle of, 229-231, 238, 411, 420.
 Bonaire, 124, 125.
 Bonaparte, Joseph, 8.
 Boston, 4, 394.
 Boves, José Tomás, 55-60, 62-64, 67, 75, 76, 78, 80-85, 90, 91.
 enters Caracas, 93, 96.
 killed in battle, 97, 351.
 Boyacá, 182.
 battle of, 185-186, 188, 191, 192, 201, 207, 220, 371, 411, 420, 425.
 Bresson, Charles, 362, 397.
 Briceño, Antonio Nicolás, 43, 44, 46.
 Briceño Méndez, Pedro, 43, 119, 140, 148, 177, 203, 260, 261, 339, 361, 386.
 "Bravos de Apure", 216-218.
 Brion Louis, 80, 115-119, 122, 124, 128, 138, 139, 141, 145, 160, 429.
 Buroz, Eulalia, 135.
 Butterworth, Hezekiah, 422.
 Byron, Lord, 389.
- C
- Cabrera, 20, 91.
 Cádiz, 9, 10, 12, 15, 29, 56, 111, 194.
 Caicedo, Domingo, 372, 373, 375, 379.
 Cajigal, Juan Manuel de, 6, 17, 21, 84, 88, 91, 112.
 Calabozo, 20, 49, 64, 85, 152.
 battle of, 153, 154, 159, 180, 189, 215, 371.
 Caldas, Francisco José, 113.
 Callao, 238, 257, 258, 263, 266, 276, 288, 290, 297, 303.
 fall of, 312, 320, 394, 405, 420, 427.
 Calzada, Sebastián de la, 77, 91.
 Campbell, Colonel, 362, 376, 397.
 Campo-Elías, Vicente, 45, 58, 59, 67, 78.
 died of wounds, 82.
 Canterac, General, 137, 263, 264, 265, 276, 281, 283-285, 288, 293, 297.
 Carabaño, Miguel, 28.
 Carabobo, battle of, 87, 88, 201, 210.
 battle of, 215-20, 409, 411, 420.
 Caracas, 1, 3, 5, 8, 12, 15, 18, 20, 25.
 Monteverde enters, 27.
 capitulates, 50.
 triumphal entry of Bolívar, 51, 53, 55.
 popular assembly at, 68.
 executions at, 81, 82.
 fall of, 91, 112, 149, 189, 215, 219, 265, 305, 317, 328, 337, 370, 371, 376, 413, 423, 429, 430.
 Carlos IV, 2, 8.
 Carlyle, Thomas, 408-410.
 Cartagena, 7, 39, 41, 43, 44, 52, 54, 102, 106, 107, 112, 113, 117, 198, 201, 224, 334, 339, 362, 371, 376, 378-380, 382, 384, 423, 429.
 Carujo, Pedro, 346-351, 426.
 Carúpano, 95, 121, 125, 127, 138.
 Casa-León, Marquis, 26, 27, 30, 50.
 Casanare, 41, 160, 180, 191, 373.
 Casas, Manuel María, 27, 29.
 Castillo, José Paz del, killed, 96.
 Castillo, Juan Paz del, 28, 30, 231.
 Castillo Rada, Manuel del, 40, 43, 44, 102, 104, 112, 117, 339, 341.
 Castillo, Rafael, 28.
 Catharine II, 6.
 Ceballos, José, 17, 59-61, 84, 91.
 Cedeño, Manuel, 80, 82, 94, 121, 126, 132, 144, 150, 156, 158, 215.
 killed at Carabobo 215, 401, 402.
 Central Park, New York City, 430.
 Cerritos Blancos, 59.
 Ciudad Bolívar, 48.
 Chacabuco, 249.
 Charleston, 4.
 Charles XII, 265, 396.
 Chatillón, Rafael, 28.
 Chiloé (islands), 312.
 Chiriguana, 40.
 Chorillos, 297.
 Chuquisaca, 310-312.
 Clay, Henry, 202, 234, 421.
 Cochrane, Admiral, 202, 221, 251, 257, 425.
 Colisseum, 4.
 Colombian flag, 15.
 Columbus, 430.
 Condorcanqui, 293.
 Congress of New Granada, 40, 42, 45, 53, 54, 64, 67, 371.
 Congress of United States, 18.
 "Connecticut Magazine", 405.
 Convention of Jirón, 356-358.
 Convention of Ocaña, 338-342.
 Cooper, Admiral, 429.
 Córdova, José María, 80, 197, 282, 291-293, 343, 353, 359, 360.
 rebellion and assassination, 361, 362.
 Coro, 7, 16, 21, 32, 47, 54, 60, 100, 220, 337, 394.
 Correa, Ramón, 40, 41, 43, 45, 59.
 Cortes, 8, 16, 31, 195.
 Cortés, José, 28.
 Cortés Madariaga, José, 10, 30, 128, 138.
 "Little Congress", 139.
 Cossacks, 403.
 Council of Regents, 9, 10, 12, 13.
 Council of State, 343, 345, 350, 362-365.
 Cruces, Captain, 19, 22.
 Cuba, 6, 50, 311, 312.
 Cúcuta (San José de), 38, 40, 41, 43, 51, 67, 181, 195, 201, 208, 260, 339.
 Cumaná, 38, 49, 55, 97, 111, 120, 127, 132, 133, 137, 147, 160, 220, 224, 409.

BOLÍVAR

Cundinamarca, 100, 102, 195, 342, 371.
 Cura, 21, 82, 156.
 Curaçoa, 27, 30, 31, 54, 61, 115, 142,
 143, 222, 428.
 Cuzco, 263, 288, 289, 294, 301, 307,
 308.

D

Darien, 174.
 D'Elhuyar, Luciano, 43, 45, 57, 67,
 84, 87, 90.
 "*Diario de Bucaramanga*", 426.
 Díaz, José Domingo, 8, 9, 13, 18, 63,
 209.
 Ducoudray-Holstein, H. L., 22, 119,
 122, 157, 403, 423, 424.
 Dumouriez, General, 6, 424.

E

Earthquake, 18, 19, 22.
 "Eagle of the Orinoco", 221, 425.
 "*El Busto del Libertador*", 429.
 "*El Correo del Orinoco*", 159.
 El Rosario de Cúcuta, 206, 212.
 Emparan, Vicente de, 9, 10, 19, 20, 30.
 "Emperor of the Andes", 315.
 Encyclopædia Britannica, 102, 386.
 Enrile, Pascual, 111, 113.
 Escalona, Juan, 90, 91.
 Escuque, 45.
 Espejo, Francisco, 92.

F

Fabius, 179, 263.
 Fabian tactics, 20, 21.
 Falmarc, Maurice, 174.
 Federmann, Nicholas, 182.
 Ferguson, Guillermo, 348.
 Fernández Vinoni, Francisco, 22, 186.
 Fernando VII, 2, 8, 11, 14, 75, 111,
 200, 252, 423.
 Ferrier, Thomas, 216-218.
 Fierro, Manuel del, 50-52, 76.
 Figueras, Josefa, 149.
 Flores, Juan José, 80, 264, 338, 358,
 359, 361, 386.
 Florida, 6, 195.
 Fortoul, José Gil, 427.
 Franklin, Benjamin 71, 73, 390.
 Freitas, Antonio, defeated, killed him-
 self, 90.
 Freitas, Pedro María, 132.
 hanged in Caracas, 135.

G

Gálvez, Bernardo, 6.
 Gámeza, 184, 185, 191.
 García del Río, Juan, 388.
 García de Sena, 59, 77.
 killed at La Puerta, 89.
 Garnett, Mr., 234.
 Georgia, 395.
 Germans, 56.
 Gervinus, 398.
 Girardot, Atanasio, 43, 45, 47-50, 56.
 killed at Bárbula, 57.
 funeral order, 57, 58, 66, 67, 80.
 Godoy, Manuel de, 2.
 Goethe, 389.

Grita, 43.
 Grouchy, Marshal, 127.
 Guáitara, 229, 264, 357.
 Gual, Pedro, 94, 103, 105, 117, 128,
 212, 220, 221, 238, 260.
 Guanare 47, 48.
 Guayana, 12, 54, 55, 132, 135, 141,
 144, 189, 337.
 Guayaquil, 207, 208, 236, 256, 257,
 264, 320, 333, 338, 352, 355, 358,
 362, 370, 386, 394, 400, 416, 425.
 Guerra, Ramón, 174.
 Güiría, 55, 94, 121, 125, 131, 160.
 Guizot, 77.
 Guzman, Blanco, 429.

H

Haiti, 117, 118, 126, 127, 192, 312.
 Hamburg, 4.
 Hand, Ruperto, 361.
 Hannibal, 182, 183, 228, 395, 409.
 Harrison, William Henry, 366, 433
 (Appendix).
 Hart, Jeannette, 405.
 Havana, 2.
 Hawthorne, Julian, 422, 430.
 Herrán, Pedro Alcántara, 342, 359,
 375.
 Hindenburg, von, General, 130.
 Hippisley, G., 401, 402, 424.
 Hispano, Cornelio, 11, 391, 395, 423,
 425-427.
 Holy City, 4.
 Holy Office, 19, 112.
 Hogaza, battle of, 150.
 Hook of Holland, 395.
 Horcones, battle of, 49.
 Hull, Isaac, 405.
 Humboldt, von, Alexander, 3, 18, 100.

I

Ibarra, Andrés, 221, 237.
 Ibarra, battle of, 264.
 Ibarra, Diego, 347.
 Inquisition, 19, 112, 252.
 Iturbe, Francisco de, 30, 31, 50, 222.
 Iturbide, 222, 268, 316, 429.
 Izquierdo, Julián, 49, 50.

J

Jamaica, 110, 114, 128, 198, 375.
 Jalón, Diego, 23, 56, 66.
 beheaded by Boves, 90.
 Jauja, 269, 276.
 Jemappes, 25.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 6.
 Jenghiz, Khan, 76, 390, 395.
Jesús, María y José, 31.
 Jiménez de Quesada, Gonzalo, 182.
 Juanambú, 228, 357.
 Junín, battle of, 284, 285, 288, 295,
 411, 420.

K

Kublai, Khan, 395.

L

Labatut, Pedro, 31, 39.

INDEX

- La Carraca, 29.
 Lacroix, L. Perú de, 426.
 "Lady Washington", 393.
 La Fayette, Marquis de, 6, 316, 317.
 La Guayra, 4, 8, 18, 22, 27, 29-31, 38, 44, 45, 51, 56, 62, 219.
 Lamar José, 237, 257, 282, 284-286, 291-293, 312, 315, 333, 337, 352, 354-358.
 died in exile, 359.
 "La Nouvelle Héloïse", 4, 424.
 La Paz, 307, 428.
 La Popa, 105, 107.
 La Puerta, battles at, 78, 89, 156, 399.
 Larrazábal, Felipe, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 21, 63, 64, 67, 91, 124, 130, 141, 147, 153, 157, 164, 182, 183, 201, 209, 210, 219, 222, 228, 233, 237, 244, 248, 265, 267, 279, 281, 288, 305, 312, 314, 336, 345, 350, 356, 359, 361, 363, 378, 380, 428.
 Laserna, José, 256, 269, 288, 289, 293, 294.
 Las Trincheras, combat at, 57, 71.
 Las Vigías, 56.
 Latorre, Miguel de, 137, 141, 149, 208-210, 214, 215, 219.
 La Vela (de Coro), 7.
 Lenine, Vladimir Nicolai, 130.
 Les Cayes, 117, 125, 128.
 Lexington, 294, 394.
 "Liberators of Cundinamarca" (order), 196.
 "Liberators of Venezuela" (order), 67, 371.
 Lima, 212, 222, 240, 246, 257, 263-266, 269, 278, 288, 290, 301, 307, 311, 313, 333, 337, 352, 400, 416, 430.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 422.
 "Lion of the Andes", 221, 425.
 Lizón, 56, 67.
Llaneros, 64, 82, 84, 91, 100, 149, 152, 163, 181, 371, 401, 405.
Llanos, 64, 180, 215, 426.
 Lloyd, John A., 174.
 London, 11-13.
 López, José Hilario, 352, 356, 357, 359, 362, 379, 381.
 López Méndez, Luis, 13, 333, 423.
 Louisiana, 421.
- M
- MacGregor, 119, 123, 124, 126, 127.
 Madison, James, 6, 390.
 Madrid, 2, 3, 211.
 Maestricht, 25.
 Maipó, 249.
 Maiquetía, 61.
 Mallo, Manuel, 2.
 Mancini, Jules, 1, 2.
 Manco Capac, 297, 308.
 Mantecal, 181, 186.
 Maracaibo, 12, 16, 37, 45, 47, 67, 198, 203, 208, 210, 324.
 Margarita (island), 38, 55, 111, 112, 119, 124, 128, 131, 134, 141, 147, 189.
 María Luisa, Queen, 2.
 Marimón, Juan, 104-106, 118.
 Mariño, Santiago, 54-56, 60, 64, 75, 76, 80, 84, 85.
 at Arao, 86.
 at La Puerta, 89, 90, 94, 95, 119-122, 125, 126, 131-138.
 "Little Congress", 139, 140.
 resigns, 147, 160.
 defeated, 161, 190, 219, 220, 318, 343, 360, 361, 373.
 Marquina, 1.
 Martí, José, 392.
 Massachusetts, 395.
 Maturín, 55.
 combat at, 97, 121, 160, 191.
 Mazzini, 392.
 Mendoza, Cristóbal, 53, 68.
 Mercié, Carmen, 149.
 Mérida, 18, 42, 45, 47, 53, 202.
 Mexico, 2, 5, 44, 428.
 Mier, Joaquín de, 385.
 Milan, 4.
 Miller, William, 283, 293, 294, 308, 410, 425.
 Miranda, Francisco, 5, 6, 7, 12.
 arrives at Caracas, 13.
 captures Valencia, 16.
 named *Generalísimo*, 20.
 capitulates, 26.
 arrested, 28.
 death in La Carraca prison, Cádiz, 29-31, 44, 47, 50, 51, 126, 424, 425, 428.
 Mires, José, 28, 30.
 Mississippi, 6.
 Missouri, 421.
 Mitre, Bartolomé, 5, 9, 11, 15, 25, 393, 394, 396, 398-401, 408, 428.
 Miyares, Captain-General, 31, 67.
 Molinas de Bonza, 184, 185.
 Mompox, 39, 103, 105, 108, 197, 371.
 Monagas, José Tadeo, 94, 119, 121, 124, 127, 132, 140, 151, 215.
 Monet, Juan Antonio, 291-293, 297.
 Monroe Doctrine, 362.
 Monroe, James, 234.
 Montalvo, Juan, 389.
 Monteverde, Domingo, 17, 19, 20, 21, 25-31, 42, 44, 47-51, 53-61, 66, 128, 130, 222, 393, 424.
 Montilla, Mariano, 80, 83, 84, 117-119, 127, 192, 198, 224, 225, 343.
 Montilla, Tomás, 28, 30, 67.
 Moore, Thomas F., 379.
 Morales, Francisco Tomás, 55, 56, 60, 63, 64, 67, 94, 97, 111, 112, 123, 130, 159, 215, 260.
 Morillo, Pablo, 108, 110, 113, 115, 120, 123, 130, 137, 141, 149, 153, 154.
 wounded, 155.
 made Marquis de la Puerta, 156, 179-181, 194, 200-205, 207, 208, 210, 335, 402, 403.
 Mosquera, Joaquín, 375, 379, 381.
 Mosquera, Tomás Cipriano, 2, 238, 274, 335, 359, 360, 361, 426.
 Mosquetero, combat of, 59.
 Mount Aventine, 4, 9.
 Mount Vernon, 107, 316.
 Moxó, Salvador, 116, 120, 121, 130, 132.
 Moyano, Dámaso, 277.
 Muñoz Tebar, Antonio, 58, 82.
 killed at La Puerta, 89.

BOLÍVAR

N

Napoleon I, 2-4, 6, 8, 11, 14, 41, 87, 98, 111, 137, 182, 183, 186, 265, 268, 282, 309, 316, 388, 389, 391, 399, 402, 410, 425, 426.
 Nariño, Antonio, 6, 212, 223.
 Nerwinde, 25.
 New York, 4, 6, 421.
 Necochea, Mariano, 278, 282, 284, 285.
 Niquitao, battle of, 48, 49.
 North America, 34, 390, 392, 403, 420, 430.
 North American Revolution, 8, 394.
 North Carolina, 421.
 Nutrias, 48, 49.

O

Obando, José María, 228, 352, 353, 356, 357, 362, 379, 381.
 Ocaña, 40, 97, 123, 197, 334, 337, 339, 341, 345, 426.
 Ocumare, 75, 78, 80, 84, 92, 122, 123, 125.
 O'Dempsey, 29.
 Ogden, Samuel, 6.
 O'Higgins, Bernardo, 202, 205, 237, 248, 268, 269, 399, 425, 429.
 Ohio, 421.
 O'Leary, Daniel F., 158, 309, 355, 360, 380, 404, 405, 406, 407, 427.
 O'Leary, Simón B., 426.
 Olañeta, Pedro A., 301, 306.
 Olmedo, José Joaquín, 239, 265.
 O'Reilly, General, 6.
 Orinoco (river), 134, 137, 141, 142, 151, 177, 233, 267, 309, 355, 378.
 Ospino, 48, 77.
 Oudinot, General, 3.

P

Padilla, José, 339, 346, 348, 349, executed, 351, 362.
 Páez, José Antonio, 80, 149-151, captures gunboats with cavalry, 152-154, 156, 158, 159, defection of, 161, 163, 179, Queseras del Medio, 180, 210, 215-220, 312, 316, 317, 318, 324, 328, 329, speech at banquet, 330, 339, 343, 357, 360, 361, 370-372, 376, 386, 400-402, 415, 424.
 Palacio, Carlos, 2.
 Palacio, Esteban, 2.
 Palacio, María de la Concepción, 1.
 Pamplona, 40, 41, 53, 184, 185, 324.
 Panamá, 174, 221, 222, 299.
 Pan-American Conference, 299.
 Pan-American Union, 352, 430.
 Pantano de Vargas, 184, 185.
 Paris (city), 2, 3, 4, 409, 426.
 París, Joaquín, 227, 229, 230, 350, 384.
 Pasto, 100, 188, 227, 229, 234, 236, 252, 264, 265, 378.
 Patrulla, Gerardo, 26.
 Pennsylvania, 421.
 Peña, Miguel, 27, 29.
 Pereira, Carlos, 389.
 Perkins, J. H., 421.

Pétion, Alexandre, 117-119, 122, 124, 126, 128.
 Philadelphia, 4, 128.
 Piar, Manuel Carlos, 54, 55, 64, 94-96, 119, 121, 122, 126, 127, 132-137, 142, 143, arrested, 144, condemned by court-martial and shot, 145-147, 151, 424, 426, 429.
 Piazza di Spagna, 4.
 Pichincha, battle of, 232, 235, 238, 297, 420.
 Pío, 116.
 Pitt, William, 6.
 Place de l'Etoile, 25.
 Plata (Argentina), 310, 311, 394.
 Ponce, Pedro, 20, 22.
 Popayán, 113, 186, 188, 207, 227, 264, 321, 338, 352, 358, 359, 381, 416.
 Port-au-Prince, 117, 126, 128.
 Potosí, 297, 306-308, 322, 329, 355, 394, 404, 410, 420.
 Proctor, 401.
 Puerto Cabello, American filibustering expedition captured, 6, 10, 10 Americans hanged and monument to their memory, 7, Bolívar assigned to command of, 20, fall of, 22, 29, 50, 54, 66, 111, 112, 215, 219, 312, 324, 326, 371, 424.
 Puerto Real de Ocaña, 39.
 Puerto Rico, 17, 29.

Q

Queseras del Medio, 180.
 Quintana, Carlos, 88.
 Quito, 5, 12, 44, 66, 132, 198, 207, 208, 227, 231, 235, 236, 255, 264, 321, 333, 358, 359, 375, 386, 397, 416, 429.

R

Restrepo, José Manuel, 28, 153, 191, 201, 209, 231, 313, 340, 361, 363, 364, 413.
 Ribas, Francisco, 29.
 Ribas, Francisco Esteban, 134, hanged in Caracas, 135.
 Ribas, José Félix, 42, 43, 47-49, 53, 56, 59, 67, 78, 80, 84, 89, 90, 94-96, assassinated, 97.
 Ricaurte, Antonio, 43, immolation of, 83.
 Rincón de los Toros, 156, 405.
 Riobamba, capture of, 232.
 Riva-Agüero, José de la, 257, 258, 261, 263, 266, 267, 269, 270.
 Robertson, George, 27.
 Robertson, William Spence, 1, 28, 371, 392, 395, 421.
 Rochambeau, Count de, 6.
 Rochefort, Henri, 392.
 Rodil, José Ramón, 288, 289, 297, 312.
 Rodó, J. E., 182, 403.
 Rodríguez del Toro, María Teresa, 2, 3.
 Rodríguez, Simón, 1, 3, 4.
 Rojas, Aristides, 5, 10, 53, 75, 81.
 Roland, 68.

INDEX

Roland, Madame, 6.
 Rooney, John J., 422.
 Rome, 4, 9, 34, 384.
 Rook, James, 182.
 Roscio, Juan Germán, 13, 15, 30, 128, 192, 206.
 death of, 212.
 Roseberry, Lord, 388, 389.
 Rosete, 56, 60, 78, 80, 83, 84.
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 4, 424.
 Rubicon, 41.

S

Sabaneta, 261.
 Sáenz, Manuela, 348, 349.
 Salabarrrieta, Policarpa, 148.
 Salias, Francisco, 10.
 Salom, Bartolomé, 80, 221, 224, 251, 264, 281, 289, 290, 312, 343.
 Salomón José Miguel, 56, 59, 66, 111, 264.
 Sámano, Juan, 148, 185, 188, 191.
 Samper, José María, 410-420.
 San Carlos, 19, 48, 59, 77, 88, 201, 215.
 San Cristóbal, 42, 43, 197.
 San Felipe el Real, 20, 22, 66.
 San Félix, battle of, 137, 142, 201.
 San Jacinto, 18.
 San Martín, José Francisco de, 182, 205, 207, 212, 222, 224, 236, 237, 240-242.
 visits Guayaquil, 243-245.
 letter to Bolívar, 246.
 at Lima, 247-249.
 to Chile, 250.
 to Mendoza and Europe, 251.
 dies at Boulogne, 251, 256, 268, 361, 391, 392-394, 398, 399, 425, 429.
 San Mateo, 3, 20, 21, 82, 411.
 San Pedro Alejandrino, 385, 386.
 Santamaría, Domingo, 425.
 Santa Marta, 38, 40, 53, 101-103, 112, 197, 198, 250, 371, 384, 385, 386.
 Santander, Francisco de Paula, 80, 157, 160, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192, 195, 196, 212.
 Vice-President, 223, 224, 253, 260, 287, 317, 333, 335, 338, 340, 341.
 appointed Minister at Washington, 345, 348, 349.
 condemned to death, 350.
 banished, 351.
 letters to Bolívar, 352, 362, 398, 416, 424, 426.
 Savary, General, 3.
 Savannah, 394.
 Saybrook, Conn., 405.
 Sherwell, Guillermo, 97, 403, 422.
 Siquesique, 17.
 Sioux Indians, 403.
 Sioux War, 182.
 Smith, William S., 6.
 Soacha, 346.
 Socha, 182, 183.
 "*Sociedad Patriótica*", 14.
 Socorro, 5, 184, 185, 196, 335, 342.
 Soublette, Carlos, 80, 119, 122-124, 132, 136, 137, 145, 184, 215, 219, 221, 343.

Southerland, Robert, 117, 118, 127.
 State Library, Richmond, Va., 430.
 Story, Joseph, 421.
 Sucre, Antonio José, 54, 80, 133, 203, 207, 208, 228.
 battle of Pichincha, 232.
 Riobamba, 232.
 enters Quito, 232, 235-237, 252, 261, 269, 281, 282.
 General-in-chief, 286, 289, 290, 291.
 victor at Ayacucho, 292-294, 295, 296.
 Grand Marshal, 297, 298, 301, 304, 307-311, 352, 355-358, 366, 367, 372, 373.
 assassination of, 379, 420, 429.
 "Switzerland of South America", 225.

T

Táchira (river), 41, 44.
 Tagle, José Bernardo (Marquis of Torretagle), 266, 276, 278.
 Taine, 395.
 Tamerlane, 395.
 Tarquí, battle of, 355, 357.
 Tartars, 80.
 Tenerife, 39, 371.
 Tennessee, 421.
 "The Last Phase", 388.
 Tirpitz, von, Admiral, 130.
 Titicaca (lake), 308.
 Tízcar, Antonio, 44, 46-48, 56.
 Toro, Fernando, 9, 80.
 Toro, Marquis del, 16, 20, 142, 288.
 Torrente, Manuel, 63, 75, 110, 111, 116, 124, 153, 157, 197, 276, 283.
 Torres, Camilo, 42, 43, 49, 99, 113, 225, 429.
 Torres, Pedro León, 145, 230.
 died of wounds, 231.
 Trinidad (island), 5, 7, 54, 142, 143, 195.
 Triumphal Arch, 25.
 Trinità dei Monti, 4.
 Trotzky, Leon, 130.
 Trujillo (Peru), 264, 266, 269, 270, 274, 282.
 Trujillo (Venezuela), 19, 42, 45, 47, 48, 53, 202, 203.
 Túmbez, 354.
 Tumusla, 306.
 Tunja, 40, 43, 184, 339, 371.
 Tupac Amaru, 5.

U

United States, 4, 6, 7, 10, 391, 395, 429.
 United States Minister, 379, 397.
 Urdaneta, Rafael, 43, 47-49, 56-59, 67, 80, 84, 88, 89, 98, 136, 144, 150, 155, 179, 208, 318, 335, 343, 349, 361, 365, 379, 383, 413.
 Urica, 96.
 battle of, 97.
 Ustáriz, Miguel, 19.
 Ustáriz, Marquis de, 2, 15.

BOLÍVAR

V

Valdés, Manuel, 64, 84, 88, 134, 136,
155, 195, 198, 207, 229, 260.
Valdés, Juan José, 28.
Valdez, Jerónimo, 263, 288, 292, 293.
Valencia, 16, 19, 20, 23, 30, 49, 50,
52, 55, 56, 59, 64, 84, 85.
fall of, 92, 123, 214, 317, 328, 370.
Valley Forges, 392.
Valmy, 25.
Van Buren, Martin, 421.
Vargas Tejada, Luis, 345-347, 349,
426.
Vernon, Admiral, 107.
Victoria, 20, 21, 27, 28, 50, 54, 61,
78, 79, 84, 85.
Vicuña MacKenna, 248, 425.
Villanueva, Laureano, 388.
Villapol, Manuel, killed in battle, 82.
Vladivostock, 395.

W

Washington (city), 345.
Washington, George, 6, 47, 68, 71, 73,
77, 107, 316, 376, 389-395, 398,
409, 410, 422, 424, 429.

Washington, Lawrence, 107.
Waterloo, 216, 296.
Webster, Daniel, 421.
Wellesley, Sir Arthur, 11, 111.
Wellington, Duke of, 111, 403.
West Virginia, 421.

Y

Yanes, Francisco Javier, 352.
Yáñez, José, 41, 44, 56, 59, 60, 62, 67.
death of, 77, 212.
Yare, 80.
Yaritagua, 59.
Yellowstone (river), 182.
Yorktown, 394.

Z

Zaraza, Pedro, 121, 124, 126, 132,
140, 149-151, 155, 215.
Zea, Francisco Antonio, 118, 119, 127,
128, 138, 148, 159, 175, 189, 190-
192, 201.
Zerbériz, Francisco, 29, 44, 50, 55.
Zipaquirá, 113, 335, 338.
Zuazola, Antonio, 55, 56, 67.
Zulia (river), 41.

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