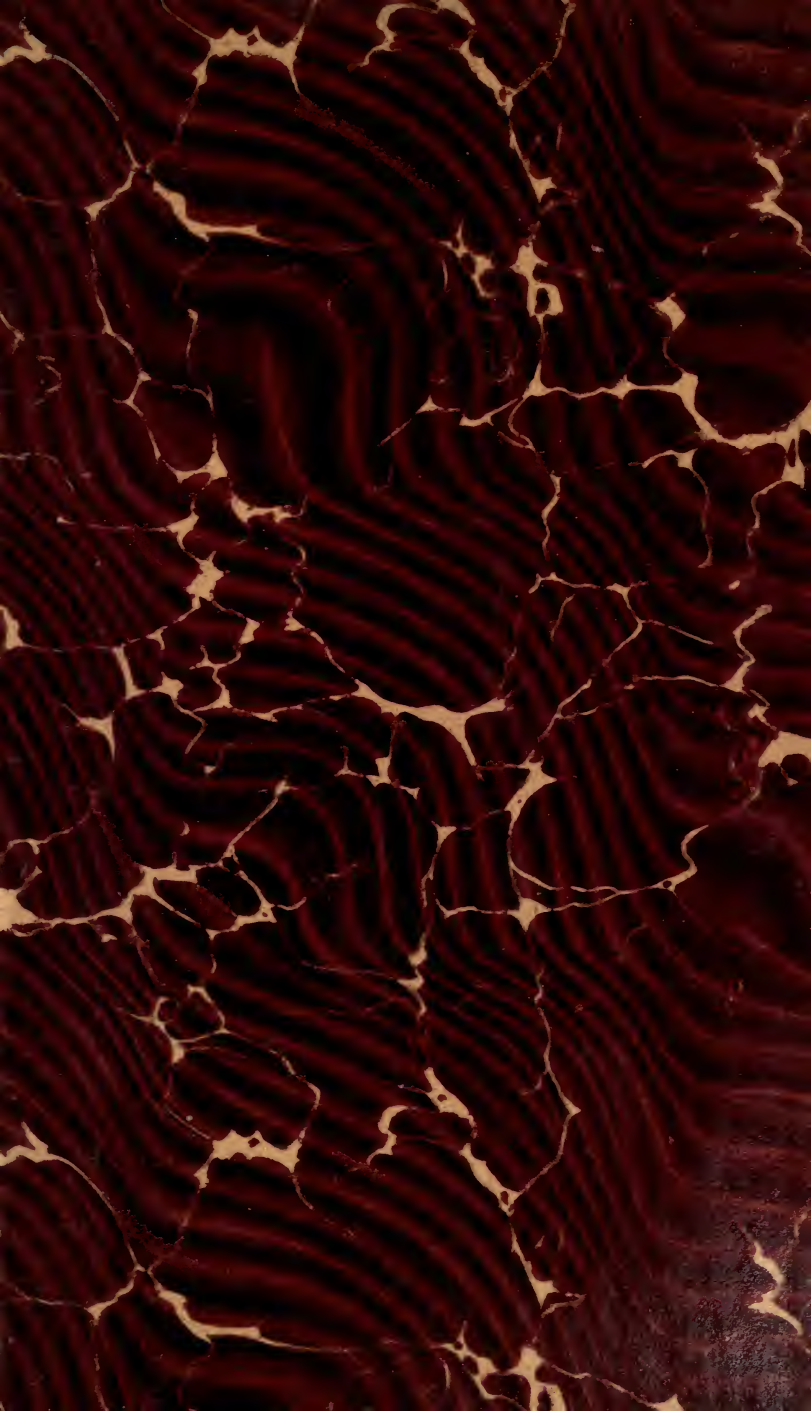






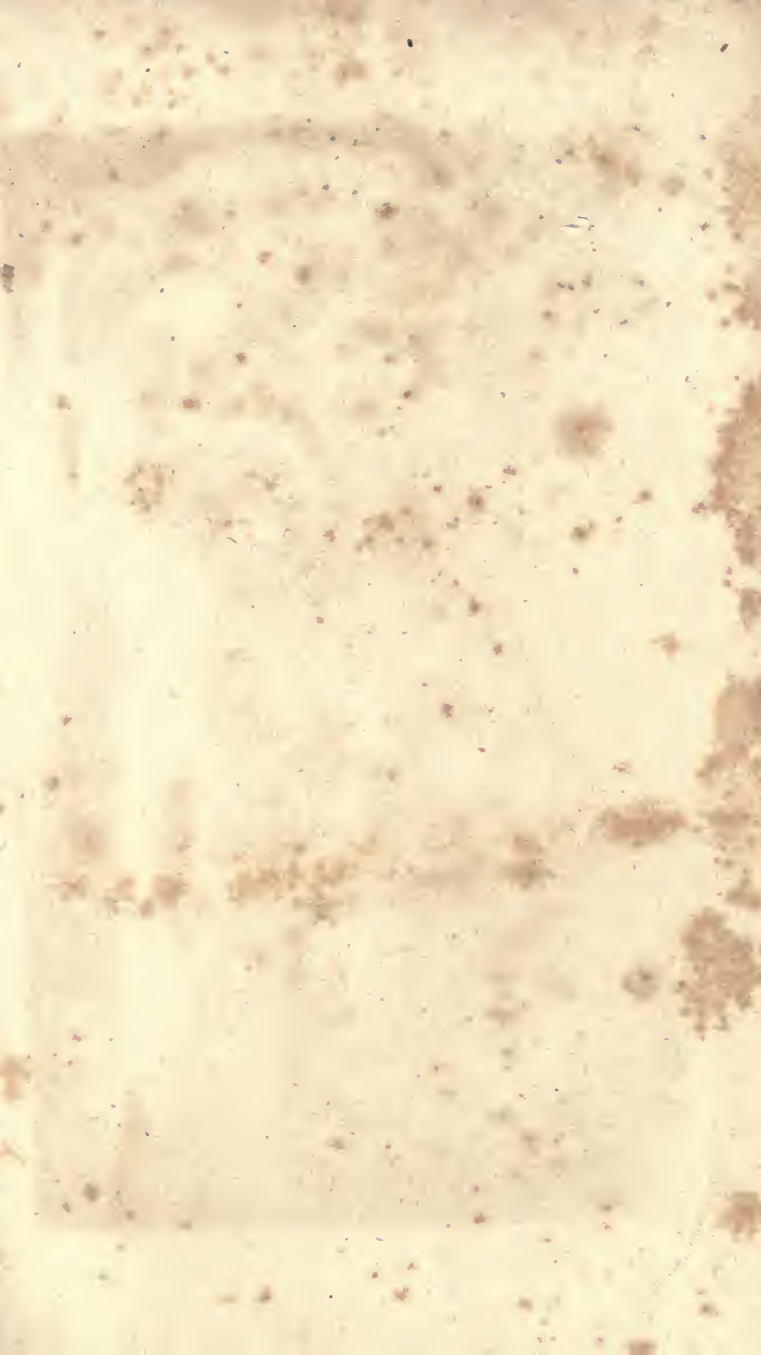
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HISTORY
OF
SOUTH AMERICA
AND
MEXICO;
COMPRISING THEIR
DISCOVERY, GEOGRAPHY, POLITICS, COMMERCE
AND
REVOLUTIONS.

BY HON. JOHN M. NILES,
MEMBER OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,
A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL VIEW
OF
TEXAS,
WITH A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE
TEXIAN REVOLUTION AND WAR.

BY HON. L. T. PEASE.

IN TWO VOLUMES, VOLUME II.

HARTFORD:
H. HUNTINGTON, 180 MAIN STREET.
1844.

1837

SOUTH AMERICA

MEXICO

GENERAL HISTORY, POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL

REVOLUTIONS

BY JOHN M. DEANE

REVISED BY THE AUTHOR

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TEXAS

AND A HISTORY OF THE

TEXAN REVOLUTION AND WAR.

BY JOHN L. TARRANT

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S OFFICE, 110 NASSAU ST.

1847

AMERICAN STATE PRINTING OFFICE

COLOMBIA.

CHAPTER I.

General description—proposed route of the great canal—climate soil, and productions—drugs and medicinal productions—civil divisions—population and principal towns—mines—roads, canals, &c.—government—commerce—manufactures, &c.—army navy, &c.—character of the people—education—religion.

THE republic of Colombia comprises an extent of country, embracing 22° or 1320 miles of longitude, stretching from the mouth of Oronoco, to the western extremity of the Isthmus of Panama; and of 18° or 1080 miles of latitude, extending 11½° to the north, and 6½° to the south of the equator, calculating from Cape la Vela to the southern extremity of the republic. This vast territory is bounded north and east by the Atlantic ocean, and by the territories of Guiana; west by the republic of Guatemala, or central America, and the Pacific ocean; and south by the republic of Peru, and the river Amazon. The territory comprised within the above mentioned limits constitutes one of the most interesting portions of the globe. Bordering on two oceans, its waters are unrivalled; it embraces a large portion of the immense valley of the Amazon, with the whole of the great vallies of the Oronoco and Magdalena, and is traversed by some of the loftiest mountains in the world. It possesses every diversity of soil and climate, unrivalled commercial advantages, and mineral treasures, which present the most powerful stimulus, and promise the greatest reward to the industry and enterprise of civilized man.

The Cordillera of the Andes, which traverses the whole continent of South America, in the southern part of the republic, divides into two parallel ranges, forming the lofty valley of Quito, the plain of which is elevated 9000 feet above the level of the ocean. To the right of this valley rise the summits of the Copacureu, 16,380 feet high; Tunguragua, 16,720 feet high; Cotopaxi, 17,950; and Guyambu, 18,180. To the left is Chimborazo, towering above the clouds, whose height is 20,100 feet

Tlenisa, 16,302 ; and Pichinca, 15,380, all covered with perpetual snows, and subject to volcanic eruptions. Near Tulcan, the Cordillera, after having been irregularly united by lofty groups of mountains, again divides itself into two chains, which form the elevated valley of Pastos, beyond which it diverges into three ridges, the most western following the coast of the Pacific ocean, terminates in the Isthmus of Panama ; the central divides the valley of the Cauca from that of the Magdalena, and declines near Mompox, on the river Magdalena. In the eastern range, the most considerable and lofty of the three, the numberless streams which unite to swell the majestic Oronoco have their rise ; this range forms the table land, on which stands the city of Santa Fe de Bogota, at an elevation of 8,100 feet. The range again divides into two ridges, one of which extends to the north, separating the waters of the Magdalena from those that fall into lake Maracaibo, and terminates near the ocean in the province of Santa Martha ; the other, with its numerous branches and ramifications, takes a northeasterly direction along the maritime border of the republic, and is finally lost at the gulf of Paria, constituting the northern boundary of the great valley of the Oronoco. The southern boundary of this valley is terminated by the Paramo mountains, which extend from near the Andes easterly, and are lost in Guiana. To the south of this ridge lies the most extensive valley on the globe, watered by the majestic Amazon and its innumerable branches.

The waters of Colombia are no where surpassed, affording superior advantages for commerce, both internal and foreign. In addition to its extensive maritime border on the Atlantic, which reaches from the Isthmus of Panama to Guiana, and abounds with numerous harbours, some of which are among the best in the world ; it has an extensive seacoast on the Pacific, which also affords a number of good harbours. The most valuable on the Atlantic coast are Porto Bello, Chagres, Carthagena, Savannah, at the mouth of the Magdalena ; Santa Martha, Rio de Hacha, the gulf or lake of Maracaibo, Coro, Tacargua, Porto Cavallo, La Guira, Barcelona, Cumana, and the gulfs of Paria and Cariaco. On the Pacific, are the gulf of Guayaquil, and the bays of Buenaventura, or Choco, and Panama. The interior waters are extensive and afford valuable navigable advantages. The river Amazon, which waters the most fertile regions of the globe, washes the southern border of the republic. This majestic stream, flowing over golden sands, through groves of cinnamon, spices, and primitive forests, of the most magnificent character, taking its rise among the mountains of Peru, and discharging its immense volume of waters into the Atlantic. Under the line it is said to be navigable to the foot of the Cordillera of the eastern

Andes. A free navigation of this noble river would afford incalculable advantages to the commercial world, and is a subject worthy of the attention of the enlightened government of Colombia. The next river, in magnitude and importance, is the Oronoco, which rises in the heart of the republic, and after a course of nearly 1500 miles, in a northeasterly direction, discharges the waters of its numerous branches into the Atlantic, in latitude 9° N. The Meta and Apure, are the two principal branches of the Oronoco. These magnificent rivers are subject to periodical overflowings, which convert the whole country, during four months of the year, into an immense lake or inland sea; and when the floods retire, the whole plain is covered with luxuriant pasture, on which innumerable herds of cattle are raised: nor are these plains less rich in agricultural advantages. The banks of the rivers are covered with forests of the most precious kinds of wood for dyeing, furniture, and building; and exhibit, when cleared, a soil capable of yielding abundantly every species of tropical produce.

The climate, though hot, is neither so unhealthy, nor debilitating, as that of the seacoast, the air being refreshed and purified by the strong breezes blowing constantly over this verdant plain, which extends not less than 300 miles in every direction, between the Andes and the Oronoco. The great valley of the Oronoco is wholly within the territory of the republic, and will, doubtless, at some future period, sustain a great population, when its resources become fully developed. The Oronoco is navigable for sea vessels, to the city of Angostura, and for smaller vessels, farther into the country. The use of steam boats will probably give great extension to the navigation of this river and its branches, as it is stated that the Meta is capable of being navigated to within 150 miles of the city of Bogota. The next most considerable river is the Magdalena, which descends to the north more than 700 miles through the vallies of the Andes, and is navigable to the port of Honda, 550 miles from its entrance into the Atlantic. This river communicates directly with some of the richest sections of the republic, and is represented to be very favourable to steam navigation; the Cauca runs through a valley of the same name, and unites with the Magdalena.

The next most considerable river to the west is the Atrato, which falls into the gulf of Darien. This stream, together with the St. Juan of the Pacific, is said to afford the best route for a canal to unite the two oceans. "A communication can be effected by making a canal from the head waters of the Atrato, a fine navigable river falling into the gulf of Darien, in lat. 8, and the river St. Juan de Chirambira which falls into a bay of the same name, in the Pacific ocean, in lat. 4. The point of junc

tion would be at about 400 miles from the Atlantic, and about 260 from the Pacific. About 15 miles of the river Atrato, or rather the Quito, which flows into the Atrato, would require but few locks, as the current of the river is only, in the dry season, about one mile per hour. But twenty miles of the St. Juan would require locking, leaving an intervening space of level land of *four miles and a half* to be cut through. The rivers Atrato, Quito, and St. Juan de Chirambira, are free from obstructions until we reach the points where the locking becomes necessary; and there is depth enough on the Atlantic side for vessels drawing seven, and on the Pacific twenty feet of water. The rivers flow through a country abounding with forests of mahogany, dye-woods, and other valuable timber. The mouth of the Atrato is obstructed by a bar, upon which there is only seven feet of water; but it is believed that means may be devised by which the obstruction may be either wholly or partially removed.

Nature seems to have designed this for the passage. The Andes are here for a moment lost, and in obedience to the will of Providence and the wants of man, seem to have defiled, that commerce may march from the old world to the new. It is a fact no less curious than true, that a canal did formerly exist in this spot. About the year 1745, a priest of Citira, with the assistance of the Indians, opened this same communication, known by the name of the Raspadura canal, through which loaded canoes passed; but the jealous policy of the Spanish government caused it to be closed; and prohibited, under severe penalties, any attempt to re-open it. The remains of this canal are visible to the present hour, and the fact is mentioned by Humboldt, Bonnycastle, and Robinson. We derive this information from a gentleman now in this city, [*New-York*,] who has resided twelve years in Colombia, and who has travelled over every part of the route from sea to sea. The utmost confidence may therefore be reposed in his statements; he has, moreover, constructed a map in which the entire tract of the country is accurately laid down.

In 1821, the same gentleman applied to the government of Colombia for permission to open this communication at his own expense, with exclusive privileges for 100 years. The congress passed a vote in favour of the application, but it was objected by Bolivar, on the ground that it might afford facilities to the enemy. The applicant was, however, desired to renew his proposals at the peace, for a term somewhat less than 100 years, which he is now about to do; and nothing, we believe, will defeat his object, but the fact of the government undertaking the business itself, which is not improbable."

During the year 1825, this route was examined by an agent

employed for the purpose, by a company of merchants in the city of New-York ; whose report of its practicability, it is understood, was favourable.

The river Chagres falls into the Atlantic, at a town of the same name, 44 miles west of Porto Bello, and is navigable as far as Cruces, within 15 miles of Panama. The Palmar and Zulia are the chief tributaries of Lake Maracaibo ; the other considerable and navigable rivers are the Tocuyo, the Aroa, the Yaracay, Tuy, and Unare, all of which run to the north, and discharge their waters into the Atlantic ocean ; and most of which are accommodated with harbours, and some of them are navigable a considerable distance. In addition to the St. Juan, the Pacific border has the Guayaquil, which empties into the gulf of that name, the Verd, the Mira, and many smaller rivers.

Climate, soil, and productions.—The climate of Colombia, although the whole country lies geographically within the torrid zone, like Mexico, possesses all the characteristics which diversify the three zones into which the earth is divided. With respect to climate, the tract of country adjacent to its maritime border, both on the Atlantic and Pacific, is invariably hot, and generally unhealthy to strangers from northern climates. The soil is luxuriant wherever it is sufficiently watered by rivers or periodical rains, and produces abundantly all the natural and agricultural productions common to tropical regions ; sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, indigo, tobacco, and the various kinds of dye-woods abundantly reward the hand of industry, and constitute the staple productions of this region.* The extensive vallies lying on the borders of the great rivers, have a climate somewhat more temperate, affording the greatest variety of productions, and supporting immense herds of cattle on their verdant savannas. Hence, hides have become one of the great staples of the country, and are exported in great quantities. In the elevated vallies, at the height of 4000 feet above the level of the sea, the climate becomes temperate, and vegetation continues uninterrupted through the year.

The country produces many valuable drugs and medicines ; also a great variety of plants used in dying, besides beeswax, honey, and cochineal, which last abounds particularly about Quito. The precious metals also enrich many districts, particularly Choco and Antioquia, where considerable quantities of gold, silver, and platina, have been obtained. Platina is said to exist in great abundance in Choco, and emeralds abound in many parts of the

* Some districts on the coast, from their peculiar position relative to the mountains, are exposed to almost incredible droughts. It is said the territory of Coro once received no rain for four years, and that other districts have suffered in a less degree.

country. Salt is also among the natural productions of this country; and immense herds of cattle, horses, sheep, and deer, are found running wild in the woods and savannas. There is also an abundant supply of wild fowl, and the coast and rivers are well stored with turtle and fish, common to tropical regions.

Civil divisions, population, and principal towns.—The territory now comprised within the republic of Colombia, previous to the revolution, formed the viceroyalty of New Granada, and captain-generalcy of Venezuela. The western section of the republic, (New Granada,) comprehended the following provinces, which contained, previous to the revolution, a population of 2,380,000 souls, as will be seen from the following table :—

Rio Hacha, - - -	20,000	Cundinamarca, - - -	130,000
Santa Martha, - - -	70,000	Mariquita, - - -	100,000
Carthagena, - - -	210,000	Ponayan, - - -	320,000
Panama, - - -	50,000	Casanare, - - -	20,000
Antioquia, - - -	110,000	Quito, - - -	500,000
Socoro, - - -	130,000	Cuenca, - - -	200,000
Pamplona, - - -	80,000	Guayaquil, - - -	50,000
Tunja, - - -	200,000	Loxa and Jean, - - -	80,000
Choco, - - -	40,000	Quixos and Maynas,	40,000
Veragua, - - -	40,000	Nevay, - - -	70,000

The population of the eastern section of the republic, or the captain-generalcy of Venezuela, before the revolution, was as follows :—

Venezuela, - - -	460,000	Barinas, - - -	90,000
Cumana, - - -	100,000	Guiana, - - -	40,000
Maracaibo, - - -	120,000	Isl. of Margarita, -	15,000
Total, 825,000.			

The provinces of New Granada having suffered much less by the revolution than those of Venezuela, have probably maintained their original population, with perhaps some increase within the last six years. But Venezuela having been the seat of war for nearly twelve years, during which it experienced all its horrors and devastations in constant succession, and has suffered an unexampled diminution of its inhabitants; nearly one half are supposed to have been destroyed, and whole districts depopulated. Years of peace and tranquillity will be required to supply the waste of life which has been occasioned by a revolution unexampled for violence and bloodshed. Within the last two or three years, the tide of emigration has set towards this country, both from Europe and the United States; and should the war not be revived with Spain, it will probably rapidly increase, and thousands of the enterprising and industrious population of Europe

and North America will be transplanted to the fertile regions of Colombia. In the year 1822, the republic was divided into seven departments, and a census taken, which gave a population of 2,644,600. In June, 1824, it was divided, by a law of congress, into twelve departments, embracing thirty-seven provinces; these provinces were subdivided into two hundred and thirty cantons, and the cantons divided into parishes, which are the smallest civil corporations. The names of the twelve departments, composing the republic, are—

- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Oronoco, | 7. Cundinamarca, |
| 2. Venezuela, | 8. Boyaca, |
| 3. Zulia, | 9. Apure, |
| 4. Magdalena, | 10. Escudador, |
| 5. Istmo, | 11. Asuay, |
| 6. Cauca, | 12. Guayaquil. |

The correctness of the above estimate of the population made in 1822, has been doubted; it being supposed to fall short of the real number. It was the opinion of Manuel Torres, charge des affairs of Colombia to the United States, in 1821, that the republic at that time contained a population of 3,600,000. This number, however, probably exceeded the amount, though the increase must have been considerable since 1822.

The population of Colombia, like the other countries in America colonized by Spain, consists of European Spaniards, Creoles, or descendants of Spaniards, Negroes, Indians, and the different casts. With respect to the European Spaniards, their numbers, always small, have been greatly diminished by the revolution, and few are now remaining in the country. Most of this class being hostile to the independence of America, took part in the revolution, and either fell victims to its ravages, or returned to Spain. A portion of the Indians are civilized, and are citizens of the republic; whilst others, like the Indians in the United States, are independent tribes, and are not included in the estimate of the population of the country. The negroes and mixed races are mostly free, and have contributed greatly to fill the ranks of the republican army; and some of this class have risen to distinction in the army, and are considered among the firmest supporters of the independence of the republic.

The principal cities of the republic are Bogota, formerly called Santa Fe de Bogota, Quito, and Caraccas. Bogota, the seat of the national government since the adoption of the constitution, is situated in lat. 4° 35' N. at an elevation of 8,100 feet above the level of the sea, on a beautiful and spacious plain on the banks of a river of the same name, a tributary of the Magdalena, 35 miles from its mouth. It lies at a considerable distance to the

east of the western Andes. The streets of the city are broad, straight, and regular, and the houses are handsome. The city contains a cathedral, which is magnificent, and richly endowed, three parish churches, eight monasteries, four nunneries, and one hospital. The public institutions are a university, a mint, a mining school, and a library, which contains an extensive and valuable collection of books. The city has a central position, with a temperate and salubrious climate, and is surrounded by one of the most healthful and fertile regions in Colombia. It was the seat of the Spanish viceroyal government before the revolution. Its present population is estimated at 35,000. Bogota was founded by Quesada, in 1538; its distance from the Atlantic ocean, by the way of Magdalena, is 600 miles, and from the Pacific, at the bay of Choco, 217 miles. It is 150 miles from the navigable waters of the Meta, a branch of the Orinoco, and 60 miles from the port of Honda, the head of navigation on the Magdalena. The citizens of Bogota have been distinguished for their patriotism during the long struggle of the revolution, and have made great sacrifices for the cause of liberty. It is proposed to remove the seat of government from this city to the town of Ocana, until the new city, which is to bear the name of Bolivar, after the founder of the nation, shall be built in a central situation, according to the ordinance of the republic.

The city of Quito, which was rebuilt in 1534, on the ruins of an ancient Indian town, is situated at an elevation of 9000 feet above the level of the sea, in lat. $0^{\circ} 13' 33''$ N. on the eastern acivity of Pichinca, a lofty eminence of the western Cordillera of the Andes, about 130 miles from the Pacific. The site of the town is very uneven and irregular; the principal square is spacious, and has an elegant fountain in the centre. The four streets on each side of the square are straight, broad, and handsome; the others are crooked, and so rough and broken as to be impassable for wheel carriages. The houses are all one story only, and generally have balconies toward the street. The public buildings consist of a cathedral, town-house, and numerous churches and convents. The surrounding country is rich, beautiful, and fertile, in the most valuable productions of the temperate and torrid zones. The climate is healthful and delightful. The city is distinguished for its manufacturing industry, and is represented to be the most populous city in the whole territory of the republic; its population being usually estimated at 70,000. In full view of this city rise some of the most lofty summits of the Andes, covered with perpetual snows, and frequently emitting, with awful grandeur, torrents of flames and clouds of smoke, from their bursting volcanoes. The natural port of Quito is Guayaquil.

The city of Caraccas, the capital of the ancient captain-generalcy of Venezuela, and the present seat of government for the department of Venezuela, was founded in 1567; and is situated in lat. $10^{\circ} 31'$ N. in the beautiful, elevated valley of the same name, which extends twelve miles from east to west, at the height of 2598 feet above the level of the sea. The city lies in a delightful and fertile spot in the valley, at the foot of the cloud capped Cielo, one of the summits of the Atlantic branch of the Andes. Its site is a square with a side of 2000 paces, and its surface every where uneven and irregular, just as nature formed it. The houses are well built, some of brick, but the greater part are of masonry, in frame work, after the manner of the Romans. The climate is delightful. This city which may be considered as the cradle of the revolution in South America, contained, previous to the year 1811, 45,000 inhabitants. It was the seat of a university, and its inhabitants were distinguished for their intelligence and patriotism.

In addition to the calamities of the war of the Revolution, in which this city has had its full share, it was partly destroyed by an earthquake on the 26th of March, 1812; many of its houses and churches were demolished, and more than 10,000 inhabitants are said to have perished beneath the ruins. Since the expulsion of the Spanish army, and the restoration of tranquillity, Caraccas is represented to be again in a prosperous condition. Its population is increasing, its commerce and industry reviving, and many Englishmen and North Americans have lately emigrated to it. Among others, is the celebrated Joseph Lancaster, with a view of diffusing the benefits of his system of education. The seaport of Caraccas is La Guira, one of the most thriving and commercial towns on the Atlantic border. The distance from Caraccas to La Guira is seven miles over a lofty ridge.

The other considerable cities are Popayan, which was founded in 1536, and stands in lat. $2^{\circ} 50'$ N. on the east side of a mountain of considerable height, called M. from the resemblance it bears to that letter. The streets are broad, straight, and level; the houses are built of unburnt bricks, and some of them are two stories high. Its public buildings consist of a cathedral, three monasteries, and two nunneries. The population is estimated by some at 20,000, and by others at 25,000. The Molino, issuing from the mountain of M. runs through the city. The Cauca runs about three miles to the north; the distance from Popayan to the Pacific is 90 miles.

Guayaquil, the seaport of Quito, is situated in south lat. $2^{\circ} 12'$ on the river of the same name, which empties into the gulf or bay of Guayaquil. The city stands about 18 miles up the river, and contains a population of 20,000 souls. The streets are

broad and straight : the houses are built of wood, and are large and beautiful. It is the principal naval station of the republic on the Pacific, and enjoys an extensive and increasing commerce. Guayaquil having recently changed its political condition, by the spontaneous will of the people, almost without a struggle, its commercial prosperity has scarcely been interrupted by the events of the war. It may, therefore, be ranked among the richest cities of the republic. The females of this city are distinguished for the fairness of their complexions, and the social character of the inhabitants is much commended by strangers. The town is defended by three forts ; the river is navigable to the town for vessels of any size, and affords the best harbour on the coast. A naval school has lately been established at this place.

Panama, the other important commercial town on the Pacific, is the oldest city on the South Sea ; it was founded in 1518, and is situated in N. lat. $8^{\circ} 57' 48''$ on a bay of the same name. The town is built on a rocky peninsula, and is fortified. This place has lost much of its commercial prosperity ; but, nevertheless, enjoys a very commanding local position. Its population is about 10,000 ; a considerable portion of which are slaves : most of the inhabitants have some knowledge of the English language, which is acquired by their intercourse with the island of Jamaica. A good road to Porto Bello, on the opposite shore of the gulf of Mexico, would be an object of great utility, and the ground is said to be very favourable for such an undertaking. Porto Bello, in N. lat. $9^{\circ} 33'$ has a beautiful local and commercial situation. This town has shared the same fate as Panamá, and has greatly declined from its former prosperity, whilst the seat of the commerce of the galleons ; but still it maintains some trade, which is supposed to be increased since the revolution. The confederate congress was held at this place.

Chagrés, a town situated on a fine bay, at the mouth of the river of the same name, 44 miles west of Porto Bello, enjoys some commerce. The most important commercial city on the Atlantic sea board is Carthagena, which is the principal naval station of the republic, on the Atlantic. This city is situated in N. lat. $10^{\circ} 25' 48''$, at the distance of 102 miles west of the river Magdalena, and is divided into two parts ; the city proper, so called, and Gimani. The city is surrounded by a thick, high wall, and Gimani is built in a semicircular form ; it is fortified in front by a strong wall, and united to the city by a bridge over the ditch. The city is defended by a strong fort and batteries, on the surrounding hills. Near the town is the lake Tesca, which is 3 miles in circumference, and communicates with the city and the sea. The bay of Carthagena is 9 miles in extent ; its principal entrance is defended by strong fortifications. The population of

the city is estimated at 16,000, and its commerce is considerable and increasing. This town has partaken largely of the bitter fruits of the revolution, having experienced two long and tedious sieges during the last ten years. On the 5th of December, 1815, 2000 of its patriotic inhabitants emigrated in a body, embarking in eleven armed vessels, being unable any longer to resist the successful efforts of the royalists under Morillo. A naval school has recently been established at Carthagena.

Savanilla, a new commercial town, is on the Magdalena, 21 miles from its mouth. Santa Martha, a considerable commercial town of 5000 inhabitants, connected with the Magdalena by interior navigation, lies 45 miles east of the Magdalena : 150 miles farther east is Rio Hacha, which is also a place of considerable trade.

Maracaibo, on the lake or gulf of the same name, is likewise a considerable commercial town, the population of which was more than 20,000 previous to the revolution ; but it is now much reduced by the calamities of the war. This city, by its easy communication with the interior, possesses superior commercial advantages.

Porto Cavello, the seaport of Valencia, has an excellent harbour with strong fortifications. This town has also suffered much by the operations of the war, and has been considered a very important military position. It is the last in the whole territory of the republic from which the royalists were expelled. It lies in lat. $10^{\circ} 20'$ N. and its population was estimated at 7500 before the war.

Cumana and Barcelona are the principal cities on the eastern coast of the republic. The former lies one mile south of the gulf of Cariaco, on a sandy and dry soil, in lat. $10^{\circ} 37'$ N. and was built in 1520 ; it contained before the revolution, 24,000 inhabitants, chiefly creoles, who were industrious and enterprising. The climate is warm, but healthful. The population of Cumana was much diminished by the revolutionary struggle. Barcelona, 60 miles from Cumana, was founded in 1634, and is built on a plain on the left bank of the Neveri, three miles from its mouth, in N. lat. $10^{\circ} 10'$. Its population, which previous to the revolution was 14,000, is now much reduced. Thirty miles E. N. E. of Cumana is situated the city of Cariaco, on a river of the same name, which discharges its waters into the gulf of Cariaco.

La Guira, the port of Caraccas, is at present next to Carthagena, the most important seaport on the Atlantic border. Its population was 6000 before the revolution ; the road to Caraccas is over a mountain 6095 feet high, and is very difficult and laborious to travel during the wet season. The city of Angostura the chief seat of commerce on the river Oronoco, with a popula-

tion of 10,000 inhabitants, is situated about 270 miles from its mouth. Angostura was wrested from the royalists in 1817, and was for several years the seat of the Venezuelan republic, while most of the country was in possession of the Spaniards. From this place the gallant Bolivar led forth the little army of his own creation, composed of foreigners and natives hastily collected together, and penetrating into the heart of New Granada with astonishing celerity, emancipated that fine country from the Spanish yoke, laying the foundation of a free, independent, and powerful nation.

Coro, in lat. $10^{\circ} 8' N.$ at the bottom of the gulf of the same name, stands on a dry, sandy plain, with a population estimated at 10,000 before the revolution, and is distant from Maracaibo 165 miles to the east. The province of Coro belonging to the department of Zulia, is in many parts arid and sterile.

Among the numerous interior towns that abound in every section of the republic, is Valencia, situated on a beautiful lake of the same name. This place was at one period the seat of government for the Venezuelan republic, and is situated 24 miles south of Porto Cavello, and 90 miles west of Caraccas. Cucuta, the town where the constitution was formed, is situated in a valley of the same name, about 300 miles to the northeast of Bogota; near Cucuta lies the superb valley of San Cristobal. Mompox, a military position, is situated on an island in the Magdalena, 195 miles from the mouth of the river, and 375 miles from Bogota. The cities of Barinas, Guanore, Araure, San Carlos, and San Fernando de Apure, are situated in the department of Venezuela, and were rapidly advancing previous to the war, which visited this province with the full measure of its destructive fury. The province of Barinas, which, with that of Caraccas, forms the department of Venezuela, consists entirely of plains intersected by numerous rivers, most of which are navigable, and descend into the Apure, and thus communicate with the Orinoco. The banks of these rivers are covered with noble forests, and when cleared, the soil produces abundantly cocoa, indigo, cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, maize, rice, and other kinds of fruits and vegetables. The savannas support innumerable herds of cattle. The Cordillera of Pamplona, Merida, and Truxillo, border on this province on the west and north, and supply it with wheat and every other production of temperate climates, even to the luxury of snow.

The city of Merida was founded in 1593, and is situated in a valley 9 miles long, in lat. $8^{\circ} 10' N.$; its population was 11,500 previous to the revolution; it is 240 miles from Maracaibo, and 420 S. E. from Caraccas. The province of Merida, now belonging to the department of Zulia, possesses the advantages of a delightful climate, and a fertile, though mountainous territory

Wheat, tobacco, and the fruits and grains of temperate climates, are raised abundantly in the high lands ; while the low, warm, vallies produce sugar-cane, cocoa, and all tropical fruits ; coffee could be cultivated to great advantage on the mountains. The city of Truxillo is situated in lat. $8^{\circ} 40'$ N. 60 miles from Merida, with a population of 7600. The district of Truxillo differs little from that of Merida, except that its mountains are steeper, and its vallies more confined. Barquisimeto is situated in lat. $9^{\circ} 44'$ N. on an elevated plain, which is open to every breeze : it has a population of 11,000 : it was founded in 1552, and is 450 miles N. N. E. from Bogota. Tocuyo lies 45 miles S. W. of Barquisimeto, in lat. $9^{\circ} 35'$ N. in a valley of the same name, with a population estimated at 10,000, before the revolution. There are several towns near the southern border of the republic : among which is the city of Cuenca, with a population of 20,000 inhabitants.

The island of Margaritta, which belongs to the department of Oronoco, is situated 24 miles north of the peninsula of Araya, in Cumana. The island consists of two peninsulas connected by a narrow isthmus, and lies between lat. $10^{\circ} 50'$ and $11^{\circ} 10'$ N. The surface of the island is uneven, consisting of hills and dales. The soil is sandy, producing cotton, sugar, and other tropical productions. The capital of the island is Assumption, situated near its centre. There are several other villages in the vallies. The principal port is Bampater, which is fortified. The population of this island is estimated at 20,000 inhabitants, who are distinguished for their bravery and patriotism ; particularly for their gallant deeds in the month of November, 1816, when every citizen became a soldier, and with desperate bravery, defeated, in ten pitched battles, the formidable hosts of general Morillo ; and also, for the memorable defence made in July, the following year, when 3500 Spanish troops, under the same commander, were forced to retire in disgrace, with the loss of 1000 men.

Mines.—The gold, which has heretofore been obtained in Colombia, has been found mingled with the soil, near the surface, from which it is separated by repeated washings. This service was formerly performed by negro slaves, who cannot bear the cold air of the mines in Mexico, but are more able than the Indians to perform labour in the field. The metal has been found in some districts in large grains, particularly near Pamplona, where single labourers have collected in one day, the value of 750 dollars. A mass of fine gold was found of the value of more than 3000 dollars, which was sent to Spain by the governor. Gold is very generally dispersed in the town of Rio Hacha ; it is found in the sand washed down from the declivities ; but the provinces of Antioquia and Choco, now included in the departments of Cun-

dinamarca and Cauca, where gold, silver, and platina abound, are the most distinguished for their mineral wealth. Gold is not only found mixed with the soil, which has been washed down from the declivities of mountains, but also in the beds of rivers: emeralds are likewise found in the beds of rivers, particularly in a small stream, about sixty miles from Bogota, where almost every stone contains an emerald. There are unworked mines of silver in Mariquita, and probably undiscovered mines in various parts of Colombia, as the mines here have been an object of less attention than in Mexico or Peru; and for the want of capital and machinery, have not been worked to the same extent. But little attention has been paid to mining in Colombia, compared with the attention given to it in Mexico and Peru; and it has generally been supposed that the precious metals were less abundant in the former, than in the latter countries; but according to the opinion of the late Manuel Torres, Charge des Affairs from Colombia to the United States, the precious metals in Colombia are not inferior to those of Mexico or Peru, with the advantage of their discovery being more easy and less expensive.* Since the commencement of the nineteenth century, the product of the mines in the departments now composing the Colombian republic, have been 2,990,000 dollars. The revolution cannot fail of having a most favourable influence on the mining operations, by the introduction of foreigners and foreign capital, the reduction of the duties, and the patronage of a liberal and enlightened government. When adequate machinery and scientific skill are applied to the mining operations in Colombia, the immense treasures which now lie bedded in the bowels of the earth will be developed, and prove an inexhaustible source of wealth and of national prosperity. Mints are established at Popayan and Bogota, where the gold and silver is coined. Formerly a considerable part of the gold was not coined in the country, but was smuggled into the West Indies.

On the coast between Rio Hacha and Maracaibo, is a pearl fishery, carried on by the *Indios Bravos*, or wild tribes who inhabit the country; but the profits of the fishery, probably, are chiefly realized by their more civilized neighbours, who trade with them. The pearls are much superior to those of the east. By a decree of congress in August, 1823, all the pearl fisheries of Colombia were granted to a company on certain conditions.

Roads and internal communications.—Colombia, like every part of what was formerly Spanish America, is deplorably deficient in these advantages. This country is not like Mexico, destitute, in a great measure, of internal water communications; its natural advantages are almost unrivalled; but from the want of

* See his letter to the Secretary of State, Nov. 30th, 1821.

mechanic arts, and of science, the country has not yet enjoyed the benefit of them. The Oronoco, the Magdalena, the lake Maracaibo, and the river Zulia which empties into it, particularly afford resources for extensive lines of internal navigation, which only need to be improved. The Oronoco, by means of its large branches, the Apure and the Meta, opens a communication with the whole level country, to within about 150 miles of Bogota, extending more than 600 into the interior. From the mouth of the Magdalena to Honda, the head of boat navigation, about 550 miles, the current is very rapid. The internal navigation is rude and unimproved, consisting of canoes poled up and down the rivers by the bogas or boatmen, of which there is a great number on all the navigable streams. It is said that there are ten thousand of this class of men on the Magdalena; their principal residence is at Mompox. From the rapidity of the current of the Magdalena, thirty miles a day is reckoned a good day's journey in ascending; and from the various delays which usually occur, the voyage from the mouth of the river to Honda is seldom performed in less than thirty days, and captain Cochrane, who lately ascended this river, was forty-six. The lake Maracaibo is the most beautiful expanse of water in the world, extending 150 miles into the interior, and with the river Zulia, its principal tributary water, affords extensive advantages for internal navigation.

In this age of improvement, when "unconquerable streams has wrought such a revolution in river and coast navigation, and under the auspices of a free and enlightened government, it cannot be doubted that this simple and rude navigation of some of the noblest rivers in the world, will soon be superseded by steam boats: or, if there should be found any difficulty in the use of these, by some other improved plan of internal navigation. The congress have directed their attention to this object, and at their session, in 1822, granted patents, on certain conditions, to James Hamilton and John Elbers, for the privilege of running steam boats on the Oronoco and the Magdalena. Steam navigation has subsequently been introduced into Colombia; in the fall of 1825, a steam boat made the first passage up the Magdalena to Honda. From the many difficulties attending the first attempt, the passage was unexpectedly protracted to eighty days. This experiment not only led to a knowledge of the river, but suggested several improvements, so that it was expected the second trip, which was commenced the last of November, would be made in thirty days. Several steam boats, one named Bolivar, designed for internal navigation in Colombia, have been built in the United States. Perhaps no country is better accommodated with great natural canals, than Colombia; the Oronoco and its branches, lake Maracaibo, the Zulia, Palma, and its other tributaries, to-

gether with the Magdalena, the Cauca, and the Atrato, afford an extent of interior navigation unrivalled. The advantages of these interior waters will be increased a hundred-fold by the introduction of steam navigation ; and probably the time is not far distant, when there will be as many steam vessels on these great inland canals, as there are now on the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri.

In respect to roads, they are scarcely known in Colombia. Throughout the whole republic there is not a road passable for any considerable distance with wheel carriages, nor scarcely for mules, without exposure of life or limbs. Travelling and transportation of every kind by land is done by mules : the conveyance is, consequently, tedious and expensive ; so that the bulky produce of the interior will not bear transportation to the coast ; and the expense of carriage, on the more heavy and bulky articles of importation, raises them to a high price in the interior. Whilst the Spaniards possessed Porto Cavallo, the cocoa, coffee, and cotton, raised in the vicinity of Valencia, would scarcely bear the expense of transportation to Caraccas. The want of good internal communications is most seriously felt in Colombia, and greatly depresses the agricultural interests in the interior. These disadvantages will probably soon be partially overcome, by improving the navigation of rivers, and opening turnpike or artificial roads.

Government.—The natural, but mistaken apprehension of a union among states similarly situated, and having a common interest, of which history affords so many examples, has been strikingly illustrated in Colombia. When the country threw off the Spanish yoke, not only Venezuela and New Granada, which had been separate governments, but many of the provinces of each, formed juntas for themselves, declared their independence, and raised military forces to maintain it, not only against the authority of Spain, but that of the general governments established by the revolutionists claiming jurisdiction over them. In New Granada, the congress, composed of deputies from a number of the provinces, was obliged to make war upon the provinces of Cundamarca and Carthagena, to force them into a union, or to compel obedience to its decrees. Although these contentions disparaged and greatly injured the provinces, yet it is not improbable that the existence of so many independent governments, was, on the whole, serviceable in the prosecution of the war. Hostilities were carried on by the general governments of Venezuela and New Granada, and also by the governments of many of the provinces at the same time, in conjunction or separately, and sometimes in the latter mode, when they were at war with each other. When the patriots were overcome in one province, they kept up resistance in another and when the armies of the congress were de-

feated, and the government itself overthrown ; still the provincial juntas would keep alive the spirit of resistance. When the cause was prostrated in Venezuela, it was maintained in New Granada, and the former again liberated by troops, furnished by the latter. The existence of so many independent separate governments, all of whom were engaged in carrying on the war, distracted the attention of the Spanish chiefs, and greatly embarrassed their operations ; but on the other hand, it prevented the concentration of power, and the establishment of an energetic and efficient government, as well as occasioned almost constant dissensions.

It required, however, a long course of fatal experience to overcome the apprehensions and prejudices which existed against a consolidated government, embracing all the provinces composing the present territory of Colombia ; and it is probable that it could not have been effected, at least in a peaceable manner, except for the great influence of Bolivar. The government established in Venezuela, in 1811, was a confederacy similar to that of the United States, and at that time, and long after, was almost universally popular, both in Venezuela and New Granada. General Miranda, by favouring a more concentrated and energetic government, gave great offence, and occasioned himself to be viewed with suspicion. The province, (now department) of Cundamarca, in 1814, could not be induced to unite, under the most urgent circumstances, with the other provinces, with which it had formerly been connected, and the employment of troops, and the capture of Bogota, its capital, only, could compel it to join the confederation. When these circumstances are considered, it is apparent that the revolution, in the public mind, must have been great, which should have led to the union of Venezuela and New Granada, an event not apparently even thought of at the time of which we have been speaking ; and to the establishment of a government, which is not a confederacy of provinces, but an entire consolidation of them into one state, with a unity of authority. The first of these events took place in December, 1819, when, after the overthrow of the royal power, by the great victory of Boyaca, a congress was convened at Angostura. Bolivar delivered to the congress an elaborate speech, in which he showed that he had studied profoundly the principles of government, their forms, and their spirit. The object of this speech was to produce a conviction of the importance of a union of Venezuela and New Granada, and the establishment of an efficient government. On the 17th of the month, a fundamental law was passed, which united, in one state, Venezuela and New Granada, to be called the *Republic of Colombia*. This was followed by the appointment of a committee to prepare a constitution ; and one having been report-

ed, it was considered and adopted by the general congress assembled at Cucuta on the 30th of August, 1821, and has ever since been in operation, although the government was not organized under it for some time.* Its strength and merits have borne the test of several year's trial, during which, the government founded on it, has been administered with regularity, firmness, and success.

The principles of this constitution are those of a representative democracy or republic, but not on the federative plan. One supreme national legislature is recognized, but no subordinate ones. There is a complete unity of authority, or government; consequently, in this important particular, the system differs essentially from that of the United States. The departments are only the civil divisions of the state, and do not possess any subordinate powers of government, not so much as the town corporations in New England. They are under the immediate direction of an Intendant, appointed by the president of the republic; and the provinces, or subdivisions of the departments, are under a governor, also appointed by the president.

In another important principle their constitution differs from ours; the right of suffrage, which is not exercised *directly*, but *indirectly*, as was done in France. The people, or such as are qualified to vote, (and for this purpose a small amount of property is necessary, or the exercise of some trade or profession) vote for electors, of which there are ten for every representative, and these electors choose the president and vice-president; and also the senators and representatives to congress. One representative is chosen for every 30,000 of the population; and when the fraction, in any province, is more than one half that number, it is entitled to another. Each department is entitled to four senators, two of which are chosen every four years. The representatives are chosen for four years, and the senators for eight; the president and vice-president for four, the former being eligible only two terms in succession.

The elections of the people are held once in four years in the parishes, at which each qualified voter gives his suffrage for the number of electors to which the province is entitled. The electors meet in the capital of their respective provinces once in four years, and choose all the important officers of the government; representatives, senators, president, and vice-president. The votes of the electors are returned to congress, where they are canvassed, and the validity of the election decided. The president and vice-president are chosen by a majority of the votes of the electors in all the provinces; but whether the senators are

* When Morales invaded Maracaibo, the constitution was suspended in that and some of the adjoining provinces; and during the war in Quito, the constitution was suspended in the southern provinces.

chosen like the executive, by the whole body of electors, or by the electors of their respective departments, we cannot determine from any intelligence we have obtained. It would seem, however, that they are chosen by the electors of their respective departments.

The condition of Colombia is entirely different from the United States, or what it was when our constitution was adopted. Just emerged from the most degrading and oppressive colonial despotism, the people at large are not sufficiently enlightened, or in any way prepared for a government founded on the principles of that of the United States, where so much power is reposed in the hands of the people. It will take time to overcome habits, the effects of forms of government, and modes of thinking, which are the bitter fruits of a jealous and gloomy despotism. The constitution, however, possesses many just and noble principles, constituting the great landmarks of liberty, which evince the liberal spirit that actuated its framers. It recognises the freedom of the press; the trial by jury; it abolishes hereditary rank and monopolies; prohibits all arrests not authorized by law, and all extraordinary tribunals and commissions, and declares the inviolability of the houses and papers of individuals; the independence of the nation; the sovereignty of the people; the responsibility of magistrates, and the equality of rights.

The judiciary and administration of justice are imperfect from the influence of Spanish laws, ordinances, and juridical regulations. Their civil and criminal codes are only a collection of royal ordinances, laws of Castile, laws of the Indies, compilations of Spanish decrees, and colonial regulations, abounding in contradictions, and only calculated to vex the suitor with the "law's delay," and the laws expense, and to enrich the lawyer. The government, fully sensible of the defects of this system, is attempting to remedy the evil as fast as it can judiciously be done; it has established the trial by jury in cases of libels, and declared in favour of introducing it generally. But the long established habits, prejudices, and usages of the people, oppose serious obstacles.

Two laws, which have been adopted by the congress, deserve particular notice, and the highest commendation; the one relating to slavery, and the other to education; both of which will be more properly considered under different heads. Indeed, the laws generally which have been adopted, appear to be by the present government, founded on just principles and an enlightened policy, calculated to consolidate and strengthen the government, to promote the happiness of the people, and the power and prosperity of the republic.

Commerce, manufactures, and revenue.—The principal articles

of Colombian commerce, are cocoa, coffee, chocolate, cotton, indigo, sugar, hides, cattle, tobacco, dye-woods, medicinal drugs, and the precious metals, gold, silver, and platina. The foreign commerce is carried on principally with Great Britain and the United States: from the former, Colombia receives manufactures of various descriptions, and military stores, with ships for her navy; and from the latter, flour, manufactured goods, military and naval stores, military and commercial vessels of various sizes. A considerable trade is carried on with the Antilles, or West India islands, which have always been principally supplied with mules and horses from this country. The war of the revolution, however, has made such destruction of cattle of every kind as greatly to diminish this trade. Of the less important articles of commerce, are mahogany, and other woods of the most exquisite beauty and durability for cabinet work, and other uses, used in dying; plants, bees wax, honey, and cochineal. The commercial resources of the country are scarcely yet touched. No portion of the world possesses a more commanding geographical position, more valuable maritime advantages for commerce, than Colombia; situated in the centre of the American continent, washed by two oceans, possessing an extensive maritime coast on both, and penetrated by noble rivers affording extensive lines of navigation. Its Atlantic coast is in the immediate neighbourhood of the West Indies, and it is centrally and favourably situated for commerce with Europe, the United States, Mexico, the West Indies, and the Atlantic countries of South America; whilst its Pacific coast opens to the republic the commerce of the south sea and the whale fisheries. But great as are the geographical facilities and advantages of Colombia for commerce, they do not surpass its natural internal resources. Situated under the line, and embracing the climate, the soil, and the productions of the three zones; rich in mineral treasures, in boundless forests of valuable woods, comprising immense savannas, whose spontaneous and perpetual verdure, sustains almost without the care, and entirely without the expense of man, vast herds of cattle. No country possesses more extensive and diversified natural resources of wealth and of commerce. Industry, art, and capital only are wanted, under the protection and encouragement of a free and enlightened government, to develop these exhaustless treasures. In a country possessing such vast resources, when peopled, the produce of agriculture, of the mines, and of the forests, must constitute its wealth, and the sources of its commerce. The application of industry to these objects will augment the commercial ability of the country, in a ratio corresponding with the increase of labour; and this will be greatly stimulated by a free and stable government, by the multiplication of population, the improvement of the arts, and the introduction of

capital. Wise laws and a judicious tariff must have great influence on the commercial prosperity of Colombia. In a new country, so thinly inhabited, and possessing such unbounded natural wealth, requiring developement, who can doubt that freedom of commerce, with all nations, is the most correct policy, and will best advance the prosperity of the country?

The pernicious consequences of the restricted and monopolizing system of Spain, it might have been supposed, would have induced the present government, immediately, to secure to the country one of the most important advantages of their independence, freedom of commerce, and to open their ports to all the world. But long established regulations, although founded in despotism and ignorance, are not easily given up; and hence it is that despotism is felt long after the power which sustained it, is overthrown. In the year 1823, during the recess of congress, the vice-president of Colombia, administering the government, promulgated a decree, prohibiting foreigners trading in the country, on their own account, and requiring that they should consign themselves to the natives. This injudicious and illiberal measure, which savoured much of the jealous and monopolizing system of Spain, could not be enforced, and the congress had the wisdom not to pass it into a law. Tobacco has been prohibited from being imported into the country; likewise all kinds of foreign spirits, to encourage the manufacture of domestic brandy, called *aguaidiente*. Every species of Spanish produce and manufacture introduced into the country is forfeited by the laws of the republic. This, however, is not so much a commercial, as a political measure, it being intended to distress Spain; but it must also occasion some inconvenience to Colombia, and particularly prove injurious to the trade of Venezuela in cocoa, of which article Spain is the principal consumer. Of the policy of these, or any other particular prohibitions or restrictions, we have not the means of deciding; but it is evident, that, for a considerable period, the commerce of Colombia must consist of an exchange of the produce of her exuberant soil, of her mines, and of her forests, for the manufactures of Europe and the United States. Colombia must afford an extensive market for the manufactures of England, which country will enjoy the principal part of the Colombian commerce; although the enterprise of our citizens will, doubtless, aim to participate in its benefit. The amount of European goods, imported into New Granada, previous to 1810, was 2,500,000 dollars annually; and the exports 1,500,000, exclusive of the precious metals; and the cast and ingots of gold exported, are 2,650,000 dollars.

The manufactures of the republic are chiefly confined to the southern departments. Previous to the year 1810, their annual

value was computed to be 5,000,000 of dollars. A great extension of this branch of industry cannot be expected in a country abounding in such immense agricultural resources, capable of affording an extensive and profitable commerce with most of the world. The mechanic arts must be generally established, and advanced to a state of considerable perfection in any country, before manufactures, except a few of the coarser kind, can be introduced. This has not been done in Colombia ; and where there is a great want of artisans, of almost every description, such as carpenters, joiners, ship builders, masons, blacksmiths, tanners, shoemakers, saddlers, and cabinet makers, it will hardly be expected that manufactures will be introduced to any extent. Furniture is imported in all the sea ports, from Jamaica, Curacoa, and the United States ; but this article is too bulky to be conveyed into the interior, with the imperfect communication which exists.

The sources of revenue of the republic are direct and indirect taxes ; but the custom-house duties constitutè, by far, the most certain and important source, which is constantly increasing, whilst many of the ancient sources of revenue have been abolished. The duties received at La Guira sometimes amount to 60,000 dollars per month. There are some of the old monopolies continued, as well as duties on salt. The produce of the mint, including the expenses of coinage, amounts to about 2,000,000 of dollars annually. The national debt is principally due to foreigners, and is not so great as might be expected, considering the character and duration of the war, in which the republic has been engaged. In 1822, the republic borrowed of Messrs. Herring, Graham & Powles, 2,000,000 sterling, and in 1824, a further loan was obtained in London of 4,750,000 ; so that her whole foreign debt is 30,000,000 dollars ; besides which, she owes a domestic debt, probably of no great amount. This sum must be regarded as small, when we consider the long and destructive war which the country has sustained ; and although considerable, it can form no obstacle to the national prosperity, as the ability of the republic to meet it will be constantly and rapidly increasing. The revenue of New Granada, previous to 1810, amounted to 3,200,000 dollars. Among the sources of this revenue, was the royal right of a fifth of the gold obtained from the mines, the tribute or capitation tax paid by the Indians ; the bulls of crusade ; the alcabala, or duties paid on the sale of every article of consumption, and partially the monopoly of tobacco, which are now abolished. The revenue of Venezuela, at the same time, was 2,126,000 dollars. The revolutionary war, the abolition of many of the old branches of revenue ; the entire change which has taken place in the political and financial condition of the country, together with the increase of expenditure, occasioned by the war, have rendered

the state of the finance unpromising, and stamped the system as imperfect, and obviously undigested. In 1823, an attempt was made to levy a direct contribution, in the form of income tax, which completely failed, in consequence (according to the report of the minister of finance) of the difficulty of obtaining a fair assessment. The amount of gold and silver coined for the government is estimated at 2,000,000 of dollars: but the expenses attending which, are computed at 1,300,000 dollars. The revenue from the salt works is about 100,000 dollars, equal to its former amount; but the tobacco monopoly is unproductive. The imposts, or duties on goods imported, is the main branch of revenue; but at present, far from being sufficient to meet the expenses of the government. The revenue, however, from this source, must increase with great rapidity, with the increase of population, the developement of the mineral and agricultural wealth of the country, and the extension and prosperity of the commerce of the republic; so that, at no distant period, it may suffice for the entire demands of the government.

Army, navy, and military resources.—The army of the republic is highly respectable, both for size and character. In addition to the garrisons, which are maintained in the fortified towns, an efficient corps is reserved in each department, for the purpose of defence. In 1823, provision was made for raising immediately, 50,000 men, in case of an attack from Spain, and a powerful Colombian army has already liberated Peru, and covered itself with glory. The fields of Boyaca, Carabobo, in Colombia, and Ayacucho, in Peru, bear ample testimony to the valour and discipline of the heroic army of Colombia. Few, if any examples are on record, of a country of the same population and resources, having carried on so long and destructive a war as Colombia has done, and bringing the same to so successful and glorious a termination. The navy of the republic has not arrived at maturity; but ample provision has been made for its extension and efficiency by large appropriations for the purpose of building and purchasing vessels of war. Naval schools, for scientific and practical instruction, have been established at Carthagena and Guayaquil, the principal naval stations belonging to the republic. A respectable navy has already been created on both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, composed of frigates and smaller vessels, which has been found of great utility in assisting the military operations. A frigate of thirty-eight guns, called the Chapman, lately arrived at Carthagena, from Sweden, purchased for the Colombian government; a ship of the line, the corvette Boyaca, the sloop of war Protector, and several other ships of war were purchased in England for the Colombian service in 1825, most of which have arrived at Carthagena. In December of the same year, the frigate Sout

America, a beautiful and elegant vessel was launched in New-York, designed for Colombia ; and another has been built at Philadelphia for the same service.

The military resources of the republic are ample for the purposes of defence ; and the materials for the formation of an efficient army are abundant. The people of colour, of all classes, make excellent soldiers, and some of them have risen to a distinguished rank in the army ; and it cannot be doubted that the people of Colombia are as capable of maintaining their independence, as any other nation, of the same magnitude, on the globe.

Character of the people, education, &c.—A late traveller remarks, that the most pleasing trait in the character of the Colombian creoles, is good nature. It cannot be expected, that a nation which has just emerged from a state of colonial degradation, can immediately develop any very strong or peculiar characteristics ; but it is due to the inhabitants of Colombia to observe, that during their long and arduous struggle, they have displayed a constancy and devotion to the cause of liberty and independence, that has rarely been equalled in ancient or modern times ; and it is also worthy of remark, that the government of Colombia has maintained its public credit with scrupulous fidelity, and that all its relations with foreigners have been characterized by the love of justice and liberality ; that it has omitted no means of diffusing knowledge, or extending the blessings of the republican system among its citizens, and of preparing them for the enjoyment of liberty and the exalted destiny which awaits them, as citizens of a free, prosperous, and powerful republic. The enlightened policy of the present government, is gradually obliterating the casts and classes into which the population was divided under the colonial system. These distinctions, so inconsistent with a republican government, will soon be entirely lost. The constitution and the laws recognise no distinction of colour, and all free persons are equally eligible to office. To the eternal honour of the present congress, one of its earliest acts had for its object, the gradual abolition of slavery. It provides that no person can be born a slave in the republic, and prohibits the importation of slaves under a severe penalty. Nor does it stop here ; but makes provision for a manumission fund, by a tax which, according to the colonial laws, was retained by the government. These regulations are similar to those which were adopted by the republican government at Buenos Ayres, at an earlier period. The manumission fund is applied to the purchase of slaves, a great number of which are annually redeemed ; their characters are strictly inquired into by the highest magistrates, and those are redeemed who are the most deserving.

Previous to the revolution, Caraccas and Santa Fe de Bogota

were the seats of learning, and like luminous bodies, diffused their light through the dark atmosphere of the provinces. Caraccas gave the first impulse to the revolution in Venezuela ; and Bogota, in New Grenada. A great portion of the political intelligence, which afterwards was scattered through the provinces, was disseminated from these cities, which were the two eyes of the republic. Not only the light, but the first heat of the revolution, originated in these two capitals ; which not only diffused a knowledge of their rights among the people, but set the first examples of defending them. The inhabitants of Caraccas were more enlightened by means of commerce, and the intercourse of foreigners, than those of Bogota ; but their acquirements were in a different department of science. Politics, philosophy, eloquence, metaphysics, and the moral sciences, received the most attention at Caraccas ; whilst at Bogota, the mathematics, natural history, chemistry, botany, and other physical sciences, received the greatest attention.* Politics, however, were not neglected at Bogota, where there were many individuals of enlightened and liberal principles, all of whom took part in favour of the revolution, and most of them fell a sacrifice to their patriotism.

There were, perhaps, few cities in America, that possessed a greater number of learned and scientific men, at the breaking out of the revolution, than Bogota. Doctors Mutis, Calders, Zea, and other members of the university, cultivated the mathematics with success ; the first was also a distinguished botanist. The great work on that subject which he left unfinished at his death, was prosecuted by his nephew, Dr. Senforso Mutis, Don Jose Lozano, and Don Francisco Jose Caldas, assisted by the pencil of Don Salvados Rezo. They were encouraged in their researches by the popular government ; but their labours and their lives were cut short by the blood thirsty Morillo, who, on his capture of the capital in 1816, put to death all the learned men, as well as all the actors in the revolution, who fell into his hands.

Under the colonial despotism, the studies of all the universities and colleges were *established by law*, and all others strictly prohibited ; so that these institutions were rather calculated to cramp, than to expand the intellect—to confine, rather than extend the knowledge of the student. All books, which did not tend to strengthen the despotism of the state, or the church, were prohibited, and the Inquisition was charged to prevent their introduction into the country. With all the restrictions and vigilance of the holy office, however, liberal books found their way into America ; and the students, in a clandestine manner, devoted that time to Voltaire, Rousseau, and Volney, which they were required to apply to scholastic and theological studies. Don A. Narino,

* Hall's Colombia.

afterwards one of the leaders of the revolution, translated Rousseau's Social Compact, for which offence, although he had previously obtained the consent of the viceroy, he was immured in the dungeons of Carthagena, and thence was removed to Spain. Under such a despotism, which feared nothing so much as light, it is matter of surprise that science and learning should have made the progress they did in many parts of Spanish America.

Among the first subjects which received the attention of the constitutional congress, was that of education. At its first session, it passed an act concerning schools, colleges, and universities. The report of Mr. Restrepo, the secretary of state, shows that the government engaged zealously in this important work. The Lancastrian system has been introduced, and numerous schools have been established on that plan. The founder of the system is now in Colombia, using his exertions to extend the blessings of his system of education, and to scatter light in dark places. Some few seminaries of a higher order have been put in operation, and the universities and colleges have undergone a thorough reformation. A portion of the old ecclesiastical revenue, particularly the property of certain monasteries and nunneries, has been appropriated to the purposes of education. The restrictions on books have not only been removed, but they are allowed to be imported free of duty, and also maps, charts, engravings, scientific apparatus, &c. Useful books for schools, and good teachers, are much wanted. Considering the shortness of the time, much has been done, although this is only to be considered as the first fruits of the great work of mental regeneration and illumination, which Bolivar, and his patriotic associates in Colombia, have undertaken. Forty schools on the plan of Bell and Lancaster have been established during the past year, besides ten colleges, and three universities, and a public library at the capital, containing 14,000 volumes. Bolivar, the founder of the republic, has lately made a large donation to Caraccas, his native city, to constitute a fund for the support of primary schools.

His constant efforts to emancipate the people from moral darkness, will add a brighter lustre to his name, than his great and extraordinary exploits to liberate his country from the tyranny of Spain.

Religion.—In Colombia, as well as in all parts of what was Spanish America, the Roman Catholic religion is established and maintained by law. More liberality, however, prevails in Colombia than in Mexico, and a certain degree of toleration to other religions is allowed. In August, 1821, the congress passed a decree, abolishing the Inquisition, and conferring on the ecclesi-

astical courts, jurisdiction in all matters of religion, according to the canons and customs of the Roman Catholic church. The law provides, that juridical proceedings in such cases (in matters of faith) shall take place only with respect to Roman Catholics, born in Colombia, their children, and those who, having come from other countries, shall have enrolled themselves in the parish registers of the Catholics ; but not with respect to strangers, who may have come to reside temporarily, or permanently, nor with their descendants, who can in no manner be molested on account of their belief, though they ought to respect the Roman Catholic worship and religion.

This is a qualified kind of toleration, even as it respects foreigners, as the law declares that they shall not be molested "on account of their belief," which leaves it uncertain, whether they are to be protected in the open public worship of religion, differing from the Catholic. This is a question of construction, arising from the face of the law, and it is uncertain how it may be decided. The clergy will be disposed to put the most illiberal interpretation on the law ; but the officers composing the government, and all the enlightened men throughout the republic, it is presumed, will be inclined to construe this act in the most favourable and liberal manner. This qualified toleration is but just raising the veil of an established faith, to let in a glimpse of light to the mental vision. It may be all that the prejudices of the people, and the influence of the clergy, will admit ; but it is not what the condition and prosperity of the country, or the civil institutions which have been adopted, demand. It is justly observed by a recent writer, "If Colombia intends to tread in the steps of the United States, and to grow powerful, by the admission of foreigners into her bosom, some change in her religious system, either legally sanctioned, or conventionally allowed, must take place."* In other respects, the government has adopted the most liberal regulations to promote the emigration of foreigners into the country ; that is, Europeans and the citizens of the United States ; the president being authorized to distribute or dispose of one million and a half of acres of the lands of the state, for the encouragement of emigration.

The bondage of the mind is the most debasing and humiliating kind of slavery ; and until that is free, no nation is completely emancipated. Civil liberty cannot long exist with religious intolerance and despotism ; one must acquire the entire ascendancy, when it will destroy the other. The result in Colombia cannot occasion doubt or apprehension. If the present free republican institutions maintain their ground, unqualified toleration and freedom of inquiry, and of action, in matters of religion, must in-

* Hall's Colombia.

evitably follow. This requires time, as it cannot be supposed that a nation, long enslaved, can be redeemed in a day; or that the accumulated rubbish of three centuries of political oppression and hierarchical craft and corruption, can be removed by the first efforts of liberty. The enjoyment of entire religious freedom will form the capstone of the political edifice, whose sure foundation, and lofty structure, it is hoped, will long reflect the sunlight of liberty and truth on the vast declivities of the Andes, and over the outstretched vallies of the Oronoco.

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN COLOMBIA.

CHAPTER II.

Causes of the revolution—events in Spain—establishment of juntas there—overthrow of the central junta—establishment of juntas in America—massacre at Quito—success of the French in Spain—establishment of the regency of Cadiz—effect of these events on the colonies—junta suprema of Caraccas—blockade of Caraccas by the regency—troops sent from Spain—conduct of the Cortes towards America—congress of Venezuela—declaration of Independence—proceedings in Spain—policy of England and France—propositions of accommodation rejected by the Cortes—junta of Caraccas sends deputies to England.

WE have seen what America was, whilst a part of the dominions of Spain, and subject to the government of the Spanish crown ; we are now to behold her in a different and more interesting character ; in maintaining for a long period, with unexampled perseverance, a desperate struggle for her independence, characterized by scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, unparalleled in modern times ; to behold her exertions finally crowned with success, and half a dozen independent states suddenly emerging from colonial degradation, and taking their rank in the family of nations ; to witness these states founded on the will of the people, and calculated to secure to the present and future generations, independence, liberty, peace, and their attendant blessings.

The revolution in Colombia is more important than that in other parts of Spanish America, as it was here that the war commenced, and the struggle was here more protracted and severe ; here too Spain made her greatest exertions, and the success of the revolution in Colombia, in no small degree, has been the means of its ultimate triumph through the Spanish American do-

minions. We shall, therefore, in noticing the causes of events which led to the revolution, have to consider many whose influence was general on all parts of the Spanish dominions in America, as well as on those now constituting the Colombian republic.

The first causes of the civil commotions in America are to be sought for in the disturbances which occurred in Spain. These disturbances, the offspring of the ambitious views of Napoleon Bonaparte, although without his intention, prepared the way for the revolution in South America, and in this view have been productive of important benefits to the inhabitants of that country, and to the world. His proceedings at Bayonne, in compelling Ferdinand to abdicate the throne of Spain in favour of Joseph Bonaparte, and the evident designs of Napoleon, threw Spain into confusion. The loyalty and spirit of the nation was roused, and the people refused to submit to a monarch imposed on them by treachery, and supported by foreign bayonets. In the provinces not occupied by the French, *juntas* were established, which assumed the government of their districts; and that at Seville styling itself the supreme junta of Spain and the Indies, despatched deputies to the different governments in America, requiring an acknowledgment of its authority; to obtain which, it was represented that the junta was acknowledged and obeyed throughout Spain. At the same time, the regency created at Madrid by Ferdinand, when he left his capital, and the junta at Asturias, each claimed superiority, and endeavoured to direct the affairs of the nation.

Napoleon, on his part, was not less attentive to America; agents were sent in the name of Joseph, king of Spain, to communicate to the colonies the abdication of Ferdinand, and his own accession to the vacant throne, and to procure the recognition of his authority by the Americans. Thus the obedience of the colonies was demanded by no less than four tribunals, each claiming to possess supreme authority at home. There could scarcely have occurred a conjuncture more favourable for the colonists to throw off their dependence on Spain, being convulsed as she was by a civil war, the king a prisoner, the monarchy subverted, and the people unable to agree among themselves where the supreme authority was vested, or which of the pretenders to it were to be obeyed. The power of the parent state over its colonies was *de facto* at an end; in consequence of which, they were, in a measure, required to "provide new guards for their security." But so totally unprepared were the colonists for a political revolution, that instead of these events being regarded as auspicious to their prosperity, they only served to prove the strength of their loyalty and attachment to Spain

Notwithstanding that the viceroys and captain-generals, excepting the viceroy of New Spain, manifested a readiness to acquiesce in the cessions of Bayonne, to yield to the new order of things, and to sacrifice their king, provided they could retain their places, in which they were confirmed by the new king, the news of the occurrences in Spain filled the people with indignation; they publicly burnt the proclamations sent out by king Joseph, expelled his agents, and such was their rage, that all Frenchmen in the colonies became objects of insult and execration. A French brig arrived at Caraccas with despatches, in July, 1808, and anchored two miles from the town. The fact was no sooner known to the inhabitants, than the utmost excitement ensued, attended with such hostile feelings towards the French, that the captain of the brig was obliged to steal out of town secretly, in the night, to save his life.

“On entering the city,” says a British naval officer, “I observed a great effervescence among the people, like something which either precedes or follows a popular commotion; and as I entered the large inn of the city, I was surrounded by inhabitants of almost all classes.

“I here learned that the French captain, who had arrived yesterday, had brought intelligence of every thing which had taken place in Spain in favour of France; that he had announced the accession to the Spanish throne of Joseph Bonaparte, and had brought orders to the government from the French emperor.

“The city was immediately in arms; 10,000 of its inhabitants surrounded the residence of the captain-general, and demanded the proclamation of Ferdinand the seventh, as their king; which he promised the next day. But this would not satisfy them: they proclaimed him that evening by heralds, in form, throughout the city, and placed his portrait, illuminated, in the gallery of the town-house.

“The French were first publicly insulted in the coffee-house, from whence they were obliged to withdraw; and the French captain left Caraccas, privately, about eight o’clock that night, escorted by a detachment of soldiers, and so saved his life; for, about ten o’clock, his person was demanded of the governor by the populace, and when they learned that he was gone, three hundred men followed him to put him to death.

“Though coldly received by the governor, I was surrounded by all the respectable inhabitants of the city, and hailed as their deliverer. The news which I gave them from Cadiz was devoured with avidity, and produced enthusiastic shouts of gratitude to England.”*

A French brig, with an envoy from Napoleon, arrived at Bue-

* Extract from Captain Beaver’s letter to A. Cochrane.

nos Ayres the latter part of July, with despatches to Liniers, the viceroy, who issued a proclamation informing the people of the events which had occurred in Spain, and intended to persuade them to acquiesce in the proceedings at Bayonne, and to submit to the authority of Joseph Bonaparte. This proclamation was badly received by the people; and the governor of Monte Video accusing Liniers of disloyalty, and disregarding his proclamation, established a junta for the province, similar to those in Spain, and thus withdrew it from the jurisdiction of Liniers.

The intelligence of the general revolt in Spain against the government of Joseph Bonaparte, and the establishment of juntas, was received in Mexico about the same time, and occasioned the greatest enthusiasm among the inhabitants; and when the deputies, some time after, arrived from the junta of Seville, they were ready to acknowledge their authority, and would have done it, had not despatches arrived from the junta of Asturias, cautioning them against the ambitious designs of the Andalusian junta. At this period, so little thought had the colonists of attempting to avail themselves of the disorders which existed in Spain, to establish their independence, and so strong was their loyalty, that they seemed ready to acknowledge the authority of any self-created tribunal in Spain, which claimed to be respected and obeyed at home; although it is evident that there was no more propriety in the colonies acknowledging the authority of any of the juntas in the Spanish peninsula, than there was of Spain's recognising the authority of a junta established in the colonies; as America had been subject to the king of Spain, not to the nation.

As the disorders in the peninsula continued, and no sovereign power existed there which the colonies could respect, a number of the most distinguished inhabitants of Caraccas presented a petition to Cacas, the captain-general, recommending the establishment of a junta, similar to those in Spain. And although the petitioners had evidently no other object than to provide for the security of the province; and, notwithstanding the principles of the petition were taken from the laws, the petitioners were answered by being arrested and thrown into prison. They were released, however, in a few days.

No one of the several juntas in Spain being able to acquire supreme authority, and feeling the want of unity of power, the provincial juntas agreed to send deputies to a central junta, and thus constitute a national authority and tribunal. In case of a suspension of the royal functions, the laws of Spain required the establishment of a regency; yet, nevertheless, this irregular tribunal was obeyed, not only in Spain, but in America, and so implicitly in the latter, that, down to the year 1810, more than ninety millions of dollars were sent to Spain by the colonies. This

money not only enabled the Spanish patriots, as they were called, to carry on the war with France, but gave vigour to the measures they subsequently adopted towards America, so that the colonies furnished the means of their own subjugation. Many of the most intelligent individuals in America did not feel satisfied with the authority of the central junta of Spain, and generally much anxiety was felt for the fate of the colonies, in case the French should prevail. These sentiments led to the establishment of a junta in the province of Quito, in August, 1809; and the Marquis Selva Alegre was chosen its president. A similar junta had previously been created in La Paz, the capital of one of the districts under the dominion of the audience of Charcas, and was suppressed by the military force of the viceroy of Buenos Ayres. The viceroy of New Granada, Don Amar, determined to destroy the junta formed at Quito; but desirous of exhibiting an appearance of acting in conformity to the will of the people, he convened the principal inhabitants of Santa Fe de Bogota, for the purpose of consulting them on the subject; believing that they would not have independence sufficient to oppose his will. In this, however, he was disappointed; the assembly not only approved of the proceedings at Quito, but declared that a similar body ought to be formed in Santa Fe, for the security of the country, in case Spain should finally be conquered by the French. The assembly, with the consent of the viceroy, was adjourned, to meet again on the 11th of September, 1809, the first meeting being on the 7th. Still thinking to intimidate the members, the viceroy required that each one should give his vote in writing. When the assembly again met, they were surprised to see that the guards of the palace were doubled, and that great military preparations had been made, as if an enemy was approaching the city. But even this seasonable display of military force did not have the effect of overawing the assembly; its debates were bold and spirited, and the voting by written ballots showing the opinions of the different members, tended to strengthen their firmness and resolution; so that the friends of the measure were rather increased than diminished. This occasion first brought into notice several individuals, who afterwards became distinguished patriots; Camillo de Torres, Gutierrez, father Padilla, and Moreno, were among the number. Being at length persuaded that he could not have even the appearance of acting in conformity to public opinion, the viceroy took immediate steps to suppress the popular junta at Quito by an armed force; and the viceroy of Peru having despatched troops for the same object, the junta was obliged to yield to a power which it had no means of resisting. And although an assurance was given by the president of the *audiencia* of Quito,

that no one should, in any way, suffer on account of what had taken place ; yet, in violation of this plighted faith, a large number of those who had belonged to, or supported the popular government, were arrested and imprisoned ; and on the 2d of August, the following year, they were all massacred in prison, under pretence of revolt. The troops stationed in the city, after massacring the prisoners, were suffered to plunder the inhabitants ; the scene of rapine and carnage was shocking, and involved the property of thousands, and the lives of more than three hundred persons, murdered in cold blood. The anniversary of the fate of these early victims to the liberation and independence of Colombia, was commemorated by order of the junta of Caraccas, in 1810, in a solemn manner, with appropriate funeral honours.

These tyrannical and sanguinary measures producing great excitement throughout the colonies, tended to weaken the attachment that was felt towards the parent country. Few individuals, however, even thought of independence ; on the contrary, all were anxious for a re-establishment of the government of Spain, and a reformation in the colonies. The intelligence of the disturbances in America, and the violent measures pursued by the colonial chiefs, alarmed the central junta of old Spain, and with a view to conciliate the wounded feelings of the Americans, they issued a pompous declaration, in which they asserted, that "the colonies were equal to the mother country." But this was entirely deceptive ; no reformation of the system, no correction of abuses, was attempted ; and, notwithstanding the disturbances which the violence of the governors had occasioned, Spaniards were sent to America to fill all places, and to occupy all public employment, as had been done for ages past ; while the colonies were still drained of money to supply the pressing wants of Spain, engaged in a struggle with the gigantic power of France.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the Americans, when, at the very time they were expecting to hear of the final triumph of the patriots in Spain, and the restoration of Ferdinand VII., they learned that the French were masters of Madrid, and that the central junta had been driven to Andalusia. But their confidence in the courage of the people of Spain remained unshaken ; and instead of being discouraged by these disasters, they only served to awaken the zeal of the Americans in the cause of the mother country, which they still regarded as their own. Hence, not only the regular remittances were made, but large sums were raised by subscriptions from every class of the population. The intelligence of war breaking out between Austria and France, and the victory of Talavera, occasioned as great joy in America as it did in the Spanish peninsula ; but this joy

was soon diminished by intelligence of the most alarming dissensions among the patriots ; General de la Romana published a manifesto, declaring the power of the central junta illegal, and the juntas of Seville and Valencia protested against it. These dissensions were followed by the defeat of their armies, and the dispersion of the central junta, which, having become obnoxious to popular rage, its members were pursued and insulted by the people, and denounced as traitors. A few of the members assembled in the isle of Leon, but not daring to exercise the powers of government any longer, and trembling for their own safety, they vested their authority in a regency consisting of five members. At this time, the whole of Spain was under the dominion of Bonaparte, except Cadiz and Galicia, which would have been the extent of the jurisdiction of the regency, had it been legally constituted ; but for one illegal body, whose authority the national will had annulled, when unable any longer to maintain its own power, to attempt to transfer it to another tribunal of its own creating, was such a palpable attempt at usurpation, that the new government would not have been respected for a moment, by any one in Spain, had it not been for the awful crisis which threatened the annihilation of the last hopes of the Spanish patriots.

What a favourable conjuncture for the Americans to emancipate themselves from a government which had tyrannised over them for three centuries ! But instead of promptly embracing the opportunity, they appear to have been only thinking of the re-establishment of the legitimate power of their oppressors—the restoration of Ferdinand the *adored*. The prevailing anxiety of the colonists, from the commencement of the disturbances in Spain, had been an apprehension of falling under the power of Bonaparte, in the event of his becoming master of the Spanish peninsula ; and as the cause of the Spanish patriots became more desperate, the fears of the colonists increased. “What will become of us if Spain shall be conquered ?” was a question universally asked ; and its discussion directly led to the consideration of the necessity and the right of providing new guards for their own security. The question admitted of only two answers ; for if Spain fell under the power of France, her colonies must have shared her fate, or taken care of themselves. The case supposed, presented but an alternative to America, to fall under the power of France, or become independent. The first ideas which the Americans had of independence, did not relate to independence as it respected Spain, but as to France. How different was the origin of the revolution which resulted in the independence of the British American colonies, from that which separated the Spanish colonies from the mother country. The revolution in the British colonies originated from measures of oppression on the part of

the parent state, and long and systematical resistance to those measures on the part of the colonies. The Anglo-Americans were alarmed from an apprehension of being oppressed by the parent country; but the Spanish Americans, although tyrannised over by Spain for centuries, were terrified at the prospect of the overthrow of the power of their oppressors, and that that event would place them under the dominion of a foreign power which they detested. Although such, generally, were the feelings of the Spanish colonists; yet at this period, and before, there were some few enlightened individuals in the different settlements, who entertained higher views and hopes; who wished to avail themselves of the present juncture to restore their country to its natural rights, of which it had been deprived for three hundred years.

The illegal regency in Spain, being encouraged by the manifesto of the merchants of Cadiz, addressed a proclamation to the colonies in America; and with the intention of conciliating them, at a crisis when it was evident Spain could do nothing without their assistance, the proclamation contains sentiments not less true than remarkable, as emanating from such a source.

“Americans, ye have been long weighed down by a yoke more oppressive to bear, because ye were distant from the centre of power. We now place your future destiny in your own hands. Ye have hitherto been the football, as it were, of the viceroys, always subject to their ambition and caprice, while at the same time ye were a prey to their cupidity. From this time your fate shall not depend on them.”

The regency, also, endeavoured to impress on the Americans, that Spain and her colonies were to share the same fate, whatever it might be. “It is not sufficient,” they observe, “for you to be Spaniards, unless, whatever be the event of fortune, you also belong to Spain.”

The news of the disastrous events in the Spanish peninsula, and the proclamation of the regency, reached Caraccas in the year 1810, and occasioned great alarm. The struggle in Spain was believed to be nearly at an end, and the final triumph of Bonaparte certain. At such a conjuncture, the inhabitants felt it to be their duty and their right to provide for their own security; the legitimate government of the mother country being annihilated, and the colonies exposed to fall into the hands of a foreign power. They felt the more confirmed in this course, as they had no longer any reason to doubt that it was the design of the Spanish chiefs at home, and of all the colonial officers in America, who were determined to yield obedience to every species of government established in the peninsula, however illegal, that the colonies should fall under the dominion of Bonaparte in case he conquered Spain. We have seen that the colonial chiefs were will-

ing to sacrifice their king, and recognise the power of Joseph Bonaparte, as sovereign of Spain ; and after the insurrection in the peninsula, they had evinced a readiness to acknowledge the authority of any self-created tribunal in Spain, however probably illegal, and at the same time to resist every attempt of the colonists to establish any provisional tribunal, which might preserve the country from anarchy in case of the subjugation of the parent country. The prime object of the colonial rulers was to keep the colonies in a state of *dependence* on some power in Europe ; and they seemed hardly to care where or what it was. And it is not difficult to discover the motives of this conduct ; as long as America could be kept in a state of dependence, the colonial rulers supposed a readiness to acknowledge any authority which claimed dominion over Spain, and consequently over America, was the most sure way of preserving their stations. They wished to keep America dependent, not so much from a regard to the interests of Spain, as to preserve their own power ; being very sensible that they could have no part in any government constituted by the people. Hence, the violence with which they pursued the American patriots ; every act, every movement tending towards the independence of the colonies, although temporary, and with the entire and express recognition of Ferdinand VII., was regarded as a blow aimed at their own power. This is the cause of the fury with which they pursued the first patriots in the colonies ; and the zeal they pretended to feel for their country, was stimulated by an apprehension of losing their own power, a passion of all others the most violent and vindictive.

The inhabitants of Caraccas were well acquainted with the opinions and feelings of the captain-general of the province, and aware that he intended, at all events, to keep them in a state of dependence ; and considering that, as the legitimate government in Spain was at an end, the powers of government during this suspension of authority in the parent state, had reverted to the people ; and that, in the language of their brethren in the north, in their solemn declaration to the world, it consequently had become a right and a duty to “ provide new guards for their own security :” by the almost unanimous voice of the people, the Spanish colonial officers were deposed, and the *cabildo*, or municipal body, together with several other persons, designated by the people, were vested with the powers of government, and styled a *junta suprema*. The *junta*, however, acted in the name of Ferdinand VII. ; and although they disallowed the authority of the regency at Cadiz, they offered to afford all the aid in their power towards the prosecution of the war against France.

The influence which the condition of Spain had on her colonies, the measures that the Americans had adopted, and the vio-

lence with which they had been opposed by the Spanish rulers, both in Spain and the colonies, had greatly increased the jealousy and unfriendly feelings between the creoles or native Americans, and the European Spaniards in America. In July, 1810, an affray occurred at Santa Fe de Bogota, which originated from a European Spaniard, insulting a native American, and including in the opprobrious and reproachful language which he applied to him, all his countrymen. The quarrel between these two individuals soon assumed a serious aspect; the citizens collecting to the scene of contention, the Spaniards joining on the side of their countrymen, and the creoles taking part with theirs, a contest ensued, in which the latter, being the most numerous, were triumphant. Under the influence of the excitement, which this popular contest had occasioned, a meeting of the inhabitants was convened, and a junta established. In Chili, the captain-general exasperated the people to such a degree, that he was obliged to resign his office, and a junta was formed in September; and in Mexico an insurrection broke out the same month in consequence of the violent measures of Venegas, the new viceroy.

Accounts of these proceedings in the colonies, were sent to Spain, by the colonial governors, with all the exaggeration which their exasperated feelings were calculated to give to them; and their effect on the regency must have gratified their most violent resentments. The official despatches of the junta of Caraccas, containing the reasons which had induced the people to take the course they had, the nature of the power assumed, and that, although they could not submit to the authority of the regency, they recognised the supremacy of Ferdinand; had no influence on the unstable and violent councils of a distracted state.* The regency of Spain, illegal and impotent as it was, with that rashness and violence which oppugnation to illegal power, usually occasions, immediately declared Caraccas in a state of blockade. This decree was published on the 31st of August, 1810, and its importance, as well as to exhibit its spirit, requires its insertion.

“Scarcely had the council of regency received intelligence of the occurrences at Caraccas, whose inhabitants, instigated no doubt by some intriguing and factious persons, were guilty of *declaring themselves independent of the mother country, and of forming a governing junta to exercise this supposed independent authority, when it determined to take the most active and efficacious means to attack the evil in its origin, and prevent its progress.* But in order to proceed with mature deliberation, the regency consulted the council of Spain and the Indies, and has taken such measures as will answer the end proposed, particularly as neither the province of Maracaibo, nor the department of Coro, have ta-

* Walton's Expose to the king of England.

ken part in the criminal proceedings ; but, *on the contrary, have acknowledged the council of regency, and taken the most efficacious measures to oppose the absurd idea of Caraccas declaring herself independent, without being possessed of the means of obtaining this independence!* The regency hereby declares the province of Caraccas in a state of rigorous blockade," &c. "These resolutions do not extend to the above-mentioned divisions, which, having refused to follow the pernicious example of Caraccas, have manifested their constant fidelity by opposing the plan of rebellion, which only originated in the unlimited ambition of some persons, and in the blind credulity of others, who suffered themselves to be hurried away by the ardent passions of their fellow countrymen. The regency has taken the most secure measures to extirpate these evils, and to punish the authors of them with all the rigour which the rights of sovereignty authorize it to use, unless there be a previous and voluntary submission, in which case the regency grants them a general pardon. The regency commands that these resolutions be circulated through all the Spanish dominions, that they may be carried into effect there as well as in foreign countries, and that they may act conformably to the measures taken for the blockade of the said coasts," &c.

If the causes which led to the revolution in the British colonies in America, were unlike those which occasioned the first movements of that in the Spanish colonies, the conduct of the two parent governments, occasioned by the first proceedings of the colonies, were very similar, and proceeded from the same feelings. The blockade of Caraccas, is a measure that compares very well with the Boston Port Bill, and other acts of Parliament, which instantly followed the news of the destruction of the tea ; and although, perhaps, more violent, it was dictated by the same spirit, and justified on the same principles.

This decree of the regency was a declaration of war, and its authors, without inquiring into the causes which occasioned the measures pursued in the colonies, or making a single effort for conciliation, rashly plunged the two countries into all the horrors of civil war. The answer of the junta of Caraccas, to the Marquis de las Hermandas, minister in Spain, containing an expose of the reasons which occasioned the establishment of the junta, and justifying the measure, instead of tending to allay the feelings of the regency, and the people of Spain, greatly inflamed them ; and the intelligence, that other colonies were following the examples of Caraccas, excited their resentment to the highest pitch. The Cortes had been convened, and both the government and the people seemed ripe for war, and thirsting for vengeance. The severest invectives, reproaches, and sarcasms, against the Americans, were published in the Cadiz newspapers ; and the most vio-

lent measures were adopted, not only calculated, but intended to enkindle the flames of civil war in America, and thus either coerce her into an acknowledgment of the authority of Spain, whatever it might be, or make her destroy herself. Agents or emissaries were sent to Porto Rico, Monte Video, Panama, and Mexico, for the purpose of arousing political and religious prejudices in favour of Spain, and against the new governments in America, and by making promises to some, and threatening others, to produce dissensions among the patriots, and thus destroy the new governments in the bud. But the principal reliance of the rulers of Spain was on the sword; and consequently, troops were sent to Monte Video, Vera Cruz, Coro, Santa Martha, and Panama, with a view to dragoon the Americans into submission; although at this time every soldier was wanted at home for the defence of the country. The rage, however, which prevailed against the invaders of their own country, violent as it was, did not equal that towards the rebellious Americans. The animosity of the Cortes against the colonists, corresponded with the feelings of the regency; and although some Americans, who happened at the time to be in the Isle of Leon, were chosen members of the Cortes, so strong were the feelings of that body, they scarcely dared to speak in favour of their countrymen.

Such was the spirit which animated the councils of Spain, and dictated the measures they adopted towards America; and their agents and officers in the colonies, exasperated by the loss of power, or alarmed from an apprehension of it, were fit instruments to execute measures of vengeance, to scatter the firebrands of civil dissensions, and carry on a vindictive and sanguinary war, the object of which was, either to subjugate the rebellious Americans, or to extirminate them. Those who possess supreme power, however acquired, regard the invasion of it as the greatest of crimes. The patriots of America were denounced as rebels and traitors, and the vengeance of the state, and the anathemas of the church were directed against them. That a contest commenced under such auspices should have become a war of extermination, and in its progress have exhibited horrid scenes of cruelty, desolation, and deliberate bloodshed; that all offers of accommodation should be repelled with insult or outrage; capitulations violated, public faith disregarded, prisoners of war cruelly massacred, and the inhabitants persecuted, imprisoned, and put to death, cannot occasion surprise. As violence and cruelty produce the bitter spirit of recrimination and revenge, the outrages of the Spaniards exasperated the Americans, and led to retaliation, which rendered the contest a *war of death*, as it was often called, characterised by a ferocious and savage spirit, scarcely surpassed by that of the Cortes and Pizarros, who first

desolated this fair portion of the earth, and drenched its mountains and plains with the blood of its innocent inhabitants. The events of the revolutionary struggle, which we have now commenced narrating, will fully justify us in what we have asserted as to the spirit and conduct of the Spanish chiefs and rulers; in charging them with the first disregard of the laws of war among civilized nations, and the first outrages against the rights of humanity. The violent measures of the Spanish rulers, and the furious and cruel conduct of their agents in America towards the patriots, produced an effect directly contrary from what was expected; but nevertheless, what was natural, and would have been foreseen, had they taken counsel from their understandings, instead of their mortified pride and exasperated feelings. The high-toned measures, enforced with rigour and cruelty, which it was expected would have intimidated the patriots, and stifled the spirit of independence, only served, like violent winds, acting on half extinguished coals, to enliven its latent sparks, and blow them into a flame. The authority of a state over its colonies, especially when at a great distance, cannot long be supported on any other basis than that of mutual affection and attachment between the inhabitants of the two countries. Spain, notwithstanding the example of Great Britain, from which she might have profited, seems to have entirely disregarded this maxim; and instead of attempting to allay the spirit of disaffection, which disclosed itself, and restore the mutual attachments and confidence between the two countries, by injustice and cruelty, alienated the affections of the colonists from the parent country; dissolved the ties of fraternity, and kindled, from a few sparks, a revolutionary flame, which spread through all her dominions. In consequence of the tyrannical and persecuting conduct of the Spanish rulers at home and in America, so wide had the disaffection spread, and to such a degree were the people alienated from Spain, and irritated against their oppressors, that in one year they became ripe for a revolution and prepared to assume the responsibility of taking the reins of government into their own hands; of declaring to the world "that they were, and of right ought to be, free, sovereign, and independent," at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

Caraccas took the lead, and a congress of the several provinces in Venezuela was convened, which on the 5th of July, 1811, in imitation of the American congress, just thirty-five years before, published a declaration of independence; containing the reasons which impelled them to the separation, and pledging their lives, fortunes, and the sacred tie of national honour, to maintain it.

The noble example of Venezuela was followed by Carthagena, Socorro, Tunja, Pamplona, Antioquia, and the other provinces forming the confederation of New Granada, and likewise by Mexi-

co, which published similar declarations; and at a later period Buenos Ayres, also, promulgated a declaration of independence.

The proceedings in America opened the eyes of the Cortes of Spain to the tendency of their conduct, and perceiving that they were driving the Americans to a separation, they became alarmed, and had recourse, after it was too late, to conciliatory measures. The members of the Cortes, who belonged to America, had submitted a plan for the accommodation of the differences existing between Spain and her colonies, but the Cortes had refused even to consider it; yet in January, 1811, their project, containing eleven propositions, was discussed; and, notwithstanding the apprehensions of the Cortes, arising from the movements in America, they remained not only deaf to the calls of justice, but insensible to the dictates of expediency. The project was rejected, three propositions only being approved. As these propositions reflect light on the dispute between America and Spain, and at the same time, tend to show the restrictions and oppressions, under which the colonies have suffered for ages, it deserves a place in the history of the revolution which separated the two countries.

“1st. In conformity to the decree of the central junta, dated the 15th of October, 1809, which declared the inhabitants of Spanish America equal in rights to those of the peninsula, the national representation of every part of Spanish America, the Spanish West Indies, and the Philippine Islands, including every class of their inhabitants, shall be the same in form, manner, and without distinction, as in the kingdom and islands of European Spain.

“2dly. The free natives and inhabitants of Spanish America shall be allowed to plant and cultivate whatever their climate will produce; with license to encourage industry, and to promote manufactures and arts in their fullest extent.

“3dly. Spanish America shall enjoy the liberty of exporting her own natural and manufactured productions to the peninsula, as well as to the allies, and to neutral nations; and of importing whatever she may want. All her ports are consequently to be opened.” This and the preceding demand were agreed to, but the order to carry them into execution was never published.

“4thly. There shall be a free trade between Spanish America and the Spanish settlements in Asia. Every thing militating against this freedom to be abolished.

“5thly. Freedom of trade to be granted from all the ports in Spanish America and the Philippine Islands to other parts of Asia. Any law existing contrary to such freedom to be annulled.

“6thly. All estancos or monopolies in favour of the public treasury, or of the king, shall be suppressed; but the public treasury shall be indemnified for the loss of profit arising from such monopoly by new duties on the same articles.

“7thly. The working of the quicksilver mines shall be free in Spanish America, but the administration of the produce shall remain in charge of the officers of the minery department, independent of the viceroys and captain-general, and officers of the *real hacienda*.” This was granted, and orders were published for carrying it into execution in the provinces under the Spaniards.

“8thly. All Spanish Americans shall be eligible equally with Spaniards to all appointments of rank or emolument, whether at court or in any part of the monarchy, either in political, military, or ecclesiastical departments.

“9thly. Consulting the natural protection of each kingdom in Spanish America, half of the public appointments shall be filled by Spanish subjects born in America.

“10thly. That the above stipulations may be punctually adhered to; a consultive junta shall be formed in each capital, to the intent that it may propose persons suited to fill each vacancy.”

It is curious to notice the fluctuating policy of both France and England, as to the dispute between Spain and her colonies. After the occurrences at Bayonne, France attempted to acquire dominion over America as an appendage of Spain, and wished to maintain the dependence of the former on the latter. But they soon became satisfied from the extreme repugnance manifested by the Americans to their dominion, that whatever might be the event of the war as to old Spain, the colonies would never acknowledge or submit to the sway of France. The Bonapartes, therefore, changed their views, and became the abettors of the independence of America, for the purpose of cutting off from Spain the pecuniary resources she derived from her colonies, as well as to weaken her by involving her in a civil war. Thus, whilst all the different governments in the Spanish peninsula, maintaining the rights of Ferdinand, were opposing the independence of America, Joseph Bonaparte, claiming the throne of Spain, against whose sovereignty the Americans had shown so much hostility, was attempting to promote it. He despatched agents to America for the purpose of exciting and encouraging the revolution there; giving them full and minute instructions, embracing even the motto to be inscribed on the revolutionary banners, which was, “Long live the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, and perish the bad government.” These instructions were given to M. Desmolard, of Baltimore, who was the principal agent of Joseph Bonaparte, and to other emissaries sent into the colonies.

A copy of these instructions was found in Caraccas in the office of the secretary of the junta, and forwarded to the admiral of the Barbadoes station, as a caution against the intrigues of the Bonapartes.* The French agents penetrated into different parts

* See Outline of the Revolution, p. 55.

of the American settlements, and one of them was discovered in the town of Habana, and shot.

The court of St. James, in 1797, openly encouraged a revolution in Venezuela, as appears by the proclamation of the governor of Trinidad, which we have copied in this work. Spain then being an ally of France, and her resources wasted by Napoleon in supporting his wars against England and her allies, the British ministry wished to separate her colonies from Spain, to deprive her of the supplies she received from them, and also to secure to Great Britain a lucrative trade with America. But after the general rising in Spain against Bonaparte, the tables were turned, and the Spaniards, from being the enemies of Great Britain, became her friends and allies. Feeling interested in the success of the war prosecuting in the Spanish peninsula against France, Great Britain became the mediator between Spain and her colonies, and in June, 1810, Lord Liverpool wrote to general Layard, governor of Curacoa, "that his Britannic majesty had strong reasons for hoping that the inhabitants of Caraccas would acknowledge the authority of the regency of Spain." The governor sent copies of this letter to the government at Caraccas, and also to the regency at Cadiz, in both of which places it was published; and soon after colonel Robertson, the secretary of the governor of Curacoa, arrived at Caraccas, with the evident design of promoting the wish of the British cabinet; but perceiving how universal the disaffection of the inhabitants was towards the regency of Spain, he did not communicate the object of his mission. Not discouraged, however, in her efforts to restore harmony between Spain and her colonies, in April, 1811, Great Britain offered her mediation, which was accepted by the Cortes, on certain conditions; among which, the principal were, that the revolted provinces should swear allegiance to the Cortes and regency; and in case the Americans should not accede to the terms proposed, that the British government should engage to assist Spain to subdue them by force. Unreasonable as these terms were, the British government appointed commissioners; but probably from an expectation that the Cortes might be induced to accede to more liberal terms of accommodation. In 1812, the British government submitted to the Cortes the following propositions, as the basis on which they would undertake the mediation:

"1st. That there should be a cessation of hostilities between Spain and Spanish America.

"2dly. An amnesty shall be granted, and perfect oblivion of all acts, or even opinions that may have been expressed by the Spanish Americans against the Spaniards, or their government.

"3dly. That the Cortes shall confirm and enforce all the rights

of the Spanish Americans, and that they shall be allowed justly and liberally their representatives in the Cortes.

“4thly. That Spanish America should be permitted perfect freedom for commerce, though some degree of preference may be allowed to Spain.

“5thly. That the appointments of viceroys, governors, &c. shall be given indiscriminately to South Americans and Spaniards.

“6thly. That the interior government, and every branch of public administration, shall be intrusted to the cabildo, or municipalities, who shall act in conjunction with the chief of the provinces; and that the members of the cabildo shall be either South Americans or Spaniards, possessing property in the respective provinces.

“7thly. That Spanish America shall swear allegiance to Ferdinand VII. as soon as she is put in possession of her rights, and has sent deputies to the Cortes.

“8thly. That Spanish America shall acknowledge the sovereignty possessed by the Cortes, as representing Ferdinand VII.

“9thly. That Spanish America shall pledge herself to maintain a mutual and friendly intercourse with the peninsula.

“10thly. That Spanish America shall oblige herself to co-operate with the Cortes and the allies of Spain to preserve the peninsula from the power of France.

These proposals occasioned very long and animated debates in the Cortes, in secret session, and were finally rejected, principally on the grounds that the Americans had not solicited the mediation of England, and that the British government had sinister views in offering it. That to secure to themselves the commerce of the colonies, was the principal motive which prompted the interference of the British, there is no room to doubt. During the same period, the British minister at Cadiz was pressing the regency to obtain the privilege of opening a trade with their trans-atlantic dominions; in April, 1811, the subject being brought before the Cortes, occasioned much excitement among the merchants of Cadiz, and the papers were filled with invectives against the unreasonable demands and sinister friendship of England. On the 24th of July, the board of trade at Cadiz, discussed this question, and issued a protest, or manifesto, in which they assert, “that the Americans had not required the establishment of this free trade; that they even detested it as prejudicial to their interest; that Spain would be ruined, made the tool of foreigners, and that her merchants and manufactures being destroyed, she would herself lose all freedom: that, in short, this commerce would be subversive of religion, order, society, and morality.” This reasoning seems to have convinced the Cortes; for in August following, the demands of the British were formally rejected.

After the establishment of the junta at Caraccas, in 1810, Don Telesford Orea was sent to Washington to solicit the friendship of the only republic then in the world ; and which, it was hoped, would approve of the stand they had assumed, if not aid them in sustaining it. It could hardly have been expected, that, at this early period, the government of the United States would compromise the peace of the republic, by directly or indirectly affording aid to a cause, (the nature and design of which they could know little,) and the issue of which was so uncertain. But from the very commencement of the contest—the first dawn of the light of liberty in Spanish America, the people of the United States sympathized with their brethren of the south in their political afflictions, and wished them success in the glorious cause in which they had embarked.

About the same time the Caraccas junta deputed Don Luis Lopez Mendez, and Don Simon Bolivar, a name that has since become illustrious, to solicit the support of the British government ; but the latter declined the mission. From the instructions given to Sir Thomas Picton, in 1797, by the minister of the colonial department, wherein the British government openly attempted to induce the inhabitants to revolt, and pledged itself to afford them assistance, the Venezuelans considered that they had a right to expect the countenance and succour of the British government. So deeply was this sentiment impressed on the minds of the inhabitants of Caraccas, both Spaniards and Americans, in 1810, that it had great influence on the revolutionary movement which took place at that time. But the war which broke out in the Spanish peninsula against Bonaparte, as has before been remarked, changed the policy of the English government ; and the only effect the agent of the junta of Caraccas produced, was an order in council, directing the governors of their West India islands to maintain a strict neutrality in the contest between Spain and her colonies, so long as the latter should act in the name of Ferdinand VII. This order not only excluded all hope of assistance from England, but seemed to imply, that if the patriots should declare themselves independent of Ferdinand, the British would take a part against them.

CHAPTER III.

Measures of the junta of Caraccas—arrival of General Miranda—congress—plans of a constitution—patriotic society—conspiracy—execution of conspirators—operations at Valencia—formation of a constitution—conspiracy against the junta of New Granada—regency attempt to conciliate the colonies—junta of Carthagena—congress of New Granada—civil dissensions—massacre at Quito—defeat of the royalists in Popayan—defeat of the patriots.

IN the preceding chapter we have examined the leading causes of the revolution, and traced its events for a period of two years, both in respect to the relations between the colonies and Spain, and the conduct of the two parties towards each other ; and also in respect to the intentions and policy of England and France, relative to the revolution. We will now look into the interior of the revolution, view the political measures of the new governments, and proceed to enter on the distressing details of the dreadful war, which, for more than twelve years, raged with the greatest fury in Colombia.

The junta at Caraccas, organized in 1810, after deposing the Spanish authorities, of which the captain-general and members of the audience were sent to the United States, adopted several popular regulations ; they abolished the tribute paid by the Indians, and the slave trade, and removed the restrictions on commerce and agriculture, and made other reformations, which the oppressed condition of the colony required. These decrees being published, by order of the junta, in the other provinces in Venezuela, all of them except Maracaibo, formed juntas in imitation of that of Caraccas ; they did not, however, acknowledge the supremacy of that, but proposed a general congress for all the provinces of Venezuela. Soon after the establishment of the junta in Guiana, the Spaniards, gaining the ascendancy, it declared against the junta of Caraccas, and in favour of the regency of Cadiz. Don Fernando Miyares, governor of Maracaibo, opposing the innovations at Caraccas, arrested the deputies sent there, and confined them in the dungeons of Porto Rico, from which, after severe suffering, they were liberated by the interference of admiral Cochrane.

After the regency of Spain declared all the ports belonging to the new government in a state of blockade, it despatched Don N. Cortavarria as commissioner, clothed with absolute authority to reduce the rebellious Venezuelans to unconditional submission, should they not listen to reason, and return to obedience. He exhorted the inhabitants not to suffer themselves to be led astray by designing men, but to abandon their evil counsels, and, like dutiful children, return to the arms of the best of parents. He promised that if they would dissolve their illegal governments, *then* Spain would redress their grievances. His proclamations were answered, and his designs exposed, in the papers at Caraccas, which induced him to have recourse to secret means. Emisaries were accordingly sent into all parts of Venezuela, to work on the prejudices and fears of the people, and to produce a counter revolution. The prompt resistance of the governor of Maracaibo to the revolutionary measures, was so pleasing to the regency of Cadiz, that he was appointed captain-general of Venezuela. To guard against any measures of opposition which he might pursue, and to watch his movements, the Caraccas junta sent the marquis del Toro with a body of troops to Corora, which occasioned two of the departments of the province of Maracaibo to dissolve their connexion with that province, and place themselves under the protection of the marquis, and the junta of the province of Barinas. Troops were sent under Don Diego del Toro, and Don Pedro Brizeno for the protection of those departments. Agreeable to his instructions, the marquis del Toro opened a correspondence with Miyares, the captain-general, and attempted to convince him of the necessity and advantages of uniting the province of Maracaibo with the rest of Venezuela, but without success.

Believing that the inhabitants of the province of Maracaibo were generally disposed to join their brethren of the other provinces of Venezuela, since several attempts at insurrection had been made in the town of Maracaibo, and great alarm experienced from an apprehension of the arrival of troops from Spain, the marquis del Toro communicated to the government at Caraccas an opinion, that if Coro, one of the departments of the province of Caraccas, which held out against the new government, were attacked, and the royal party subdued, Maracaibo would join in the general cause. This measure being approved of by the junta, the marquis del Toro entered the department of Coro, in November, 1810, and, at first, all resistance yielding before him, he took possession of the capital, of the same name with the department. From the town of Coro, to Corora, from whence the army had marched, is a distance of 120 miles; the country is uncultivated and sandy, and from a neglect of the general to station his forces

so as to preserve a communication with Corora, his provisions for the army failed. Being disappointed also in the co-operation of the ships of war which sailed from Porto Cavallo for that purpose, the marquis del Toro was compelled to retreat, and relinquish the object of the expedition. But as the retreat was not effected without difficulty and hard fighting, something was gained by the expedition, as it tended to increase the confidence of the government and the people in the army.

At the close of the year 1810, general Miranda arrived at Caraccas from England, contrary to the wishes of the government, which had instructed its deputy sent to London to oppose his return to his native country at present. The reason of this was, the junta of Caraccas believed that the return of Miranda to Venezuela, which would be presumed to be in pursuance of the desire of the government, would have an unfavourable influence on the cause, in consequence of the known revolutionary designs of Miranda, and his repeated attempts to free Venezuela from the dominion of Spain. As the ostensible views of the new government did not go so far as those of general Miranda, they could not consistently invite him into the country, or entrust him with any employment.

The general congress for all the provinces of Venezuela convened for its first session on the 2d of March, 1811, and was constituted according to the regulations adopted by the supreme junta of Caraccas; which provided for taking a census of the population, for forming the electoral colleges; and which fixed the ratio of representation, and the mode of election. One representative was allowed for every twenty thousand persons; about fifty deputies were elected, and took their seats in the congress. The junta, to expedite the business of the congress, had, previous to their meeting, appointed a committee, consisting of Don F. X. Ustariz, Don Fermin Paul, general Miranda, Don J. Roscio and others, to frame a constitution, to be submitted to the congress. The committee, after several conferences, with the exception of Miranda, united in the opinion that a confederation was the best form of government for Venezuela. General Miranda's opinion was widely different; he laid before the committee a plan of a constitution, the same he had intended presenting to the people, had he succeeded in his attempt to revolutionize Terra Firma in 1806. It was designed for a more extensive territory than Venezuela, and did not essentially differ from the Spanish colonial system. Miranda, who had been received at first with jealousy, greatly increased the fears which prevailed of his entertaining ambitious views, by his constitutional project. And although the most distinguished advocates of independence had full confidence in his integrity, and highly venerated his talents and patriotism

his friends could not obtain an election for him to the congress, except in the insignificant department of Araguita, in Barcelona. As is usual with a state which has just emerged from oppression, the congress disclosed much jealousy, and experienced much difficulty in disposing of the executive power. At length, however, in the month of April, they entrusted it to three persons, named by the congress, but so limited and restricted, as evinced their fears of its subverting the other branches of the government.

The congress was not united, even on the main question; a party existed in favour of a re-union with Spain; but a decided majority were advocates for independence, and the minority were afraid to declare their sentiments, in consequence of the enthusiasm of the people of Caraccas in the revolutionary cause. General Miranda, sensible that intelligence was all that was necessary to increase the partisans of the revolution, in conjunction with Don Francisco Espejo, a distinguished lawyer, established a club, called the *Patriotic Society*, for the discussion of political questions, and all topics relating to the general welfare of the state.

The 19th of April, the anniversary of the revolution was celebrated by the inhabitants of Caraccas, with an enthusiasm which nothing but the spirit of liberty could inspire. After service in the churches, all the inhabitants appeared in the streets, richly and appropriately dressed, wearing cockades on their hats, composed of blue, red, and yellow ribands. The city was filled with rejoicing, the streets were lined with crowds of all classes, with countenances beaming with joy; even many parties of Indians collected in the environs of the town, and by dancing, and various sports, according to their customs, evinced that three hundred years of slavery and oppression had not extinguished from their race the sacred spark of liberty, or rendered them insensible to its blessings. The patriotic society moved in procession through the principal streets, adorned with badges of liberty, and bearing appropriate ensigns. At night, the scene became more deeply interesting and sublime; the general joy seemed to increase; the city was illuminated throughout, and in the public and many of the private buildings, the transparencies displayed with good taste, appropriate and patriotic mottos and inscriptions. Bands of music paraded the streets, which, with numerous parties of singers, filled the air with melody and song, which tended to diffuse the joyous and patriotic feelings that universally prevailed.

But the congress wanted courage and energy to profit from the enthusiasm of the people; by a temporizing and indecisive conduct, the confidence of the inhabitants in the government began to be weakened, and their enthusiasm declined. Several attempts to overthrow the government were detected, and the conspirators

were only banished or imprisoned. In June, 1811, a most alarming plot was discovered, just as it was on the point of breaking out. This convinced the government and the people, that it was necessary to adopt more decisive measures. Their condition, however, was critical and embarrassing; they had established a government, disavowed the existing authorities of Spain, and by these steps occasioned the parent country to make war upon them, although they had not declared themselves independent. They had brought on their country the evils of war, and were exposed to be punished as rebels; yet, unless they declared the country independent of Spain, they had no object in view, in any degree corresponding with such sacrifices. This subject was taken up and discussed in the patriotic society, and the prevailing opinion seemed to be, that nothing but a declaration of entire independence could save the country from ruin. Encouraged by these favourable sentiments among the people, a declaration of independence was proposed in the congress, and after being debated at great length, and with much earnestness, was finally adopted on the 5th of July, 1811.*

The good effects of the measure were immediately perceived; it gave energy to the government, and the principal conspirators were arrested. Their plan was to have secured the main barrack, by means of the treachery of a Spanish serjeant, in the employ of the new government, which would have supplied them with ammunition and arms, and then to have attacked the town, in which several hundred of the conspirators were concealed, who would have joined in the assault the moment the first cannon was fired from the barracks. Had it succeeded, the three members of the executive, and the leading members of congress, were to have been instantly executed, and the remaining members sent to Spain. Notwithstanding the arrest of the leaders, the conspirators began to assemble at about three o'clock in the morning on the 11th of July, in that part of the city called Las-tegues; but the people who were apprised of the danger, were prepared to meet them, and after some resistance they were captured and thrown into prison. The day preceding this event, an insurrection broke out at Valencia, situated in the interior, more than 100 miles from Caraccas.—The Spaniards residing in the town surprised and took possession of the barracks, garrisoned by a few soldiers, and were joined by many of the other inhabitants who were disaffected with the congress in consequence of its having opposed their plan of separating themselves from Caraccas, and forming a new province. Arms had been privately introduced into the town by the Spa-

* The length of this document prevents its being embodied in this work. It is drawn up in imitation of the declaration by the North American congress, and may be found in the outline of the Revolution, page 45.

niards, which being put into the hands of the insurgents, they prepared to defend the town against the government.

The appearance of a new and unexpected enemy, the offspring of disaffection, greatly embarrassed and perplexed the government ; they knew not how far the disaffection extended, nor scarcely whom to trust. Besides, the conspirators arrested, refused to disclose their accomplices, from an expectation that their numbers were such, that with the assistance of the Spanish troops they should prevail, by which means they would be released. It was thought expedient to crush the insurrection in the germ, and immediately to attack the conspirators at Valencia ; but the troops were required at Caraccas for the protection of the town and the government. In this dilemma, the government appealed to the inhabitants, and a sufficient number appeared in arms for the defence of the place. General Toro was then sent against Valencia. In the meantime, ten of the conspirators were tried, condemned, and executed, and their heads placed on poles, according to a barbarous custom of the inhabitants, at the entrance of the city. Distrusting the military talents of the marquis del Toro, the congress ordered general Miranda to take command of the army sent against Valencia. The insurgents had fortified two hills near the town, which commanded the road leading into it ; one of which had been attacked and carried by general Toro, before the arrival of Miranda, but with a very heavy loss to the patriots. Miranda, who by his appointment regained some part of his lost popularity, forced the other pass, stormed and entered the town, and drove a party of the royalists into the barrack called *de los pardas*. There they were attacked ; but with such determination did they defend the position, that the patriots were several times repulsed with great loss. This encouraged the royalists in the town, who, from the windows and roofs of the houses, and from the towers of the churches and monasteries, poured showers of musketry on the troops with such destructive effect, that Miranda was obliged to retire from the town. He retreated to Mariara, twelve miles from Valencia, one of the hills that had been fortified by the royalists, where he remained until the next month, when, being re-enforced, he assaulted and took possession of the town, and dispersed the royalists. Miranda was now at the head of four thousand troops, with which he proposed to invade the department of Coro ; and although the executive was in favour of the proposal, it was defeated by the jealousy of the congress, and the opposition of his enemies, whose animosity was revived by his recent success.

The formation of a constitution had attracted the public attention since the publication of the declaration of Independence. A correspondence on the subject was carried on between Don F.

X. Ustariz and Don J. Roscio, two of the committee to whom the subject had been referred, with several individuals in Santa Fe de Bogota, and others in the interior of Venezuela, which, being published, seemed to interest every one. A series of essays also were published in the Caraccas Gazette, written by one Burk, an Irishman, which, as well as the correspondence, was designed to convince the people that a federative republic, like that of the United States, was the best form of government for Venezuela. Burk was patronised by Ustariz, Roscio, and others, who were warm advocates of the federative system; and being well acquainted with the principles of the British and American constitutions, he exhibited the advantages of the plan proposed, confirmed and illustrated by the happy experience of the United States, in so striking a manner as to produce an enthusiastic admiration of a federal republic, which was almost universal. This sentiment prevailed also extensively in New Granada. The subject was entered upon in congress, and after debating the question several months, a constitution was prepared, approved of by that body, and offered to the people for their sanction on the 23d of December. Its outlines were similar to those of the constitution of the United States, in respect to the form or frame of the government, but in two particulars, at least, it differed very materially; it established the Roman Catholic religion as that of the state, and did not preserve a unity of power in the executive branch, that being confined to three persons, to be chosen by the electoral colleges. The legislative power was reposed in a congress consisting of a house of representatives, and a senate, the former chosen by the electoral colleges, and the latter by the provincial legislatures; its authority was defined and limited, and the powers of the legislatures of the several states or provinces were limited. A judiciary was to be organized, with a jurisdiction as to matters relating to the federal compact and national concerns. It recognised the sovereignty of the people, declared the mulattoes and other casts eligible to any employment in the state; abolished the use of the torture, the trade in slaves, the tribute of the Indians, and provided for their civilization. Maracaibo and Guiana were to be admitted into the confederacy as soon as they should be free from the dominion of Spain. A federal territory was acquired where the government was to be established, in imitation of the United States; the town of Valencia was ceded to the confederacy, and the congress opened its first session there under the new constitution, in March, 1812.

The territory comprising the present republic of Colombia, consisted, whilst under Spain, it will be remembered, of two distinct governments; Venezuela and New Granada, each com-

prising a number of provinces. When the authority of the regency of Spain was disobeyed, in 1810, these territories acted separately, although with some degree of concert, and established separate juntas and provisional governments. Some of the provinces, also, availing themselves of the general disorder, attempted to withdraw themselves from their political connexions, and established governments for themselves. This led to much confusion, and in some instances, to war, among the different independent governments; at the same time, that they were all at war with Spain. It also served to disconnect the events of the revolution, so that it becomes necessary to trace them, for some time at least, distinctly in each of the new governments. We commenced with Caraccas, or Venezuela, and having traced the events of the revolution down to the establishment of the constitution, we will return to the opening of the bloody drama in New Granada.

The government of New Granada comprised twenty-two provinces, situated between Venezuela, Peru, and Guatemala. These provinces contained two and a half millions of inhabitants, and the capital, Santa Fe de Bogota, nearly thirty-five thousand. It has been stated, that on receiving intelligence from Spain of the dispersion of the central junta, and the creation of the regency, a junta was established at Santa Fe de Bogota, in July 1810, by a public meeting assembled under the sanction of the viceroy. This junta at first chose Don A. Amar, the viceroy, president, and acknowledged the authority of the regency at Cadiz. In a few days the junta, alarmed by the report of a conspiracy formed by the viceroy, and the members of the audience for their safety caused the viceroy and most of the members of the audience to be arrested and sent to Carthagená, from whence they were conveyed to Spain. The junta disavowed the authority of the regency, and published a manifesto, inviting the several provinces of New Granada to send deputies to a congress at Santa Fe de Bogota, to establish a provincial government, during the captivity of the king. Nine of the provinces, namely, Tunja, Pamplona, Casanare, Carthagená, Socorro, Antioquia, Choco, Neyva, and Mariquita, declared in favour of the revolution. Santa Martha was also in favour of the revolution, yet acknowledged the authority of the regency; but some months afterwards, the junta of the province was overthrown by the intrigues of the Spaniards, and a new one created, entirely devoted to Spain. In Popayan, the governor called a public meeting of the most considerable persons in the province, which decided that it was expedient to establish a junta; but the governor, chagrined at their conduct, dissolved the assembly, and raised troops to attack the junta at Santa Fe. The latter, however, aware of the hostile de-

signs of the governor, and to check his career, had despatched Baraya with a body of troops to watch and oppose him. An action was fought about twelve miles from the town of Popayan, in the beginning of the year 1811, in which Tacon, the governor, was defeated. The regency of Spain, alarmed at the progress and diffusion of the disaffection, attempted to conciliate the inhabitants of New Granada by sending among them two of their countrymen, Don A. Villavicencio, and Don C. Montufar, as commissioners to support the authority of the regency ; but they did not arrive until the revolution had progressed too far, and the public mind had become too deeply imbued with liberal sentiments to admit of their accomplishing the object of their mission.

Montufar arrived at Quito a few days after the massacre of the inhabitants on the 2d of August, 1810, by the troops sent from Lima ; which so exasperated the people, that, with no other weapons than knives and clubs, they attacked the soldiers with such fury as induced the Spanish authorities to order the troops to withdraw from the city, and to pass a decree of oblivion in favour of the inhabitants. Taking advantage of the fears of the Spanish authorities, Montufar prevailed on them to establish a junta for the province. This junta is the only one of which the regency of Spain approved.

In September, 1810, the junta of Carthagena issued a manifesto, setting forth the advantages which would result to New Granada, by a union of all the provinces in a federal government ; and at the same time conceding that the provinces were absolved from their political connexion, and had a right to adopt what form of government they pleased ; for as the cessions at Bayonne destroyed the compact between Spain and America, so the revolution at Santa Fe severed the bond of union which had bound together the provinces of New Granada. This reasoning, calculated to mislead, was carried still farther by the inhabitants of some of the departments, who supposed, that if the revolution had dissolved the political bands which united the provinces, it had also broken the ties which had connected together the different departments of the same province. Mompox, a department of Carthagena, adopting the fallacious and dangerous reasoning of the junta of the province, proceeded to form a junta for the department, and also to appoint deputies to the congress to be held at Santa Fe. The government of Carthagena, not willing to have their doctrine applied to their own province by its departments, sent a military force under Don N. Ayos, and compelled Mompox to return to her connexion with Carthagena.

Near the close of the year 1810, the junta of Caraccas sent an ambassador to the new government at Santa Fe, and an alliance

was entered into between them for their mutual protection. In December, some of the deputies to the general congress had assembled at Santa Fe. Several deputies also arrived from departments, which, like Mompox, were disposed to be formed into separate provinces. This gave rise to a question which threatened to increase the existing difficulties, whether the deputies from the departments should be admitted to their seats in the congress. At length, by the influence of Don A. Narino, secretary to the congress, it was agreed to suspend the decision, to give time to bring about an accommodation of the dispute. The pretensions of the departments were finally silenced, and the congress, relieved from this difficulty, convened again. A confederacy, or compact, was formed by the representatives of Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Carthagena, and Antioquia, on the 27th of November, 1811, at Santa Fe de Bogota. The provinces retained the management of their local and internal concerns, and those of a general nature were confided to the federal congress. A supreme judicature was established to decide on questions growing out of the federal union, and the executive power, as well as the legislative, was intrusted to the congress.

The province of Cundinamarca disapproved of the articles of confederation, and refused to deliver up the mint, which it was required to do, by the stipulations made by the congress. An assembly of deputies of the province of Cundinamarca was convened by the junta of Santa Fe, its capital, to frame a constitution; and one being prepared, it was ratified on the 17th of April, 1812, by a convention called especially for that purpose. Thus the junta of Santa Fe, which gave the first impulse to the revolution in New Granada, by establishing a separate and opposing government for the province, were also the first to sow the seeds of dissension, which produced such bitter fruits. The constitution was a limited monarchy, acknowledging Ferdinand VII. ; but providing, that during the captivity of the king, a president, two counsellors, senators, judges of a supreme court of judicature, and the members of a military board, should be elected by the electoral colleges once every three years. The president possessed the executive power, but was to act in concert with the two counsellors, and the legislative power was confided to the senators and members of the high court of justice.

After the defeat of Tacon, the royal governor of Popayan, he fled to Pastos, where, for the purpose of raising an army to oppose the troops of Santa Fe, he liberated the slaves, and formed them into soldiers for the purpose of enslaving his countrymen. This was the first instance of slaves being instigated to revolt against their masters since the commencement of the revolution. The forces he raised by these base means, were not sufficient,

however, to oppose the troops sent against him by the juntas of Quito and Popayan; and he was compelled to retreat to the south sea coast, near the port of San Buenaventura. Don N. Rodriguez having succeeded Baraya in the command of the army, pursued him closely, and completely defeated him at Isquande, near the close of the year 1811.

Don J. Lozano, president of the government of Cundinamarca, proposed to the provinces of New Granada to make a new division of their territory, the whole to form four parts, in each of which a subordinate republic was to be established, and these formed into a federal republic. This plan, he thought would give sufficient energy to the government to enable it to overcome the difficulties attending the establishment of their Independence. The plan was opposed by the junta of Carthagena, and also by the congress then in session, at the town of Ibagua, where it had removed from Santa Fe after Cundinamarca refused to enter into the confederacy. Lozano, resigning his situation as president, was succeeded by Don A. Narino, who was not in favour of the proposed federal government, but wished to establish one more energetic. In his project he was supported by the provinces of Mariquita, Neyva, and Socorro; Tunja was also inclined to favour his plan, when a body of the troops of Cundinamarca, under Baraya, stationed in the town of Tunja, declared against Narino, and in favour of the congress. This induced the congress immediately to remove to Tunja, and occasioned a civil war between the adherents of Narino and those of the congress, in the beginning of the year 1812. An action was fought at Paloblanco, in the province of Socorro, in which Narino's troops were defeated, and the agents of the congress, availing themselves of this success, persuaded Mariquita and Neyva to join the confederacy. The congress, in consequence, removed to the town of Neyva, in October, 1812. The army of the confederacy was again successful at Ventaquemada, which enabled the forces of the congress to besiege Santa Fe de Bogota, in December. Narino resigned the presidency before this event, but the legislative power refused to accept it; he proposed to the besiegers that he would quit New Granada, on condition that they would spare the lives and property of the inhabitants of the capital. This reasonable proposal was not acceded to; the besiegers, confident of success, insisted on the surrender of the capital at discretion, which being refused, they stormed the city, but were repulsed with great loss, and a large part of their army was dispersed. A single division, under the command of Girardot, reached Tunja. A monument of stone, called *San Victorino*, was erected in that part of the city where the action was fought, with inscriptions explanatory of the signal victory which saved

the capital. These civil dissensions, arming the patriots against each other, who were engaged in the same contest, and that, a contest for liberty, were equally injurious and disgraceful to their cause.

The junta of Quito being threatened with hostilities from the royalists of the province of Cuenca, raised an army for its defence. The royal army of Cuenca was commanded by the bishop, and many of its officers were ecclesiastics, who carried black standards. To show that they felt the influence of the religion they professed, which teaches to "resist not evil," they assumed the name of *the army of death*. When the junta of the province of Quito was established in August, 1810, Ruiz de Castilla was named president; but when the regency of Spain approved of the junta, they appointed Molin to be its president. The junta refused to acknowledge him as president, and complained of his conduct to the Cortes of Spain. Placing himself at the head of the troops, which, after the massacre of the 2d of August, had retired from Quito to Guayaquil, he marched to attack Quito, and entered its territories, notwithstanding the Cortes had ordered him to desist from hostilities. He refused, however, to obey this order, on pretence that it had been obtained by false representations. Don C. Montufar commanded the troops of Quito, and was defeated by the royalists of Cuenca, which enabled the troops from Lima, under Montes, who had succeeded Molin in the command, to enter the town of Quito, on the 6th of November, 1812. The bloody Montes destroyed every thing before him; a scene of devastation and massacre was exhibited shocking to contemplate; one fifth of the inhabitants, who had remained to defend the city, were cruelly murdered; and, moreover, not satisfied with this slaughter, a detachment of his army was sent in pursuit of those who had fled from the town before its capture. And as if to show his triumphing in such vandalism, he gave an account of his bloody deeds, himself, in a letter of the 11th of November, addressed to the governor of Guayaquil. After the capture of Quito, Montes relinquished the command of the army to Don N. Samano, a Spanish officer, who was stationed at Santa Fe when the revolution broke out. Samano marched towards Santa Fe, and on his way took the town of Popayan. Previous to this, Don J. Caycedo, president of the junta of Quito, had fallen into the hands of the royalists of Pastos, who had also defeated the troops of the province of Popayan, commanded by Macaulay, a citizen of the United States, who, with many of his officers, were made prisoners. Caycedo, Macaulay, and the other prisoners, were all put to death by the royalists.

Alarmed at the progress of the royal forces, which was every where marked with rapine and massacre, the government of Cuen-

dinamarca and the congress were aroused to a necessity of throwing aside their feuds, and uniting in the common cause, and for their common safety. They agreed to unite their forces, and to intrust the command to Narino, the president, who by both governments was appointed dictator. The united troops amounted to eight thousand men, at the head of which Narino marched against the royalists under Samano. He engaged and defeated them at *El alto del Palace*, from whence they retreated to Tumbo, twenty miles south of the city of Popayan, where, being re-enforced, they advanced to Popayan, and encamped at Calivia. Here the Independents attacked them, and a most obstinate action was fought; the contest was maintained with that desperate fury on both sides which characterizes a civil war. Victory at length declared for the patriots, and the royalists were forced to retreat. Narino established a popular government at Popayan, and marched towards Pastos. Samano was superseded in the command of the Spanish army by Aymerci, who brought a re-enforcement of fresh troops from Quito. The provinces of Popayan and Pastos being situated in that part of the mountainous regions of the Andes, where the country, rising as it approaches the equator, is admirably calculated for defence; it abounds in advantageous positions and difficult defiles, easily fortified, and presents innumerable difficulties to an advancing army encumbered with baggage. Pastos is nearly 240 miles from Popayan. Narino on his way thither, engaged and defeated the royalists at El alto de Juanambu, Los Tacines, and Aranda; but in these severe engagements he sustained the loss of many valuable officers, of whom Salazar, who was young and valiant, was universally admired, and his death deeply deplored. Hitherto the victories of Narino had cost him dear, and been productive of comparatively little advantage, as from the situation of the country, he had been unable to pursue the enemy; but having nearly reached the town of Pastos, he expected to reap the advantage of his exertions. At the moment, however, when the object of his expedition seemed within his grasp, it was wrested from him by the artifice, rather than by the bravery of the enemy. His army consisted of two divisions, of which he had the immediate command of the one in advance. The royalists succeeded by their spies in spreading a report among the rear division of the army, that Narino, with the advance, had been attacked and completely defeated, which caused great consternation in that part of the army; and the enemy, taking advantage of it, marched with most of their forces against Narino, and defeated and made him prisoner; thus verifying the truth of the premature report they had put in circulation. This defeat was so serious, that it was with great difficulty Don J. M. Cabal, who succeeded to the command, though a prudent and

skilful officer, could effect a retreat to Popayan, being hotly pursued by the royalists, flushed with victory, and thirsting for vengeance. Most of the prisoners were put to death; but it is remarkable that Narino was spared and sent a prisoner to Quito, thence to Lima, and finally to Cadiz in Spain.*

The defeat near Pastos occurred in June, 1814, and the account of it reached the congress about the same time they received the disagreeable intelligence from Europe of the overthrow of Bonaparte and the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne of Spain, and of the defeat of the patriots in Venezuela.

* "Don A. Narino is one of those few enterprising characters who had long viewed it with a prophetic eye, and even, in some measure, prepared the minds of the inhabitants of Santa Fe for independence. His opinions and wishes, too freely expressed in the early part of his youth, caused his imprisonment in 1794, and that of many of his friends, distinguished young men, at Santa Fe de Bogota. Duran, Cabal, Cortes, Umana, Narino, Zea, and others, were at that time sent to Spain under an escort. Narino escaped the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape in the very act of landing at Cadiz, and presented himself to the government at Madrid. Notwithstanding this act of submission, the Spanish government was going to order his arrest, when Narino again escaped, and went to France; from whence he came to England, at the very epoch when Mr. Pitt's plan for separating Terra Firma from the Spanish government was in contemplation in 1796. Then Narino returned to New Granada, incognito, with the view of carrying it into effect, but he was discovered and confined many years; during which he suffered the hardships of poverty, close imprisonment, &c. At last, he regained his liberty, on condition that he should never quit Santa Fe, and that he should be always accompanied by a soldier. When the war in Spain commenced, the government of Santa Fe, being afraid of his uncommon powers of persuasion, as well as of the credit he possessed, had him arrested, ordering him to be sent to Carthage; but Narino again escaped at *El Banco*, over the river Magdalena, and went to Santa Maria. A Spaniard, who knew the house where he was concealed, discovered it to the governor, who had him immediately taken, and then enforced the former orders of the government, by sending him to Carthage, where he was thrown into the dungeons of Fort Bocachica. When the revolution took place he was released; but his health was greatly impaired, and his legs had suffered much from the fetters he had been compelled to wear during his imprisonment. Having been taken prisoner at Pastos, it is wonderful that he was not executed, as almost all the prisoners were at that time; but he was conducted to Quito, thence to Lima, and he is now confined at La Caracca, in Cadiz. One of his sons, Antonio, gave at Bocachica a noble example of filial duty and affection, by suffering himself to be imprisoned with his father, whose misfortunes, he wished, by sharing, to alleviate."—*Outline of the Revolution in South America.*

CHAPTER IV.

Earthquake in Venezuela—its influence on the revolution—events of the war in Venezuela—success of the royalists—Caraccas taken—capitulation of Miranda—violation of it by the royalists—dungeons of Porto Cavello filled with the patriots—Spanish authority re-established in Venezuela—Bolívar—he revives the war—penetrates into Venezuela—his success—the war of death—victories of the patriots—Bolívar enters Caraccas, and liberates Venezuela—success of the patriots—the royalists arm the slaves—devastate the country—patriots again successful—battle of Carabobo—Bolívar defeated at La Puerta—royalists reconquer Venezuela—surrender of Maturin.

WE now resume the history of the revolution in Venezuela, which we had brought down to March, 1812, when congress commenced its first session under the new constitution. At this period the affairs of Venezuela were prosperous; the government was popular, and great unanimity prevailed among the people; the military force was adequate to the defence of the republic, and, as was thought, to expel the royalists from Guiana and Maracaibo. Commerce began to revive, to promote which, and at the same time to conciliate the good opinion of England, the congress reduced the duties four per cent. in favour of the manufactures and commerce of that country. Three thousand men, commanded by general Marino, were on the banks of the Orinoco, ready to cross and attack the royalists of Guiana in the city of Angostura; another corps of the republican troops was stationed at Barquisimeto, to check the royalists of Coro. But this prosperity in Venezuela, and all the hopes which it inspired, were annihilated in a moment. On the 26th of March, between the hours of four and five o'clock in the afternoon, one of those awful convulsions which the earth sometimes experiences, spread desolation and dismay over Venezuela. During a minute and fifteen seconds, the earth groaned and agonized in convulsions, which were attended with the most awful consequences; the towns of Caracaas, La Guira, Mayquetia, Merida, and Sanfelipe, were laid in ruins, and Barquisimeto, Valencia, Victoria, and many others, were considerably injured. Nearly 20,000 persons fell victims to this tremendous earthquake. But the desolation, great as it was, was not the most serious part of this ca

lamity; it raised up from its own ruins the most dangerous enemy to the liberties of Venezuela—bigotry, and the religious prejudices of a superstitious and priest-ridden people. The catastrophe occurred on Holy Thursday, when, in Roman Catholic countries, the people all commemorate the sufferings of the Redeemer, of which, representations are exhibited, and at the very hour when the people were crowding to the churches to attend to the ceremonies and join the processions. The troops, as is usual, were stationed at the entrance of the churches to follow the processions; and most of the churches being thrown down, and also the principal barracks at Caraccas, a considerable number of the soldiers, as well as the citizens, were crushed to death and buried under the ruins; most of the arms and ammunition were likewise destroyed. This calamity happening on the day and the very hour of a holy festival, the priests interpreted into a divine judgment, and a manifestation of the displeasure of the Almighty, at the abominable wickedness of attempting to secure their liberty. They proclaimed from the pulpit that a holy God had condemned the revolution, in language too audible not to be heard, and too distinct to be misunderstood; and they denounced his vengeance on all who favoured it. They told the credulous people, that as the earth swallowed up the rebellious Korah and his crew, they were punished in the same way, for the same sin—rebellion against their government.

Aided by the consternation this catastrophe had occasioned, they made the credulous inhabitants almost believe that hell was opening its fiery jaws to devour them. And with an ignorant and superstitious people, accustomed to revere and implicitly to obey the clergy, their interested zeal produced an extensive and alarming effect.

At Barquisimeto as well as at Caraccas, the barracks were thrown down, and a considerable part of the troops buried under the ruins; and Xalon, their commander, severely wounded. On the very day of this calamity, they were preparing to march to attack the royalists at Corora, which place they had taken possession of the day before. To fill the measure of the difficulties of the patriots, there was a serious deficit in the public treasury, and the paper currency which the congress had been obliged to issue, and which maintained its credit until the earthquake, since that event, had rapidly depreciated, and its circulation could only be kept up by severe penalties.

The congress, sensible that a crisis had occurred which threatened the existence of the republic, prepared to meet it. General Miranda was intrusted with the chief military command, and discretionary power conferred on him to raise troops, and in all things relating to the defence of the state, to act as he thought

best. After adopting the measures the condition of the country demanded, the congress adjourned to enable the members to serve in the army, or return to the provinces and attempt to rouse the people, dispirited and filled with superstitious fears, to a sense of the danger which threatened them and their country.

At the head of two thousand men, armed with the muskets saved from the ruins, Miranda marched to meet the enemy, who had advanced from Corora after the earthquake, and took possession of Barquisimeto without opposition. Here the royalists received constant re-enforcements, as the inhabitants, wishing to abandon a cause, frowned upon by heaven, were eager to ensure their own safety by enrolling themselves among its opposers. Monteverde, who commanded the royalists, moved on to Araure, where a detachment of the republicans was stationed under colonel F. Palaciosajo; but his troops refusing to fight, he was made a prisoner, and the place taken without exertion or sacrifice. Araure lies on the confines of those vast plains which form a considerable part of the provinces of Caraccas and Barinas, from which the cattle are obtained that supply the settlements in the mountainous parts of Venezuela, on which account it became an important object to possess it. For this purpose Monteverde sent a detachment of his army to invade Barinas, and with his main force marched to attack San Carlos. The latter place was entrusted to M. Carrabano, who made a vigorous defence; but the defection of his cavalry who went over to the royalists, decided the fate of the town. There was no force now opposed to Monteverde which could check his progress; and the army on the Oronoco was at too great a distance to re-enforce general Miranda.

The difficulties with which the patriots had to contend in defending the republic were greatly increased by the scattering population, the distance between the capitals of the different provinces, and the badness of the roads. The republican troops on the Oronoco sustained some loss on the 25th of March in crossing the river; but still they might have taken Angostura, had not the earthquake, together with the intelligence of the rapid successes of Monteverde disheartened them, which led to disaffection, and finally to desertion.

Monteverde advanced rapidly towards Caraccas, with an army flushed with victory, and impelled by an enthusiasm with which they had been inspired, by being made to believe that they were instruments in the hands of heaven in putting an end to the revolution, which God and the church had so emphatically condemned. To oppose his advance, Miranda ordered the evacuation of Valencia, and concentrated his forces in the pass, or defile, called La Cabrera, near the lakes Tacarigua, through which the high road

led. This was, doubtless, the best position to oppose an army invading Caraccas, on the western side; but the inhabitants of that district, ready to abandon the new government, in the hour of adversity, declared for the royal cause; and to recommend themselves to Monteverde, acquainted him with an obscure and unknown foot-path, which avoided the defile of La Cabrera. Monteverde, with much difficulty led his men by this route, which compelled Miranda to retreat to the town of Victoria, fifty miles from Caraccas. The royalists following closely in the rear of the republican army, attacked it on the last of June with great spirit, but were received with steadiness, and repulsed with loss. At this time, when Miranda's decisive and judicious conduct was giving discipline and confidence to the army, reviving the hopes of the people, and rousing them to exertions worthy of the occasion, a disastrous event occurred, which disconcerted all his plans, and served to extinguish the flickering blaze of the lamp of liberty. The Spanish prisoners at Porto Cavello, by the treachery of an officer on guard, obtained possession of the castle and fort in which they were confined. Simon Bolivar, then a colonel in the service of the republic, who had the command of the place, deemed it impossible to retake the fort by storm, without destroying the town; unwilling to do this, he embarked with his officers for La Guira. The fall of Porto Cavello, into the hands of the royalists, supplied them with ammunition, of which they were in great want, and opened to them a communication by sea with Coro and Porto Rico, whereby they could supply their army, which they had before been compelled to do, over land, for more than 450 miles. The intelligence of the fall of Porto Cavello reached Caraccas, and the army, on the 5th of July, while engaged in celebrating the anniversary of their independence; and greatly discouraged the people and dispirited the troops. The alarming aspect of affairs, and the general consternation which prevailed, occasioned disaffection among the people, and desertion among the troops. The forces of Miranda, too, being greatly inferior to those of Monteverde, and lessening daily by desertion, whilst the royalists were increasing, he dared not hazard an engagement. Besides this, the general was persuaded that Caraccas could not hold out long, as the country which supplied it with cattle was in the possession of the enemy. The Spaniards in the city, too, were prepared to revolt; and it had become necessary to arrest and confine them, as the only means of preventing it. Under these appalling circumstances Miranda and the executive power deemed it advisable to propose a capitulation. The offer was accepted by Monteverde, and the following terms agreed upon between him and the commissioners of Miranda, which were signed and ratified.

“ 1st. That the constitution offered by the Cortes to the Spanish nation should be established in Caraccas.

“ 2dly. That no one was to suffer for former opinions.

“ 3dly. That all private property was to be held sacred.

“ 4thly. That emigration was to be permitted to those who wished to quit Venezuela.”

Thus Caraccas and the republican army fell into the hands of the royalists ; and with them fell the republic of Venezuela. Happily, however, it did not fall, “never to rise again ;” for from its ashes has sprung up a republic, which has not only been able to defend itself, but to assist in achieving the liberties of other parts of Spanish America.

To give a finishing stroke to the republic, its army sent against Guiana was defeated ; and the Spanish government once more resumed its authority over Venezuela. But its power being re-established, the articles of the capitulation were forgotten ; it did not comport with the dignity or honour of the Spanish government to keep its plighted faith with rebels ; the capitulation was violated in the most shameful manner, and the patriots were as much exposed to the vengeance of the royalists, as they could have been, had there been no guarantee of their safety. Miranda and many others proceeded to La Guira, where they intended to embark for Carthagena ; but Don M. Cacas, military commandant of La Guira, caused them to be arrested, thinking by such conduct, which must be pronounced base, to gain favour with the conqueror. Miranda and nearly one thousand patriots were thrown into the dungeons of La Guira and Porto Cavello. Many were sent to Porto Rico, and a number to Cadiz, who were condemned by the Cortes, without trial, to an unlimited imprisonment. Some of those sent to Spain were Spaniards by birth, but had been employed in the service of the republic : the greater number, however, were South Americans, who were at length released by the remonstrances of the British government, in 1816, but the Spaniards were condemned to linger out a miserable existence in the dungeons of Ceuta.

Monteverde now had the power of restoring peace to a distracted country, which, after two years of civil war, greatly longed for repose. But instead of being a minister of peace, or attempting to sooth the irritations, and heal the wounds of the revolution, his heart was filled with vengeance. The inhabitants of Venezuela, being the first who shook off the Spanish yoke, and gave the first impulse to the revolution, it seems to have been deemed expedient to make an example of them, and by the severity of their punishment, to fill the insurgents in other parts of Spanish America with consternation, and thus check the revolution. But whether it was from any calculations of this kind, or merely from a spirit of ven-

geance, the whole population of Venezuela were proscribed, and Caraccas converted into one great prison. Every royalist became a public accuser; and to have supported the late government, even after it was established, was a crime in the eyes of a tyrant, which could only be expiated with blood. When all the dungeons were filled, other buildings which would admit of it, were converted into prisons; and it was said, with appearance of truth, that nearly the whole population were under confinement. These severe measures, in direct and open violation of the national faith, were not only justified by the government of Spain, but the minister of war in a report to the Cortes on the colonies, in October, 1813, complained "of the indulgence that had been shown to the insurgents of Caraccas."

But this cruel and oppressive conduct of the royalists was not more unjustifiable than it was impolitic. Had a mild and conciliatory course been pursued, it might have allayed, at least for some time, the revolutionary spirit; but oppression served to enkindle its latent sparks, and blow them once more into a flame. This broke out first in the province of Cumana, which had suffered least in the late disasters, and consequently was less weakened in its means of resistance. Don N. Marino, young, active, and brave, raised the standard of revolt, and collected a force with which he surprised and took the town of Maturin; here he was attacked by the Spaniards, but repulsed them; a second attack was made by Monteverde in person, and the royalists were again defeated.

The revival of the revolution in Venezuela was, however, principally owing to the same individual, who sustained and carried it through a long and sanguinary contest, and finally brought it to a conclusion; securing for his country, independence and liberty, and for himself the well-earned title of *The Liberator*. As the history of the revolution in Venezuela and New Granada, from this period, is in a great measure identified with that of the life and services of Don Simon Bolivar, it may be proper to introduce him more particularly to our readers, and to show what part he had acted previous to this period. Bolivar is a native of Caraccas, and belonged to one of the most respectable and wealthy families of that city. In his youth he went to Spain to complete his education, and there obtained permission to travel into France, England, and Italy. His liberal education, improved by travel, and an acquaintance with many of the enlightened men in Europe, early imbued his mind with liberal sentiments; and having witnessed the condition and character of an independent, if not a free people, he was deeply affected with the degradation and oppression of his native country. At Paris he attended on all public lectures, and attracted notice by his talents and learning; here

he contracted an intimacy with baron Humboldt and Bonpland, the celebrated South American travellers ; in company with whom he visited England, Italy, Switzerland, and a considerable part of Germany, and made himself acquainted with the political condition, the character, and habits of the people in these different countries. He had a fair opportunity of discovering the wonder-working influence of political and religious institutions on the human race ; that the social character of man is formed by them, and that they are the sources of the power, and prosperity of nations, as well as of their degradation, impoverishment, and oppression.

He discovered that *liberty* is the natural element of man, where alone his faculties attain their just growth and full development, and which alone gives to him his proper rank and dignity in creation. As his soul warmed with the love of liberty, he more deeply lamented the enslaved and degraded condition of his own country. With these sentiments, he returned to Venezuela, just at the breaking out of the revolution. He inherited more than one thousand slaves, which he emancipated, and embarked his whole property, a princely income, in the revolutionary cause. He was solicited by the junta of Caraccas to go on an embassy to England, in conjunction with Don L. Lopez Mendez, but he declined it. Disapproving of the policy pursued by the congress, he remained in retirement at Caraccas until after the earthquake, when the storm, which was gathering over his country, called him forth in her defence. He was appointed a colonel, and intrusted, by Miranda, with the important command of Porto Cavello, which place, as has been stated, he was unfortunately obliged to abandon to the royalists. He disapproved of the capitulation of Miranda, and after Monteverde entered Caraccas, obtained from him as a special favour a passport to embark for Curracoa. From Curracoa he sailed to Carthagena, where he obtained from the junta, or government of the province, the command of a small body of troops, with which he freed the banks of the river Magdalena, from the power of the royalists, in the latter part of 1812. Satisfied that the Venezuelans were disposed, once more, to throw off the Spanish yoke, now more intolerable than before the revolution, he sent colonel Rivas, his second in command, to Tunja, to solicit of the congress of New Granada, then in session at that place, a re-enforcement of troops, to enable him to invade Venezuela. In the mean time, he advanced with his troops on the road to Ocana. The congress approving of the plan, and thinking they could not better promote the security of New Granada than by affording employment for the royalists in Venezuela, they supplied Bolivar with 600 men.

Thus re-enforced, he crossed the Andes with his little army,

and approached the river Tachira, which is the boundary between New Granada and Venezuela. He surprised the royalists at Cucuta, and dispersed them; and from thence despatched col. Nicholas Briceno, with several other officers, to Guadualito, to raise troops. Briceno, having raised a squadron of cavalry, invaded the province of Barinas; and in the mean time, Bolivar himself defeated the royalists at La Grita, and occupied the department of Merida. Briceno, after several successful engagements, was at length defeated, and himself and seven of his officers fell into the hands of the royalists, all of whom, Tiscar, the royal governor of Barinas, soon after executed, together with eight of the most respectable inhabitants of the town of Barinas, on the pretence that they were endeavouring to aid the enterprise of Briceno. Bolivar, who had hitherto treated the Spaniards who had fallen into his power, as prisoners of war, and with humanity, exasperated at such cruel and savage conduct, and believing that the war could not be conducted on such unequal principles, as that the captured on one side should enjoy the rights of prisoners of war, whilst those on the other were put to death like ferocious beasts, resolved on retaliation, and declared that, henceforth, the prisoners which he made, should be treated in the same manner as the royalists treated their prisoners. The contest, from this period, was called, and very appropriately, *the war of death—la guerra a muerte*.

The cruelties and oppressions of the royalists had so exasperated the people, that they rallied round Bolivar, as their deliverer, and his forces increased daily. This induced him to divide them into two corps, one of which he placed under colonel Rivas, and both were destined against the province of Caraccas. In passing through the province of Barinas and the department of Truxillo, the royalists were engaged and defeated at Niquitao, Betijoque, Carache, Barquisimeto, Barinas, and Lostaguanes. The last action in which Monteverde had collected his best troops, was decided by the desertion of his cavalry, who went over to Bolivar. With the remnant of his forces, Monteverde retreated to Porto Cavallo. Bolivar now advanced rapidly on Caraccas, and the royal governor, alarmed for its security, called a council, composed of the officers of the garrison, the members of the audiencia, and the clergy, which agreed to propose terms of capitulation. The commissioners from the governor met Bolivar at Victoria, and although confident of entering the city, as it had no adequate force for its defence, he did not hesitate to accept the proposed terms. To prevent alarm, he declared that no person should suffer on account of his former attachment to the Spanish government, and that all who wished to emigrate, would be permitted to leave Venezuela, with their property. Fierro, the governor of

Caraccas, embarked, carrying away all the public and private property he could collect, and leaving at the mercy of the conqueror, nearly 1500 Spaniards, who had no means of escaping. The treaty of capitulation, notwithstanding this violation of it by the governor, was sent to Monteverde, at Porto Cavello, who declined ratifying it, for the wise reason, "that it was derogatory to the dignity of the Spanish nation to treat with insurgents."

Bolivar made a public entry into the capital, on the 4th of August, 1813. The first meeting of his troops and the inhabitants was deeply affecting and impressive; they embraced one another as friends and brethren who had long been parted, and who had toiled, suffered, and bled in the same cause. The dungeons and prisons were thrown open, and those victims of royal cruelty, whom a year's confinement had not relieved by death, were restored to their liberty, their friends, and their country.

Venezuela was now again rescued from the dominion of tyrants; the eastern part having been freed by Marino, and the rest delivered from their power by Bolivar, who justly obtained the title of *el liberador de Venezuela*,—the liberator of Venezuela. The town of Porto Cavello alone was in possession of the royalists. Bolivar immediately sent a flag of truce, proposing to Monteverde an exchange of prisoners; and although the Spanish prisoners in his possession were much the most numerous, he proposed to release them all, if the Spanish commander would liberate the prisoners he had at Porto Cavello. But having received during the negotiation 1200 troops from Spain, Monteverde obstinately refused any exchange. Feeling able to act on the offensive, he attacked the patriots at Aguacaiante, but suffered a dreadful defeat, nearly his whole force being either killed or made prisoners, and himself seriously wounded. In consequence of Monteverde being thus disabled, Saloman took the command of the remnant of the royalists which escaped to Porto Cavello.

Bolivar renewed the same offer of an exchange of prisoners, to Saloman, by whom it was not only refused, but the bearer of the flag of truce was seized, loaded with fetters, and thrown into prison at Porto Cavello. Istueta, the successor of Saloman, also committed the savage outrage of placing the patriot prisoners along his line, exposed to the batteries of their countrymen, to prevent their firing; and at night they were thrown into prison, where nearly fifty died at one time by suffocation. This led to retaliation, and the besiegers exposed the Spanish prisoners before their line of battle; which occasioned a greater outrage still on the part of the Spanish general. He ordered four of the most distinguished patriots in his possession to be placed in front of the encampment of their countrymen, and in their view publicly to be shot. These were Pellin Osorio, Pointet, and Manuel Pulido,

all distinguished for their patriotic zeal, and highly esteemed and admired by their fellow citizens.* No farther attempt at an exchange of prisoners or communication took place between the belligerent parties, but the contest became an exterminating war, and was carried on with destructive fury on both sides. Bolivar prosecuted the siege of Porto Cavello, the place being invested by sea and land; the town fell into the hands of the besiegers, except that part commanded by the fortress, which alone remained as a refuge to the royalists. But although the garrison wanted provisions, and were wasting by disease, occasioned by the damp soil the Spanish commandant refused to listen to terms of capitulation. A haughtiness of temper, a proud and unyielding spirit, which no difficulties can subdue, and an obstinate perseverance, are the primary characteristics of the Spanish character. Porto Cavello continued to hold out, and the position of the fortress is so advantageous, and the garrison well supplied with ammunition, were so active and determined in its defence, that it could not be taken by storm without a sacrifice of lives, which Bolivar was unwilling to make.

The royalists of Coro, being re-enforced with troops from Porto Rico, marched into the territory of Caraccas, and on the 10th of November, 1813, defeated a party of the independents at Barquisimeto. Bolivar marched to repel them; he engaged and routed them at Vigirima, Barbula, and Araure. In the action of Barbula the patriots lost young Girardot, who had been distinguished for his active intrepidity in numerous battles, both in Venezuela and New Granada. The liberator ordered an annual mourning for this national calamity, and assigned a pension to the family of Girardot for ever.

Bolivar had invaded Venezuela under the auspices of the confederacy of New Granada, and had been directed, on his liberating the country, to restore the republican government, which, from the unsettled state of affairs, he did not consider advisable to do. Since the capitulation of Caraccas, the country had been under a military government; and although this power, odious in its mildest form, was not abused by the deliverer of the country, his inferior officers, not under his immediate control, were in some instances guilty of arbitrary and oppressive conduct, which occasioned complaints against the military government, and Bolivar himself. This gave him uneasiness, as he could not, from the commencement of his career, endure, even that he should be suspected of entertaining ambitious projects, or other designs than the liberation of his country. He summoned a general convention, consisting of the magistrates, the higher ecclesiastics, the members of the municipality, colleges, the board of trade, and all

* General Bolivar's Letter published in Walton's Expose.

the proprietors of lands, to resign his authority into their hands, and leave them to establish such provisional government as they might deem expedient. This assembly convened on the 2d of January, 1814; and Bolivar appeared before them; after explaining his views and intentions in invading Venezuela, he resigned his authority; and retiring, desired the assembly to provide such authorities as in their opinion, the safety of the country required. Mendoza, the governor of Caraccas, Rodriguez, president of the municipality, and Alzuru, successively addressed the assembly, and urged the expediency, under the existing aspect of affairs, of suffering the supreme power to remain in the hands of the liberator, and proposed to re-vest it in him, as dictator, until a representative government could be established, either for Venezuela alone, or in conjunction with New Granada. This proposal was approved of, and the supreme power was vested in the liberator.

The royal chiefs were filled with rage at the success of Bolivar, and were determined, that, if they could not re-conquer Venezuela, they would destroy it, and render it a useless acquisition to the victorious patriots. Not satisfied with the blood and devastation of a civil war, they wished to light up the torches of a servile one, and to arm the slaves against their masters. For this purpose emissaries were sent into the interior of the country to excite the revolt of the slaves, and organize a servile force. The most obnoxious of these, were Boves, Yanez, Rosette, and Puy, Spaniards; and Palomo, a negro, who had been outlawed as a robber and an assassin. The governor of Spanish Guiana supplied Bovés and Rosette with arms and ammunition, who were to operate in the eastern part of the province of Caraccas; and Puy and Palomo had assigned to them, as their theatre of action, the western part of the province of Caraccas, Barinas, Merida, and Truxillo, and were assisted by the royalists of Porto Cavello, Coro, and Maracaibo. There were 70,000 slaves in Venezuela, who, roused, not only by the prospect of obtaining their liberty, but by the promise of the wealth and fortunes of their masters, and of all the disloyal part of the population of the country, afforded materials for raising an army, alarming from its number, and its turbulent character:—an army every way worthy of its leaders, and of the cause in which it was to be employed. With this incendiary force, Puy and Palomo subjugated Barinas, Guiana, and several other towns, covering the country with blood and desolation. Boves and Rosette marched from the banks of the Oronoco to the vallies of Tuy and Aragua, spreading desolation before them, and tracing their paths in blood, which, if collected into one channel, the ‘purple current’ would have tinged the mighty waters of the Oronoco. It is almost incredible, yet

what was well established, that in an extent of country of 400 miles from the Oronoco, to the environs of Caraccas, forming the limits of this murderous campaign, not a human being was spared, who did not join the robbers. By such an exterminating and murderous warfare, they spread terror over the country, which served to increase their numbers to 8000 men. Of this entire army, there were only fifty Spaniards and creoles, the rest, with the exception of a few free mulattoes, being slaves. Animated by the hopes of plunder, and some of them stimulated by revenge, their turbulent fury overcame every thing which opposed them; they spread terror before them, and left ruin and desolation behind. Boves took possession of Victoria, only forty miles from Caraccas; and Rosette entered Ocumare thirty miles from the capital, while Puy and Yanez, having subdued Barinas, advanced to join Boves, in February, 1814. Encouraged by these successes, the Spanish prisoners at Caraccas, and Laguira, amounting to nearly 1400, entered into a conspiracy against the government, and were prepared to revolt. Many Spaniards united into a body, and stationed themselves in the road between Caraccas and La Guira, for the purpose of murdering travellers, and to cut off the communication. The situation of Caraccas was critical, and its danger imminent; it required uncommon exertions to prevent its falling into the hands of an enemy, whose mercies were like those the tiger shows to its prey. The number of the forces of Bolivar were greatly inferior to those of the enemy, and were scattered over the country. Should the garrisons of Caraccas and La Guira be called into the field, there would be the greatest danger of the rising of the Spanish prisoners in the city, who were rendered desperate by the determination of the Spanish chiefs, to admit of no exchange with the insurgents. Under these alarming circumstances, which threatened Caraccas with the greatest of all evils, that of falling into the hands of the slaves, harassed with cares, and his mind oppressed with anxiety, and the responsibility of his situation, and at the same time, highly exasperated at the outrages of a ferocious enemy, and the recent massacres at Ocumare, Bolivar, from the distraction of the moment, was hurried into an act, which, however it might be justified by the *lex talionis*—the principle of retaliation is shocking to contemplate, and was as impolitic as it was unjust. He gave orders to execute the prisoners, and 800 Spaniards were put to death on this dreadful occasion. The commandant at Porto Cavello, the moment he heard of these executions, ordered every American prisoner at that place, amounting to several hundred, to be shot.

The danger from the slaves being removed, Bolivar marched against the enemy, and obtained a signal victory over Boves, at Victoria; and colonel Rivas defeated Rosette on the banks of the

Tuy, and about the same time, the forces of the Yanez, were also defeated, and their leader killed at Ospinos. These victories were not won without severe fighting and a heavy loss, the patriots being greatly inferior in number to the enemy. They cost them one third of their troops; and the advantages derived from them were not great, as from the want of cavalry the republicans had not been able to pursue the enemy but a few miles. Los Llanos, on which Caraccas is dependant for horses, being in possession of the enemy, Bolivar's cavalry was but poorly furnished.

Boves and Rosette having received some re-enforcements, again took the road leading to Caraccas. Perceiving the storm gathering over Caraccas, general Marino marched from Cumana to the assistance of Bolivar, and having joined a body of troops under general Montilla, their united forces attacked and defeated the royalists at Bocachica, and about the same time Bolivar himself obtained a decisive victory at San Mateo. These two victories relieved Valencia, which had been besieged by the royalists under Cevallos and Calzadas.

These losses of the royalists compelled Boves to retire to Los Llanos, and Cevallos, to San Carlos, whither the latter was pursued by general Marino; but the republican general being defeated on the 16th of April, retreated to Valencia. Monteverde was succeeded as captain-general of Venezuela by Cagigal, who brought re-enforcements from Coro, and uniting them with the troops of Cevallos and Calzadas, marched towards Valencia. After some delay and reconnoitering on both sides, the two armies engaged the 28th of May, 1814, on the plains of Carabobo. The action was the most bloody that had been fought; royal rage and popular fury were brought into the conflict; the greatest efforts were made on both sides, and instances of valour exhibited, approaching to desperation; victory was long doubtful, but at length fortune once more declared in favour of the patriots. The royalists were compelled to leave the field covered with their dead and wounded. Their whole loss, including prisoners, was 500 men, and a large amount of arms and ammunition.

The royalists retired to Coro and Los Llanos, whither Bolivar pursued them, with the intention of driving them from these territories, from whence they drew all their resources. He sent Urdaneta with 500 men against Coro, and Marino with about the same number to San Fernando, on the river Apure, in the province of Barinas. The remaining division of his army, of about the same strength, Bolivar retained under his immediate command, which he deemed sufficient to oppose Boves, who not having been in the battle of Carabobo, was marching against him, with a numerous squadron of cavalry. This division of his army

by Bolivar, was an error which led to the most serious consequences. Fatal mistakes are often committed by military commanders, in not estimating correctly the ability or power of an adversary; it was this that occasioned the mistake of Bolivar, and also just before, a similar one on the part of the royalists. Had the latter waited for the arrival of Boves, they probably would not have been defeated on the plains of Carabobo, and had not Bolivar, despising the force of Boves, divided his army, he would not have been defeated by him on the plains of La Puerta. In a few days the three divisions of the republican army were separated many miles, when Boves attacked Bolivar at La Puerta, a plain near the town of Cura, and about 150 miles from Caraccas. The conflict was sharp, and maintained with great fury for several hours, but at length the patriots were compelled to give way, and leave the field to Boves. About the same time general Marino was attacked and repulsed by the united forces of Cagigal and Calzadas, and his communication with Caraccas cut off, which obliged him to retire to Cumana for safety. When general Urdaneta heard of these disasters, he was at too great a distance to be able to afford any assistance to Caraccas, and therefore withdrew to Cucuta, on the frontiers of New Granada.

The possession of Venezuela was again lost by the patriots, after their dominion over it had been apparently well established. Their reverses were great and sudden; their affairs were prosperous the first of June, and in one month they had become nearly desperate. They had no army for the protection of Caraccas; they were obliged to raise the siege of Porto Cavallo, the troops embarking for Cumana; and to complete their ruin, in Venezuela, much dissatisfaction prevailed with Bolivar's military government, occasioned by the conduct of some of his generals, and the people of Los Llanos declared for the royalists. Bolivar marched with the remnant of his force to Cumana, and almost the whole population of Caraccas repaired thither; such was their dread of falling into the hands of an exasperated and barbarous enemy. Boves took possession of Caraccas and La Guira in July, 1814; Valencia was besieged, and held out until resistance became of no farther use, when it accepted terms of capitulation. But from the many flagrant breaches of faith by the royalists, the patriots would not surrender the place unless the Spanish general, in presence of the two armies, and after the solemn celebration of mass, would bind himself by an oath, taken before the host, religiously to fulfil the terms of the treaty. The oath was taken, and the town delivered up; but soon after, the royalists believing that "oaths were but words, and words but wind," ordered the republican officers, and most of the soldiers,

to be shot. Among those who fell was the learned and eloquent Espejo, as a civilian one of the ablest defenders and the brightest ornaments of the republican cause.

Boves pursued the patriots into the province of Barcelona, and defeated them in Arguita; success no longer followed their banners; the good fortune of Bolivar seemed to have forsaken him, and with the loss of his power, was lost the respect for his authority. The commandant of his flotilla on the coast refused to obey his orders. The sun of Venezuelan independence had once more set, and darkness and despotism overspread the land where liberty had first dawned. With the patriots, who had survived these dreadful reverses, all was lost except hope, and the honour of their services to redeem their country. But the invincible mind of Bolivar was not to be subdued by misfortunes, however tremendous, nor shaken from its purposes by the most overwhelming reverses. Sensible that nothing more could now be done for the cause of independence in Venezuela, he embarked for Carthagena with some of the boldest of his officers, who preferred to follow his fortunes, even in this night of adversity. Rivas and Bermudas, with the remnant of troops, separated from him, and marched to Maturin, already rendered celebrated as the cradle of the last revolution, it being there general Marino first raised the republican standard. Maturin became the rendezvous of the desperate patriots, who had no quarters to expect from the royalists; and in a few days a considerable number were assembled here from different quarters. This 'forlorn hope' was successively attacked by Morales and Boves, both of whom were repulsed with serious loss. Rivas and Bermudas, who led the little remnant of patriots, maintained themselves for a considerable time; but after obtaining many advantages over the royalists, they were at last compelled to yield to a destiny, which the vast superiority of their enemies rendered inevitable. They were entirely defeated at Urica, on the 5th of December, 1814, and soon after Maturin fell into the hands of the royalists; an acquisition, however, attended with the loss of their favourite Boves. Bermudas escaped with some of the troops, and embarked for the island of Margarita, where he maintained the cause of the revolution, until the arrival of the expedition from Spain, under Morillo, in 1815. The intrepid Rivas was taken prisoner, shot, and his head sent to Caraccas for public exhibition, to convince the inhabitants of that rebellious city, that such was the fate that awaited all traitors.

Bolivar proceeded from Carthagena to Tunja, where the congress of the confederate provinces of New Granada was in session, and offered his services to the confederacy, which were accepted.

CHAPTER V.

Effect of the restoration of Ferdinand on the revolution—his impolitic measures respecting America—dissensions among the patriots—Bolivar sent against Santa Fe de Bogota—it capitulates—Cundinamarca joins the confederacy—regulations of the congress—Bolivar proceeds against the royalists in Santa Martha—dispute between him and Castillo—he lays siege to Carthagena—arrival of the expedition from Cadiz—Morillo reduces the island of Margarita—he lays siege to Carthagena—it capitulates—republican standard again raised in Margarita—Bolivar fits out an expedition at Aux Cayes—invades Venezuela—is defeated—returns to Aux Cayes—Morillo conquers New Granada—enters Bogota—massacre of the patriots—war in Venezuela—Bolivar takes Angostura—Morillo's unsuccessful attack on Margarita.

WE have now arrived to a period which forms an important epoch in the revolution. The overthrow of the mighty fabric of the power of Napoleon, and his abdication, in April, 1814, was an event not less unexpected and astonishing, than important in its influence on the destinies of Europe. The restoration of Ferdinand VII. to the throne of Spain, with all the absolute powers of the monarchy, was a necessary and immediate consequence. The establishment of popular governments in America was occasioned by the usurpations of Bonaparte, and their object, at first, at least the ostensible one, to resist his designs against Spain, and maintain the rights of their legitimate sovereign; so that at an early period the intelligence now received from Europe would have filled the colonies with joy. But so great was the revolution in the feelings and opinions of the people, produced by a contest of more than four years, carried on with the greatest animosity and cruelty, that an event which, but a short time before, might have given rise to universal rejoicing in America, occasioned at first anxiety and alarm, and was soon regarded as the harbinger of the most dreadful calamities.

The news of the defeat of Narino, and the retreat of the remnant of the army of the confederacy to Popayan; of the total overthrow of the republican cause in Venezuela, and the important intelligence from Europe, of the fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of Ferdinand, were received by the congress of

New Granada, about the same time. The defeat of their army, and the complete triumph of the royalists in Venezuela, was each a serious calamity; but the intelligence from Europe was of a more important character. It entirely changed the general aspect of things, and in some measure the character of the revolution. The resistance in America commenced against the authority of the regency of Spain, and in most of the provinces, the supremacy of Ferdinand was expressly acknowledged. Ferdinand was now on the throne, and if resistance was continued, it must be against the power of the legitimate sovereign of Spain. The restoration of the king, therefore, changed the relations between the colonies and the parent country, as well as placed the latter in a condition to direct all its strength against the rebellious Americans, being relieved from the war at home, and having no longer any employment for her armies in the peninsula. At an earlier period of the contest, the restoration of Ferdinand would have greatly damped, if not effectually checked the spirit of the revolution; but after the struggle had continued nearly five years, and the minds of the Americans became exasperated by the cruelties and massacres of the Spanish colonial rulers, it was calculated to have but comparatively little influence. Had Ferdinand, however, pursued a conciliatory line of conduct towards America; had he condemned the rashness of the colonial chiefs, who had driven the people into resistance; reformed the abuses and removed the oppressions of which the colonies had justly complained, probably he might have so far revived the sentiments of loyalty, as to have checked, if not to have extinguished, the flame of the revolution. But instead of this course, the first official intelligence the Americans had of his being reinstated on his throne, was a decree, treating them as rebels, and *commanding them to lay down their arms*. This was sufficient to satisfy the Americans that they had no more justice to expect from Ferdinand, than from the regency; that no attention, whatever, was to be paid to their complaints; no respect shown to their rights. This decree, dated the 4th of June, 1814, was soon followed by another, directing the equipment of a formidable armament at Cadiz, to reduce the disloyal Americans to unconditional submission. At the same time, the most rigorous measures were adopted at home, by a bigoted and absolute king, against the members of the Cortes, and other patriots, who had made such noble exertions, such patriotic sacrifices, for the defence of his throne. When such base ingratitude and injustice were experienced by the patriots of Spain, what treatment had the insurgents of America to expect from an infatuated monarch, a capricious tyrant? As the rupture between the Spanish patriots and America was hurried on by the regency's declaring war against

the Americans, so the contest as between Ferdinand himself and the colonies, was placed on a footing almost incompatible with accommodation, by the same rash measures on the part of Ferdinand.

Desperate and almost hopeless as the cause of the independence was rendered by this intelligence from Europe, and the serious reverses which the patriots had suffered, the congress of New Granada was not disheartened by these appalling circumstances, but viewing the approaching crisis in its true light, prepared to meet it. The first of September the congress published a proclamation, which, after detailing the events of the war, and the sad reverses their arms had sustained, concludes in the following language :

“Such is the situation of the military affairs of New Granada. Every step the republicans make costs a bloody battle in the provinces of Venezuela, where hords of assassins are formed by the agents of the king to check the progress of the friends of liberty. Our frontiers are constantly molested by the royalists of Maracai-bo, and those who now possess Barinas ; both of whom keep always in alarm the defenders of Pamplona and Casanare. The inhabitants of Santa Martha obstinately refuse to co-operate with us. Carthagená wants assistance from the general government, which is at the same time obliged to provide for the defence of Popayan, which is again threatened with invasion ; and this of course increases the difficulties we should have in rescuing the unfortunate Quito from the power of her oppressors. These are the objects which imperiously call for the attention of the confederate provinces. Useless shall be the declaration of our independence if we have not resolution to support it. We possess within ourselves the means of attaining this great object, and no power whatever will be strong enough to conquer us if we avail ourselves of our own strength ; our exertions must unquestionably be great, and our sacrifices for the common cause unbounded. But such efforts are worthy of men raised to the dignity of a free people, and are absolutely necessary since we have nothing to hope, and much to fear from the European nations. Notwithstanding the cessions at Bayonne, and the torrents of blood that the French have shed by the war in the peninsula, Ferdinand has been restored to Spain ; and the country, now freed from the French, will have both the power and the will to send a formidable army again to subdue us.”

“Ye people of New Granada ! contemplate your fate, and that of your posterity ; you may easily judge of it ; and let your resolution be formed accordingly, and nobly. Again we repeat, your destiny depends on your own exertions.”

Alarming, however, as the crisis was, it was not capable of

producing union among the republicans, or of extinguishing those feuds which had been equally detrimental and disgraceful to their cause. That men engaged in the same cause, and exposed to the same dangers, should waste their strength in their own dissensions at the very time that the common enemy was at the gates of their capitals, and threatening them with one common ruin, evinces the inveteracy of their animosities, and the prevalence of a factious spirit. Such conduct was scarcely less absurd than that of the two owners of a building, who were disputing about the extent of their respective rights to the property, whilst it was in flames, instead of uniting their exertions to save it from the conflagration. Don Bernardo Alvarez, president of Cundinamarca, persisted in refusing to join that province to the confederacy, which it was evident would greatly strengthen the hands of the government, and give energy to the measures that congress were pursuing for the safety of the country. At length, however, being satisfied that the people demanded the union, Alvarez deputed Lozano to treat with the congress, and terms of union were agreed upon; but the president objected to a union, and refused to ratify the treaty. He proposed an alliance, which the congress declined to accept. This was the state of things when Bolivar arrived at Tunja at the close of the year 1814, and engaged in the service of the congress. The confederacy at this time consisted of the provinces of Casanare, Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Choco, Popayan, Carthagena, Mariquita, Socorro, and Antioquia. The congress resolved to compel, by military force, the province of Cundinamarca to acknowledge its power and join the confederacy. They accordingly sent Bolivar in December, 1814, to besiege Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of the refractory province. His army consisted of that division of the army of Venezuela under general Urdaneta, which, after the defeat of the other two divisions, retreated to Cucuta, and was ordered from thence by the congress to Tunja, with some additional troops. Bolivar stormed the city and obtained possession of its principal suburbs, when Alvarez accepted the terms of capitulation that had been offered, which were that the province should join the confederacy, and enjoy the same privileges as the other confederate states. The electoral college of Santa Fe was then assembled, which ratified the capitulation, and invited the congress to adjourn its session to that capital, which it soon after did.

This union greatly strengthened the arm of the federal government, and with the improvements and changes in the system, which had been made a short time before, gave it power and energy. By these changes, made in September and October preceding, each province, except Casanare, Neyva, and Choco, which were less populous, sent two deputies to the congress, and

those provinces one ; the executive power, which had been exercised by the congress, was confided to three persons appointed by that body, and the federal government possessed authority to carry on the war, and over the finances of the confederate provinces. Don M. R. Torices, Garcia Rubira, and M. Pey, all distinguished for their talents and entire devotion to the republican cause, received the executive appointment. The governors of the provinces were chosen by the electors, but acted as delegates, or officers of the general government, in all concerns relating to the confederacy.

New Granada at this time possessed a prospect of security, stability, and prosperity. Although threatened by the royalists of Venezuela, Quito, and Santa Martha, it possessed the means to repel all their attacks. The government was respected, and the congress had adopted several wise and popular laws, calculated to relieve the burdens of the people, and promote the general prosperity. The monopolies of tobacco, spirituous liquors, and the tribute paid by the Indians were abolished ; foreigners were invited into the country, manufactures of arms established, and liberty of speech and of the press were left unrestricted. Many of the most intelligent of the clergy embraced the cause, which was generally popular ; some patriotic citizens tendered their services to the government, others made contributions of money, and the friars of the order of St. Dominic, set a worthy example of patriotism, by presenting to the national treasury most of the specie, which for years they had been hoarding up in the sanctuary of Chiquiquira. The government extended its patronage to the botanical expedition under the direction of the celebrated Mutis, which made important discoveries. To prevent the intrigues of the Spaniards, they were banished from the territories of the confederacy, until the independence of the country should be effectually secured ; but were permitted to remove or dispose of their property.

The army under Cabal, in Popayan, was re-enforced, and began to make head against the royalists ; General Urdaneta was sent with re-enforcements into the province of Pamplona, to repel the royalists of Maracaibo, who harassed the country by their incursions, and, when attacked, retired to their fastnesses in the forests bordering on the river Zulia. But against the royalists of Santa Martha, the principal force of the republic was directed, under Bolivar, who was appointed captain-general of the armies of New Granada and Venezuela. The government and their general in chief made great exertions to ensure success to this expedition, as the occupation of the province of Santa Martha would have been of great advantage to the patriots, in case the expedition then preparing at Cadiz should be directed against

New Granada. With very great exertions 3000 men were raised, at the head of which Bolivar marched as far as the town of Mompox, on the river Magdalena. Here he halted to obtain from the province of Carthagena the additional men and arms which the congress had ordered as its quota of troops for the expedition. Bolivar applied to the governor of Carthagena for the re-enforcement and supplies which the congress had ordered; but Don M. Castillo, military commandant of Carthagena, being a personal enemy of Bolivar, exerted all his influence with the governor to prevent his complying with the demands of the congress, and unfortunately was too successful. The pretences he made use of, were, that Bolivar entertained ambitious views, and had injured the cause by his sanguinary career in Venezuela. The remonstrances of Bolivar were unavailing; the governor obstinately refused to comply with the requisitions of congress, and Bolivar, disappointed and chagrined at this unexpected delay, and exasperated at the unjustifiable conduct of Castillo and the governor, determined to stand by his arms. Accordingly he immediately marched against, and laid siege to the town of Carthagena, in hopes to obtain by force, what he had failed to accomplish by peaceable means; and to compel the governor of Carthagena to obey the authority of the congress, as he had before, that of Santa Fe. Carthagena being a strong place, was enabled to defend itself; for which object, the troops were collected from other parts of the province, leaving it defenceless, for the purpose of carrying on a civil war. The royalists taking advantage of this, conquered Mompox, and most of the province of Carthagena with little or no opposition, whilst the republicans were disgracefully weakening and destroying themselves by their own dissensions. This civil war completely frustrated all the judicious measures of the federal government, and threatened the total ruin of the cause of the patriots. It continued to rage until the expedition from Cadiz, the most formidable ever sent by Spain to America, appeared off the coast of Venezuela. When intelligence of this reached Carthagena, Bolivar, whose heart was never for a moment estranged from the great cause of independence, however he may have been led to engage in the civil contests from exasperated feelings, or misguided notions of expediency, would not suffer a contest to be prolonged, which, under existing circumstances, must be attended with the most fatal consequences. He proposed to the government of Carthagena that he would retire from the province and leave his army, now considerably reduced by the civil war and disease, to co-operate in the defence of the city; against the expected attack from the expedition from Spain.

This expedition consisted of ten thousand of the chosen and

best troops of Spain, conveyed in fifty transport ships, and protected by two frigates; the fitting it out had nearly exhausted the national resources. It was commanded by general Morillo, whose memory will be held in perpetual detestation for his cruelties in Colombia. The armament appeared before Carupano about the middle of April, 1815, and was justly regarded as the harbinger of scenes of devastation and blood, surpassing what had already been witnessed. Universal alarm spread among the patriots throughout Venezuela and New Granada. From Carupano, Morillo proceeded against the island of Margarita, where general Bermudas, with the remnant of his troops, and many of the patriots of Venezuela had repaired. All the exertions of the patriots were not sufficient to defend the island against the powerful force of Morillo; he, however, lost one of his frigates, the San Pedro Alcantara. The patriots mostly escaped, embarking for Carthagena and the West India islands. From Margarita, Morillo proceeded to Caraccas, then in possession of the royalists, where, and at other cities on the coast of Venezuela, he left two thousand of his troops; but received in exchange for those left, some troops that were previously stationed at Caraccas. In the month of June, the expedition sailed from Porto Cavello for the purpose of besieging Carthagena, but did not commence the siege until August.

Carthagena is situated on a bay, nine miles in extent, and is divided into two parts: the city, properly so called, and Gimani, a suburb. The city is surrounded by a thick and high wall; a wall also stands in front of Gimani, which is built in a circular form: a ditch or channel, fortified by stoccardoes on each side, joins the walls of Gimani with the city. On the east of the city is a fort, which overlooks Gimani; and the batteries on the hill, called Lapopa, about 150 yards distant, command the fort, and protect the town and its environs. North of Lapopa is lake Tesca, which communicates with a ditch or channel, that divides the city from Gimani, but the two divisions of the city are connected by a bridge. Morillo fixed his head quarters twelve miles from the city, at a place called Turbaco, and formed his line so as to cut off all communication by land with the town. Colonel Soublot commanded Lapopa, which was attacked by the royalists on the 11th of November, but they were repulsed with considerable loss. By the erection of batteries, and the introduction of gun boats into the bay, they succeeded however, in cutting off the communication with the sea, by Boca Granda, one of the outlets to the ocean, which deprived the besieged of all means of receiving provisions into the town. The city was twice bombarded; but suffered most from the want of provisions, which, after a siege of nearly four months, compelled the patriots to

abandon it to the royalists. A general meeting was held on the 13th of October, which resolved to put the province of Carthage under the protection of the British government: and Mr. Hislop, an English merchant, was despatched to London for this purpose. But before any answer was received to his despatches, the famine raged to such a degree that it became necessary to abandon the city. The beginning of December, the deaths amounted to 100 persons daily. On the 5th of December the place was evacuated. More than 2000 persons left the city, in eleven ships, most of them armed; the armament was attacked by the royalists, who were repulsed; and having taken on board the garrison of Bocachica, it sailed out of the harbour, and left the city to their enemies, which had now become one vast charnel-house. The next day the Spaniards took possession of it. Most of the patriots proceeded to Aux Cayes.

The following translation from the official letter to his government of Montalvo, the captain-general, exhibits a picture of horror that almost staggers belief. "The horrible appearance of the city is scarcely to be described: the streets, and even the houses, were heaped up with dead bodies, or with those who were expiring; the atmosphere was in a pestilential state, which nearly stopped respiration; groans and lamentations assailed our ears."

A list of prisoners was delivered by Morillo to Montalvo, with an intimation that they ought to be tried by the permanent council of the army; but the captain-general, by the advice of his assessor, or lawyer, had them tried by a common council of war, by which they were condemned to death. And notwithstanding that the judges of the court of audience, who were consulted after their condemnation, declared the proceedings illegal, Don M. Castillo, Garcia Toledo, Ayo M. Granados, M. Amador, M. Portocarrero, M. Anguiano, M. Angulo, and S. Stewart, were executed on the 24th of January, 1816. Montalvo assigns among other reasons, for these executions, that it would have been scandalous to have sent these rebels to Spain, when others less criminal had been executed by Morillo; and declares that these were the first executions he had ordered, and that he was the only one of the Spanish chiefs in America, whose conduct had been so humane. "Unfortunately," he says, "the war now presents so direful an aspect, that it is not easy to foresee its termination. All might have been prevented in the beginning; perhaps then to have punished the heads of the revolution would have been sufficient, and peace might have been restored by a steady conduct, politic measures, and mildness in the chiefs, which always sooner or later produce good effects."

There was about 2000 troops at Carthage when the place

was first besieged, who, with its inhabitants, defended the city, the federal congress of New Granada was unable to afford them any assistance. Bolivar went to Jamaica to fit out an expedition for the relief of Carthagena; but the town surrendered before he carried his plan into execution, and he again turned his attention to Venezuela. About the same time that the Spaniards took possession of Carthagena, Arismendi again raised the republican standard in the island of Margarita; and after defeating the garrison Morillo had left, in several actions, took possession of a part of the island. In the mean time, the spirit of the revolution revived in Venezuela, so that those parts of the country which the royalists had reduced, and where they considered all resistance at an end, were again, either in the possession of the patriots, or the seats of war. The insolence and arrogance of the royalists at Caraccas revived the disaffection of the inhabitants, and occasioned many of the provincial troops, who, after the conquest of the province, had consented to fight under the royal standard, to desert and join themselves to the republican troops, who were dispersed over the country, after the defeat at Urica. These troops served as rallying points for the disloyal from all quarters in Venezuela.

The guerrilla system of warfare was now adopted, in imitation of the Spaniards, in the war with the French. Various guerrilla parties were formed, at the head of which were Monagas, Piar, Roxas, Zaraza, Llanos, and other intrepid leaders, who occupied the interior of the provinces of Guiana, Cumana, Barcelona, Caraccas, and Barinas. More unanimity prevailed among the inhabitants of Venezuela than had existed at any former period; alarmed at the impending danger, they seemed disposed to forget former differences, and to unite in defence of the independence of their country. The *guerrillas* carried on an active partisan warfare, harassing the Spanish troops, and by rapidly advancing and suddenly retreating, worried them with constant marches and counter-marches, and when a favourable opportunity presented, engaged them, and often successfully.

To aid the exertions of the patriots in the island of Margarita and in Venezuela, Bolivar planned and fitted out an expedition from Aux Cayes, in conjunction with Brion, a native of Curracoa, who had served on board the flotilla, in the employ of the republican government of Venezuela. Brion, being wealthy, contributed largely towards the expenses of the expedition, and as a remuneration, was appointed to command the maritime force, which consisted of two ships of war and thirteen transports, most of which carried guns. One thousand troops were on board, made up of the emigrants from Venezuela, and a part of the garrison that escaped from Carthagena. The expedition

sailed from Aux Cayes the latter part of March, 1816, and on its passage engaged and captured two Spanish ships of war, after a severe and bloody conflict, in which Brion was wounded. Early in May, the expedition landed at the island of Margarita, and disembarked the troops. The patriots took possession of the whole island, the Spaniards abandoning all but the fortress of Pampatar. The expedition sailed from Margarita to Carupano, fifteen miles west of the town of Cumana, where Bolivar overcame the royalists, and took possession of the town. His successes revived the spirit of resistance in Caraccas, and numerous guerrilla parties came to join him, which he furnished with arms. From Carupano, Bolivar sailed to Choron and Ocumare, situated between the ports of La Guira and Porto Cavello, where he landed on the 6th of July. Near Ocumare and Choron are numerous plantations of sugar, cocoa, and indigo, on which many slaves were employed. As the enemy had set the example of liberating slaves, and thinking that this measure would be expedient in the present aspect of affairs, Bolivar, on landing at Ocumare, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Caraccas, in which he declares that "justice and policy demand the emancipation of the slaves, and that henceforth there shall be but one class of people in Venezuela; all shall be citizens."

The successes of the patriots under Bolivar, and on the island of Margarita, astonished the royalists, and filled them with rage. To perceive the patriots rising up, they scarcely knew from whence, and defeating their garrisons and troops, and re-occupying the country they had so recently conquered, served not only to convince them what kind of enemies they had to contend with, and how difficult it would be to conquer a country, where, like the fabled hydra, for every head that was cut off, two sprang up; but these successes seemed to be robbing them of the victories they had already won, and the advantages they had obtained. Nothing could exceed their violence and fury towards all, without distinction of age or sex, who favoured the cause of independence. Among other outrages which were committed in the town of Cumana, a female of respectable family, for the crime of having spoken against the Spanish government, was placed on an ass, led through the streets, attended by a guard of soldiers, and publicly scourged so barbarously as to occasion her death.

Bolivar left part of his troops at Choron, under Sir Gregor M'Gregor, a Scotchman, who had been a captain in the English army in Portugal, and had served in the cavalry of Venezuela in 1811, but whose subsequent exploits acquired for him more notoriety than honourable fame; and the residue he disembarked at Ocumare. M'Gregor, whose force formed the vanguard of

the army, took Maracay and La Cabrera, and was proceeding against Victoria when he was arrested in his successful career by the arrival of a detachment of Spanish troops under general Morales. He had been sent by Morillo on his receiving intelligence of the expedition against Venezuela. The two divisions of Bolivar's little army, consisting in all of less than 1000 men, were unfortunately separated several miles, of which Morales took advantage, and attacked the rear guard under the liberator himself; and after a desperate and sanguinary contest, Bolivar was compelled to leave the field with the loss of 200 of his men, including most of his best officers. The remnant of his army sought safety by speedily re-embarking. This disastrous event induced M'Gregor to change his intended movements, and to take the road to Barcelona by the plains. Encouraged by the defeat of Bolivar, the royalists thought that M'Gregor would fall an easy prey; they pursued him so furiously, and were so certain of capturing him, that they sent official information to Caraccas that he had been defeated, all his men made prisoners, and himself killed; the very soldier being named who had stripped him of his uniform on the field of battle. It was 100 miles to Barcelona, and Morales pursued the patriots with all his forces, and came up and attacked them at Alacran, but was repulsed. Morales also engaged the patriots at Juncal, where he was completely defeated, and M'Gregor took possession of Barcelona in October, which opened to him a communication with the other republican generals in Cumana and Guiana.

The royalists evacuated the fortress of Pampatar, on the 2d of November, leaving the island of Margarita in the quiet possession of the patriots, which enabled general Arismendi to embark from the island with part of his troops and join the patriots in Barcelona. Bolivar, after his defeat at Ocumare, sailed again to Aux Cayes, where, having obtained re-enforcements, he embarked in December, 1816, and stopping at Margarita, he published a proclamation, calling a general congress of the representatives of Venezuela, and proceeded with his expedition to Barcelona. Here he organized a provisional government, and was attacked by the enemy, under Morales and Real, in the months of February and March, 1817, but defeated them with great loss. The royalists were also defeated in Guiana by the patriots under Piar, in April, and compelled to shut themselves up in the town of Angostura.

We return to the movements of general Morillo, who, it will be remembered, entered Carthagena on the 6th of December, 1815. The possession of Carthagena, in a great degree, opened to Morillo the conquest of all New Granada. The army of the confederacy that had fought under Bolivar, which was not destroyed in the civil war, had joined the garrison of Carthagena, and the ar-

mies under Cabal and Urdaneta were small, and occupied with the Spanish forces directly opposed to them. Morillo had a powerful force, which enabled him, by dividing it, to invade the confederate provinces in three different directions. General Calzadas, with a force consisting of some provincial royalists, and a part of the troops left by Morillo at Caraccas, invaded the provinces of Pamplona und Tunja; another division of the Spanish army marched into the provinces of Antioquia and Popayan, and Morillo, with the principal division of his army proceeded up the river Magdalena. Following the river nearly to Sanbartolome, he divided his forces, taking himself the road towards Ocana and Sangil, in the province of Socorro; whilst a part of his troops continued up the river as far as the town of Honda, the head of boat navigation.

Formidable and appalling as was this invasion, the congress exerted themselves to the utmost to meet it, and defend the country. The members either joined the army, or returned to the provinces to rouse the people. The greatest efforts were made to raise an army such as the crisis demanded; and the government was greatly aided by the emigrants from Venezuela, among whom were many experienced officers. But a consternation prevailed among the people, which paralyzed every exertion. The day of triumph had arrived for the Spaniards, and the republicans could not stop their victorious career. The confederacy, however, was not overrun and subjugated without a struggle and severe fighting. The defiles, through which the enemy were obliged to pass, were fortified, and many of the towns were put in such a state of defence as not to be overcome by the royalists without many bloody conflicts. At Zaragoza and Remedios the patriots made a resolute defence, and in the attack on the latter place, they repulsed the enemy, and obtained considerable advantages. In most of the skirmishes and actions, however, which occurred, the advantage was on the part of the royalists. At length, the hard-fought and sanguinary battle of Cachira, in which the best troops and most of the officers of the confederate army fell, decided the fate of New Granada. The congress immediately separated, and the remnant of the army that survived the action, under generals Cerviez and Ricaute, sought safety by taking the road to Los Llanos. There being no longer an army to oppose him, Morillo entered Santa Fe de Bogota, in the month of June, 1816, where he remained until November, carrying on the work of *pacification*. Vengeance now opened her floodgates, and the blood of the patriots flowed as freely and profusely as the waters down the Andes. "More than 600 persons," says an authentic work, "of those who had composed the congress and the provincial governments, as well as the chiefs of the independent army, were shot, hanged,

or exiled; and the prisons remained full of others who were yet waiting their fate. Among those executed were the botanists, Don J. Caldas, and Don J. Lozano, who had been ordered by the congress of New Granada to publish the works of Dr. Mutis; Don J. M. Cabal, a distinguished chemist; Don C. Torres, a man distinguished for his learning; Don J. G. Gutierrez Moreno, and Don M. R. Torices, both well known for having been entirely devoted to the cause of their country; Don Antonio Maria Palacio-faxar, Don J. M. Gutierrez, Don Miguel Pombo, D. F. Ulloa, and many other learned and valuable characters. The wives of persons executed, or exiled by Morillo, were themselves exiled too."

What but the out-stretched arm of exasperated despotism could produce such a picture of cruelty, suffering, and bloodshed; such waste of life, such accumulated misery? Surely, tyranny, this is thy own work! Well might the author of such horrid deeds conclude, that "a military government is the worst of any known form; that it is the most *tyrannical and destructive*;" and, after viewing the works of his own hands, with truth might he speak of America, as a country "in which all was war, desolation, and horror."* If any thing could aggravate these enormities, it would be the consideration, that they were committed against a people, who, Morillo himself says, were *timid*, and would not have made much resistance, had not the insurgents from Venezuela come to encourage and assist them. "In Santa Fe," says Morillo in a letter to the Spanish minister of war, which fell into the hands of the patriots, "there are but few blacks and mulattoes; in Venezuela a considerable part of the white population has perished in the revolution. The inhabitants of Santa Fe are timid; those of Venezuela bold and sanguinary. In Santa Fe much has been published during the revolution, and the learned have ruled all with their pens; but in Caraccas they displayed earlier the naked sword. From this dissimilarity of character arises the different opposition we have met with; but in their dissimulation and perfidy, the people in all the provinces resemble each other. Probably, in this viceroyalty, the inhabitants would not have opposed so firmly the king's troops, had not many from Venezuela come to support them. It was spurred on by them, that Carthagenas resisted so strenuously. The division of the army that attacked Zaragoza and Remedios has opposed many troops disciplined by these insurgents. The government of Antioquia has already twice proclaimed *la guerre muerte*, and has skilfully fortified the defiles of the province, by engineers from

* Extract from Morillo's Letter to the minister of war in Spain found on board of the schooner La Leon, captured by the privateer, The Congress, from Buenos Ayres.

Venezuela. It was by the activity of the same insurgents that Santa Fe was obliged to submit to the congress, and received their sanguinary ideas. All is effected by the rebels from Venezuela. They are like ferocious beasts when they fight in their own country ; and if they get able commanders, it will require many years to subdue them, and even then it will be done at the expense of much blood, and considerable sums of money."

Yet the man who could commit such horrid outrages as these, against a "timid" people, who were influenced by the pens of their learned men, talks about his having "displayed that clemency, so much recommended by the king, which was unbounded."

The success of the patriots in Venezuela, induced Morillo to leave Santa Fe, at the head of 2000 men, in November, 1816, to re-enforce the royalist troops at Caraccas. He was attacked on his way by the patriot general Paez, near San Fernando de Apure, with success and advantage on the part of the Independents. During the months of February and March, of 1817, the patriots kept possession of the town of Barcelona, which was the only important place held by them in Venezuela ; although they had several guerrilla corps scattered over the interior. Their flotilla under Brion commanded the sea coast, which enabled them to declare the whole coast of Venezuela in a state of blockade. Bolivar having advanced with a considerable part of his troops into the interior, the royalists availing themselves of this circumstance, made another attempt against the town of Barcelona, and after besieging it for some time, finally succeeded in taking it by assault, on the 7th of April. In the month of May, the royal troops in Venezuela were re-enforced by 1600 men from Spain.

The loss of Barcelona was compensated by the success of the patriots under general Piar in Guiana, who defeated the enemy at a place called Missions, about 100 miles below Angostura, and this victory enabled Piar to march against the town of Angostura, the capital of Guiana, and to lay siege to it. Bolivar, the commander in chief, who had marched towards the South, soon after reached Angostura, and joining Piar, assumed the command. The town was now closely invested both by sea and land, by the aid of the naval force under Brion ; and the siege carried on with vigour and activity. The flotilla cutting off all intercourse by water, and intercepting all supplies ; the town was compelled to capitulate in the month of August, and the province of Guiana, sharing the fate of its capital, fell into the hands of the patriots. At a time when the cause of the revolution was in so low a condition, and regarded abroad as annihilated, and at home as almost entirely hopeless, the conquest of Guiana was an important acquisition, and gave a favourable impulse to the war. It added

greatly to the resources and means of the patriots for carrying on hostilities; and what perhaps was equally important, the possession of the immense plains of the great valley of the Orinoco, uncovered a long line of frontier, and enabled the patriots not only to cut off the supplies which the royalists were accustomed to receive from that quarter, but to make constant inroads into the territory in the occupation of the enemy, and to destroy his small detachments stationed along the line of the frontier. The possession of Guiana also afforded access to the sea, which not only opened to the patriots a communication with the island of Margarita, their naval rendezvous, but likewise enabled them to receive from the West Indies and elsewhere military supplies.

Whilst the republicans were thus strengthening themselves by the occupation of Guiana, the royalists were engaged in an unsuccessful expedition against the island of Margarita, which, since its emancipation in 1816, by the efforts of general Arismendi and its heroic inhabitants, had been the principal naval station of the patriots.

The congress of Venezuela which had been re-established by Bolivar, on the 8th of May, 1817, in the city of San Felipe de Cariaco, in Cumana, and which on the fall of that place, had taken refuge in Margarita, after remaining there twelve days only, was obliged again to seek safety by retiring on board the patriot flotilla, in consequence of the threatened invasion of the island.* In the month of June the royalists appeared before Margarita with a squadron consisting of two corvettes and five brigs; and on the 14th of July, 1817, general Morillo arrived with a formidable reinforcement, consisting of 3500 troops, and an additional naval force. He immediately stormed Pampatar, the principal fort and fortress of the island, which he reduced, and of which he possessed himself, after a most determined and desperate resistance. Morillo, supposing that the principal obstacle to the conquest of the island was overcome, and being exasperated against the inhabitants in consequence of their having been the first to raise the republican standard after his conquest of all Venezuela, in 1815, he resolved to make an example of this devoted island, and to exterminate all the inhabitants who made any resistance. There

* This, although called the supreme congress, was only a junta, or provisional government, established by general Morillo, second in command, by the directions of Bolivar. No election of deputies took place, nor had any election been held since the overthrow of the first congress, in 1812. This provisional congress consisted of the following persons, most of whom had been members of the first congress; Admiral Brion, J. C. Madariga, A. Zea, J. X. Mays, president of the former executive, F. X. de Alcala, D. Valenilla, D. A. Alcala, M. Ysalia, F. de Paula Naval, D. B. Urbanesa, and M. Maneyro.—*See documents communicated to the president of the United States in 1817.*

were but few troops on the island, and general Morillo possessed a numerous and veteran army, apparently sufficient to crush in a moment all resistance. Never was the remark more fully illustrated than on this occasion, that in a contest against liberty, the inhabitants all become soldiers, and that not only the armies, but the whole population must be overcome, before a conquest can be obtained. The entire population of the island of Margarita was but about 20,000; yet such was their truly Spartan heroism, that if they could not say with that ancient city, that they never saw the smoke of an enemy's camp; like its renowned citizens, they were resolved that the enemy should enter their capital only by passing over the dead bodies of its inhabitants. They had determined to defend the island or perish in the attempt, and their desperate bravery, firmness, and perseverance completely baffled all the efforts of a powerful and veteran army, led on by an able and experienced general. After fighting five battles, and approaching in different directions nearly to Assumption, the capital of the island, marking his progress every where with the most inhuman butcheries, and reducing the island nearly to a state of desolation, the blood-thirsty Morillo was compelled, reluctantly, to retire with the loss of 1000 of his troops, and to abandon the object of his expedition. This heroic and successful defence has not received the notice it is entitled to; it is scarcely surpassed by any examples in history, and the bravery, firmness, and self-devotion of the inhabitants, is worthy of the highest admiration.

CHAPTER VI.

Defection of Piar—Bolívar re-elected governor of Venezuela—attempts of the patriots to obtain foreign aid—they receive assistance from Great Britain—Bolívar's plan for emancipating New Granada—congress installed at Angostura—expedition for the liberation of New Granada—incredible difficulties it has to encounter—its success—battle of Boyaca—Bolívar enters Santa Fe de Bogotá—establishes a provincial government for New Granada—he returns to Angostura—installation of the congress—his speech—union of Venezuela and New Granada—defeat of M'Gregor—success of the revolution—its influence abroad—preparations for the approaching campaign—it opens by the capture of Rio de la Hacha.

IN the month of October, 1817, a most alarming conspiracy was discovered, headed by general Piar, which threatened to blast the hopes of the patriots, and ruin the cause of the revolution. General Piar had fought bravely and rendered important services to the republic, particularly in the liberation of Guiana, and he had been rewarded by the highest rank in the army, and even the second post in the republic, then vacated by the separation of general Marino, was proposed to be conferred on him.* But intoxicated with success and the favours of fortune, his boundless ambition, not satisfied with these honours, aimed at the chief command. To attain this object, he had formed an atrocious plot, involving not only a civil war, but the sacrifice of his companions in arms.

This unfortunate victim of ambition was tried by a council of war, and sentenced to be executed on the 16th of October, 1817. During this month the patriots defeated the Spaniards in Pamplona, and liberated that province. On the 11th of November, the same year, the supreme congress of Venezuela was organized at Angostura, and general Bolívar was re-elected president of the republic. The close of the year found the affairs of the patriots in a comparatively prosperous condition, and hope once more scattered light in the path of independence and liberty. The arms of the republic for the last six months had been crowned with signal success; in addition to Guiana and the plains, they had liberated the provinces of Casanare, Barinas, Pamplona, and the interior of

* See Bolívar's proclamation, 17th of October, 1817

Cumana, Barcelona, and Caraccas. The possession of the vast plains of the Oronoco was of the greatest advantage in supplying the patriots with cattle and horses for the army, and at the same time deprived the enemy of these resources ; it also laid open an extensive frontier, and enabled their guerrilla parties to annoy the enemy by a predatory warfare along the whole line of this frontier, and facilitated the fitting out of formidable expeditions against the enemy's posts.

Availing himself of these advantages, great exertions were now made by Bolivar, aided by the congress, to open the campaign the ensuing year with an imposing force. His first object was to wrest from the enemy one of his principal posts, called San Fernando de Apure ; for which purpose he despatched an expedition by water consisting of thirty gun-boats, and marched himself to form a junction with general Paez, who was in that quarter. Paez was a distinguished patriot chief, and an able commander of cavalry, who had already liberated an extensive district of the country from the Spanish domination, and raised numerous corps of cavalry for the service of the republic. The united forces of Bolivar and Paez were successful in their first operations ; they penetrated into the interior beyond Calabozza, driving the enemy before them, and in some instances destroying their detachments. But after various sanguinary conflicts, many of them sharp and obstinate, and which were attended with alternate success, no important advantages were gained by the patriots, and Bolivar was obliged to relinquish the object of liberating Venezuela this season, and to retire to Guiana.

Although the republicans made little or no progress this year in rescuing from the Spaniards that part of Venezuela which they held, yet the campaign was by no means lost, as it had changed the order of operations, and obliged the royalists to act wholly on the defensive. There is a negative as well as positive success in war ; and not to be vanquished, is sometimes almost equivalent to victory. Even victory, in some cases, is attended with the ultimate, if not the immediate consequence of defeat. It was no small success for the patriots, most of their forces consisting of raw troops, to be able to maintain the field, and to contend with advantage, and often with success, with the veteran troops of Spain, and to arrest the successful career of the enemy.

Every conflict was improving their knowledge in the practice of war, and diminishing the advantages of the royalists in military experience and discipline ; and when the sacrifices attending this acquisition were nearly equal, the patriots were relatively great gainers as their losses could be easily supplied, while the losses of the royalists were nearly irreparable. The operations of 1816 and 17, which effectually checked the victorious career of the

barbarous Morillo, broke the spell of invincibility which had been attached to his name, so that it no longer spread terror and dismay through the ranks of the patriots.

Hitherto the independents had sustained the unequal contest unaided and alone; the friends of liberty, both in Europe and the United States, had contented themselves with extending to them their good wishes, a succour not very efficacious, in the struggles of war. The revolutionists at first looked with great expectations to Great Britain, in consequence of the disposition she had long manifested, to favour the independence of Venezuela, to promote her commerce with South America. After the establishment of the junta in Caraccas in 1810, L. L. Mendez, and Simon Bolivar were appointed to solicit the countenance and support of the British government, in favour of the revolution. But the policy of the British cabinet was now changed, as it was engaged in supporting the Spanish patriots in the peninsula, against the French; and the only effect of this mission, was a decree ordering the governors of their West India islands to maintain a strict neutrality, in the contest between Spain and her colonies, provided the new governments continued to act in the name of Ferdinand the VII. This decree seemed to imply, that if the patriots declared the country independent, the British government might favour Spain in reducing them to obedience. And in a treaty concluded with Ferdinand, after his restoration, it was stated "the Prince Regent hoped that Ferdinand would restore peace in his American colonies; and that entertaining this hope, he would engage not to assist the insurgents, and would even endeavour to prevent his subjects from affording them any assistance."

In the year 1810 the junta of Caraccas deputed Telesfero Orea, and John Vincente Bolivar, to the government of the United States, and in 1815, the congress of New Granada sent Don Pedro Gaul, now secretary of foreign affairs in Colombia, on a mission to this country; the following year Bolivar despatched to Washington, Don Lino de Clemente, and in 1817, the congress of Venezuela, soon after it was re-established, commissioned Joseph Cortes Madariaga, as minister to the United States. The policy of our government as it regards its foreign relations, adopted by Washington, and followed by all his successors, did not admit of the government affording assistance to the patriots, or even of its departing from a strict line of neutrality, however much the executive might desire, in common with all our citizens, success to their cause.

It is a curious fact, and strongly illustrative of the selfish policy which governs the conduct of nations, that France was the only power that manifested any intention of assisting the patriots

in their arduous struggle. In 1812, after the royalists had reconquered and laid waste Venezuela, and the same dreadful fate impended over New Granada, the congress of that country resolved to apply for succour to some foreign power. It was in vain to apply to England; little hope remained of assistance from the United States, and France, under the *despotism* of Bonaparte, was the only power of which there was any prospect of obtaining assistance to the sacred cause of *liberty* and independence. It was determined, however, that application should be renewed to the United States; and if unsuccessful, then to be made to Bonaparte, who had twice declared that he would assist the new world in obtaining their independence. Accordingly, Don M. Placio Faxar was sent on a double mission to Washington. Having made known the object of his mission to Mr. Madison, and informed him that the people of New Granada were unable without assistance to support the contest necessary to maintain their freedom, he was answered by the president, that, "though the United States were not in alliance, they were at peace with Spain, and could not, therefore, assist the independents; still, as inhabitants of the same continent, they wished well to their exertions." The commissioner then addressed himself to M. Serrurier, the French minister, resident at Washington, who encouraged him to apply to Napoleon, which he did, with every prospect of success. The arrangements were actually making to give effective assistance to the South Americans, when the battle of Leipsic took place, which threatened the invasion of France, and left the Emperor no opportunity to attend to any thing but the maintenance of his own power.*

During nine years, the patriots of Venezuela and New Granada, unaided and alone, without allies and without assistance, sustained the most desperate and sanguinary struggle in defence of their independence, with a firmness and perseverance almost unexampled, under sufferings and sacrifices truly incredible; a large proportion of the white population in Venezuela having been destroyed, and both countries devastated with fire and sword. But the time had now arrived, that the South American patriots were to receive a more efficient support from abroad than the sympathies of the friends of liberty. Their sufferings and sacrifices; their bravery, firmness, and perseverance; their patriotic devotion to the sacred cause of liberty, under the most appalling circumstances, awakened the attention of the world, and inspired the confidence, and excited the highest admiration of the friends of liberty in the United States and in Europe, particularly in the British Isles. The cries of liberty, the voice of struggling freedom, were heard across the waters, and excited

* Outline of the Revolution of South America.

the most lively sympathy in kindred breasts.* Notwithstanding the policy of the government founded on the dictates of prudence and caution, the people of the United States almost universally felt a deep and lively interest in the success of their brethren in South America, engaged in the same desperate struggle for liberty as they themselves had gone through ; not, however, without foreign succour, which the South Americans had not hitherto been so fortunate as to obtain. Near the close of the year 1817, the president of the United States appointed three commissioners, Messrs. Rodney, Bland, and Graham, to visit the independent states in South America, to ascertain their political condition, and their means and prospects of securing their independence ; and early in 1818, the legislature of Kentucky adopted resolutions expressing their sense of the propriety and expediency of the national government, acknowledging the independence of the South American republics. These resolutions probably emanated from the influence of Mr. Clay, now secretary of state, who, from the first, has been a zealous and steadfast friend of the South American patriots. Some individuals from the United States joined the patriots, and some supplies of ammunition and muskets were furnished them from this country.

It was from the British Isles, however, that they received the greatest assistance, both in men and munitions of war. Both in England and Ireland, a number of patriotic individuals espoused the cause of the South American patriots with zeal and disinterested devotion. Such was the success of the exertions of these disinterested patriots in England and Ireland, that, in the summer of 1818, and early in the year of 1819, not only large supplies of arms and munitions of war were sent to the Orinoco, but a considerable auxiliary force, consisting of several

* The history of the revolution in South America abounds not only in deeds of desperate bravery, but affords instances of the truly Roman spirit of liberty and of self-devotion. In 1817, Morillo having got into his power a son of the patriot general Zaraza, conferred on him the commission of ensign, by which means he was in hopes to induce the patriot chief to embrace the advantages offered in the Indulto, or act of oblivion, and join the royal standard. Accordingly, Morillo sent a priest of the name of Sutil, accompanied by the young Zaraza, to the patriot general, who was informed, by the clerical messenger, that Morillo would make him a brigadier, if he would go over with his troops to the royal standard. To this proposal Zaraza made the following noble reply ; " Not until I behold my wife and unfortunate children, cruelly murdered by the legions of general Morillo, restored to life again, shall I desist from the noble undertaking and glorious strife in which I am now engaged against the tyrants of their country, and the assassins of their innocent posterity." Having said these words, he handed a sword to his son, who scorning a rank which was given him merely for the sake of necessity or convenience, grasped the weapon ; when his father added, " with this you must defend the rights of your country, and avenge the death of your mother and brethren."

hundred volunteers, arrived at the island of Margarita, from whence they were forwarded to the Oronoco in season for the next campaign. A number of experienced English and Irish officers either accompanied or followed these troops, which was an invaluable acquisition to the patriots; being extremely useful in imparting military knowledge and skill to the officers, and discipline to the troops, in the patriot service. The troops, too, were veteran soldiers, who had seen much service; and the foreign officers and soldiers probably contributed in no small degree to the glorious successes of the ensuing campaign.

The indefatigable Bolivar, 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, now conceived the bold project of emancipating New Granada, when Morillo supposed that the whole efforts of the patriots would be required in Venezuela. In opening a campaign in New Granada, numerous difficulties were to be overcome; unexplored tracts of wilderness were to be traversed; rapid and dangerous rivers, swelled into lakes by the rains, were to be crossed, and mountains, apparently inaccessible, to be passed; and with an army hastily collected, a considerable part of which were destitute of discipline, and unaccustomed to the hardships of service; badly equipped and clothed, and scantily provided with the means of subsistence. Formidable as were these difficulties, they did not surpass the resolution of the chief of the republic, or shake the firmness of his purpose. The liberation of New Granada, whether regarded with reference to the relief it would afford to the oppressed inhabitants, the importance of the acquisition, or the influence it would have on the revolutionary cause, was an object demanding the utmost efforts of the republic. The cause of Venezuela and New Granada were essentially identified, and reciprocally influenced each other. Animated by the magnitude, and even by the difficulties of the enterprise, Bolivar made every possible effort his situation and resources would admit of, in preparing for this important campaign.

But the preparations for the approaching campaign did not engross the entire attention of Bolivar, who was not only the liberator, but the legislator of his country; not only the commander in chief of her armies, but the head of the government, and the founder of her institutions. The congress of Venezuela was installed at Angostura in February or March, 1819, to deliberate on the form of a constitution for the republic. The session was opened by a long and elaborate speech by the president, exhibit-

ing his views of the most suitable government for Venezuela, under existing circumstances. This speech comprises twenty-five printed folio pages, and evinces a profound acquaintance with the history, principles, and practical operations of various forms of government, and a heart warmed with the holy fire of patriotism, deeply anxious to secure to his country wise institutions, affording the surest pledge of preserving its liberty, and securing its prosperity and happiness. It concludes in the following glowing language:—

“*Legislators!* Condescend to receive, with indulgence, the declaration of my political creed, the highest wishes of my heart, and earnest petition, which, in the name of the people, I have dared to address you.

“Vouchsafe to grant to Venezuela a government purely popular, purely just, and purely moral, which will enchain oppression, anarchy, and crime—a government which will cause innocency, philanthropy, and peace to reign—a government which, under the dominion of inexorable laws, will cause equality and liberty to triumph.

“Gentlemen! Commence your duties. I have finished mine.

“The congress of the republic of Venezuela is installed. In it, from this moment, is centered the national sovereignty. We all owe to it obedience and fidelity. My sword, and those of my fellows in arms, will maintain its august authority.”

Having discharged this responsible duty respecting the establishment of a system of government for the republic, Bolivar directed his whole attention to preparations for the liberation of New Granada. He organized a select corps composed of Irish and English foreign auxiliaries, and some of his best troops. General Paez, whose name had become a terror to the royalists, was to remain behind, entrusted with the important duty of watching the motions of Morillo, and defending Guiana and the territories of Venezuela in the possession of the republicans. Every thing being in readiness, taking advantage of the rainy season when the royalists had abandoned the plains, and were reposing in security, the army commenced its march in the month of April, on an enterprise, the importance of which was only surpassed by its intrinsic difficulties. The constancy and fortitude of this army, in sustaining the fatigues and hardships which it had to endure, and surmounting the numerous obstacles that opposed its progress, will not suffer from a comparison with the army with which the Carthaginian hero conquered the Alps. “The rainy season,” says Bolivar, “had commenced, and the plains presented only vast sheets of inundations; the frozen summits of the Andes lay in our route; the sudden mutations of adverse climates were to

be encountered; a well disciplined army, three times our own number, were in front of us, and occupying all the military positions of those regions."

On the arrival of the army in the province of Casanare, it formed a junction with the troops of that province, under the command of general Santander; on which occasion Bolivar issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of New Granada, in which he says, that "the groans which Spanish tyranny extorted from you have reached the ears of your brethren in Venezuela, who, after having thrown off the yoke of our common oppressors, wish to share their liberty with you. A British legion, from more distant climes, has left the glory of its country to acquire the renown of saviours of America; this liberating army of friends and benefactors is now in the bosom of your country, and God, who always protects suffering humanity, will make the arms of your redeemers triumphant."

The united armies were a whole month in marching through the province of Casanare, and in overcoming the obstacles which every day appeared to multiply as they advanced. They had to cross a number of navigable rivers, which, at this season of the year, overflowed their banks, and inundated the country and the roads over the plains. It rained almost constantly day and night. The roughness of the mountains rendered them almost inaccessible, and in four days' marching over them, all the transports were rendered useless, and all the cattle provided for the army were lost. No enemy was discovered until they reached the river Guya, on the 27th of June, 1819, when the vanguard of the liberating army attacked and dislodged a detachment of 300 royalists, occupying a position so strong by nature, that 100 men are sufficient to stop the passage of 10,000.* The destruction of the bridge across the river, by the royalists, prevented their being pursued, so that the only direct advantage of the victory was the possession of the harbour, and the provisions left by the enemy. But as this was the opening of the campaign, it had a favourable influence on the army after their incredible fatigues, as the first events are often regarded, in some degree, as presages of the final result.

This affair was immediately followed by a succession of the most splendid victories the revolution affords, and which not only speedily terminated the campaign, but decided the fate of New Granada, and, perhaps, it is hardly too much to say of the revolution in the whole of Spanish America. The first action was fought on the 1st of July, in the valley of Sagamoso, in the province of Tunja, between the liberating army and the main army of the royalists of New Granada, commanded by Bareyro. The

* Despatch of Bolivar, dated 30th of June, 1819.

contest was long, obstinate, and continued until ten o'clock at night, when the Spaniards were routed and compelled to retreat in great disorder, to save themselves from destruction.

After considerable manœuvring by both the hostile armies, they encountered each other again on the 25th of July, at Pantano de Bargas, near the capital of the province of Tunja. The action lasted for five hours, both parties fighting with the greatest desperation. Victory at length declared for the patriots, and the rout of the royalists was complete; they were obliged to retreat in confusion, leaving their artillery, baggage, and treasures, on the field of battle, with their killed and wounded. The Spanish army retreated by the road of Samaca, in the direction of the capital, and were pursued and overtaken by the liberating army on the 7th of August, at Boyaca. At daylight the advanced corps of the patriots discovered that the enemy intended to pass the bridge at Boyaca, when Bolivar ordered the whole army under arms for action, and to march to the high road to prevent the royalists from crossing the bridge, or force them to give battle. At two in the afternoon, the enemy's first division reached the bridge, where they saw the advance cavalry of the patriots, and supposing it a reconnoitring party, they attacked it to clear the way for the main body of the royal army. The divisions of the liberating army quickened their march, and, to the great surprise of the royalists, the whole of its infantry appeared in a column on a height commanding a view of their position. The main body of the enemy was stationed about three fourths of a mile from the bridge. The infantry of the liberating army came down from the height, and, together with the cavalry, marched along the road to give the enemy battle; who, in the mean time, made a movement by his right, which was opposed by the British legion. The battalions of Barcelona, the intrepid corps of Paez, and the squadron of cavalry of the upper plains, formed the centre of the liberating army; the battalion of the line of New Granada, the battalion of Cozadores, and the guards of the rear, formed the left, and the columns of Tunja and Socorro remained as a reserve. The enemy was formed in a column on a height, with three pieces of artillery in the centre, and two squadrons of cavalry on the flanks, where they waited the attack. The patriot general, Anzoatequi, directed the operations of the centre and right, and general Santander the left. The troops of the centre, comprising the invincible corps of Paez, whilst exposed to the fire of a body of the enemy posted on their left flank, attacked with great intrepidity the main body of the royalists. The enemy received them with firmness, and poured into them a tremendous fire; but the independents, regardless of this, by the most daring and active movements, surrounded all the enemy's corps, when the cavalry, charging with

great impetuosity and courage, the enemy was driven from their position and thrown into disorder, which rendered all the efforts of the Spanish commander unavailing. The horse grenadiers set the first example of flight; the infantry attempted to form on another height, but were assailed so hotly, that they were instantly routed, and being enclosed on all sides, threw down their arms and surrendered. By an almost simultaneous movement, general Santander, who commanded the left, and who had met with but little resistance from the enemy's van, charged, passed the bridge, and completed the victory. The conflict was short, but terrible, and victory was not for a moment doubtful; the slaughter was great, and the Spanish army entirely annihilated. General Bareyro, the commander in chief, Ximenes, the second in command, a great number of field and inferior officers, and 1600 men were made prisoners. The spoils of the vanquished which fell into the hands of the patriots were great, consisting of artillery, arms, ammunition, horses, &c. General Santander, with the van, pursued the fugitives to Venta Quemada, and the rest of the army remained all night on the field of battle. The Spanish army consisted of above 3000 men; that of Bolivar of something less.*

This great and decisive action, which may be regarded as holding that place in the Colombian revolution that the victory at Saratoga did in our own, gave the patriots the possession of Santa Fe, the capital of New Granada, and the neighbouring provinces. The viceroy, Samana, immediately on obtaining news of the defeat of the royal army, with a few attendants, left the capital, and reached Carthagena by way of Mompox, where he was defeated, and escaped with a handful of men to Tericabo, an elevated position about twelve miles from Carthagena. He left all his military stores at Santa Fe, and a large sum in specie in the treasury and mint, said to amount to two or three millions.

It is impossible for language to describe the joy and enthusiasm with which the inhabitants of Santa Fe de Bogota received the victorious Bolivar, who had generously come to their relief when hope had almost forsaken them; he was hailed as their deliverer, their redeemer; as the first of patriots and the greatest of heroes, who surpassed the renowned Hannibal in overcoming the obstacles of nature, and the still greater Bonaparte, in the rapidity of his movements, and the success of his bold and noble enterprises. In 75 days he performed a march of nearly 1000 miles, fought three pitched battles, and emancipated a nation struggling under the weight of oppression, and whose wounds, inflicted by the sanguinary Morillo, were not yet healed.

Improving the advantages which fortune and his own valour had conferred on him, Bolivar immediately directed his attention to

* Official despatch of Bolivar.

making the best dispositions of the augmented military resources now at his command. The inhabitants flocked to his standard, and two armies were raised, organized, and put in motion about the 20th of September; one for the south, and the other destined to liberate the provinces of the north, still in the possession of the royalists. A provisional government for New Granada was also established, and all the necessary arrangements made for the security of the country, in which Bolivar was seconded by the inhabitants; and after submitting to Samano proposals for an exchange of prisoners, he left the capital of New Granada to return to Angostura, where the congress of Venezuela was expected to be in session. He travelled with an expedition corresponding with the celerity of his movements when at the head of the army. From Pamplona to Angostura, which usually requires twenty-five or thirty days, he went in seventeen, and arrived at the latter place on the 11th of December, 1819, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, now the liberator of New Granada as well as of Venezuela.

On the 14th of December the congress was installed, on which occasion the president delivered a speech, giving a brief account of the campaign, the difficulties the army had to encounter from the inundations of the plains, the roughness and frozen summits of the mountains, and the superior force of the enemy, which occupied all the strong positions of the country. But notwithstanding these difficulties, in less than three months this victorious army, besides overcoming the floods of the plains, and the forests of the Andes, annihilated an army of three times their number, and liberated twelve provinces of New Granada. The president does justice to the inhabitants of New Granada; "It is not alone to the liberating army that we are indebted for these signal events; the people of New Granada have shown themselves worthy of liberty; their efficient co-operation retrieved our losses and augmented our strength." He recommends the commemoration of these great achievements of his companions in arms; and concludes by informing the congress of the desire of the people of New Granada to unite their destiny with Venezuela, and his own ardent wishes for the union of the two countries. "Yes, legislators, the unanimous determination of perishing free, rather than to live slaves, hath given to the people of New Granada a title to our admiration and respect. Their ardent desire to unite their destiny with Venezuela is not less magnanimous. The inhabitants of New Granada are intimately penetrated with the great advantages to be derived from the union of both countries in one republic: The re-union of Venezuela and New Granada have been the unceasing object of my desires from the commencement of my military career. It is also the original wish of the

citizens of both countries, and a certain guarantee of the liberties of all South America.

“Legislators—The time to give a fixed and eternal basis to our republic has at length arrived; it belongs to your wisdom to decree this great social act, and to establish the principles of the sacred compact upon which the republic was to be erected. Proclaim it to the whole world, and my services and those of my companions in arms will be amply remunerated, and their utmost wishes accomplished.”

Bolivar having closed his address, Mr. Zea, the vice-president, arose, and replied :

“Among the many glorious and illustrious days consecrated by you to the republic, none has been more auspicious than that of the present, in which you have laid at the foot of the national representatives the laurel wreaths of victory, and the chains cut in pieces by your swords, which had bound in fetters two millions of people.” After describing in glowing language the obstacles the army had to encounter on account of the rainy season in passing the Andes, and from the superior force of the enemy, he says :—“But every difficulty disappeared before the courage and impetuosity of the soldiers of independence. Scarcely can victory keep pace with the victor, and in less than three months the principal and greatest part of New Granada is liberated by those troops whose destruction the viceroy of Santa Fe had declared, in anticipation, as an inevitable consequence of their rashness and temerity.” In conclusion, he adds his desires to those of the president for the union of the two countries : “Quito, Santa Fe, and Venezuela united in one republic, who is competent to calculate the measure and magnitude of prosperity which belongs to such a mass of physical and moral power. May heaven bless this propitious union, whose consolidation is the first object of all my cares, and of the most ardent desires of my heart.”

On the 17th, the congress passed what is called the fundamental law of the republic, which unites Venezuela and New Granada into one state, under the name of the “REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.” This act of union declares that the debts of the two republics shall be consolidated, and remain the national debt of Colombia; that the new republic shall be divided into departments, over each of which there shall be a chief magistrate, to be appointed by the president; that a city shall be built, bearing the name of Bolivar, which shall be the capital of the republic; that a general congress of Colombia shall be assembled at Rosario de Cucuta, in January, 1821, and that the present congress shall be dissolved in January, 1820; that the general congress shall form a constitution for the new republic, and decree the arms and flag of Colombia. It further provides that a commission of six members should be in-

vested with special powers during the recess of congress ; that the new republic should be solemnly proclaimed to the citizens and the armies, with public festivals and rejoicings on the 25th of December, the nativity of the Saviour, and that the anniversary of this political regeneration shall be perpetually celebrated by a national feast, wherein virtue and talents shall be rewarded as at the Olympic games in ancient Greece. This fundamental law of union was ordered to be recorded in the archives of the cabildos and municipalities, and to be promulgated throughout the republic.

This great political measure being accomplished, the founder of the new republic directed his attention to the prosecution of the war, and to preparations for an expulsion of the enemy from it. The army brought back from New Granada was augmented by detachments of troops, to 10, or 12,000 men.

While the arms of the patriots were crowned with such signal success in the interior, some disasters occurred on the sea board. General M'Gregor fitted out an expedition, with a force of 1000 men, and on the 8th of April, 1819, attacked and captured Porto Bello ; but after possessing the place twenty-one days, he was attacked by the royalists under general Hore, and defeated with the loss of his entire force, except a few attendants who escaped with their commander by swimming to one of their vessels. This fatal disaster did not discourage M'Gregor from his predatory warfare, and about the first of September, he sailed from Aux Cayes, with another expedition, with 250 men, and succeeded in taking Rio de la Hacha, which he held five days, when the Spaniards rallied, attacked the assailants, and after a short conflict, M'Gregor, perceiving the enemy too strong for him, fled, leaving his men to seek their safety as they were able ; and finding that they could make no further defence, such was their horror at falling into the hands of the Spaniards, that they blew up the fort, by which most of them fell the victims of their own folly and delusion.

On the 20th of December, Bolivar communicated to general Santander, vice-president of Cundinamarca, the fundamental law, which he desires him to carry into effect ; and observes, that "the prospects opened by this ever memorable act, are as comprehensive as magnificent ; freedom, power, grandeur, and stability, will be secured by such a union. By the unanimous voice of the deputies of Venezuela and New Granada, the foundation has been laid, upon which the public happiness will be established with solidity and durability, and that character has been designed, by which this infant nation shall be recognised, and its political relations established with all the world."

On receiving this despatch, Santander assembled on the 12th of February, 1820, the constituted authorities of the new depart-

ment of Cundinamarca, and laid the subject of the union before them with the fundamental law. The proposed union was unanimously approved, and a solemn publication of it was ordered to be made in Bogota, the capital, which was done amidst the universal rejoicings of the people. In his answer to the letter of Bolivar, general Santander, after informing him of what had taken place at Bogota, and the unanimity with which ten provinces of New Granada had acceded to the union, concludes by offering his congratulations on this auspicious event to the illustrious president. The cause of South American independence was now gaining ground abroad, as well as at home; although no power, as yet, acknowledged its independence, or directly or indirectly afforded either of the new governments any assistance, or even countenance. In his message to congress, in December, 1819, president Monroe says, that "the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality; that our ports have been equally open to both parties, and that our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering with either, to the prejudice of the other." He admits that the contest is of the highest interest to the United States, but considers it of the greatest importance to our national character, and the morality of our citizens, that all violations of our neutrality should be prevented, and with a view to this, he recommends to congress to designate by law, the several ports at which foreign ships of war and privateers may be admitted. The people of the United States, however, felt an increasing interest in the success of the South American patriots. But it was to Great Britain that the patriots were principally indebted for foreign assistance. The English, Irish, and Scotch auxiliaries engaged in the last campaign, amounted to four or five hundred; one quarter of which only survived, their loss being much greater than that of the troops of Venezuela, in consequence of their not being accustomed to the climate, or to a service attended with such fatigue and hardships. This waste of the British troops, however, did not discourage their countrymen; and during the year 1819, an Irish legion of 1000 men was raised by general D'Everéux for the service of Colombia. The troops were disembarked on the island of Margarita, where they were afterwards joined by general D'Evereux, whence they proceeded to the main in season for the campaign of 1820.

After the close of the session of the congress, president Bolivar repaired to the head-quarters of the army on the Apure, where he made the necessary arrangements for the approaching campaign. Before this opened, however, he proceeded to the capital of New Granada, where on the 8th of March, 1820, he published a proclamation to the people of Colombia, in which he congratulates them on the auspicious event of the union of the two

countries, which he says will cause them to be respected by foreign powers, who will admire their devotion to their country, and even cause Spain to acknowledge them as deserving the enjoyment of their rights.

“*Colombians*,—I promise to you in the name of the congress, that you shall be regenerated. Your institutions will reach high perfection—your tributes will be abolished—the restraints upon your liberty and enterprise will be destroyed—your virtues will be your patrimony, and capacity, courage, and virtue, will alone be considered and rewarded.” He concludes, by observing, that it had been the sole object of his whole life to form this free and independent republic of two families of brethren.

Bolivar, in his proclamation, intimated that there was a prospect of the war being soon terminated, and for the expulsion of the enemy, from the territories of the republic, he now directed all his exertions, and to hasten the movements of the different corps which had been organized to act against the royalists in Venezuela, and in the northern and southern provinces of New Granada, still in the possession of the Spaniards. The campaign commenced in April, 1820, by the capture of Rio de la Hacha by a combined attack of the land and naval forces of the republic, the former commanded by general Montilla, and the latter by admiral Brion. After this event, a detachment of this army was despatched to form a junction with the northern army of New Granada, which was descending the Magdalena.

The southern army of New Granada, commanded by the intrepid general Valdes, also opened the campaign with success. The enemy posted several hundred of his bravest troops under the traitor Lopez, at Paramo, where they waited the approach of the patriots. Lopez attacked the vanguard of the republicans with great boldness, which was compelled to give way when general Valdes ordered a charge to be made with 250 men, of which 200 were British auxiliaries, which decided the action. The enemy sustained a loss, in killed and prisoners, of about 300. Lopez escaped with the remnant of his troops, in consequence of the cavalry of the patriots not being in a condition to pursue. Following up this success, Valdes pursued the enemy with great celerity, obtained several advantages, and finally drove the royalists out of the province of Popayan, of which the patriots took possession; the royalists fled into Quito, where they hoped to retrieve their losses.

CHAPTER VII.

Morillo proposes an armistice—writes to the congress and Bolivar—the Colombians invest Carthagena by sea and land—an armistice concluded—revolution in Guayaquil—Morillo returns to Spain—succeeded by Morales—armistice expires—the liberator's proclamation—installation of the congress at Rosario de Cucuta—speech of the president—campaign commences—Coro captured—battle of Carabobo—congress convenes—ratifies the union—flotilla of the royalists destroyed—Carthagena capitulates—United States acknowledges the independence of Colombia—battle of Pinchincha—siege of Porto Cavello—Mr. Zea's mission to Europe—Spanish flotilla destroyed at lake Maracaibo—the town surrendered—Porto Cavello surrenders to the patriots—installation of the congress—speech of the president—arrival of a minister from the United States—Bolivar's plan for liberating Peru—treaty with the United States—grand confederacy of all the states—conclusion.

THE great revolution that had taken place in Spain, which re-established the constitution of the Cortes of 1812, produced no effect on the war in America, until June, 1820, when general Morillo, agreeably to orders received from the constitutional government of Spain, issued a proclamation, proposing a suspension of hostilities predicated on the events which had taken place in Spain. On the 17th of June he addressed a letter to the congress, whom he styled "high and mighty lords," in which he states that he had received positive orders from the constitutional monarch of the Spains to propose a just and generous accommodation, which should re-unite all the family, in order to enjoy the advantages of their political regeneration. He informs the congress that he has appointed Thomas Cires, and Jose Domingo Duarte, as commissioners, to treat with the congress, on principles honourable to both parties; and that he has given orders to his subalterns to suspend hostilities, and to remain at their several positions, and make no movement unless they are first attacked. He beseeches the congress to cast away from their remembrance, from that moment, as he does from his, the *odiousness of the war*, which had unhappily distracted their common country, and only to think of the glory of a re-union of countrymen, kindred, and brethren. The congress was not in session when this

communication was received; but they were convened for the purpose of considering it on the 13th of July, 1820, when the following decree was passed, and sent to Morillo as an answer to his communication.

“The sovereign congress of Colombia, anxious to see peace re-established, will hear, with pleasure, the proposals which may be made on the part of the Spanish government, provided they shall have for their end the absolute acknowledgment of the entire sovereignty and independence of the republic of Colombia; and that they will not admit of any other overture, which shall not conform to this principle, proclaimed by the government, as well as by the people at different epochs.”

On the 22d of June, general Morillo addressed a letter to president Bolivar, informing him that he had appointed Rodriguez Toro and Gonzales Linares, as commissioners to negotiate terms of peace, and that he had given the necessary orders for the suspension of hostilities. Accompanying this despatch, was one from the Spanish general Torres. The reply of Bolivar to Morillo, contains the most noble and dignified sentiments. After acknowledging the receipt of his communication, he says,—“The republic of Colombia most seriously congratulates itself on seeing the day on which liberty extends her beneficent influence over unhappy Spain, and to see her ancient metropolis treading in the steps of Colombia, and in the path of reason. The people of Colombia more than ten years ago determined to consecrate the last of its members to the only cause worthy of the sacrifice of peace—that is the cause of an oppressed country; and confiding in the sacredness of their cause, in the most solemn manner on the 20th of November, 1818, resolved to *combat, perpetually, against all exterior domination, and not to be reconciled to peace, but upon the recognition of absolute independence.* I take the liberty to enclose to you, sir, the fundamental law, which prescribes the only basis upon which our respective governments can enter into negotiations.

He informs Morillo that he could not accede, entirely, to the amnesty which he proposes, until he knew the nature of the negotiations entrusted to Toro and Linares, who, he says, would be treated with the respect due to their sacred character.

Early in the season Bolivar took a central position at Cucuta, where he could direct and observe the operations of the several corps under his command as general in chief, and be enabled to afford assistance where it might be most wanted, or most efficacious. The army of the north, under general Urdaneta, which descended the Magdalena, captured Mompox, and proceeded to the coast, where it formed a junction with that division of the army under general Montilla, which had previously been de-

spatched for that purpose. Admiral Brion, with the naval force, took possession of Savanilla, and general Montilla laid siege to Carthagena. General Monagas, commanding a corps of cavalry, defeated the royalists in June, at Guire, in Barcelona; their commander Lozana was slain, and a great part of the enemy made prisoners. General Zaraza, also a commander of cavalry, surprised and defeated a small division of the royalists on the 7th of June, the whole of the enemy being killed or made prisoners. The central divisions of the republican army, in the month of October, 1820, entered the provinces of Merida and Truxillo, and drove the royalists before them, who being pressed hard in all directions, were obliged to abandon those provinces.

The republic this year had a large number of troops in the field, well equipped, and commanded by experienced generals, and although no decisive battle took place, the arms of the republic were almost every where successful, and much was done towards the liberation of the country, notwithstanding the proposition for a suspension of hostilities, calculated to damp the spirit of operations.

The cause of the revolution was gaining ground, not only by the success of the arms of the republic, but by the spontaneous struggles of the inhabitants. In the month of October, before the conclusion of the armistice, the inhabitants in Guayaquil revolted against the Spanish authorities; and with little loss, on either side, succeeded in overthrowing the royal government, and uniting the province to the republic. The success of this revolution in Guayaquil, extended its influence to the adjacent districts of Ambato, Riobamba, Quaranda, and Tucunga, in all of which the inhabitants rose against the royal authorities, and liberated themselves from the dominion of tyrants. In the eastern section of the republic, the patriots also obtained possession of Barcelona, in the month of October; and all the northern part of New Granada, with the exception of the city of Carthagena, and the isthmus of Panama, was liberated at the close of the year 1820, or the beginning of 1821. Maracaibo was also soon added to the republic; the Spanish authority being overthrown by the spontaneous efforts of the inhabitants.

After an unsuccessful attempt at negotiation by the commissioners, in the month of August, an armistice or treaty for the suspension of hostilities, was concluded and ratified on the 26th of November. This treaty provides that hostilities shall cease the moment of its ratification on land, in the American seas in thirty days, and in ninety days in the seas of Europe. It defines the limits of the territories which each party is to occupy; provides for disbanding some of the guerrillas; for promoting a free communication between the territories occupied by the different

parties ; and contains an article binding both governments, in the event of peace not being concluded, to form a treaty for the prosecution of the war according to the laws of nations, to prevent in future, the horrors and cruelty with which the contest had been characterized. This armistice was to continue six months, with a provision for renewing it for a longer period ; hostilities, however, might be commenced within that time, by giving forty days notice to the adverse party. This suspension of hostilities was proposed by Bolivar, at a time when the troops of the republic were every where victorious, affording the strongest presages of the successful result of the campaign. But the president, as humane and magnanimous as he is brave, as long as there was any prospect of peace, was anxious to stop the effusion of blood, which had so profusely flowed during this long and ferocious contest.

Near the close of this year, the congress published a manifesto to the people of Colombia, recapitulating the events of the revolution, and the atrocities of the Spanish chiefs during the war ; and which contains the reasons why Colombia ought not to accept of the proffered terms of peace, but to insist on the acknowledgment of her independence, as the only admissible basis of negotiation. Among these reasons is the ability, approaching almost to certainty, of the republic to maintain its independence.

“ On commencing hostilities, Colombia neither had great armies, nor the materials to form them ; to-day she has skilful generals, expert officers, veteran soldiers inured to war, and plenty of arms and ammunition.

“ Many citizens were then afraid to be soldiers ; now they are all in arms, and delight in being so. Colombians are no longer what they were ; and the population of Colombia are a new people, regenerated by a ten year's contest, in which have disappeared those physical and moral disqualifications that render her independence doubtful, and are become worthy and fit to govern themselves, instead of obeying another's will, or any sovereignty but their own.”

The Irish legion of general D'Evereux rendered very important services in the campaign of 1820, notwithstanding many of them became dissatisfied and left the service, and great mortality prevailed among them in consequence of their being unaccustomed to a tropical climate. One division of this legion landed in Rio de la Hacha, in March, 1820, and formed a part of the army of general Montilla, which in the course of the campaign liberated the provinces of Rio de la Hacha, Cartagena, and Santa Martha. In April, 1821, general D'Evereux* issued

* General D'Evereux, although a native of Ireland, was a citizen of the United States, and resided at Baltimore for several years. He devoted

an address to what remained of the Irish legion. He says, "Although unable to stem the torrent of insubordination and disaffection, which unfortunately swept away so great a portion of our force, you have on all occasions in which the enemies of Colombia have presented you the opportunity, evinced your native courage, and added fresh laurels to the crown of Ireland's fame. It gives me sincere pleasure to know, that your merits are duly appreciated by the governor general of these provinces, his excellency Marianna Montilla. The possession of the provinces of Rio de la Hacha, Carthagena, Santa Martha, and Maracaibo, has been the result of the campaign of 1820; a campaign, of which our legion was the origin."

General Morillo, after the ratification of the armistice in November, 1820, retired from the command of the Spanish armies in America, and returned to Spain, with both the honours* and execrations of the country he had ravaged. General Morales and La Torre succeeded to the command of the Spanish forces, who, refusing to extend the armistice, both parties made preparations in the month of April, 1821, for the renewal of hostilities.

Commissioners were sent out from Colombia to the constitutional government of Spain, to attempt to negotiate a peace. The subject was taken up by the Cortes on the 3d of May, 1821, and a committee appointed to devise measures in conjunction with the ministers for terminating the dissensions in America. A plan was matured for establishing three governments in Spanish America, to be under a constitution the same with some exceptions, as that of Spain; the legislative power to be entrusted to a Cortes, elected by the people, and the executive power to be exercised by a delegate to be named by the king. Ferdinand strongly objected to this project, which caused it to be abandoned. The commissioners of Mexico agreed to it, but those of Colombia were expressly instructed to listen to no terms of accommodation, short of unqualified independence. This being the only basis of peace, the Spanish government declined

himself to the cause of South American independence, in a manner as disinterested as La Fayette did to that of North America. In 1815, he conveyed succours to Carthagena when besieged by Morillo, and his services during that siege obtained for him the thanks and friendship of Bolivar. Finding that nothing could then be done in Venezuela, he went to Buenos Ayres, where he gave to the patriots a large supply of munitions of war. He received a commission of general in the service of Buenos Ayres, and finally returned to the United States as an agent of that government. He afterwards went to his native country to raise troops for the Colombian service. From his distinguished and patriotic services, he is justly entitled to be regarded as the La Fayette of the South American revolution.

* Morillo was created count of Carthagena for his services in America.

even to enter on any negotiation. Mr. Ravenga, one of the commissioners of Bolivar, in July, 1821, had an interview with Mr. Brent, the charge de affaires of the United States, at Madrid, and complained of the ignorance, illiberality, and prejudices of the government and nation as to America, and informed him that the republic of Colombia relied on the friendship of the United States, and calculated that it would take the lead in the acknowledgment of its independence. Mr. Brent stated that so far as he was able to form an opinion, the ministers of the foreign powers had exerted themselves during the agitation of the American question, to prevent any arrangement between the parties.*

On the 17th of April, Bolivar issued a proclamation to the army, styling it the liberating army. "Peace," he says, "was to have been the fruits of that armistice which is now broken; but Spain regarded with indifference the afflictions to which we have been exposed through her neglect." To this he added, that the remnant of the Spanish force cannot resist twenty-five provinces which have been liberated from slavery; that the nation expects from the army its entire emancipation, and also that in future it will religiously fulfil the duties of humanity, that the war may no longer wear a ferocious character. On the same day he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Colombia, in which he states that it is more than a year since Spain had enjoyed a representative government; yet she had taken no steps to abate her tyranny in America, or withdraw her armies; that the republic had sent ministers to Madrid to negotiate a peace without success, owing to the insincerity of the Spanish government, and that the renewal of hostilities is the only means of putting an end to the dreadful calamities which afflict the country. On the 25th of April, the president issued another proclamation to the army, in which he says, that in three days, hostilities will commence.

"Soldiers! Every presage is in favour of a victorious issue, because your courage cannot any longer be resisted, you have already done so much that almost nothing remains for you to do; but I must apprise you that the government expects from you to display compassion with your courage, and that every infringement which may be committed of the regulations of war, will subject the guilty to capital punishment; if the enemy should disregard these regulations, we shall not imitate them; the glory of Colombia shall not be stained with blood dishonourably shed."

As is usual in similar cases, each party charged the other with violating the armistice, and of being the cause why peace was not concluded. The Spanish general addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he asserts that the government of Colombia had rejected peace, which was offered on the most liberal and honoura-

* Communication of Mr. Brent to the secretary of state of July 10, 1821

ble terms, and had violated the armistice. This called forth a reply from Bolivar, addressed to the Spanish army, in which he assures them that their general is mistaken, and charges the continuance of the war to their government; he also assures them that his army will observe most religiously the treaty entered into for the regulation of the war, and that a capital punishment is already decreed against every person who shall infringe it. Bolivar was at this time at Varinas, which was the head-quarters of the liberating army.

On the 6th of May, 1821, the general congress of Colombia was installed at Rosario de Cucuta, agreeably to the fundamental law; and on the 10th, the president addressed a communication to the congress, resigning the executive power.

“The act of the installation of the general congress of Colombia, composed of the representatives of twenty-two free provinces, has consummated the most ardent wishes of my heart. The republic, founded on the complete union of the representatives of the people of Cundinamarca and Venezuela, is now destined to accomplish that liberty and prosperity which every free people have the right to secure; and I have at length had the good fortune to see that day when the only legitimate depositories of the sovereign authority of the people, are already in the happy exercise of their sacred functions. From this moment I consider myself exonerated from the charge of the executive power, with which it has been the pleasure of my country to entrust me.”

He declares his adhesion to the authority of the nation, and his entire submission to the congress, and the institutions and laws which they were about to establish; but says, that if the congress should again insist on investing him with the presidency, he must protest against it, and repeats the reasons he had before urged, that the military profession, in his opinion, was incompatible with the office of chief magistrate; and now that the danger was past, he did not wish any longer to endure the insinuations and reproaches of his personal enemies, who accused him of ambitious designs. The congress, by their president, F. Restrepo, now secretary of state for the home department, replied to the communication of Bolivar; and whilst they acknowledge the weight of the reasons urged by him, which they say they have not time then fully to deliberate upon, they urge in eloquent language the imperious necessity of his continuing at the head of the republic, and add, that they are persuaded he will make this additional sacrifice, and thus furnish a new proof of his ardent zeal for the welfare of his country. This appeal of the national representation could not be resisted, and the illustrious Bolivar consented to remain at the head of the government, as well as at the head of the armies.

In the month of May the campaign was opened by the capture of Coro, by the division of the liberating army, under general Urdaneta, on the 11th of the month. On the 15th, another division of the army commanded by general Bermudez, took possession of Caraccas; but this was premature, for not being supported, he was compelled, by Morales, to evacuate the place on the 26th, without much loss, however, on either side.

In the month of June both parties were concentrating their forces, and seemed to be preparing not only to close the campaign, but to decide the fate of the contest by a general action. The head-quarters of the royalists were on the plains of Carabobo, where they concentrated most of their forces, amounting to 6000 men, commanded by Morales and La Torre. The divisions of the liberating army were concentrated on the fields of Tinaquillo; the first division, commanded by general Paez, was composed of 1500 cavalry, and the valiant British battalion of Apure; the second division consisted of the second brigade of the guards, the battalions of Tyradore, Boyaca, and Vargas, and the squadron of Sagrada, commanded by general Sedeno; the third division consisted of the first brigade of the guards, with the battalions of rifles and grenadiers, conquerors of Boyaca, and the regiments of horse, under the command of colonel Plaza. This brave army, headed by Bolivar in person, on the morning of the 23d of June, marched towards the enemy, and early the next day continued its march through the defiles of the mountains, which separated it from the enemy's camp; and by a rapid but orderly movement, it reached the plains of Carabobo by eleven o'clock, and defiled its left in front of the enemy, within reach of their fire. In its march it had to pass a rivulet, exposed to the fire of the whole royal army, on an inaccessible height, which would admit but one person to pass at a time. The action was commenced by the brave general Paez, who with two battalions of his division, and a regiment of cavalry, attacked the enemy's right wing with such resolution and intrepidity, that in half an hour it was totally routed and cut to pieces, which decided the fate of the day, and it may almost be said, of the war. The second division, except some of its light troops, was not engaged, in consequence of local barriers; but its brave general, Sedeno, impatient at the impossibility of bringing his division into action, engaged a party of infantry alone, and was killed in the midst of the enemy, fighting in the most heroic manner. The British battalion, commanded by colonel Farrier, distinguished itself for its bravery, and lost many valuable officers; and the valour and activity of all the troops, led on by the invincible Paez, was never surpassed. The defeat of the enemy was complete; their entire army was annihilated; only 400 men saving themselves by taking shelter in Porto Ca-

vello. The fugitives were pursued with great ardour as far as Valencia, where the Spanish general, La Torre, was overtaken with a column, which he had formed after a defeat, and retreated on that city; this column was put to flight, and took refuge in Porto Cavello, whither colonel Wrangel was ordered with his division to besiege the place. The forces of the republic were about the same in number as those of the Spaniards, but only a part were engaged. Their loss, in killed and wounded, was about 400, including general Sedeno, colonel Plaza, and many other brave officers. As a reward for the distinguished bravery and services of general Paez in this great victory, the president, Bolivar, on the battle ground, appointed him general in chief of the army.* This was the second decisive victory which had been obtained by Bolivar on the plains of Carabobo.

Having ordered colonel Wrangler to lay siege to Porto Cavello, and another division of troops, under Heras, to pursue the Spanish colonel Tello, who had been despatched from Carabobo to Philipe, Bolivar, at the head of three battalions, and a regiment of cavalry, marched towards Caraccas, which place he entered on the 29th of June, the royalists having abandoned it on the 28th, on the approach of the patriots. On entering his native city, after having rescued it the third time from the dominion of tyrants, Bolivar was received by his fellow citizens, assembled in immense crowds, with the transports of joy, which the occasion, calling forth so many recollections of past sufferings and present hopes, was calculated to inspire. The president addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the city, in which he observes that a decisive victory has closed the war in Venezuela, and that only one fortified place remains to be subdued; and adds, that peace, far more glorious than victory, will soon put the Colombians in possession of all places, and of all the hearts of their enemies.

In the month of July the congress assembled again at Cucuta, and on the 12th, after a full deliberation, solemnly ratified the fundamental law, and re-enacted its provisions. They decreed a national anniversary festival, to be held on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of December, for the celebration, first, of the emancipation and entire independence of the people of Colombia; second, of the union of the republic and the establishment of the constitution; and, third, the great victories by which these blessings have been established. The decree ratifying the fundamental law of union, is signed by all the members of the congress. At this session the congress also passed a decree for the abolition of slavery, which we have considered in another place.

The last of June the squadron of Colombia, under Brion, entered the harbour of Carthagena, which place was invested by

* See despatch of Bolivar in Niles' Register, Vol. 21, page 15.

land and water, where it engaged the flotilla of the royalists, and in a severe action, succeeded in capturing four of the enemy's launches, and destroying the remainder. The Spaniards suffered a loss of 200 men. The city, however, from its great natural and artificial strength, held out until the 23d of September, when it capitulated. Shortly after, Cumana also surrendered to general Bermudez, which left no part of the present territory of Colombia in the possession of the Spaniards, except the fortress of Porto Cavello, the isthmus of Panama, and Quito.

In the month of May the army of the republic, under general Sucre, destined to act against the royalists in Quito, arrived in Guayaquil, which frustrated the plans of the enemy, who was intending to invade that province, which had revolted against the Spanish authorities, and liberated itself the preceding October, and established a junta for its immediate government. After the arrival of Sucre, the junta on the 15th of May, sent to Bolivar a communication, expressing their desire and expectations of being regarded as a part of the republic, and saying that their only object in throwing off the Spanish authority, was to place that province under the auspices of Colombia. Panama declared itself independent of the authority of Spain, on the 15th of December, and immediately sent deputies to the government of Colombia, to announce the pleasing event, which at the same time gave them freedom, and connected their destinies with those of the Colombian republic.

The year 1821 will ever be auspicious in the annals of Colombia; its arms were every where successful, and crowned with one of the most splendid and important victories in modern times; it witnessed the final destruction of the power of Spain, and the liberation of the whole territory of the republic, except Quito. But not more glorious in the success of her arms, brilliant as that was, than in establishing her political institutions, and the consolidation of the republic. Whilst the armies of Colombia were defeating its enemies in the field, and liberating its provinces, the congress were ratifying the union, and establishing political institutions, founded on the great principles of the rights of man, and calculated to secure, and give the utmost value to the blessings of independence and freedom, which had been so gloriously won in the field, the fruits of twelve years of barbarous war, and an hundred battles. The congress continued their deliberations, and on the 30th of August, adopted the present constitution, whose highest praise, perhaps is, that the government has been administered under it for four years with stability and wonderful success, considering the condition of the country, impoverished and rent by all the evils, miseries, and horrors of war. The constitution was not only framed this year, but the government was or

ganized under it; and the illustrious Bolivar, now the acknowledged father of his country, was elected president, and general Santander vice-president. A law was also passed, for securing the liberty of the press, which declares that it ought to be as free as the faculty of speech itself; a resolution was likewise adopted at this session, in honour of certain patriots abroad, who had taken a deep interest in the independence of Colombia. Of the number were Lord Holland and Sir Robert Wilson in England, and Mr. Clay and colonel Duane in the United States.

The cause of the revolution having made such astonishing progress the last three years, the independence of Colombia being in fact established, and the destinies of the republic so glorious at home, it at last began to be viewed in a more favourable light by foreign powers. From every consideration of sympathy, national honour, and interest, it was fit that the government of the United States should take the lead. It was so. On the 8th of March, 1822, president Monroe communicated to congress a message, in which, after alluding to the epochs of the revolution, and the progress of the war, he says, "that when we regard the great length of time which this war has been prosecuted, the complete success which has attended it in favour of the provinces; the present condition of the parties, and the utter inability of Spain to produce any change in it, we are compelled to conclude that its fate is settled, and that the provinces which have declared their independence are in the enjoyment of it, and ought to be recognised." This message, and the accompanying documents, were referred to a committee, who made a long report recommending the recognition of the independence of the Mexican and South American republics: which was adopted with great unanimity by congress. Not long afterwards, ministers were appointed to Colombia, Mexico, and Buenos Ayres.

The campaign of 1822, was destined for the deliberation of Quito. During the past year, general Sucre had maintained himself in that quarter, confirmed the independence of Guayaquil, and checked the designs of the Spaniards. The destruction of the royal army on the plains of Carabobo, and the liberation of all the northern territory of the republic, enabled Bolivar to direct his whole attention to the expulsion of the Spaniards from the southern provinces. The army in the south under Sucre was re-enforced by the troops which could be spared from other situations, to the amount of 7000 men, and the illustrious president placed himself at its head. Both parties having at length concentrated their forces, the campaign and the fate of Quito was decided at the great battle fought at Pinchincha, about the first of June, 1822. The good fortune of Bolivar still attended him, and the arms of the republic were again crowned with a most sig-

nal victory, which annihilated the power of the royalists in the south, rescued Quito from the dominion of foreign tyranny, and connected its destinies with Colombia. This splendid victory was in a great measure gained by general Sucre, a young but most gallant officer, and procured for him afterwards the station of commandant general of that department. After the victory of Pinchincha, Bolivar, at the head of his victorious liberating army, entered the city of Quito amidst the acclamations and rejoicings of the people.

On the Atlantic coast, the Spanish still possessed Porto Cavello, whither the remnants of their forces were collected. The place was closely besieged by the Colombians, under general Paez. Morales, having equipped and manned a flotilla superior to that of the patriots, commenced a system of predatory warfare on the coast. He made a sudden irruption into the province of Coro, where he routed a body of Colombian troops, who sustained a loss of several hundred men. He laid waste the country before him, and seemed to be influenced by the principle of destroying what he could not hold or reclaim. Encouraged by this success, he proceeded against Maracaibo, which was obliged to surrender, and in the true spirit of piracy and plunder, Morales seized all the private property within the reach of his power. Exulting in his success, he published the most barbarous decrees, which would have disgraced an Attila or Tamerlane. But fortunately the destructive career of this barbarian was checked before he had accomplished any thing of importance in a military point of view. Some apprehensions, however, were felt for the safety of La Guira and Caraccas, and great exertions were made by the Colombians to equip a fleet at the former place superior to Morales. Commodore Daniels was appointed to command it. The Spaniards were defeated with great loss and driven out of Coro, and escaped to Curracoa, but still held possession of Maracaibo and Porto Cavello. The principal fort of the latter place on the main land capitulated to general Paez, and this rendered the garrison entirely dependent on receiving supplies by sea, which however it was enabled to do, as long as the royalists maintained a naval superiority.

Early in the year 1822, Mr. Zea was sent by the government of the republic, as ambassador to France; and on the 8th of April he presented a long communication to the French minister of foreign affairs, and to the ministers of the other powers resident at the French court, urging the grounds and reasons for recognising the independence of Colombia, which was returned unanswered. From France, Mr. Zea went to England, where, in March, 1822, he negotiated a large loan in London for Colombia. The Dutch and Portuguese admitted the vessels of Co

Colombia into their ports in Europe and America, but did not formally acknowledge its independence. A minister was sent by Colombia to Lisbon to treat with that government respecting the boundary of the republic of Colombia on the Brazils. The war in Colombia was now drawing to a close. At the commencement of the year 1823, the Spaniards continued in possession of the fortress of Porto Cavello and of Maracaibo; but the naval force of the republic was so augmented as to be in a condition to dispute with the enemy, the mastery of the sea. General Padilla was appointed to command the Colombian squadron, which, on the 23d of July, 1823, attacked the Spanish flotilla commanded by commodore Laborde, in the lake Maracaibo, and in a desperate and sanguinary action, totally destroyed it. The Colombians captured twelve vessels; three were blown up, and two driven on shore and destroyed, and not a vessel of the enemy escaped. The Spaniards had about 250 men killed and wounded, and 1500 made prisoners. Their commander, Laborde, made his escape in a boat, and reached his frigate outside of the castle. The destruction of the Spanish squadron rendered it impossible for Morales to maintain himself long in Maracaibo, and accordingly he surrendered with all his troops to the patriot general Marique, commanding the troops investing the place on the 3d of August. General Bermudez sailed on board of the ship Bolivar, from La Guira, a short time before, to take command of the besieging army, but the enemy surrendered before he arrived at Maracaibo. Notwithstanding the atrocities and barbarities of the savage Morales, which had fairly outlawed him from the pale of humanity, and the protection and rights of the laws of war, he and all his men were treated humanely, and permitted to embark for Cuba.

The last act, in the bloody drama, now only remained to be performed; the torch of war, which for twelve years, had desolated the fairest portion of the globe—"a country blessed by nature, but cursed by man," now only shed its hideous but flickering glare, from the ramparts of Porto Cavello. But these last gleams were soon to be extinguished. The destruction of the squadron of the enemy enabled the patriots to invest Porto Cavello by sea, as well as land, which cut off all communication, and deprived it of supplies. General La Torre, however, with true Spanish obstinacy, held out to the last extremity; but was obliged to capitulate about the 1st of December. This event, which terminated the long and desolating war, which has given to Colombia existence, independence, and liberty, was announced to the nation by a proclamation from the vice-president, general Santander, exercising the executive functions, dated the 9th of December, 1823.

“Colombians! I announce to you your country entirely free from the enemies who have so obstinately presumed to oppose the immutable decrees of Providence. The Spanish flag which lately floated on the walls of Porto Cavello, has been rent in pieces by the valiant troops of the republic, and the tri-coloured flag planted thereon in its stead.

“No longer does an enemy exist for us to contend with. The Colombian territory is entire, and the code of happiness and equality protects all who inhabit the country of Bolivar.

“Colombians, may you enjoy the reward of your constancy, and of your individual triumphs: they secure the reign of liberty in America, and enable you to offer a sacred asylum to freemen throughout the world. To be a citizen of Colombia, is to belong to a nation possessing liberty, constancy, and valour.”

We have passed over some civil occurrences to close the events of the war. The congress was installed at Bogota, in April, 1823, on which interesting occasion the vice-president, Santander, charged with the executive power, laid before the national representation a long and highly interesting message, containing a complete exposition of the internal condition of Colombia, and the state of its foreign relations. On the latter subject, he speaks of their relations with the United States, in the following complimentary terms:—

“The government of the United States has given a sublime example of justice in the solemn acknowledgment of the independence and sovereignty of the states of South America. That nation, the cradle of liberty has seen with satisfaction, this act so justly acquired by policy and sound reason, and the enlightened members of its government, by this noble conduct, have added a new lustre to the glory of a free people, and to themselves. An agent from the United States, at present, resides in this capital, who has communicated to me the friendly sentiments of his government, and a desire to commence and consolidate an intercourse with the republic. The executive has hastened to testify our sentiments through the means of a minister plenipotentiary, thereby preparing for our future negotiation.”

He speaks of the unsuccessful attempt to treat with Spain, and says, that the failure of that negotiation induced the government to establish solid relations with the independent governments of the new world, and it had proposed the establishment of an American confederacy, uniting the political interests of the vast territories separated from Spain, and mutually guaranteeing their protection. “The arms of the republic,” says the executive, “have been covered with glory wherever they have carried liberty and law, and even in misfortune, their honour has been untarnished.” The message unfolds the deplorable condition of the national re-

venue, which, it says, requires a *new creation*; and urges on congress to provide means to pay the defenders of the country; and it invokes the national representation to recognise the public debts, provide for paying the interest of them, and to establish national faith and credit. The improvement of the organization of the regular army, and of the militia; the preservation and increase of the navy, and the fortifications, are recommended to the attention of congress, as well as the interests of commerce, agriculture, and the mines, neglected and almost destroyed by the war.

On the 9th of December, 1823, Mr. Anderson, minister of the United States to Colombia, arrived at Bogota, the seat of government; and on the following day, with solemn and appropriate ceremonies and honours, he was presented to the acting executive of the republic, and addressed to him the following noble sentiments, honourable alike to himself and his country:—

“Mr. President: The president of the United States, animated by an ardent wish to continue the relations of perfect harmony and generous friendship between our respective countries, has commanded me to give the most satisfactory expression to the liberal feelings which he, as well as the people of the United States, must ever entertain towards the institutions of freedom in every country. I tender to you his anxious wishes for the restoration of peace to this republic, and prosperity to its citizens. My own admiration of the liberal institutions of Colombia, and of the glorious manner in which they have been created and sustained, affords the surest pledge of the sincerity of my sentiments. If this mission shall have the happy effect of giving solidity and duration to the harmonious feelings of our countrymen, it will be a source of unaffected joy to every friend of free government.

“It is on this continent and in this age, Mr. President, that man has been awakened to the long lost truth, that, under heaven, he is capable of governing himself; that God has not given to him in vain the part and intellect of a human being. Every motive that can operate on a good man, urges him to cherish the institutions founded on the developement of these truths, and to nourish the principles which can alone sustain them. The sublimest spectacle that we can enjoy, is to contemplate our fellow man explaining and teaching, by reason and argument, the truth, that “*voluntary agreement is the only legitimate source of political power.*” When a nation is penetrated with this truth, its liberty is placed beyond the reach of force or fraud.”

Having concluded, Mr. Anderson delivered to the vice-president his credential letters of minister plenipotentiary of the United States; and his excellency, on reading them, congratulated him on his safe arrival in the capital of the republic, saying among other things, that, “as the United States had always been

the great luminary which the inhabitants of this part of America had held in view during their conflicts, so now they, and particularly the people and government of the republic of Colombia, would delight to express to the classic land of American liberty, the high esteem which they had ever entertained for its government and political institutions, and their desire to improve and draw, still more closely, the friendly relations which happily exist between the two nations."

This was an interesting occasion to the two republics, particularly to Colombia, Mr. Anderson being the first minister received from any foreign power. This act of amity and official connexion, between the two great republics in the new world; whose emancipation and independence were acquired by similar struggles and sacrifices; whose institutions are founded on the same principles of liberty and justice; both free—both asylums for the oppressed of the old world; one flourishing and powerful, and the other enjoying in prospect, the high destinies which its sister republic has attained, was an occasion of the deepest interest, and calculated to inspire the most pleasing sensations and the most exalted hopes in the bosom of every friend of liberty.

After the glorious termination of the war in Quito, in 1823, Bolivar, at the earnest solicitation of the people of Peru, proceeded with a part of the liberating and victorious army of Colombia, into the territory of that country, to emancipate that interesting portion of America. The groans of the oppressed and suffering inhabitants of Peru awakened the most tender sympathies of their brethren in Colombia; but none felt more sensibly for their sufferings than the illustrious liberator, not more distinguished for his bravery, than for his humanity and magnanimity. He considered himself not only as the liberator of Colombia, but of all Spanish America. He resolved to afford succour to the Peruvians, and to overthrow there, as he had done in his own country, an odious foreign tyranny; both humanity and policy dictated this course. The people and government of Colombia approved and seconded this noble and patriotic design, and a large body of troops were placed at the disposal of the president to march into a neighbouring state; not as enemies, but as friends and benefactors; not as invaders, but as liberators; not to conquer, but to emancipate the people, and break with their arms the chains which enslaved them. The events of this expedition and its glorious success belong to the history of Peru. To prosecute this war, for the emancipation of a neighbouring state, the Colombian government obtained a loan in London of twenty millions of dollars; such solidity had the national credit already acquired.

In the Spring of 1824, the congress of Colombia passed a

decree for the defence of the country, directing the executive to raise 50,000 men in addition to the troops then in service; but to diminish the number as circumstances might require. The reasons given for this decree, were the establishment of an absolute government in Spain, which left no hope of its recognising the independence of the American states, and the avowed designs by the European cabinets united under the name of holy alliance, which the congress says ought to awake the attention of the free nations of the new world, as the principles on which their independence and institutions are founded, are proscribed by these allied despots.

On the 3d day of October, a treaty, or convention of amity and commerce was concluded and signed at Bogota, between the United States and the republic of Colombia, by Mr. Anderson, our minister, and the vice-president of Colombia, and Pedro Gual, secretary of foreign affairs.

The first article provides, that "there shall be a perfect, firm, and inviolable peace and sincere friendship between the United States of America and the republic of Colombia, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, and between their people and citizens respectively, without distinction of persons or places."

The second article provides, that if either government grant any favour to any other nation, as to commerce or navigation, the same shall immediately be enjoyed by the other party to this treaty. The third article allows the citizens of one republic to frequent the coast and countries of the other, to reside and trade therein, and to pay no greater duties and charges than the most favoured nation, and to enjoy all the rights and exemptions in commerce and navigation, which are enjoyed by the most favoured nations. The merchants, commanders of vessels, and other citizens of one nation, residing temporarily for business in the ports or other places of the other, are to be treated as citizens of the country in which they reside. There are numerous articles of less importance. The treaty is to remain in force for twelve years from the time of its ratification. The respective ratifications were exchanged at Washington on the 27th day of May, 1825, by Mr. Brent, chief clerk of the department of state, and Jose Maria Salazar, minister plenipotentiary of the republic of Colombia. This, the first treaty between the two republics, is founded on principles of perfect reciprocity, and will be equally and highly advantageous to both nations; and we trust, long remain the basis of the commercial and friendly intercourse between them, which will be continually and rapidly increasing.

A convention has also been concluded between the two republics to put an end to the horrible slave trade.

During the year 1824, the executive of Hayti sent an agent to Bogota, to propose a treaty of defensive alliance between the Colombian and the Haytien governments which was not acted on by the executive, but referred to congress, who did not recommend the conclusion of such a treaty.

Colombia acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of Guatemala, and an accredited minister from that republic resides in Bogota.

The constitutional congress of Colombia commenced its session at the capital the first of January, 1825. A long and satisfactory message was delivered by the vice-president, exhibiting the tranquillity and increasing prosperity of the country.

“The congress,” says the executive, “may remain satisfied that our means of defence are most abundant, and whatever enterprise may be attempted by Spain, will only end in her disgrace, and add to the lustre of our arms.

“Our relations with the American governments are on the footing of friendship and good intelligence, that ought ever to exist between states maintaining the same cause. The assistance we have afforded Peru has produced such an important change in that country, that her independence can no longer be matter of doubt.”

In speaking of the United States, he observes:—

“With the United States we maintain the most friendly and cordial relations. You will have before you in a short time for your examination and approbation, the treaty of peace, friendship, navigation, and commerce, that the executive has concluded with the government of those states.

“Colombia will be proud of having been the first of the old Spanish American states that has presented itself to the world, united by means of public treaties with a nation pre-eminently favoured by the genius of liberty. You will likewise receive, for examination, the convention which has been settled with the same states, to put an end to the horrible slave trade; our laws have declared against that execrable commerce, and on this basis the executive regulated its conduct. The law of the 21st of July, of the 11th year, prohibits the introduction of slaves: the law regulating cruizers, declares all vessels found trafficking in slaves in the waters within the jurisdiction of the republic, to be lawful prizes; but as there are no punishments for the infraction of the law, and it being for the benefit of the human race that the authority of the law regulating cruizers should be extended, it appears to the executive that this convention with the United States supplies this deficiency.”

This interesting and able document concludes with the following flattering recapitulation :—

“ This is the present state of our republic, in every branch of its administration. Friendship and the best disposition with the American and foreign governments—regularity in treaties and conventions—order and tranquillity in the interior—respect and submission to the laws—a free press—the increase of public education—well founded hopes of improving the national wealth—an army covered with glory, consecrated entirely to the cause of liberty and independence ; and sufficient resources to meet any event, and to sustain its dignity, government, and laws. It is for you to remove the obstacles that impede the rapid progress of this republic to happiness and prosperity, and to reform those defects which public opinion pointed out, and which you acknowledge to exist. If we cast our eyes back on the period when the code of laws was first published, and recollect what Colombia then was, we shall perceive with agreeable surprise, that we have made a rapid stride, and conquered vast difficulties. This ought to animate us to prosecute our designs with the greatest zeal and patriotism. The executive firmly believes that these virtues exist in the legislative body ; and you, I hope, will have sufficient confidence in me to believe that I shall afford all the assistance that the experience of administration may have placed in my power ; and above all, I shall be extremely punctual in the execution of your wise deliberations.”

Among the important laws passed this session is one completing the territorial divisions of the republic ; dividing it into twelve departments and thirty-seven provinces, which has been noticed in speaking of the government.

Among the noble projects of Colombia, or perhaps we ought to say of Bolivar, is that of forming a general confederacy, composed of all the states of what was formerly Spanish America ; and having the same origin, bound by the same interests, and threatened by the same dangers, it seems just that they should have a common destiny, and that they should reciprocally support and defend each other. The object of this confederacy is to unite the resources and means of the several independent states for the general security ; for the defence of their independence and liberty ; to strengthen the ties of amity between them, uniting them as members of the same family. The plan has been approved of by several of the emancipated states, which have concluded treaties with Colombia to carry it into execution. The congress in which all the republics of South America will doubtless be represented, and to which the United States have appointed ministers, it is expected will meet at Panama in October of the present year, (1826.) This plan is highly honourable to Colombia, which possesses

greater power and a more commanding attitude than any of the other independent states : but instead of her attempting to make use of these advantages, to become the arbitress of what was Spanish America, her only ambition seems to be, *to do most for the common cause*, to employ her power and resources for the liberation of all America, and by her example and counsels ; by her assistance and friendly conduct to unite the several states in the bonds of a family compact, which will insure the independence and liberty of all, and promote their general prosperity. Most noble ambition ! worthy of the high destinies which await Colombia ! worthy the illustrious fame of her founder, the invincible soldier of liberty, to whom history will award the rare but distinguished honour of having emancipated a greater portion of the globe than the most renowned heroes ever enslaved.

HISTORY
AND PRESENT STATE OF
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CHAPTER VIII.

Extent and boundaries of Peru—its natural features—mountains and waters—civil divisions—intendancies—geographical view of—principal towns—Lima—climate—soil and natural productions—animals—population—commerce—government.

THE republic of Peru extends from Tumbez, in latitude $30^{\circ} 30'$ south, to the Cordillera of Vilcanota in latitude $14^{\circ} 30'$ in the interior, and to the province of Atacama in Upper Peru, now the republic of Bolivar, in about $20^{\circ} 30'$ south, on the coast of the Pacific, embracing nearly 17° of latitude, or 1180 miles. From west to east it extends from the Pacific ocean, eastwardly across the Andes to the great vallies of the head branches of the river Amazon; but its eastern boundary has never been correctly defined. Geographers, however, have usually allowed 500 miles for its width, east and west.

The whole of Lower Peru is traversed by the Andes, the eastern range of which approaches within from 30 to 100 miles of the Pacific. The country is naturally divided into three distinct sections, with respect to soil, surface, climate, and natural productions. The first section is that which borders on the ocean, and is one of the most extraordinary tracts of country on the globe. The whole of this region, nearly from the entrance of the river Guayaquil to Coquimbo, in Chili, or from 4° to 30° of south latitude, is an irreclaimable desert, except in the vallies of the rivers where the soil is capable of the highest cultivation. The barren high country, along the inner margin of this extensive desert, is rich in mineral treasures, but destitute of verdure. The whole coast of this region is always free from storms, and its waters may be safely navigated at all seasons of the year. It never rains, nor

is there any thunder or lightning on the borders of the Pacific. A gentle mist, or dew, falls from May to September, to moisten and fertilize the soil; the water for the use of the inhabitants and cattle, and for the purposes of irrigation, is derived from the rivers, which descend from the Andes. Out of the vallies, the whole country is one bleak, miserable, sandy waste; alike destitute of trees or any kind of vegetation. This tract of country is also often subject to earthquakes.

The next section consists of the elevated vallies of the Andes. These vallies and plains of a moderate elevation, like those of the high provinces, which now form the republic of Bolivar, enjoy a temperature favourable to health and human comfort, and yield abundantly the animal and vegetable productions of temperate and tropical regions. At a higher elevation, the country becomes cold, sterile, and destitute of vegetation; but is often rich in mineral productions. The district bordering on the rivers that discharge their waters into the Amazon, comprises the last section of country, and is characterized by half-yearly alternations of rainy and dry seasons; but possesses all the natural resources, and luxuriance of vegetation of other tropical, alluvial regions.

Peru is washed by the Pacific ocean on the whole of its western border, affording it superior advantages for commercial intercourse with the rest of the world, and for fisheries. The coast, however, is not indented like the maritime borders of most other countries, with bays and harbours, yet the small rivers that descend from the Andes, form a sufficient number of convenient harbours and landing places on this tranquil ocean, to accommodate all the purposes of commerce and navigation.

The eastern section of Peru is watered by the Ucayle and Tunguragua rivers, two of the principal branches of the Amazon. The Mautaro and Inambari form the Ucayle; and the Apurimac and Jauja are the two branches of the Mautaro, and water some of the most flourishing districts in Peru. The Tunguragua and its numerous branches water the extensive districts in the north-eastern section of Peru. This branch of the Amazon is navigable to the city of Jaen, in south latitude $5^{\circ} 21'$, near 4000 miles from the mouth of the Amazon. A free navigation of these rivers would open a great field for commercial enterprise.

The republic of Lower Peru, includes eight intendancies, eight populous cities, and fourteen hundred and sixty small towns or villages; three of the intendancies are situated on the coast of the Pacific, and five in the interior. The three first are Arequipa and Lima in the centre, and Truxillo in the north. Those in the interior are Cusco, Huamanga, Tarma, Huancaavelica, and some writers add Guantayja. The intendancies

are subdivided into districts, townships, and curacies or parishes.

The intendency of Arequipa, has an extensive maritime border on the Pacific, but much of its territory is a dreary waste; it is, however, intersected by many fertile vallies, the principal of which are the vallies of Quilca, Moguegua, Locumba, and Tacna. These vallies abound with excellent vineyards, which produce great quantities of wine and brandy; there are also olive plantations; wheat, sugar, cotton, and Guinea-pepper, are likewise produced in these fertile regions. There are many valuable silver mines in this intendency, of which several are very productive; copper is also found in the greatest abundance. Its capital is the city of Arequipa, situated in south latitude $16^{\circ} 13' 30''$ in the valley of Quilca, in a fertile country. It was founded in the year 1530, by Pizarro; near it is a dreadful volcano; the climate is very temperate, and the best in the country; but it has been four times laid in ruins by earthquakes. The houses are well built, generally of stone, and vaulted; the streets are kept clean by means of canals. Its distance is 60 miles from the port of Molendo, on the Pacific, and 290 miles from Lima, in a south-easterly direction. Its population is 23,988. The next most considerable place is the city of Moguegua, situated in the interior, about 50 miles east from the port of Ilo, in a rich valley already mentioned, which contains about 2,000 inhabitants. The principal ports of this intendency are Iquique, in latitude $20^{\circ} 7'$ south, a very commodious harbour, but a small village; Arica, in lat. $18^{\circ} 20'$ south, a small town, but the principal seaport of Arequipa. This intendency has 136,800 inhabitants, and embraces seven districts.

Lima lies north of Arequipa, and south of Truxillo, and is the central intendency on the Pacific border. Like Arequipa, the province of Lima is generally a sandy desert, except the vallies on the borders of the rivers, which descend from the mountains. The most beautiful and productive of these vallies, is that which is watered by the river Rimac. The plains watered by this river are covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and produce sugar, maize, rice, and the choicest fruits in abundance. In this delightful valley, on the banks of the river Rimac, stands the ancient and populous city of Lima, the capital, not only of this intendency, but of all Peru.

This city which is the great emporium of trade for the whole Pacific coast of the continent of America, and the grand depot of the metallic regions of South America, into which they have been pouring their wealth for nearly three centuries, is situated in south lat. $12^{\circ} 3'$. About six miles west, is Callao, its natural harbour and port, at the mouth of the river Rimac. Lima is elevated about 600 feet above the level of the sea, and is skirted

by hills which overlook the city. It is surrounded by a wall of brick, and has seven gates. The form of the town is nearly triangular, the base extending along the river. Notwithstanding the frequent earthquakes which have destroyed this city, it occupies an area of ten miles in circumference, including the suburb of St. Lazaro, situated on the north side of the city, and separated from it by the Rimac, over which there is an excellent stone bridge. The streets are paved, and through them streams of water flow, conducted from the river a little above the city; they are broad, and cross each other at right angles, forming squares of 150 yards on each side. The houses are low, but commodious and handsome, having fruit gardens attached to most of them. In the centre of the great square there is a spacious and superb fountain. The city is divided into five parishes, and contains 23 monasteries, 14 nunneries, and 16 hospitals; a cathedral and a viceroyal palace. It is the seat of an university, a school for medicine, and numerous other public schools, besides being accommodated with a theatre, and other places of public amusement. In 1798, its population, by an accurate census, was 52,627; it is now estimated to contain near 70,000.

Lima was founded in 1535 by Pizarro, and is situated at the distance of 2865 miles from Buenos Ayres, in a north-westerly direction; 1215 miles from Potosi, in the same direction, and about 500 from the city of Cusco. Callao, the port of Lima, is situated at the mouth of the river Rimac, and is strongly fortified. The other ports belonging to this intendancy are Ancan and Huacho in the north, and Pisco and Chorillos in the south. It comprises eight districts, and a population of 149,112.

Truxillo is north of Lima, to which the climate, soil, and productions, are similar. Its capital is the city of Truxillo, situated in lat. $8^{\circ} 6'$ south, in the valley of Chimo, and was founded by Pizarro in 1535. It lies about one and a half miles distant from the sea. The houses are generally built of brick, and only one story high; its population is 5790. The port of Truxillo is Guanchaco, situated six miles north. The other port in this intendancy is Payta, in lat. $6^{\circ} 56'$. It contains a population of 230,967, and is divided into eight districts.

Cusco is situated 500 miles south-east of Lima, adjoining Upper Peru, among the rich vallies beyond the Andes. It is watered by the Apurimac, and other head waters of the Amazon. This intendancy enjoys a healthful and temperate climate, and is extremely rich in agricultural resources, producing wheat, sugar, and the choicest fruits in the greatest abundance; it contains also many valuable and productive gold mines. Its capital is the ancient city of Cusco, situated in $13^{\circ} 32'$ south lat., and was founded in the eleventh century by Manco Capac, the first Inca of Peru, and

taken possession of by Francisco Pizarro, in 1534. It stands on an uneven site, skirted by mountains on the north and west. The ruins of the famous fort, built by the Incas, are still visible on the mountain north of the city. The houses are principally built of stone, and its public buildings are a cathedral, nine churches, and numerous convents. The Guatanay, a small river, runs past the town. Its population is estimated at 32,082.

Huamanga is centrally situated west of Cusco, embracing many rich and fertile vallies, and is well watered by the head branches of the river Amazon, possessing many rich and productive silver mines. The principal city is Huamanga, lying in lat. $13^{\circ} 1' S.$, on a declivity of a mountainous ridge, not remarkable for its height, but still so far above the river as to be scantily supplied with water. It was founded by Pizarro, in 1539, and is situated 180 miles south-east of Lima. Its population is 25,970; it has a cathedral, an university, several chapels and convents, and an hospital. The country around the city is fertile and populous. The climate of the intendancy is temperate, and abounds with various kinds of grain, fruit, and cattle. There are several mines near Huamanga, but few of which are worked. This intendancy is sub-divided into seven districts, and contains a population of 111,559.

The intendancy of *Huancavelica* comprises four districts, and 30,917 inhabitants. Its principal town of the same name is situated in south lat. $12^{\circ} 53'$, and has a population of 5156. The productions of the province are grain, sugar, and cattle.

Tarma produces grain, cattle, cocoa, and bark, and possesses several silver mines, one of which, called Yauricocha, yielded in one year, 2,816,703 dollars. It is divided into eight districts, and has a population of 201,259. Its capital of the same name as the province, lies in lat. $12^{\circ} 33'$, and has 5538 inhabitants.

These intendancies are divided into curacies or parishes, which are, or were, under the colonial system, governed by a *curate*, *acacique*, and an *alcade*; the first a spiritual chief, whose business it is to teach the Roman Catholic religion; the second a collector of revenue; and the third a magistrate. The dignitaries of the church consist of bishops and arch-bishops, who enjoy immense revenues and formerly a corresponding influence. The churches and other religious houses are numerous and richly endowed. The population of Peru has been estimated at 1,300,000. This population is similar to other parts of America, formerly Spanish, consisting of Creoles, European Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and the various mixed races. The European Spaniards have nearly disappeared, in consequence of the revolution. The Creoles constitute the enlightened portion of the community, and are the most efficient and patriotic supporters of

liberty and independence. The people of colour comprising the Indians and all the casts have been much devoted to the revolution. The Indians, heretofore a much degraded class, have generally filled the ranks of the armies, and made excellent soldiers. The Negroes and Mulattoes are most numerous on the coast of the Pacific, and the Indians, Mestizos, and Cholos, in the interior. The latter class are derived from Mestizos and Indians. These degraded classes possess great muscular power, and are remarkable for the quickness of their perception, and their faculty for imitation. They make ingenious artisans and mechanics, excel in painting and sculpture; many of their performances in these arts are said not to be inferior to those of the Italian masters. Some of these classes have been even leaders in the revolution. Many mulattoes on the coast possess property, and make pretensions to learning, particularly to medicine, as they are not permitted to enter into the professions of law or divinity; they afford many expert quacks. Before the revolution, they obtained letters patent of the king, conferring on them the *dignity and title* of "Don," of which they were extremely vain.

The territory between the eastern and western range of the Andes, is generally windy and cold, although some temperate and fruitful vallies intervene. This tract is called La Sierra, and is rich in metallic wealth. There are frequent storms of rain, hail, and snow on the mountains, often attended with tremendous thunder. The year is divided into only two seasons; the wet and dry; the former commences in November, and continues until April; the latter occupies the remainder of the year, during which there is no rain. This is the winter of the climate, there being frequent frosts of considerable severity. The coldest weather occurs in May and June, and resembles the months of October and November in the northern states of North America; but fires are never lighted to warm apartments. The same kind of dress is worn the year round, and cattle are never housed. The lofty regions are destitute of trees; the table lands only exhibit a stunted shrubbery, and a species of wire grass or rush, which grows where nothing else will vegetate, upon which the Vicunas and Guanacos feed. In the vallies and ravines of this tract of country, the climate is temperate and the soil fertile; these vallies and ravines are profusely watered by the torrents which roll down the mountains, and are well adapted to the production of luxuriant crops.

On the eastern side of the eastern range, the climate is uniformly warm; the seasons are divided in the same manner as in the former tract. There are here no frosts or snow, and all the varieties of the climate consist in the gradations of heat, and in humidity and dryness. On the west of the western range, or the

territory of the coast, it never rains; the moisture of the earth is supplied from the torrents which descend from the mountains, and from dews. Chilly weather sometimes prevails, but the extremes of heat and cold are inconsiderable; thunder storms never occur, but earthquakes are not uncommon. There are some volcanic mountains in the eastern range of the Andes, but their visible fires have long since been extinct. The climate of Peru is highly salubrious. On the coast of the Pacific, fever and ague prevails in some places, but acute diseases are almost entirely unknown. The inhabitants who live a temperate life, attain generally to an advanced age. Peru has been called the country of old men.

Among the animals peculiar to Peru, are four distinct kinds of sheep; the Llama, the Alpacha, the Guanaco, and the Vicuna. The Llama and Alpacha are domestic animals; the Llama is about the size of a stag, of different colours, white, brown, and black; it chews the cud like common sheep; its flesh is excellent food, equal to mutton—the wool long and coarse; it is used as a beast of burden, and can carry a load of 125 pounds, but it is slow in motion, having a lofty and majestic gait, carrying its head high in the air. It is mild and docile.

The Alpacha is a smaller animal than the Llama; its colour is white, black, and sometimes spotted; its flesh is not eaten, but its wool is very fine and useful. The Guanaco is still smaller than the Alpacha; its colour is usually red, resembling a dried rose in the sun; its wool is fine and valuable. This animal is wild, and frequents the most rude and inaccessible parts of the mountains, and is extremely fleet. The Vicuna is somewhat taller than the common English sheep, but with a smaller body; its colour is brown, with white belly and legs. This animal is more vigorous in the elevated regions of the mountains, than in low and temperate situations; its wool is very fine. They are found in abundance on the high ranges of the Andes—are swift in their course, and very timid. They are usually seen in droves of many hundreds, among the cliffs of the mountains.

The Chinchilla, a little animal about the size of a cat, produces valuable fur, not inferior to the Marten. The most remarkable bird of Peru, is the Condor, which is between three and four feet in height, and whose wings are at least fourteen feet from end to end; its colour is dark brown, with a white collar round its neck. This bird possesses great strength, and will run and fly with amazing swiftness.

Among the peculiar vegetable productions is Quinquina, or Peruvian bark. This important article in the *Materia Medica*, is found only in Peru and the adjacent territory of Colombia; there are several species of this bark—the pale, yellow, and red; the trees from which it is taken are slender and straight, rarely ex

ceeding ten feet in height, and are about the size of a man's leg ; they never occur in clusters, but are thinly scattered throughout the forests. The bark is principally collected by the Indians.

The commerce of Peru, was, originally, during the galleon trade, carried on at Porto Bello, across the isthmus. Peru also participated in the Manilla trade. In consequence of the difficulty of conveying bulky and heavy articles across the country, Spain granted to Peru the privilege of cultivating the vine and olive, to make wine and oil—a privilege not enjoyed in other parts of Spanish America, except in Chili. But it was not allowed to furnish any of the Spanish possessions with these articles, which could be supplied from Spain. And for this privilege, Peru and Chili were restricted in the cultivation of tobacco, and some other articles. The foreign commerce of Peru, since 1778, with Europe and the East Indies, has been carried on around Cape Horn, and by way of Manilla.

The interior commerce between what were formerly Upper and Lower Peru, now the republics of Bolivar and Peru, has been estimated at the annual value of 6,693,513 dollars ; and the amount of foreign goods introduced into these countries through Buenos Ayres, has been calculated at 18,000,000 dollars, annually, previous to the revolution. The independence of the country will increase its foreign commerce almost beyond conception ; it has not only opened the ports and removed the restrictions on trade, so that the existing wants of the people can be supplied, but it will increase those wants an hundred-fold. The Indians, the Mestizos, Cholos, and all the mixed races, comprising the principal part of the population, have been kept in so degraded a condition, that they did not consume any portion of foreign goods. These classes, being raised to the dignity of free citizens, and protected in their rights and the products of their industry, will all become consumers of foreign goods. No country in the world has more ample national resources than Peru. In addition to the produce of the mines, which, in Lower and Upper Peru, have been estimated at 14,000,000 dollars per annum, the country affords many valuable exports ; Peruvian bark, numerous mineral substances, valuable for medicines, paints, and other purposes ; copper, precious woods for dying and cabinet work, cochineal, wool of the Alpacha and Vicuna, chinchilla skins, tobacco, &c. At the present time, the foreign commerce is principally enjoyed by Great Britain and the United States ; the principal articles sent from the former are manufactured goods of every description ; and from the latter, coarse cottons, ships, leather and its manufactures, hats, furniture, iron, castings, nails, carriages, paper, and some other articles. These articles often command a very high price, even in time of peace ; iron has been 80 and 90 dol

lars per cwt., and steel 135 dollars; common writing paper 12 dollars a ream; broadcloth from 15 to 20 dollars per yard; Levantine silks, 5 or 6 dollars; and boots, 25 dollars per pair.*

Peru maintains a coasting trade with Acapulco and San Blas in Mexico; Guayaquil and Panama in Colombia; and with Guatemala and Chili. Peru is favourably situated to engage in the whale fishery, but has not participated in it, whilst the British and our own citizens traverse half the globe to pursue this lucrative branch of commerce. The free navigation of the Amazon to the foot of the eastern Andes, will follow as a consequence of the independence of the country, which will have a favourable influence on the interior trade.

Peru is entirely emancipated from the dominion of Spain. It declared its independence in 1821, after it was liberated by San Martin, and organized a government. This government, however, maintained its authority but a short time after San Martin left Peru, and the Spaniards re-established their authority over the country, which continued until the arrival of the liberating army, under the magnanimous Bolivar, in 1824.

After the great victory of Ayacucho, which annihilated the Spanish army, and liberated the whole of Peru, Bolivar, who had been appointed dictator, convened a congress, and resigned into their hands his authority. This congress, which was installed on the 10th of February, 1825, conferred on the liberator the supreme political and military power, until the constitutional congress should be installed, in the year 1826. The government, therefore, in Peru, is not yet actually established; its powers are exercised by the Liberator as president and dictator; it is expected that a congress will be convened, a constitution framed, and a republican government organized and put into operation during the year 1826. The Peruvian territories are the last of the Spanish American dominions redeemed from foreign despotism, and this has been effected by the other independent governments.

* Pazos' Letter, p. 241.

nions, imprisoned for nearly five years, after which, he was barbarously executed by the Spanish authorities.

The spirit of independence excited by Antequera, was suppressed by his death, for nearly fifty years ; but in 1780, during the struggle for independence among the North American states, it again burst forth in Cusco. Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaru, illustrious by his descent from Inca Sayri Tupac, but more illustrious as the first martyr to the emancipation of Peru, from the degradation and calamities of Spanish colonial despotism, was the valiant leader of this revolution. But, like his predecessor Antequera, he was unsuccessful, and died like a hero. The manner of his death was revolting to humanity, and characteristic of the brutality of the Spanish colonial tyranny ; his tongue being cut out, his body drawn in quarters by horses, and the mutilated fragments burnt to ashes. His wife and children were also murdered in the most shocking manner, and an exterminating war was waged against his successors, which did not cease until nearly one third of the population of Peru were destroyed by the hand of violence.*

Notwithstanding the horrid devastation and massacre of all engaged in this struggle, another patriot devoted to the cause of liberty and independence arose in Peru, in 1805, of the name of Ubalde. He was a native of Arica, and was the assessor, or chief lawyer of the presidency of Cusco ; an enlightened man of acknowledged talents and excellent character. Before his project was matured, Ubalde was betrayed, and fell a victim to his patriotism and devotion to the cause of his country. He was sentenced to death, with eight of his companions, and more than one hundred others were banished from the country. Ubalde was executed at Cusco, in August, 1805, and died with christian serenity, maintaining his principles to the last. While seated on the scaffold, he declared that his death would not stop the progress of liberty ; that the independence of South America was not far distant ; and, although he was going down to the grave without the satisfaction of witnessing that glorious event, yet his mind was consoled with the hope, that his friends who survived him would one day enrol his name among the martyred patriots of his country. His lamentable fate drew tears from every eye.† Most excellent man, and martyred hero ! thy prayers have been heard—scarce twenty years have elapsed, and the day of retribu-

* “ I passed over (says Don Vincente Pasos) the plains of Cica-Cica and Calamarca, about twenty years after these massacres, and for an extent of forty miles I beheld numerous heaps of bones of the miserable beings who had fallen there by the sword ; and at that time were to be seen at the cross roads and in the public places throughout the country, the heads of the leaders of the insurrection suspended on gibbets.”

† Pasos' Letters.

tion has come upon thy murderers—the oppressors of thy country. The eagles of liberty have already winged their flight to the summits of the Andes, and the cry of independence and freedom is heard from the loftiest mountains, and the deepest recesses of the vallies ; and the same enlivening page that records the liberation of thy country shall inscribe thy glorious devotion to the sacred cause of humanity and justice.

No farther effort was made for the emancipation of Peru until after the battle of Maypu, which gave liberty to Chili, when the gallant general San Martin, perceiving that the independence of Chili would be much exposed, while the royalists were able to command the wealth and resources of Peru, conceived the noble project of liberating that country also. He, accordingly, with the aid of the governments of Chili and Buenos Ayres, made immediate preparations to fit out an expedition against that country. A naval armament was provided with all possible haste, and lord Cochrane, arriving in Chili, in November, 1818, was immediately appointed to the command. Many English and American officers and seamen flocked to his standard, and by great exertions a formidable squadron was equipped, and sailed in 1819. This squadron visited the coast of Peru, and continued to harass the enemy by capturing their ships, and blockading their ports, until the army was ready, which was not, however, until August, 1820. The expedition was reported ready for sailing on the 15th, and on the 18th the troops were embarked at Valparaiso. Their appearance and discipline were worthy of any country, and their numbers amounted to 4900 ; 15,000 stand of arms, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition and clothing, were shipped for the purpose of organizing a corps of Peruvians, who, it was expected, would flock to the revolutionary standard as soon as the expedition landed. General San Martin was appointed commander in chief of the liberating army of Peru. The fleet under lord Cochrane consisted of the flag ship of fifty guns, one of sixty guns, another of forty, and four smaller vessels ; the transports were twenty in number.*

Before the expedition sailed, the following bulletin was published:—

“ An expedition, equipped by means of great sacrifices, is at length ready to proceed, and the army of Chili, united to that of the Andes, is now called upon to redeem the land in which slavery has long existed, and from whence the latest efforts have been made to oppress the whole continent. Happy be this day on which the record of the movements and the actions of the expedition commences. The object of this enterprise is to decide whether or not the time is arrived, when the influence of South America

* Journal of B. Hall.

upon the rest of the world, shall be commensurate with its extent, its riches, and its situation."

The expedition sailed from the port of Valparaiso in Chili on the 20th of August, 1820, and reached Pisco, which is situated about 100 miles south of Lima, on the 7th of September, and by the 11th the whole army was disembarked. The Spanish troops stationed in the neighbourhood had previously retired to Lima, where the viceroy resolved to collect his whole army. The liberating army at first encountered no resistance, and on the 26th of September an armistice for eight days was concluded, at the request of the viceroy, and commissioners from both parties held a conference. On the 4th of October, the armistice terminated without any successful result to the negotiation, which had been attempted, and on the 26th the expedition moved northward to Ancon. Lord Cochrane, with part of the squadron, anchored in the outer roads of Callao, the sea port of Lima. The inner harbour is extensively and strongly fortified, and is called the castle of Callao. Under the protection of the batteries, lay three Spanish armed vessels of war, a forty gun frigate, and two sloops of war, guarded by fourteen gun boats. On the night of the 5th of November, lord Cochrane, with 240 volunteers in fourteen boats, attempted the daring enterprise of cutting out the Spanish frigate, and succeeded in the most gallant manner, with the loss of only 41 killed and wounded. The Spanish loss was 120 men. This success annihilated the Spanish naval power on the Pacific.

The joy occasioned by this splendid naval exploit was increased by col. Arenales, who had been sent from Pisco with 1000 men, with orders to proceed by a circuitous route around Lima, until he rejoined the army. On his march, he attacked and defeated a detachment of the royal army sent from Lima to oppose him; and at the same time took the commanding officer prisoner. Many districts declared in favour of the liberating army, and the revolutionary cause become so popular, that on the 3d of December a whole regiment of the royalists, with their colonel at their head, deserted from the Spanish service, and joined the liberating army.

After a short stay at Ancon, San Martin proceeded to Huara, a strong position near the port of Huacho, about 75 miles north of Lima. Here the army remained for six months, engaged in recruiting; in disseminating the spirit of independence, and cutting off the resources of the royalists in Lima. After another unavailing armistice, the liberating army began to advance towards the capital on the 5th of July, 1821, when the viceroy, alarmed for its security, issued a proclamation, announcing his intention of abandoning the city, and pointing out Callao as an asylum for those who felt insecure in the capital. This was a

signal for an immediate flight; the consternation was excessive throughout the city; the road to Callao was crowded with fugitives, carrying their most valuable effects. The women were seen flying in all directions towards the convents, and the narrow streets were literally choked up with loaded wagons, mules, and mounted horsemen; the confusion continuing all night, and until day-break. The viceroy marched out with his troops, not leaving a single sentinel over the powder magazine, having previously nominated the marquis Montemire as governor of the city, who immediately called a meeting of the inhabitants, and the cabildo, or town council, which resolved to invite San Martin to enter the capital. The answer of San Martin was full of magnanimity, and immediately inspired the greatest confidence among the inhabitants. He told them that he did not desire to enter the capital as a conqueror, but as their liberator; adding, as a proof of his sincerity, that the governor might command a portion of his troops, for the security of the persons and property of the inhabitants. The people who had deserted the city, now returned to their dwellings, and order was restored; and San Martin, who a few days before was considered an enemy, was now hailed as a benefactor. On the 12th of July, he made his entry into the capital, without ostentation or ceremony, and in a manner worthy of a republican general. He was accompanied by a single aid-de-camp only, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm by most of the inhabitants. All classes were anxious to behold the man who had performed such distinguished services for their country; he was kind, courteous, and affable to all. The females caught the enthusiasm of the men, and vied with each other in paying their respects to their liberator. To every one he had something kind and appropriate to say, occasioning an agreeable surprise to the person he addressed. San Martin now commenced the difficult task of reforming the abuses of the colonial government, and published an address to the Peruvians, containing sound and judicious sentiments, which justly entitles it to preservation.*

On the 28th of July, 1821, the independence of Peru was solemnly proclaimed. The troops were drawn up in the great square, in the centre of which was erected a lofty stage, from which San Martin, accompanied by the governor and some of the principal inhabitants, displayed for the first time the independent flag proclaiming that Peru was *free and independent*, by the general wish of the people, and the justice of her cause: Then waving the flag, San Martin exclaimed, *Vive La Patria! Vive La Liberta! Vive La Independence!* which was reiterated by the multitude in the square, while the bells rung a joyous peal,

* Journal of captain Basil Hall.

and cannon were discharged amidst the universal acclamations of the people. On the 3d of August, San Martin took upon himself the title of protector of Peru, and issued a proclamation.

This proclamation concluded by declaring that the supreme political authority and military command were united in him, under the title of protector, and that Juan Garcia del Rial was named secretary of state, and by specifying the other appointments under his new government. He also addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards, bearing date the 4th of August, in which he says, that he has respected their persons and property agreeably to his promise, but notwithstanding which, they murmur in secret, and maliciously propagate suspicions of his intentions. He assures those who remain peaceable, who swear to the independence of the country, and respect the new government, of being protected in their persons and estates; he offers to such as do not confide in his word, the privilege of passports, within a given time, to leave the country with all their effects, and declares that those who remain and profess to submit to the government, but are plotting against it, shall feel the full rigour of the law, and be deprived of their possessions.

San Martin now proceeded steadily in recruiting and disciplining his army, in reforming the local abuses in the administration of affairs, and in preparing and organizing a provisional government, until the permanent constitution of the state could be established. When absent, he appointed the marquis of Torre Tagle as supreme delegate, to exercise the functions of government.

On the 10th of September, the Spanish army returned from the interior, and marching past Lima, entered Callao. As it passed the capital, San Martin drew up his army, but did not attack the enemy, wisely foreseeing that an increase of the garrison of Callao would diminish their provisions, and hasten the surrender of the fortress. The Spanish army, after a short stay, retired, carrying off the treasures deposited in the castle, which shortly after surrendered to the independents.

The liberating army now remained inactive until the following May, when a detachment was sent against the Spaniards, which proved unsuccessful. In July, 1822, San Martin left Lima for Guayaquil, where he had an interview with Bolivar, the liberator of Colombia, and, during his absence, the people of Lima irritated against the minister, Monteagudo, forcibly deposed, imprisoned, and afterwards banished him to Panama. In August, San Martin returned with a re-enforcement of Colombian troops.

On the 20th of September, 1822, the sovereign constitutional congress of the federal provinces of Peru was assembled, and the patriotic and popular chief was happy to divest himself of the dictatorship, and gladly resigned into their hands the supreme autho-

erty which he had exercised for more than a year. The congress duly appreciating his magnanimity and patriotic services, elected him, by an unanimous vote, general and commander in chief of the armies of Peru; but he declined the appointment, only accepting the *title* as a mark of the approbation and confidence of the Peruvians, declaring that in his opinion, his presence in Peru in command of the army, was inconsistent with the authority of the congress.

“I have,” says this illustrious patriot, “fulfilled the sacred promise which I made to Peru. I have witnessed the assembly of its representatives. The enemy’s force threatens the independence of no place that wishes to be free, and possesses the means of being so. A numerous army, under the direction of warlike chiefs, is ready to march in a few days to put an end to the war. Nothing is left for me to do, but to offer you my sincerest thanks, and to promise that if the liberties of the Peruvians shall ever be attacked, I shall claim the honour of accompanying them, to defend their freedom like a citizen.”

The congress expressed much regret at his declaration, and entreated him to take the actual command of their armies; but their appeal had no effect on the conduct of San Martin, whose resolution was formed on mature consideration. He had accomplished the object of his mission; he had emancipated the country which he had visited for that purpose, and not to become its ruler. On retiring from a country which he had redeemed from slavery, and to which he had given a new creation, he published a proclamation, in which he says that he is repaid for ten years of his life spent in revolution and war: “I hold in my hand the standard which Pizarro brought over to enslave the empire of the Incas.”

“My promises to the countries in which I made war, are fulfilled—I give them independence, and leave them the choice of their government.”

San Martin proceeded to Callao, and immediately sailed for Chili.

The congress, now left to themselves, appointed a supreme junta of three enlightened men, to whom they confided the executive power. In November, 1822, an expedition sailed from Lima for the southern coast, but in January, 1823, shortly after landing, the army was defeated and dispersed. This disaster was followed by a general discontent among the people, and in February, the sittings of the congress were suspended by Rivaaguero the president, who shortly after dissolved them in a most unconstitutional manner, and every thing was in confusion. Availing themselves of these disorders, in June, 1823, the Spanish army under general Canterac, re-entered Lima, having driven the pa-

triotis into Callao. They remained in the capital about a fortnight, levying contributions on the defenceless inhabitants. This was a short and sad termination of a struggle which had been so successful under the direction of an able leader. Whilst the cause of the revolution was thus prostrated in Peru, general Bolivar was bringing the war to a close in Colombia. Foreseeing that if the affairs of Peru were not placed in a better condition, the royal authority would shortly be re-established in that country, and the independence of Colombia would be endangered, and being invited by the Peruvians, he resolved to proceed to that country. This he did at the head of a considerable force, and was most cordially received at Lima, and appointed dictator until the Spaniards should be expelled or subdued. On his approach, the royalists retired into the interior.

In addition to a formidable enemy that possessed the whole of Upper, and most of the interior of Lower Peru, the liberator soon found himself surrounded with difficulties, in the dissensions among the patriots, which threatened the entire destruction of the revolutionary cause. Rivaaguero, the late president of the congress, collected a force to oppose both the congress and Bolivar. This insurrection, however, was soon suppressed, and the principal instigators were made prisoners, and exiled: but the disasters of the army, and the conflicts of the parties soon obliged the congress to confer on Bolivar the supreme power as dictator, to preserve the republic from ruin; notwithstanding, however, Bolivar found it necessary to return to Truxillo for safety until the arrival of his re-enforcements from Colombia.

In the month of February, 1824, the royalists under general Canterac, took possession of the city of Lima without opposition, and about the same time, of the important fortress of Callao, by means of a defection of the troops from Buenos Ayres, which formed part of the garrison. The state of affairs in Peru was now critical and alarming. The factious exerted themselves to prejudice the people against Bolivar, and charged him with entertaining ambitious designs, which induced him to address a proclamation to the people, dated at Truxillo, the 11th of March, 1824. Great exertions were made by the liberator to forward his re-enforcements from Colombia, and to organize a force for the ensuing campaign, sufficient to liberate the whole of Peru from the power of the royalists; it was also necessary to acquire a naval superiority in order to conduct the operations of the war in the most efficient manner. Such additions were therefore made to the naval force, as to enable the patriots, not only to blockade the port of Callao, but to destroy a number of vessels in that harbour.

The army being at length completely organized, commenced its operations in the month of June, 1824, and crossing the An-

des, routed the vanguard of the enemy, consisting of 3500 men, with great loss. In addition to the other advantages of this victory, it was productive of an accession to the forces of the patriots of 500 of the enemy's infantry, and 100 of his cavalry, who deserted the royal standard, went over to the patriots, and fought bravely against the Spaniards.

The beginning of August, 1824, the liberating army was at Conocancha, and the royalists having approached near it for the purpose of reconnoitering, Bolivar marched with his whole force, with the determination of bringing the enemy to a general action. Alarmed by this movement, the royalists retraced their steps by forced marches, and succeeded in passing the point on the road to Jauja, (where Bolivar had intended to take a position, with the view to bring them to an engagement,) several hours before the independents arrived. Perceiving that the enemy continued to retreat in the most precipitate manner, Bolivar, unwilling that they should escape, and seeing it impossible to engage them with his whole force, placed himself at the head of his cavalry, although greatly inferior in point of numbers to that of the enemy, and pursued at full speed. The patriots came up with the enemy on the plains of Junin, and took a position near them, hoping that the inferiority of their numbers would induce the royalists to engage them. The event answered their expectations; for relying on his superior numbers, the enemy made a furious charge on the patriot cavalry, which sustained the shock with great firmness. The conflict was sharp, and in the successive charges, each party, at times, seemed to have the advantage; but at length the royalists were thrown into confusion, beaten, and compelled to fall back on their infantry for safety, which had continued its retreat towards Jauja, and was many miles from the scene of action when the battle was decided. The enemy sustained a severe loss; 235 lay dead on the field, among whom were ten chiefs and officers; many were wounded and dispersed, and 80 made prisoners, besides which, 300 horses were taken with all their equipments, and immense spoil. The loss of the patriots was 60 killed and wounded.* The action took place on the 6th of August. This brilliant success nearly destroyed the enemy's cavalry, on which they principally relied, at the commencement of the campaign, and had a highly favourable influence on the army and the people of Peru.

Two days after this victory, the republicans followed in pursuit of the enemy towards the valley of Jauja. From the battle of Junin, no important action occurred until the 9th of December. After much skilful manœuvring on both sides, general Sucre, commanding the liberating army, consisting of the united forces of Colombia and Peru, took a position at Ayacucho early in De-

* See Bolivar's despatch.

ember, near the enemy, who was posted on a height. On the 8th of the month, some skirmishes took place ; and on the following day, the enemy attacked the liberating army ; his right was commanded by general Valdez, composed of four battalions and two squadrons of huzzars, with four field pieces ; his centre by general Monet, consisting of five battalions ; and general Villalobos commanded the left, composed of four battalions, with seven pieces of artillery. The remainder of the enemy's cavalry formed a reserve in the rear. General Cordova commanded the right of the liberating army, with the second division of Colombia, consisting of the battalions of Bogota and the voltigeurs of Pinchincha and Caraccas ; general Lllamar commanded the left, composed of the battalions of Peru, and three legions of Colombians, and the division of general Lara formed the reserve. According to the official returns, there were 9310 of the Spanish army, commanded by Canterac, the viceroy, in person ; and only 5780 of the liberating army, headed by the intrepid general Sucre. But although the two armies were unequal in numbers, they were both ardent to engage, and both confident of victory. The Colombian division marched with *supported arms*, in the most intrepid manner, and taking their station near the Spanish line, opened a fire with such coolness and destructive effect, that the enemy soon began to give way : and in spite of all their efforts to maintain their ground, they were driven back and thrown into confusion. The division of Peru on the left, experienced a more vigorous resistance, and was re-enforced by general Lara with two battalions of the reserve, consisting of the Colombian guards. This enabled the left, as well as the right, to gain ground on the enemy ; and in a few moments, nothing could resist the impetuosity of the troops of the united army. The second squadron of huzzars of Junin made a brilliant charge on the enemy's cavalry posted on the right of general Valdez, and repulsed them ; the Colombian grenadiers alighted and charged the Spanish infantry on foot, and the regiment of huzzars of Colombia, charged with their lances the grenadiers of the viceroy's guard, and put them to the rout. The ardour and impetuosity of the republican troops soon decided the battle, which was short, but terrible. The slaughter was immense for the numbers engaged. The enemy had 2600 men killed and wounded on the field of action, including the viceroy wounded, and six generals killed. The united army sustained a loss of 823 killed and wounded, of which there were one general, eight officers, and 300 men killed, and six generals, thirty-four officers, and 480 men wounded. What remained of the Spanish army capitulated, and a treaty was signed on the field of battle, between the royal commander, Canterac, and general Sucre, whereby all the royal

troops in Peru, all military posts, all royal artillery and magazines, and the whole of Peru occupied by the Spanish, were surrendered to the patriots as the trophies of the victory of Ayacucho.

This is one of the most distinguished victories which the annals of the South American revolution afford, whether considered with reference to the brilliancy of the achievement, its decisive character, or its important consequences. It annihilated the Spanish power, and liberated all of Lower Peru. Its immediate trophies were 9310 men killed and made prisoners on the field of battle, and 348 which surrendered in garrisons in Cusco, Arequipa, and Puno, including the column of general Ramirez dispersed in Quilca. The troops which afterwards surrendered in Upper Peru, on Sucre's marching into that country, in consequence of this victory, amounted to 4610, making a grand total of 18,598, including 25 general officers, and 1100 chiefs and officers.*

The liberator addressed a proclamation to the Peruvians, and another to the army of Colombia. In the former he says, that "the army has fulfilled the promise he made to them in its name, of emancipating Peru; and adds, that the time has now arrived that he must also fulfil the promise he had made to them, of divesting himself of the dictatorship, the moment victory declared their freedom, and sealed their destiny."

General Rodel, who commanded the castle of Callao, refused to comply with the terms of capitulation entered into by his superior officer, Canterac; in consequence of which, that fortress was immediately invested by the Colombian troops, and rigorously blockaded by a naval force, part of the navy of Chili being placed under the orders of Bolivar by the government of that country for that purpose.

On the 10th of December the Peruvian congress was installed, on which occasion the liberator transmitted to them an interesting message, containing a resignation of his authority.

He speaks of the internal disorders of the country—the exertions he had made to remedy them, and of their relations with the other independent governments. "Colombia," he observes, "their ally and confederate had employed her army, her navy, and her treasure, in fighting the common enemy, making the cause her own; which ought to convince the congress of the infinite value that she attaches to a close confederation of all the new states. The governments of Mexico, Guatemala, and Buenos Ayres, had offered their services; but our rapid successes had rendered their assistance unnecessary." The agent of Colombia had been accredited, and the consuls of Great Britain, the United States, and of Colombia, had presented themselves in the

* Official despatch of general Sucre, dated 19th April, 1825.

capital, to exercise their functions. He speaks with confidence of the probability of England and France recognising the independence of Peru on being informed of its complete liberation, and the entire extinction of the Spanish power.

The constituent congress passed a decree, by which they conferred on general Bolivar the supreme, political, and military command of the republic, until the installation of the congress prescribed by the constitution, to take place in 1826. They voted him one million of dollars for his eminent services, which he magnanimously declined accepting. They also ordered that an equestrian statue of the liberator should be erected in the constitutional square of Lima, and a medal struck, with the bust of the hero on one side, and on the other this inscription :—“ TO OUR LIBERATOR, SIMON BOLIVAR.” These proceedings of the congress were communicated to the illustrious Bolivar, by its president, whose answer contains the most noble and patriotic sentiments.

After the liberation of the interior provinces of Lower Peru, general Sucre proceeded to Upper Peru, where general Olaneta still held out against the patriots, and refused to agree to the terms of capitulation ; but as the conquerors of Ayacucho advanced into the country, the corps of the royal army at Cochabamba, Chiquisaca, Santa Cruz, and other places, spontaneously proclaimed their independence, and declared in favour of the cause of the country. Those who adhered to Olaneta were dispersed by the brave Sucre, their general killed, and those who survived were compelled to surrender. Thus was liberated the whole of Upper Peru, except the province of Chiquitos, which had been invaded and occupied by a division of the Brazilian army.

During the summer of 1825, most of the Colombian troops which had been employed in Peru, embarked at Lima for Panama. Bolivar visited Upper Peru in June, and since his return to Lima he has remained in Lower Peru, as dictator and ruler of the country. He prosecuted the siege of Callao, and kept it closely invested. In August the scurvy raged among the troops, and sickness prevailed among the unfortunate inhabitants, who were compelled to retire within the Spanish lines. Neither the inhabitants nor the troops had any other than salt provisions, and many of the former left the place and threw themselves on the generosity of the besiegers, whilst the latter deserted daily. General Rodel, however, obstinately continued to hold out, when it was evident that the possession of the castle could be of no use to Spain, and that it must soon yield to a destiny which was inevitable. The fortress held out until early in the year 1826, when it surrendered. The garrison was reduced to about 500 men, who, with their commander, general Rodel, embarked for Europe. The fall of Callao terminated the war in Peru, and the Colombian

troops employed in the siege of that place were to be immediately transported to their own country.

Bolivar, while administering the government of Lower Peru, and preparing it for the adoption of republican institutions, has not confined his attention to that republic. His mighty mind and capacious patriotism compass all the vast countries formerly Spanish in America. On the 7th of December, he despatched a circular from Lima, to all the new republics, urging the appointment of plenipotentiaries, to form a general confederacy, which were to meet at Panama. The circular having been favourably received by the governments of Colombia and Mexico, the liberator soon after appointed two delegates to represent Peru, who immediately repaired to the isthmus of Panama, to await the arrival of the plenipotentiaries from the other republics.

The liberator has made provisions in Peru for the education of the Indians, at the expense of the republic; 300 dollars a month are appropriated for the instruction of Indian youth in the colleges of Liberty and St. Charles, and 200 monthly, are to be expended for the same laudable purpose at the college of Independence.

HISTORY
AND PRESENT STATE
OF THE
REPUBLIC OF BOLIVAR.

CHAPTER X.

Extent of territory, and face of the country—description of departments—cities of Potosi, Charcas, and La Paz—rivers, climate, productions, mines, commerce, and population.

THE new republic of Bolivar is composed of that extensive and highly interesting country heretofore called Upper Peru, consisting of seven separate territorial governments, formerly denominated intendancies, but now called departments, which are Potosi, Charcas or La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, Santa Cruz or Puno, Moxos, and Chiquitos. This tract of country extends from lat. 14° to 24° south, a distance of nearly 700 miles; and from the Pacific ocean to the river Paraguay, about the same distance; it is watered by the head branches of the Amazon and La Plata, and traversed by the Andes. It possesses a climate of almost every variety of temperature, from the torrid to the frozen zone, and a soil well suited to the productions of both Europe and the Indies. The region which extends from Oruro to Jujui, from $17^{\circ} 52'$ to 22° south lat., comprises the most mountainous and irregular part of the country, ascending gradually on every side to Potosi, which is the most elevated part. Here the two noble rivers, Amazon and La Plata, take their rise within about seventy miles of each other, in lat. $17^{\circ} 30'$ south, and discharge their waters into the Atlantic ocean, the former under the equator, and the latter in 35° south lat. at a distance of nearly 2500 miles from each other. This whole country is cold and mountainous; but sterile as is its surface, its bowels are rich in the precious metals.

There are two ranges of the Andes extending through this territory, from north to south, which are called the eastern and western. The eastern is the loftiest, and its summit is covered with perpetual snow, while the western range is more low, irregular, is less a region of frost, and the communication through the intervening vallies to the Pacific ocean, is not obstructed by one continuous and unbroken range.*

Potosi is the most southern department, and is divided into eight provinces. Extending from the Pacific across the ridges of the Andes, it is generally a lofty and mountainous region, with the exception of some beautiful and fertile vallies, which are watered by the river San Juan and its branches, discharging its waters into the Pilcomayo, one of the principal western tributaries of the great La Plata; the head waters of the San Juan approach very near the Pacific. The principal river on the coast of the Pacific is the Loxa. Here the vallies are rich in the various productions of the tropical and temperate zones; the mountains, however, are cold and steril, almost excluding vegetation, but rich in the metallic treasures. In addition to the celebrated mines of Potosi, which are considered the richest and most productive in South America, almost every section of this department abounds with valuable mines of silver. There are also many rich mines of gold, copper, and iron ores scattered over the whole face of the country—in short, the mineral resources of this region are not surpassed by any other in the world, either in respect to abundance or variety.

The population of Potosi has been variously estimated, but is supposed, by the best authorities, to be about 112,000, including 25,000 Indians. The principal town, and also the capital of the republic of Bolivar, is the celebrated mining city of Potosi, situated in lat. 19° 30' S., at the elevation of 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, on the great post road leading from Buenos Ayres to Lima; 1650 miles from the former, and 1215 from the latter, and about 300 miles east of the Pacific ocean. The city is built at the bottom of the celebrated mountain of the same name, so famous for the immense riches which it has been pouring forth for the last three centuries. The figure of this mountain is conical, and it is covered with green, red, yellow, and blue spots, which give it a singular appearance, unlike to any other mountain in the world; it is entirely bare of trees or shrubs. The city of Potosi is nearly nine miles in circumference; it is divided into the city proper,

* For this account of the new republic of Bolivar, we are principally indebted to the letters of Don Vincente Pazos, on the United Provinces of South America, the most authentic and valuable work on that country. The author is a native of the country and a man of learning and intelligence, as well as patriotism and humanity.

and *Yngenios*, where are situated the laboratories of the mines, and which are separated by a small stream, called the river of the lakes, over which there is a stone bridge. The city and *Yngenios* are nearly a mile apart. The streets are narrow and irregular, and paved with round stones, with side walks. The houses are uniformly of one story, built of stone and brick, with balconies of wood, and without chimnies, each one having a yard in the rear, supplied with fountains of water. There are in Potosi three monasteries, five convents, and nineteen parochial churches, which are richly ornamented with silver. On the north side of the public square is situated the mint, which is a grand edifice of free stone, of a quadrangular figure, two stories high, and nearly 450 feet square, in which are offices for the governors and workmen, and apartments for the extensive machinery. The coining of this mint surpasses that of Lima or Santiago, and is said to have amounted, in prosperous times, to 4,000,000 of dollars annually. The climate of Potosi is very cold, and for a distance of twelve miles around the city there are no trees or shrubbery of any kind, and nothing vegetates, except a species of green moss. On the hills above the town, there are about thirty artificial lakes for supplying the city with water, and turning the mills of the miners; the number of mills, or amalgamation works, are 120; the ores worked in these are brought down from the mountains above, at the height of 16,250 feet above the level of the sea.* The extraordinary mines of this mountain were accidentally discovered in 1545 by an Indian named Hualpa, as he was pursuing his goats upon the mountain; but others say that the first discoverer was Potocchi, from whom the mountain derives its name. Potosi, according to the best authorities, contains a population of 40,000

* The following is the process of separating the metals from the ores:—The mills set in operation several copper or iron hammers of the weight of 200 pounds, by which the ore is reduced to powder. To prepare it for this operation, it is sometimes dried; at others, moistened with water. This powder is sifted through large iron or copper sieves, requiring four or five Indians each: what passes through the sieve, is taken for amalgamation; and what does not, is returned to the mills. The pulverized ore is wet, and kneaded with the feet by the Indians, and then spread on floors about one foot thick, in parcels of about 2500 weight each. On these heaps, about 200 weight of salt, and a quantity of mercury, which varies according to the richness of the ore, are strewed, and the whole mass is stirred eight or ten times a day, sometimes for a month or six weeks. This is the process of amalgamation, the object of which, is to have the mercury unite or amalgamate with the grains of silver. When this process is through, the mass is removed into vats, where the earth is washed off, and the amalgam is found at the bottom, which is put into bags and hung up for the quicksilver to drain off; the bags are beaten and pressed, and finally the amalgam is hardened, and the remaining quicksilver evaporated by means of ignited charcoal. What remains, is a lump of grains of silver, which require to be fused to unite them into a mass.

inhabitants, who subsist chiefly by mining; it is the focus of all the commerce between Buenos Ayres and Upper and Lower Peru, and is a place of great business and wealth. The other considerable towns in this department are Pilaya, the capital of a province of the same name, containing 12,000 inhabitants; it enjoys a fine climate, and is surrounded by a fertile country; Tarija, situated in lat. $21^{\circ} 30'$ south, in a delightful valley of the same name, and has a population of 10,000; Tupiza, Lipiz, Tarapaca, St. Francisco de Atacama, are near the Pacific.

The intendency of *Charcas* or *La Plata* is watered by the river Pilcomayo and its branch, the Cachimayo, which flow into the La Plata, and are celebrated for the abundance and excellence of their fish; their banks are clothed with verdure, and covered with forests. This is an excellent agricultural district, its climate is generally warm, and it has some vineyards and sugar plantations; it abounds with cultivated farms, and affords fine cattle and sheep, wheat, and excellent fruits. There are few mines in it.

Charcas, now called Chuquisaca, the capital, in lat. 19° S. is distant 75 miles northeast of Potosi, and was founded by one of Pizarro's captains, in the year 1538; it stands on a plain, surrounded on every side by several small hills, and has a fine climate. The streets cross each other at right angles, are very wide and well paved. The houses are regularly built one story high, with balconies of wood, and spacious gardens in the rear; its population at present does not exceed 15,000. The cathedral is a magnificent edifice; the gate is of copper, very massy and much ornamented. The palace of the archbishop is a splendid building, with grand saloons and spacious gardens with fountains of water; and is furnished in a princely style. There are also five convents, three nunneries, an university, two colleges, and an academy for law-students. In the university and colleges, there are about 500 students, who come from all parts of the country. The city of Oruro is situated in south lat. $17^{\circ} 58'$, 171 miles northwest of Potosi. It is admirably located for inland commerce, and is about 170 miles east of the port of Arica on the Pacific; the post road from Buenos Ayres to Lima passes through it; there is a good mule road to Arica. The city is built at the foot of a mineral mountain of the same name. Its figure is a crescent; it is well laid out, and its houses are regularly of one story. It has five convents, and its markets are well supplied with fresh fish from the ocean. The population is about 15,000.

The department of *Cochabamba* forms an oblong tract of land, extending from east to west 520 miles, and from north to south 92 miles. The western section of this territory is traversed by

the Andes, from which there is a gradual slope, or gentle declivity from the west until it is lost in the interminable plains on the east. This district of country is well watered by the head branches of the Amazon, and possesses every variety of soil and climate. On the summits of the mountains, winter reigns continually, while the plains below are covered with perpetual verdure. The fecundity of nature is here displayed in all its richness and beauty; all the animals and vegetables of every class and variety, attract the curiosity of the observer; trees and plants innumerable, cover the soil with great abundance, and fill the atmosphere with a salubrity and fragrance beyond any other region. Among the agricultural productions, are wheat, vines, and the olive, in the greatest abundance, the choicest fruits of both temperate and tropical climates; and so productive is the country in grass, that its name in the dialect of the aboriginal inhabitants, means *rich grass*. This territory thus excelling both in its animal and vegetable productions, is not rich as might be supposed in mineral treasures. Its population is estimated at 115,000, consisting principally of industrious farmers and skilful mechanics, distinguished for their intelligence. The capital is the city of Oropesa, or Cochabamba, in south lat. $18^{\circ} 31'$, situated on a beautiful plain near the river Sacabo. The city is square, and the streets, which are spacious, cross each other at right angles. It contains five convents and two nunneries, with a population of 25,000.

The department of *La Paz*, has a population of 110,000, exclusive of Indians. The western section of this territory is an extensive plain, bordering on the eastern shore of the great lake Titicaca. The climate is cold on account of its proximity to the Andes, and its productions are principally potatoes and barley. The appearance of the mountain Illumani is wonderfully grand, particularly when seen in the night time from the city of La Paz, situated in the vallies below, at a distance of 30 miles.

This territory abounds with valuable silver mines, and many fertile vallies: its waters are chiefly embodied in the great lake Titicaca, which forms its western boundary. This lake is about 240 miles in circumference, its medium width is about 30 miles, containing several beautiful islands. Its borders are picturesque and covered with villages and cultivated fields. It abounds with excellent fish, and on its shores and islands are found great numbers of water-fowl, of various species. The waters of the eastern section of this department consists principally of the river Tipuani and its branches. This river pours down from the eastern Andes, like a torrent, and flowing with an impetuous and noisy current, a distance of 120 miles, through the narrow defiles of the mountains in a northerly direction to the valley of Tipu-

ani, unites with the Challana which rises in the same chain of mountains, and assumes the name of Beni ; here it loses its rapidity, and flows with a smooth and even current towards the coast. The river Beni, after a course of several hundred miles, in a northeasterly direction, unites with the Madeira, and these united waters constitute the great southern branch of the Amazon.

The capital of this department is the city of La Paz, situated in lat. $16^{\circ} 30'$ south, 180 miles east of the Pacific. It lies in a hollow, considerably below the elevation of the plains which extend from the eastern Andes to the lake, and is divided by the river Chochokeago, which is a branch of the river Tipuani. There are four stone bridges across the river ; the streets are rectangular and well paved, and the houses are principally built of stone, of two and three stories high, many of them exhibiting much taste and elegance in their structure. In the public square there are some splendid edifices ; in the centre, stands a fountain of water, constructed of transparent alabaster. There are four convents, three nunneries, five parochial churches, a college and an alms-house, where the poor are entertained. The city stands at the base of the peak of Ilimani, which overlooks it, and whose snowy summit and verdant sides exhibit a splendid view. The plains which surround the city are clothed in perpetual verdure, and are very fertile, supplying it with all kinds of vegetables. The population of the city is 40,000.

The department of *Santa Cruz* or *Puno*, which has a population of 10,000, is well watered by the Rio Grande and other head waters of the Mamore, a branch of the Amazon. It is divided into two provinces, Misque and Santa Cruz, from which the department takes its name. The province of Misque is comprised in its western section, enjoying a warm climate. The chief town, which is of the same name, stands in a fine valley, of twenty-four miles in circumference, with a population of 12,000. This is an extremely fertile province, producing, in great abundance, corn, sugar, grapes, bees wax, and honey. The province of Santa Cruz is situated east of Misque. The chief town is of the same name, and is the capital, situated in lat. $17^{\circ} 49'$ south, at the foot of a small range of mountains. The productions of this province are the same as those of Misque, but cultivation is more neglected ; there are no mines in the district.

Moxos and *Chiquitos* are departments of great extent of territory, but have only a small population. *Moxos* extends from north to south 360 miles, and nearly the same distance east and west. It is watered by three rivers, Beni, Mamore, and Santa Cruz, which, rising in the eastern Andes, flow into the Amazon. *Chiquitos* lies southeast of *Moxos*, east of *Santa Cruz*, and west of the river *Paraguay*, and is a country of great extent, but thinly

settled. The territory of Moxos and Chiquitos extend from lat. 14° to 20° south, embracing an extensive and fertile tract of country mostly in a state of nature, and without cultivation, but possessing immense natural resources, and capable of sustaining a vast population in affluence. The climate of these intendancies is like the East Indies, with half yearly alternations of rainy and dry seasons ; the productions also are similar ; cinnamon is produced in abundance. The rivers and lakes abound with fish ; honey is also collected in great quantities in the forests. The silk worm abounds, and the mulberry, on which it feeds, is a common tree of the country. The intendancies or departments are divided into provinces, and the latter into curacies or parishes, like Peru, in each of which there is a curate, a cacique, and an alcade.

The territories of the new republic of Bolivar, are an interior country, embracing only about three degrees of coast on the Pacific ; yet no portion of South America possesses a more salubrious climate, or more exuberant soil, variety of productions, or inexhaustible mineral treasures. Although its territory is not so extensive as some of the other republics, and is almost without sea coast ; yet so abundant are the resources of the soil and mines, that it is capable of sustaining a large population, and of becoming a wealthy and prosperous republic. A free and stable government, with just and liberal institutions, securing to all classes of people their rights, protecting and encouraging their industry, and diffusing among them the light of knowledge, by means of education, is all that is necessary to insure prosperity to this country. Its population has been estimated at 1,740,000, considerably exceeding that of Peru ; its character is similar, but perhaps more hardy and industrious. There are more Indians, Mestizos, and Cholos ; but fewer Negroes and Mulattoes than in Peru. The Indians alone amount to 1,155,000. They are sober and honest, and have the most persevering habits of industry ; they make good agriculturists and labourers of every kind, and are robust, muscular, and free from diseases. They perform all the heavy work of the country, without the aid of machinery, carrying on their shoulders 150 pounds. The Mestizos and Cholos usually possess moderate fortunes ; they carry on most of the internal commerce of the country, and superintend the *Haciendas* or plantations of the men of fortune. They are expert mechanics, and have astonishing faculties of imitation.*

* In 1801, a Swede, with a company of equestrian performers, arrived at Lima, and after obtaining permission of the king, proceeded into the interior to Cusco, and exhibited their performances to the delight and astonishment of the inhabitants. The young Cholos soon began to imitate the feats they had witnessed, and with such success, that in a short time they

The vegetable productions of the republic are similar to Peru, comprising those of both temperate and tropical climates, all in the greatest abundance, and almost spontaneously. Among those more rare or peculiar to the country, are *cinnamon*, the *potato*, which is believed to be indigenous in this region; *oka*, a sweet root and an important article of food; *quinoa*, or Peruvian rice, much used as a grain for food, and from which, together with Indian corn, a liquor is made, called *chica*, of universal use among the Indians; *aji*, or Guinea pepper; *coca*, a bitter herb, which constitutes the tobacco of the Indians, and is extensively used; *quinquina* or Peruvian bark, *vanilla* and *ginger*. The forests abound with various gums, resins, and balsams, and the mountains with common epsom and glauber salts, nitre, green vitriol, native soda, and numerous other mineral substances.

The Llama and other animals mentioned in Peru, are common in this country; the cochineal insect is reared with greater facility than in Mexico. A large proportion of the products from the mines exported from Peru, has been from the territories of this republic. From 15° to 23° south latitude, there are twenty-two silver and eleven gold mines, which have been worked, besides gold washings found in the river Tipuani and its numerous branches. The precious metals extracted from these mines have been estimated at 14,000,000 dollars annually; and the coin and bullion exported, at 8,240,000. Gold is found every where on the banks of the Tipuani by digging a sufficient depth, and finer in its native state by a carat and a half than the gold coin of the United States. The gold is found mixed with a hard blue clay, which is taken out together, and the clay separated by washing in canals prepared for the purpose. The annual product of the river Tipuani has been 35,200 ounces, worth 16 dollars per ounce.

The commerce of this country is almost entirely inland; it has maintained an extensive interior trade with Peru and Buenos Ayres; the former has been estimated at nearly 7,000,000 dollars, and the goods received from the latter, at 18,000,000 dollars, previous to the revolution, part of which must have been consumed in Lower Peru. Foreign goods have been introduced either through Lima or Buenos Ayres. The Spaniards and Creoles hitherto have been almost the only consumers of foreign goods, as the Indians and mixed races have used the manufactures of the country, consisting of coarse cottons and baizes, the king having prohibited the fulling and dressing of cloths. The consumption of foreign goods must now increase rapidly and to a very great extent, as the freedom of the Indians and Mestizos

could perform all the feats of the equestrians, who, with astonishment, viewed the streets filled with performers, which obliged them to abandon their enterprise.

wili cause them to imitate the manners and style of the whites. The churches, monasteries, nunneries, and convents in this republic are numerous, and have amassed wealth to an extent almost incredible, even in a country abounding in the precious metals. All the vessels and chandeliers of the churches are of silver or gold, and the altars and even the pulpits are often covered with silver; but the greatest wealth is hoarded in the nunneries and monasteries. Don Vincente Pozos says that he saw in a nunnery in La Paz, two boxes, each of four feet and a half long, and two feet broad, filled with doubloons. The republic, in August, 1825, by its representations, declared its independence, not only of Spain, but of both Lower Peru and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, and took the name of BOLIVAR, from the hero of that name, who liberated it from the dominion of Spain. It has, at present, only a provisional government, not having yet adopted a constitution. General Sucre was appointed by the congress captain-general of the republic, and commander of the military force; the departments are under the government of an officer called a president.

HISTORY

OF THE REVOLUTION

IN THE

REPUBLIC OF BOLIVAR

CHAPTER XI.

Revolution breaks out in La Paz—a government is established—the patriots are attacked by the royalists, dispersed, and the city sacked—Buenos Ayres sends an army to Peru; it is at first successful, but finally defeated, and Peru lost—the revolution breaks out again—Cochabamba is sacked, and its inhabitants massacred—retaken by the patriots—the royalists drive the patriots from La Paz, covering it with desolation—an army of Buenos Ayres again advances into Peru—it is defeated at Sipesipe—the war kept up by several guerrilla leaders—the country emancipated by the victory of Ayacucho—Sucre proceeds to Upper Peru, and all the royal troops surrender—Chiquitos invaded by the Brazilians—a congress convened, which declares the country independent, and passes several decrees.

THE seven intendancies, now departments, composing the Bolivarian republic, belonged to the viceregal jurisdiction of Peru, until 1778, when they were annexed to the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata. They were not, however, embraced in the jurisdiction of the royal audience of Lima, but constituted a distinct jurisdiction, called the district or audiencia of Charcas, and the city of that name was the seat of government of the royal audiencia. This country suffered severely during the rebellion of Tupac Amaru, in 1780, many of its cities being almost desolated, and one third of its whole population destroyed by the war.

It has also poured its blood prodigally in the late revolutionary struggles, and has experienced the singular ill fortune of having the first and the last scenes of the bloody drama exhibited within

its territory; of being the first to throw off the Spanish yoke, and the last to be redeemed from its dominion. Upper Peru and its borders, the neighbouring provinces of Salta and Jujuy have been the theatres of war during almost the whole revolution; but as the operations on the part of the patriots were carried on by the popular government of Buenos Ayres, or the United Provinces, and are closely combined with the events of the revolution there, we have deemed it advisable to relate them in connexion with the history of the revolution in that republic. Some events, however, which occurred in this territory, less connected with the struggle in the United Provinces, will be noticed here.

In the city of La Paz, distinguished for the intelligence, bravery, and wealth of its inhabitants; the flame of the revolution first burst forth, and such was the implacable fury which it excited in the breasts of the royal chiefs, that it served immediately to light the torch of civil war, which to the inhabitants of this devoted city, became a *consuming fire*. After witnessing the subversion of the Spanish monarchy, and the subsequent establishment of a government in the peninsula, emanating from the people, the inhabitants claiming the same rights as those of old Spain, and believing it disgraceful to remain in the same state of apathy as they did during the war for the succession to the crown of Spain, convened in a public meeting on the 25th of March, 1809, to consider their political situation. They deposed the Spanish authorities, and erected a provisional government called a *Junta Tutiva*, and published a manifesto, maintaining their right of governing themselves as Spain had done. Authorities were established for the administration of justice, and soon the junta found it necessary to raise an armed force to defend the new government against the hostile designs of the royal chiefs. An army was sent against them by Cisneros, the viceroy of Buenos Ayres, under Nieto, and another by the viceroy of Lima, commanded by Goyeneche, which were expected to form a junction; but Goyeneche, without waiting for the arrival of Nieto, stormed the city of La Paz, which not being in a situation for defence, was obliged to surrender; not, however, without a resolute resistance. The monster Goyeneche immediately caused all the principal citizens to be arrested and thrown into prison, whence for several days in succession they were sent to the scaffold without trial and without discrimination. At length it was thought expedient to give some colour or form to this massacre, and Goyeneche applied to Cisneros, who, instead of restraining this bloody assassin, decreed that all who remained in prison should be executed; but, fortunately, before this tyrant had carried this sanguinary decree into execution, the revolution broke out in Buenos Ayres, which wrested the bloody sceptre from his hands,

and saved the lives of the remaining prisoners. Such, however, had been the work of death and desolation, that La Paz had become like a desert. Filled with terror or revenge by such horrid barbarities, its inhabitants who escaped massacre or confinement, fled to the forests and mountains, whither they were pursued by the royal troops, and such was their horror at falling into the hands of the enemy, that except a few who escaped, they all either fell in battle or perished with famine. The leaders of this unfortunate revolution were the two Lanzas and Rodriguez, who were among its victims.*

After the revolution broke out in Buenos Ayres, more than a year from the commencement of that at La Paz, the popular government which was established was immediately threatened by the royalists, who had collected from all quarters in Upper Peru. An army was sent against them commanded by Ocampo, which dispersed them; this army was re-enforced, and the command given to general Balcarce. The royal army of Peru, under Sanz, governor of Potosi, Nieto, president of the audience of Charcas, and colonel Cordova, fortified an advantageous position at Suy-pacha, where they were attacked by Balcarce, and completely routed. The patriot general following up his advantages, attacked them at Tupiza with equal success; the royal chiefs were captured and shot. Nieto was cut short in his career of tyranny; he had treated the garrison at Charcas with the greatest severity and cruelty, condemning all who were suspected of entertaining opinions favourable to the patriots, to hard labour in the mines. The rapacity of this man was equal to his tyranny; in less than one year after entering into his office he is said to have accumulated 100,000 dollars. The successes of the patriots enabled them to advance to the river Desaguadero, on the left bank of which they extended their line occupying the villages of Saxa, Guiaqui, and several others. Balcarce had 6000 men, and the royal army commanded by Goyeneche of about 5000, was at the village of Desaguadero. The patriots had hitherto been victorious in every town through which they passed, the people received them with acclamations, and Abascal the viceroy of Lima, trembled for the safety of his government. He consented to have the cabildo of Lima open a negotiation with Castelli, who accompanied the army as the representative of the popular government of Buenos Ayres; the result was an armistice for forty days, which only served to afford the royalists time to prepare to renew hostilities. Availing himself of this opportunity, Goyeneche made every exertion to rouse the superstitions of his troops, and to excite among them a religious enthusiasm. The troops from Buenos Ayres, from their intercourse with strangers, were more en-

* Pazos' Letters, p. 31.

lightened than those of Peru, and manifested but little respect for the religious worship of the Peruvians, which consisted only of external forms and unmeaning ceremonies. Goyeneche told his troops, principally Indians and Mestizos from Cusco, miserably ignorant and superstitious, that the Buenos Ayreans had come into the country to destroy their religion, and that they were the enemies of God and the king: and the more effectually to inflame their religious zeal, he proclaimed to the whole army, that the Virgin del Carmen was the commander in chief, and himself only her lieutenant. His exertions were too successful, his troops were filled with enthusiasm, which inspired them with courage; and taking advantage of these favourable circumstances, Goyeneche, without waiting for the expiration of the armistice, on the 20th of July, 1811, attacked the patriots at Guaqui with great fury, and completely routed them; so great was their panic, that they fled, leaving all their artillery and baggage on the field of battle.

After this unfortunate defeat, the patriots never regained possession of Upper Peru, but it remained under the dominion of the royalists until liberated by Sucre after the victory of Ayacucho. In February, 1813, Belgrano, at Salta, defeated general Tristan, commanding the advance corps of the royalists, and captured his whole army. This compelled Goyeneche to retire from Potosi, and rekindled the fire of the revolution throughout Upper Peru. The people were roused to arms in the intendancies of La Paz and Cochabamba. The revolutionists, principally Indians, besieged the city of La Paz, and Arce the leader of the patriots in Cochabamba, drove the Spaniards from that province, took possession of its capital, and established a junta for its government. Goyeneche marched with his best troops against the patriots of Cochabamba, and as he drew near the city, it was proposed by the president of the junta, to implore the clemency of the royal chief, but the people opposed it, as they preferred the horrors of war to submission in any form of their oppressors. The city was defended with matchless valour and resolution; the inhabitants fought with a fury and desperation, which nothing but tyranny and cruelty could inspire; the women mixed promiscuously with the men, and combatted with equal ardour and courage, regardless alike of hardships and danger. But the patriots had more bravery than discipline; their efforts were irregular, and they were in a great measure destitute of arms, but they fought with the best weapons they could obtain. After a most fearful struggle the royalists entered the city over the dead bodies of its inhabitants; such as survived were devoted to massacre and rapine. The city was delivered up to the lawless plunder of a ferocious soldiery, and exhibited a picture of desolation and horror. The

president of the junta, Antesana, who had sought an asylum in a convent, was dragged forth and beheaded, and his head placed on a pike, and carried in triumph through the streets of the city.* Whilst Goyeneche was engaged in suppressing the insurrection in Cochabamba, another broke out near Potosi, in the provinces of Chayante and Paria, whither he sent a body of troops commanded by Emas, whose cruelties exceeded those of his master. Devastation and murder marked his path; he laid waste more than 60 villages with fire and sword, and converted the country into a desert. Having become weary of putting the inhabitants to death, this savage indulged himself in the brutal sport of cutting off the ears of the patriots to mark them, and then setting them at liberty.

The royal army was re-enforced by troops from Lima under Pezuela, who assumed the command, and in two actions, one fought at Vilcapugio, the other at Ayoma, defeated, and nearly destroyed the army of Buenos Ayres, under Belgrano, making the royalists masters of the whole of Upper Peru. But dominion over the country did not subdue the spirit of the people, and the standard of revolt was again raised in different quarters. The Cochabambians who survived, had fled, and united in the Valle Grande, where, impelled by despair and revenge, they made a furious charge on a division of 1000 royalists, and cut them to pieces; then uniting with the patriots of Santa Cruz, under Warnes, an intrepid leader, they again liberated the intendancy of Cochabamba. The hopes of the people once more revived, and the spirit of revolt appeared in every province; a partisan warfare was carried on with success. Warnes marched into Chiquitos, where he defeated the royalists; general Chamargo liberated and took possession of the province of Chayante, and Padilla defeated the royalists under Tacon at Yampares. In the meantime the spirit of resistance revived in La Paz, where Pinelo and Munecas, a priest, succeeded in taking possession of the city. Nothing could equal the rage which these successes occasioned in the royalists; such was their frantic fury that they poisoned all the springs of water in La Paz, and undermined, and blew up a barrack, by which explosion 300 of the patriots were killed. These diabolical and incendiary deeds excited such vengeance in the inhabitants, that they cut the throats of every European Spaniard in the city. Such bloody scenes drew Pezuela to La Paz, and the patriots retired to Desaguadero, where they were pursued, and completely routed by the royalists, which compelled Pinelo and Munecas to retire towards Cusco. One of the leaders of the insurgents was an Indian of the name of Pomakagua, who marched to Arequipa, which he attacked, and

* Pazos' Letters.

after severe fighting, defeated the royalists; taking possession of the place, he made prisoners of the royal governor and commander in chief, Pezuela and Ramires marched in pursuit of him; he evacuated Arequipa, and was attacked near the river Ayavere, and defeated, after displaying prodigies of valour. He was taken prisoner, and sent to Cusco, where he was executed with several other of the leaders of the revolution.*

The spirit of resistance which prevailed in Upper Peru, encouraged Rondeau, at the head of the army of Buenos Ayres, to advance into the country; and having defeated the enemy at Mochares and Pueto Grande, he established his head quarters at Potosi. He took possession of Cochabamba, and despatched Rodriguez at the head of a division to take a station which would enable him to keep open the communication between that city and Potosi. Rodriguez was repulsed, upon which Rondeau was compelled to fight the battle of Sipesipe, in which, after a most obstinate contest, he was defeated. The Cochabambians had prepared triumphal arches to honour their brethren in arms, who they expected would have been victorious; instead, however, of beholding a triumph, they were compelled to witness the sacking of their city the second time, and a repetition of those scenes of blood and carnage, which had spread over it the face of desolation.† After the defeat of Rondeau, the dissensions among the different parties and factions in the United Provinces, prevented their prosecuting the war with success on the frontier of Peru; and the government of Buenos Ayres never regained possession of the upper provinces. A partisan or guerrilla warfare, however, was maintained, and often with success, by Padilla, Warnes, Rivera, Calla, and numerous other leaders, which contributed to occupy the attention and the forces of Pezuela, who was now appointed viceroy of Peru, and to weaken the royal authority.

The Spaniards, however, maintained their dominion in the territories of the Bolivarian republic until 1825; it was the last strong hold of their power in America, from whence they annoyed the neighbouring independent territories. The glory of the illustrious individual whose name it bears, would not have been complete, had he not added to his former renown, that of the emancipation of Peru, thus becoming the liberator, the founder, and the father of three independent republics. After the great victory of Ayacucho, general Sucre was directed to pro-

* This noble Indian took part with the king in the revolution of Tupac Amaru, which so recommended him to royal favour that he was appointed a brigadier general in the Spanish army, and had conferred on him the seigniorship of his town.

† Pazos' Letters.

ceed with the victorious liberating army into Upper Peru. There was an armed force in the Upper Province of 5 or 6000 men, commanded by general Olaneta, and stationed in all the principal towns. As the heroic Sucre advanced into the country, he was not only received with universal joy by the inhabitants, but the royal corps at Cochabamba, Chiquisaca, Santa Cruz, and Chica spontaneously abandoned an unjust and sinking cause, and declared for the independence of the country. Sucre advanced to Potosi in April, 1825, where Olaneta made what resistance he could; but was himself slain, and all the royal troops in Upper Peru surrendered to the hero of Ayacucho. The number of men in the Upper Provinces which capitulated was 5490, which together with those destroyed, and taken on the field of battle, and in the garrisons of Lower Peru, made a total of 18,598, as the trophies of the great victory of Ayacucho, which holds that rank in the revolution of South America, that the victory at Yorktown does in the revolution in North America. About the time of the arrival of Sucre at Potosi, the intendancy of Chiquitos was invaded and taken possession of by the Brazilian troops from the interior province of Mattogrosso; the Brazilian commander informed Sucre that he had taken possession of the province in pursuance of a capitulation concluded between the chief of Mattogrosso, and the governor of Chiquitos. Sucre in reply to this communication on the 11th of May, says, that Ramas the governor of Chiquitos, had no power for a negotiation with the authorities of Brazil, that his delivering up the province of Chiquitos was an act of treason, and the occupation of it by the Brazilian general, an unprovoked aggression, and that he had ordered the commandant of Santa Cruz to march against him, unless he immediately evacuated the territories of Peru. It is supposed that this decisive conduct caused the Brazilians to withdraw from Chiquitos.

The territories of Upper Peru, so long the theatre of the most fearful and terrific struggles of the revolution, being at length entirely free from every foreign power, measures were adopted to convene a general congress of delegates from the intendancies, to decide on their political destiny, whether they would unite with Lower Peru, the United Provinces, or form a separate and independent nation. The congress was convened at Chiquisaca, and after long deliberation, on the 6th of August, 1825, published a solemn declaration of the independence of Upper Peru. They say that at length "the happy day has arrived when Upper Peru has become liberated from unjust power, from the tyrannic and wretched Ferdinand VII., and that this fertile region has escaped the debasing relation of a colony of Spain; that it is important

to its welfare not to incorporate itself with any of the co-terminous republics, but to erect itself into a sovereign and independent state, in relation to the new as well as to the old world; that the provinces of Upper Peru, firm and unanimous in their resolution, proclaim to the whole earth, that they will govern themselves, under their own constitution, laws, and authorities, in that way which they may think most conducive to the prosperity of the nation, the inviolable support of the Catholic religion, and the maintenance of the sacred rights of honour, life, liberty, equality, property, and security. To carry into effect this determination, they bind themselves through this sovereign representation, by their lives, property, and sacred honour." This declaration was signed by Jose Mariano Serrano, the president, and 57 members of the congress. It was the direction of Bolivar that the representatives of the people should be left entirely free in their deliberations and decision on this important question; but it is supposed that he was in favour of these provinces uniting with Lower Peru. The congress decreed that the new state should be called "THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVAR," in honour of the liberator of Colombia and Peru, whom it acknowledges as the father of the nation; that he should exercise the supreme power whilst he remained in the limits of the republic; that the 6th of August and the 9th of December, the days on which the battles of Junin and Ayacucho were fought, should be annually kept as national festivals; that in the capitals of each of the departments an equestrian statue of the liberator should be placed on a column; and his portrait in all the tribunals, cabildoes, universities, and schools; on the left of which, in the same situations, to be placed the portrait of Sucre, whom the congress calls grand marshal of Ayacucho; a pedestrian statue of the grand marshal is also decreed to be placed in the capitals of each department, and he is to be further honoured by the capital of the republic and its department, being called *Sucre*. The grand marshal is declared captain-general of the republic, and invested with the command of all the departments. Every soldier in the battles of Junin and Ayacucho was declared a citizen of the republic, and one million of dollars directed to be distributed among them by Bolivar.*

No constitution has been adopted, or permanent government established, and the republic must at present be considered as under the authority of general Sucre as dictator, who, however, acknowledges the superiority of Bolivar, so that the liberator may be considered as exercising supreme power in both Upper and Lower Peru.

* Decree of the 14th of August, 1825.

In December, 1825, the liberator proceeded from Lima to Chiquisaca, the capital of the new republic, to arrange its affairs. In January, when about to return to Lima, he issued a proclamation informing the people that they shall be acknowledged as an independent nation, and shall receive as liberal a constitution as is to be found on earth. He proposes to call the republic *Bolivia* instead of Bolivar, the date of which he says will be the 25th of May, 1826, when it is supposed that a congress will be instituted to frame a constitution.

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HISTORY
AND PRESENT STATE
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES.

CHAPTER XI.

Extent and boundaries—description of the country—the pampas, rivers, bays, and harbours—productions and commerce—civil divisions—population and principal towns—government, army, navy, and finances—character of the people—amusements—the herdsmen of the plains.

THE republic of the United Provinces of South America or Rio de la Plata, extends from the northern boundary of Paraguay in about lat. 23° south, to St. George's bay, in lat. 45° south, comprehending 22° of lat., or 1529 miles from north to south. On its northern boundary from the Brazilian territory to the Andes, it is nearly 900 miles; but on its southern boundary it is not more than 300 across the continent from St. George's bay to the gulf of Guaytecas, and less than 200 miles to the Andes. These limits do not include Upper Peru, which was attached to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres in 1778. The present boundaries of the republic are north on Bolivar and Brazil, west on the Andes or Chili, and according to Pazos, partly on the gulf of Guaytecas; south on Patagonia, east on Brazil and the Atlantic ocean.

The territory included within the above mentioned limits is mostly comprised within the great valley of the La Plata and its branches, one of the most extraordinary vallies on the earth, both with respect to its magnitude and its peculiar soil and surface. The region which is watered by the vast river La Plata and its branches, rises towards the west into lofty mountains, whose

bases extend into immense plains which terminate on the La Plata and the Atlantic ocean. The eastern boundaries of this valley are mountainous ridges, not far from the coast of Brazil, whence the eastern branches of the La Plata have their sources. Perhaps no country in the world presents so level a surface as the republic of the United Provinces of South America, with the exception of the elevated tracts at the head branches of the rivers near the extreme boundaries of the great valley. The country west and south of the La Plata is one wide extended plain, embracing all the varieties from the richest alluvial to the high, broken, sterile plain; most of this vast level tract is destitute of timber, except near the borders of the rivers. The lower section of this interminable plain, extending from the northern part of the province of Cordova south, on the borders of the river La Plata and the Atlantic, far into Patagonia, and from the river and the coast into the interior to the highlands, at the foot of the Andes, is usually called the *Pampas*, and extends nearly 1500 miles from north to south, with a breadth of nearly five hundred miles in many places. Over all this immense space, there is scarcely a tree or shrub, or a single perennial plant to be seen. There are neither hills nor eminences, and the undulations are so gentle, as only to be perceived by taking a long view over its surface. The keen winds, called *Pamperos*, sweep over this unsheltered plain without the least obstruction. The surface of the earth appears to be a soft, black, rich soil, without stone, gravel, or sand. On the banks of some of the rivers, and in some other places, reddish clay appears on the surface.

Many of the rivers intersecting the Pampas are blackish, and salt lakes abound. Near the La Plata and other considerable rivers a few trees and some shrubbery are to be found, but most of the lesser ones creep through the plains, resembling crooked ditches of stagnant water, more than living streams; their courses not being marked by vallies, trees, or shrubbery. The whole of the pampas is rich pasture, and exceedingly productive in grass; a species of thistle also abounds, which grows from two to seven feet high. The only tree that seems to flourish is the Embudo, or perennial Poke, the trunk of which is a mere watery pulp, and is useless for fuel. The peach tree thrives when cultivated, as does also the olive and fig tree; the soil also produces good wheat, barley, and Indian corn, but the crops sometimes fail.

The pampas is chiefly useful for pasturage; on its immense surface are fed innumerable herds of horned cattle, horses, mules, and sheep; deer, ostriches, and wild dogs also abound. Thousands of these animals may often be seen at one view.

The more elevated plains to the north and west of the pampas are likewise generally destitute of timber, except on their water

courses, but have a soil more dry and sandy. The rivers here are more numerous, and the country is copiously supplied with pure water. This region is also well adapted to pasturage, particularly to the rearing of horses, mules, and sheep; and many districts are suitable for cultivation, and produce grain and fruit, of which they yield great abundance. The country east of the La Plata has generally a waving or an undulated surface, every where abundantly irrigated with never-failing springs and streams of the purest water. This tract is generally found clothed with stately forests, with the exception of some of the lower districts on the La Plata, and has a rich and fertile soil, producing in great abundance all the varied productions of temperate and tropical regions.

Waters.—The river La Plata embodies most of the interior waters of the United Provinces. The principal head water of the river La Plata is the Paraguay, which rises in Brazil in lat. 13° south, and after a southerly course of 1250 miles, receiving numerous branches and passing through the great lake or morass of the Xaraes, it assumes the name of La Plata at its junction with the river Parana, about 750 miles from the mouth of the La Plata. The waters of the La Plata and Paraguay are navigable for vessels to Assumption, 977 miles from the sea; and the latter river is said to afford a boat navigation 1500 miles farther into the interior. The two great eastern branches of the La Plata and Paraguay are the Parana and Uruguay; the first unites with the Paraguay after a course of 900 miles, 500 of which are navigable; the Uruguay has its source in Brazil, and after a southerly course of 900 miles, discharges its waters into the La Plata above the city of Buenos Ayres, having in its course received the Negro. The principal western branches of the La Plata and Paraguay are the Pilcomayo, which rises in Peru, and after a course of 1000 miles, discharges its waters into the Paraguay below Assumption by two mouths, fifty miles apart, affording navigation into the heart of the high provinces; the Rio Grande which unites with the Paraguay 50 miles above the mouth of the Parana after a course of 800 miles, nearly the whole of which admits of navigation; and the river Salado, which after a southerly course of 800 miles, empties into the La Plata at Santa Fe. Besides these there are two rivers of the name of Salladillo, and innumerable small streams which empty into the La Plata from the west. The Colorado, the Camaronies, and the waters emptying into St. Matthias' bay, are the principal which discharge into the Atlantic below the La Plata. The bays of St. Matthias and St. George afford the only considerable harbours except those on the great bay of the La Plata.

Productions and Commerce.—Enjoying every variety of climate

of the temperate and tropical regions, and blest with extensive tracts of fertile soil, the republic of the United Provinces possesses ample agricultural resources; but its immense herds of cattle, horses, and sheep that graze on its extensive plains, constitute its principal source of wealth, and of commerce. These have been estimated at 1,200,000 cattle, and 3,000,000 of horses, which roam in vast herds over the interminable savannas of the Pampas. The principle articles for exportation are included in the following list:—hides, tallow, jerked beef, wool of various qualities, not only from the common sheep, but of the Gunaco and Vicuna; skins of lions, tigers, and wild dogs, horns, hair, and the *matte* or *yerba* of Paraguay. Its exports have amounted to 6,000,000 dollars, one half of which consisted of hides; and the imports to eight millions; the balance has been made up from specie received from the high provinces and Chili from the trade with them. The imports consist principally of European and India goods; about one half of the whole amount are English manufactures; the articles received from the United States are cordage, pitch, tar, fish, furniture, rice, butter, spermaceti candles, ale, gin, plank, and timber. The interior trade with Peru and Chili is extensive, and consists principally of a sale of foreign goods, *matte*, and mules, for the precious metals, and some productions of the high provinces. Mules are purchased in the territories of the pampas and plains at two years of age, and drove to Cordova, where they are wintered, and then taken to Salta, where they spend the second winter, by which time they have attained their growth, when they are driven in droves of two thousand to Lima for market. From fifty to seventy thousand mules were driven from Salta to Lima annually, before the revolution; but since that time the trade has been interrupted. All transportation is performed by mules in the high provinces, but ox teams are used in the pampas country. Six pair of oxen are attached to a cart, very large and coarse, made without iron, and covered with thatch or hides, as a protection to the driver. These teams pass over the immense plains in caravans of thirty or forty; they stop at night in the midst of the waste, and turn the oxen loose to graze, which is their sole support. These carts carry about four thousand weight, and perform the route from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, which is 900 miles, or to Tucuman, which is the same distance, in about thirty days, the fare being from 100 to 140 dollars per load. The mules carry 400 pounds on their backs, and are employed in the high provinces in droves of fifty or one hundred; they are relieved from their burden and turned loose at night to feed on the grass. This, however, often affords only a scanty subsistence. On the mountains grass is sometimes not to be found, and the mules can only browse.

Civil divisions, population, and principal towns.—The territory within the present limits of the republic, during its colonial state, was divided into the intendancies or provinces of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Cordova, and Salta; its present provincial divisions are involved in some obscurity, but for some purposes of government the republic may be considered as comprising fifteen provinces: Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Corrientes, Entre Rios, Banda Oriental, Cordova, Mendoza or Cuyo, Tucuman, Salta, San Luis, San Juan, Rioja, Catamarca, Santiago, and Jujuy.*

Buenos Ayres, the first in importance, is situated in the south-eastern section of the republic, and is estimated to comprise an area of 50,000 square miles, composed entirely of the pampas territory, adapted to pasturage; but produces some fruit and grain when cultivated. The population of this province is estimated at 120,000, and including Indians at 250,000. The city of Buenos Ayres, the capital of the republic, its principal commercial town, and the seat of government for the province, is situated in lat. 34° 37' south, on the south-west bank of the river La Plata, about 200 miles from its mouth. The river is here thirty miles across, and is merely an open road; the opposite bank is low and rarely visible. The creek Reachucio falls into the La Plata on the east border of the town. The city extends along the bank nearly three miles; the streets intersect each other at right angles, dividing the town into solid squares of 150 yards each. The houses are generally two stories high, and built with terrace roofs. It is defended by a fort, and its public buildings consist of a cathedral, several convents, nunneries, churches, and a town house, and the building formerly appropriated to the royal monopolies. The number of dwelling houses is estimated at 6000, which are mostly built of brick, and generally have gardens attached to them. Among the public institutions, are an university, an academy, and a library containing nearly 20,000 volumes. There are a number of public schools, and the means of education have been greatly extended since the revolution. The city is accommodated with several bookstores, and newspaper establishments devoted to the republican principles of the government, and the independence of the country. The population of Buenos Ayres is estimated at from 62 to 70,000; about one half are whites, and the other people of colour, of various mixtures.

The climate is healthful and temperate, but subject to the namperos, or south-west winds, during the prevalence of which,

- Entre Rios and Corrientes are sometimes regarded as constituting one province only, and Santa Fe included in Entre Rios is often called a province; Jujuy is not always considered as a distinct province, but is included in Salta. Paraguay has never joined the union, and is an independent state, and Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Banda Oriental, were also for a long time independent, and not members of the confederacy.

the atmosphere is remarkably dry. In the vicinity of Buenos Ayres are some very productive farms, upon which wheat and corn are abundantly raised with little attention. Peach orchards also abound, and are cultivated to supply the town with fuel. Buenos Ayres is 1215 miles from Potosi, and 2865 miles from Lima, in a south-easterly direction. The other principal towns and villages in the province, are Ensenada, St. Isidro, Las Conchas, on the river La Plata, and Luxan, on the plains.

Paraguay, the next most important province, is bounded by the river Paraguay on the west, the Parana on the east and south, and by Brazil north, comprising about 43,000 square miles. Its population is estimated at 110,000, or 300,000, including Indians, who are numerous in this region. This province is considered as the fairest portion of the La Platan territory; its climate is delightful; the face of the country is not mountainous, nor any where flat; it is well supplied with a great variety of streams of pure water; its soil is every where found to be exceedingly fertile and productive, and was originally covered with rich and variegated forests of stately timber. Grain, cotton, sugar, and excellent fruit, oranges, figs, the olive and the grape, are produced abundantly, as well as the singular vegetable called *matte*, or the *yerba Paraguay*, so extensively used in South America as a tea or beverage.*

The capital of this province is the ancient city of Assumption, founded in 1538, situated in latitude 25° 16' south, on the east bank of the river Paraguay, 977 miles from the ocean, at the head of ship navigation. The population of this city is not ascertained. Paraguay maintains an independent government, under a chief, called a dictator.

The provinces of *Corrientes*, *Entre Rios*, and *Banda Oriental*, lie east of the river La Plata, below Paraguay; a narrow strip of territory belonging to *Entre Rios*, lies on the west side of the river, stretching entirely across the country to the Patagonian pampas. *Corrientes* and *Entre Rios* comprise 104,500 square miles; the former has a population, without including Indians, of 40,000, and the latter of 45,000. This territory is very fertile, abounding in timber, and besides the richest pasture affords grain, tropical fruits, wine, and *matte*. The city of Santa Fe situated in latitude 31° 40' south, on the right or west bank of the La Plata, at the confluence of the Salado, 300 miles above

* This is a perennial shrub or tree, which grows to the size of an apple-tree. In the spring when the leaves are about half grown, the young succulent shoots are cut and dried, and afterwards cured and put into sacks of raw hide containing 100 pounds each. This herb is used like the teas of China, and its consumption is as universal among all classes, as tea is in the United States.

Buenos Ayres, is the capital of Entre Rios. Its population exceeds 6000. The city of Corrientes, on the east side of the La Plata, 20 miles below the mouth of the Parana, with a population of about 6000, is the capital of the province of Corrientes. Monte Video is the principal town in the Banda Oriental, situated in latitude $34^{\circ} 50'$ south, on the east bank of the La Plata. The harbour, which as well as the city, derives its name from a high mountain in the vicinity, has sufficient depth of water for the first rate ships. Its population, much reduced by the war, is estimated at 10,000. The town is strongly fortified but was taken by the Portuguese and Brazilians in 1817, who have ever since retained possession of it. The town of Maldonado, on the La Plata near the sea coast, contains about 10,000 inhabitants; Colonia, is a port on the La Plata nearly opposite to Buenos Ayres, and Purification is a town of about 4000 inhabitants, and was the seat of government whilst the province was under Artigas. The territory of the Banda Oriental is extremely fertile, its climate salubrious, and its waters abundant and pure. The northern sections are clothed with forests, and its southern part is a vast prairie, affording the most luxuriant pasture, and supporting throughout the year immense herds of cattle, mules, and horses. This province contains about 86,000 square miles, and a population not including Indians, of about 45,000. The extensive province of *Cordova* lies west of the Salado, and the territory of Entre Rios, extending south to the Atlantic and Patagonian region, and west to the provinces of San Luis, and San Juan, and is composed principally of plains and pampas devoted to pasturage. It contains about 90,000 inhabitants; the city of Cordova, its capital, contains 10,000 inhabitants, situated on the river Primeo, and is the seat of an university. West of Cordova is the extensive territory composing the province of *Mendoza*, or Cuyo, which extends south to the pampas of Patagonia, and west to the Cordillera, which separates the republic from Chili. This territory consists of plains, mountains, and vallies among the eastern ridges of the Andes. Its population is estimated at 38,000, about 20,000 of which are in its capital, the city of Mendoza, pleasantly situated at the foot of the eastern Andes. It was here San Martin disciplined his army for the liberation of Chili.

North of Cordova is the province of *Tucuman*, extending west to the eastern Andes, and containing 40,000 inhabitants. Its seat of government of the same name is situated on the river St. Miguel de Tucuman, just above its junction with the Rio Dulce, in lat. $27^{\circ} 25'$ south. This town is 900 miles from Buenos Ayres; it was honoured with the congress at the time independence was declared. North of Tucuman is the province of *Salta*, stretching north to the Rio Grande, and west to the moun-

tains, and embracing many beautiful and fertile vallies amongst the ridges of the Andes. Its population is 40,000; and its chief town, Salta, contains 9000 inhabitants, and carries on considerable trade with Peru, Bolivar, and Chili. This province was long the seat of war, and being occupied alternately by the contending parties, suffered severely in the long struggle for independence. Lying west of Cordova, are the provinces of *San Luis*, or *Punta San Luis*, and *San Juan*, carved out of the original province of Cuyo, or Mendoza, containing each about 27,000 inhabitants; the former extends south to the boundary of the republic on Patagonia, and the latter stretches along at the foot of the eastern Andes; the capital town of each is of the name of the province. North of the two last is the province of *Rioja*, lying in a valley of the same name, and containing 25,000 inhabitants; to the east is the valley of Catamarca, which, with that of Conando, form the province of *Catamarca*, which has a population of 30,000. To the east of this is the province of *Santiago*, lying north of Cordova; its capital, the city of Santiago del Estero, contains 10 or 15,000 inhabitants, and the province 60,000. Stretching north of Salta is the province of *Jujuy*, bounded north on the Bolivarian republic, with a population of 25,000; this is a mountainous country, and its chief town of the same name contains about 3000 inhabitants.

The population of the states, belonging to the present confederacy, according to the latest estimates, amounts to nearly 700,000, exclusive of civilized Indians, which may probably swell the aggregate to 1,200,000, in the whole United Provinces. The various races which compose the population are the same as in other parts of what was Spanish America. The Spaniards have greatly diminished since the revolution, whilst other natives of Europe have increased. The Creoles, or descendants of Europeans, as in all the rest of America, comprise the most efficient, the most patriotic, and intelligent class of the population. The people of colour, comprehending the Indians, Africans, and the various mixed races, constitute the labouring class, as in other parts of Spanish America, and make, when disciplined, good soldiers.

Government, army, navy, and finances.—A governing junta was established at Buenos Ayres on the 25th of May, 1810, from whence the country dates the commencement of the revolution and its political regeneration. In March, 1811, a congress, composed of deputies from the different provinces, was convened, and a new junta appointed. After this, various changes and revolutions took place in the government, some of which occasioned civil wars. A triumvirate, or executive of three persons was established, and this was followed by a single executive,

called a director. But the government continued unstable and shaken by factions; the dissensions of parties, and the ambitious designs of individuals, until March, 1816, when the election of Juan Martin Pueyredon, supreme director, quieted the factions, and gave stability to the government for a considerable period. This was followed by a declaration of independence by the general congress on the 9th of July, 1816. Since that period, until recently, no attempt has been made to organize a general government: one is now in successful operation, and adopted by most of the provinces. Measures have lately been taken to organize and maintain an efficient army for the purpose of defence; by a decree adopted in 1825, organizing and apportioning the military force among the provinces, it is to consist of 7600 men; very little attention has yet been paid to the formation of a navy. The actual revenue of the provinces, belonging to the republic, in 1817, was 3,037,187 dollars; the national debt, at the same time, amounted to 1,438,054 dollars, and the property belonging to the government, was valued at 19,055,597 dollars, exclusive of the public lands. The principal source of revenue is that derived from duties on imports and exports.

Character of the population, &c.—The same classes are found here as in the other states; but there is one portion of the population, which is, in some measure, peculiar; we allude to the herdsmen of the plains and pampas. Neither the Spanish or the French have been as successful in colonizing as the English, and one principal reason has been, the disposition of the two former to crowd themselves together in towns. In the United States the population is spread over the whole country, and was, at an early period, as far as the settlements extended; but in South America, almost the whole Spanish population are grouped together in towns. Even the great landholders reside almost entirely in the cities which owe their growth to mines, commerce, and to being seats of government. Among other consequences of this state of things, is the wide dissimilarity between the inhabitants of the cities and those out of them. Where landholders reside on their estates, and men of wealth and intelligence live in the country, they have a powerful influence in enlightening and improving all classes of the people. That a population living in solitude, scattered over an immense waste, without the means of education, and without enjoying any social intercourse, should be sunk low in ignorance, cannot be surprising. The intelligence which is found in the cities of the interior, and much more so that in cities which are maritime, is owing to their intercourse with foreigners. Buenos Ayres, for various reasons, ranks first in intelligence, as well as in wealth and population. The advantages of the other cities have not been so great as

those of the capital ; yet their inhabitants are but little behind those of Buenos Ayres in intelligence and general information. The revolution has excited a spirit of inquiry, and to a considerable extent provided the means of indulging it ; newspapers, schools, and colleges, have been established. The means of improvement have not been confined to the higher classes, but have produced important effects among every description of the population, not excepting the Indians. The inhabitants of Paraguay are a peculiar race, differing from those of the other provinces, being a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood ; they are an industrious, peaceful, taciturn, superstitious, and obedient people ; much attached to their country, desiring never to see any other, or to have any intercourse with foreigners. Their character was formed by the Jesuits, and has ever since been maintained.

But the herdsmen who form a considerable proportion of the population of the country, are the most peculiar class. They are scattered over the immense pampas and plains, each one having the charge of an *estancia*, or grazing farm, of many miles in extent ; their houses, or cabins, consist of mud walls, with a thatched roof, without furniture, and as simple and rude within as without ; they are generally erected near an *embudo*, which is the herdsmen's favourite shade. Here, in the midst of an immense waste, and unbroken solitude, he spends his days, shut out from the world, and from the "cheerful ways of man," scarcely less the child of nature than his Indian ancestors. Horse riding is both the herdsmen's employment and amusement, and being in the practise of it from their infancy, they are the most dexterous horsemen in the world. They wear a cloak, called a *poncho*, the same that is worn by the Indians ; it is larger than a Dutch blanket, and has no more the form of a garment, being only a square piece of cloth, with a slit for the head, hanging down all around the body. It serves not only for a cloak, but for a saddle covering, and a bag, during the day, and for a bed at night. The herdsman is armed at all times with a large butcher knife secured about his waist, and the *lazo*, which is a thong or cord of hide, about thirty yards in length, with an iron ring at one end, by means of which a noose is formed in an instant, and the other end is fastened to the *chinco*, or girth of the saddle. The *lazo* is used with a dexterity truly astonishing ; it is thrown with unerring aim on horseback at full speed, at the swiftest animal. If it takes effect, and it seldom fails, the horse, being practised in the business, either stands still, or moves off, as directed by the rider. The *lazo* is suspended to the hinder part of the saddle, and always ready for use, as occasion may require. The habits and character of the herdsmen fit them for soldiers, particularly for cavalry ; and during the long wars in which the

country has been engaged, particularly the Banda Oriental, they have become as expert in the use of a gun on horseback, as of the lazo; hardy, brave, accustomed to fatigue and privations, they form the most formidable guerrilla soldiery that ever existed. Such are the men who formed the forces of Artigas, which made such astonishing efforts, and exhibited such bravery and perseverance. They are commonly called Gauchos, and are usually one half or one fourth Indian blood.

The means of education in this, as well as in other parts of South America, have been greatly extended since the revolution. The schools have been multiplied; new institutions of learning established; and all kinds of books permitted to circulate freely. The newspaper establishments have increased, and a spirit of inquiry become prevalent among all classes of the people, by the successful exertions of the brave and intelligent citizens, by whose patriotic labours a new republic has been brought into life. Go on, illustrious people! do what has been accomplished in another part of the same hemisphere; "establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, and perpetuate the blessings of liberty to yourselves and your posterity." Go on, and be the pride of your friends, and a terror to your enemies.

The Roman Catholic religion is the established religion of the United Provinces; but the advocates of universal toleration are increasing, and the rigours of the ancient laws are considerably relaxed. The executive has recently presented to the congress the project of a law, providing for the general toleration of all religions.*

* We are indebted for many of the details concerning the United Provinces to Judge Bland's Report.

HISTORY
OF THE REVOLUTION
IN THE
UNITED PROVINCES.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of a French brig at Buenos Ayres with despatches—proceedings of Liniers, the viceroy—junta formed at Monte Video—R. H. de Cisneros appointed viceroy—proceedings of the revolutionists—junta established at Buenos Ayres—Liniers defeated and taken prisoner—junta sends a deputy to Chili—an army marches against the royalists in Upper Peru—its successes—war in the Banda Oriental—dissensions among the patriots—change in the government—Monte Video besieged—army in Peru defeated—royalists defeated at Salta—new political regulations—supreme director appointed—Monte Video capitulates—quarrel with Artigas—political revolution—naval events—war with Artigas—J. M. Pueyredon—Portuguese invade Monte Video—war in Peru—Portuguese take Monte Video—events of the war in Peru.

THE forcible seizure of Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte, and his attempt to establish his authority over the American colonies, gave the first impulse to the revolution in Spanish America. In July, 1808, a French brig, with an envoy from Napoleon, arrived at Buenos Ayres with despatches to Liniers, the viceroy, informing him of the cessions of Bayonne, and the events which had taken place in the peninsula.

The viceroy called together the cabildo, and the members of the court of audience for consultation; and it was decided, that the extraordinary occurrences in Spain required that the people should be officially made acquainted with them. Accordingly,

Liniers issued a proclamation, and being himself inclined to support the pretensions of Bonaparte, and knowing that the people were strongly opposed to the transfer of the country to France, he only mentioned in an obscure manner this important event; but reminded the people of the indifference they had shown in the war for the succession to the crown of Spain, and concluded by assuring them of the high opinion Napoleon entertained for them, on account of their recent triumphs over the British. He exhorted the inhabitants in the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, to remain quiet, and preserve the public tranquillity. A personal enmity subsisting between Liniers and Don F. X. Elio, the governor of Monte Video, the latter accused the viceroy of disloyalty, and forming a junta in imitation of those in Spain, he, by these means, separated the country under his command from its allegiance to the viceroy. About this time, Don J. Goyeneche, one of the agents sent to America by the junta of Seville, arrived at Monte Video with despatches from the junta; he approved of the conduct of Elio in forming a junta, and declared that "his mission had no other object than to promote the establishment of juntas, to secure the tranquillity of the country." Notwithstanding this language and conduct, which probably were occasioned by his knowing that Liniers favoured the pretensions of Bonaparte, Goyeneche, at Lima, not only opposed the establishment of juntas, but conquered the troops which supported the junta of La Paz.

Whilst the body of the people considered the events in the peninsula as important only, by exposing the colonies as well as Spain, to fall under the dominion of the French emperor, a few individuals, distinguished for their intelligence and patriotism, regarded them as the dawn of a new era. They perceived that the connexion between the two countries was *de facto*, at an end, and that the time had at last arrived, to break the chains which had so long enslaved their country. Castelli, a lawyer of distinguished reputation, was the leader of the patriots in Buenos Ayres, and their secret meetings were held at his country-house, where they eluded the vigilance of the spies of the government. His associates were Belgrano, Chiclana, Pena, Beruti, Donado, Thompson, and others. The central junta of Spain injudiciously displaced Liniers, who was respected for his services in defending the country against the British a few years before, and sent Don B. H. Cisneros from Spain to succeed him. The revolution which broke out in La Paz in 1809, alarmed the new viceroy, and led him to establish the most severe political inquisition. But neither the activity and vigilance of the government, nor the melancholy termination of the revolution in La Paz, deterred the patriots of Buenos Ayres from their bold and patriotic designs.

They succeeded in attaching to the popular cause three regiments of troops, comprising the greater part of what were in the capital. These regiments were commanded by colonels Saavedra, Ocampo, and Rodriguez. The revolutionists also gained over to their interests the most intelligent creoles, and in some measure prepared the public mind for the great political change which they meditated. Things were in this state when, in May, 1810, the news was received of the dispersion of the central junta of Spain, and the advance of the French armies through the pass of Sierra Morena, which removed every doubt of the speedy subjugation of the peninsula. Cisneros, the viceroy, issued a proclamation informing the people of the disastrous and alarming events which had occurred in Spain, and at the same time intimated a doubt, or the uncertainty he felt as to his own authority. This enabled the revolutionists to prevail on the Cabildo or municipality, consisting of five creoles and one Spaniard, to present a petition to the viceroy, praying him to assemble a meeting of the citizens to decide on the course proper to be pursued at such a conjuncture. The meeting, which the viceroy could not prevent, was held on the 22d of May: the debate was long and animated; the bold and popular eloquence of Castelli confounded the royalists, and convinced them that the patriots had not only the advantage of a just cause, but of superior talents. During the debate, a body of armed citizens assembled in the public square to protect the friends of the people, should any violence or danger menace them. The meeting deposed the viceroy, and declared that the only lawful authority existed in the cabildo, who immediately proceeded to appoint a junta, naming the viceroy, however, as president. The people were dissatisfied on account of the viceroy being a member of the junta, and a tumult ensued, which was followed by a memorial addressed to the cabildo, praying for his removal. This occasioned the establishment of a new junta of nine persons, to exercise the powers of government in the name of the captive king; who were, Saavedra, Azcuenaga, Alberti, Matheu, Larrea, Castelli, Belgrano, Paso, and Moreno. This junta was created on the 25th of May, and immediately commenced its session. This measure of the inhabitants, deposing the viceroy, was not without a precedent, it having been done in 1807, when an attack was threatened by general Beresford, which met the approbation of the Spanish government.*

Its first act was to depute Don J. J. Passo to acquaint the inhabitants of Monte Video with the events which had occurred at Buenos Ayres. This intelligence occasioned the calling of an assembly of the inhabitants of that city, who approved of the proceedings at Buenos Ayres, and agreed to support the new govern-

* Pazos' Letters, p. 34—39.

ment. The Spaniards, however, at Monte Video, were violently opposed to the revolution at Buenos Ayres, and causing the troops to be landed from on board the Spanish vessels in the harbour, the royal party became strengthened, and bold in their opposition. The Spanish chiefs of Paraguay, Cordova, Chuquisaca, and Potosi, were roused to oppose the junta, and the late viceroy, Cisneros, and the members of the audience, secretly assisted them, and contrived to overthrow the new government, the former having privately despatched circulars to all the royal governors to incite them to civil war. The ex-viceroy, Liniers, was also among the enemies of the junta; and having raised a force of 2000 men, he laid waste the environs of Cordova to prevent the approach of the popular troops. The part secretly acted by the viceroy and members of the audience being discovered, they were seized and ordered to quit the country, and embark for the Canary Islands. The junta appointed colonel Ocampo to command the army, who attacked Liniers and took him prisoner, his troops having principally deserted him. Liniers, Concha, the late governor of Cordova, Allende, Moreno, and Rodriguez, who had been the most active opposers of the revolution in that quarter, were condemned and executed, to the astonishment of the Spanish chiefs.

An English ship of war having assisted the royalists, and opposed the commerce of Buenos Ayres, the junta remonstrated against the conduct of captain Elliott, its commander, to lord Strangford, the British ambassador at Rio Janeiro, who ordered him not to interfere in the dispute between the royalists and the popular government.

Sensible of the importance of extending the revolution to Chili, the junta despatched Don A. A. Jonte, who was well known to the inhabitants in that country, to Santiago, to hasten the forming of a junta there, which measure had the desired effect. The royal chief was deposed, a junta established, and Jonte was continued there in the capacity of charge de affairs from the government of Buenos Ayres; and obtained from the junta of Chili, 300 troops for the assistance of his government, at a critical conjuncture.

The army under Ocampo having been considerably re-enforced, he was ordered to march against the Spaniards who had collected in Upper Peru, under colonel Cordova, and the royal chiefs, Sanz and Nieto. They were attacked by general Balcarce, who had brought re-enforcements to the army of the junta, and assumed the command; after a hard fought action, the royalists were completely defeated, although occupying a strongly fortified position at Suypacha. Cordova, Sanz, governor of Potosi, and Nieto, president of the audience of Charcas, were taken prisoners and shot. This victory was followed by another at Tupiza.

These successes led to the occupation of Upper Peru, as far as the river Desaguadero, which is the boundary between the territories of Peru and Buenos Ayres. The army was accompanied by Castelli, a member of the junta of Buenos Ayres, as its representative, and also as general governor of Upper Peru. With this victorious army it was intended to invade that part of Peru where the viceroy Abascal maintained the Spanish authority; but Castelli having received proposals from the municipality of Lima for the suspension of hostilities, as a preliminary step to peace, the invasion was suspended. The municipality sent at the same time the eleven propositions which had been submitted to the Cortes of Spain by the members of that body, representing the American colonies, and believing that they had been acceded to by the Cortes, they offered them as the basis of an accommodation, or treaty of peace. These propositions were sent by Castelli to the junta, who then entered into an armistice with Goyeneche, commanding the royal troops. The danger on the side of Peru was now considered at an end; but a storm was gathering in another quarter. Velasco, governor of Paraguay, had raised an army to attack the new government of Buenos Ayres, which ordered 800 men, under Don M. Belgrano, against Velasco. Don N. Yedros commanded the royalist army of Paraguay. An engagement took place on the banks of the Tacuari; the army of Buenos Ayres was defeated, which led Belgrano to propose a conference with Yedros, the result of which was, that the patriot army was allowed to retreat without molestation. Velasco was afterwards deposed by the people, and a junta established for Paraguay, which formed an alliance with Buenos Ayres; but refused to join the confederacy.

The regency of Spain had appointed Elio captain-general of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and in that capacity he governed the province of Monte Video, or the Banda Oriental; and was now the most dangerous and powerful enemy with which the popular government of Buenos Ayres had to contend. Don J. Artigas, a native of Monte Video, and a captain in the royal service, having, in consequence of a personal difficulty, determined to abandon the royal cause, applied to the junta of Buenos Ayres early in 1811, for assistance, in arms and ammunition, to enable him to excite a revolt in the Banda Oriental. The junta, anxious to destroy the royal authority in the provinces east of the river La Plata, not only furnished the supplies requested, but ordered the army which had withdrawn from Paraguay, to proceed to the Banda Oriental, to co-operate with Artigas, who had collected a body of guerrillas. Rondeau was appointed to the command of the troops of Buenos Ayres. In the contests with the British in 1807, he was made a prisoner and carried to England,

and from thence he went to Spain, and served some time in the war in the peninsula. After gaining several less important advantages, Rondeau and Artigas obtained a signal victory over the royalists at Las Piedras, in May, 1811; all the royal troops which survived being made prisoners, together with their commander. The victors immediately marched against Monte Video, and having received re-enforcements from Buenos Ayres, they laid siege to the city.

At Buenos Ayres as well as in the other parts of Spanish America, the patriots soon became divided among themselves, and the cause of the revolution suffered greatly from their dissensions. There were two parties in the junta, one headed by Don C. Saavedra, the president, and the other by doctor Moreno, the secretary, who accused the president of ambitious views, and Saavedra charged the doctor with being the leader of the mob. The president, with a view to strengthen his party, procured a decree, that the deputies nominated by the provinces to the general congress, should also be entitled to seats in the junta, whereby its members were increased from nine to twenty-two. This plan succeeded, and deprived Moreno of his influence, which induced him to resign his situation. He was afterwards sent to England to solicit the protection of the British government, and died on his passage.* The dissensions among the civil rulers extended to the military, and occasioned two parties in the army, which consisted of three corps, one commanded by colonel Diasvelez, one by Viamont, and one under the immediate command of brigadier Balcarce, commander in chief. The first and last declared for Moreno's party, and Viamont for the president's.

Notwithstanding the armistice which had not yet expired, Goyeneche, taking advantage of these dissensions, in July, 1811, attacked Diasvelez at Guaqui, who, not being supported by the other corps, was easily overcome; and his defeat compelled the other two divisions to retreat, and enabled Goyeneche, who had been appointed to the command of the royal army of Peru by the viceroy of Lima, to take possession of Upper Peru. Pueyredon, president of the audience of Chuquisaca, was chosen by the troops to command them, in preference to their former leader, and he and Viamont retired to the province of Salta. Goyeneche was checked in his career, by the rising of the people of the pro-

* Moreno was a young man of distinguished talents, and a true patriot. Saavedra had procured a decree of the junta, directing the same honours and respect to be shown to their president that had been to the viceroys. His house was called the palace; and had sentinels posted at every avenue; he rode out in a carriage drawn by six horses, and accompanied by an escort of dragoons. Moreno opposed these relics of royalty, and anti-republican ceremonies, and procured them to be abolished. They were however revived by the director Posadas.

vinces of Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and the bands of the guerrillas which overrun the provinces he occupied, and constantly harassed his troops; being greatly exasperated at this annoyance, he determined to shoot every prisoner he should take, and put to death every partisan of the revolution who should fall into his hands. This bloody and savage measure did not produce the expected effect; the guerrillas still kept the field, and prevented Goyeneche from advancing into the low country. The junta appointed Saavedra commander in chief, and ordered him to raise a new army. Having left the capital with officers and muskets for this purpose, his enemies, taking advantage of his absence, accused him of ambition and arbitrary conduct, particularly in having by his influence obtained the decree of the 6th of April, exiling Larrea, Pena, Posadas, and others, who opposed his ambitious designs. Saavedra was deposed by the Cabildo, and a change in the government determined on, the junta being considered too numerous and slow in its decisions to save the country in so alarming a crisis. The municipality of the city called a meeting of the inhabitants in September, which resolved that a new government should be established, consisting of only three members, and two secretaries. M. Sarratea, F. Chiclana, and J. J. Passo, were entrusted with the powers of the government; and B. Rivadavia, and J. Perez, chosen secretaries. Regulations were adopted called a *provisional statute*, providing for the renewal of the members of the executive: a meeting composed of deputies of the municipalities of the provinces, was to be held every six months, when one member of the government vacated his seat, and another was chosen by the deputies to supply his place. The liberty of the press was guaranteed, and a junta was to be established annually, which, together with the municipality, were to have exclusive jurisdiction of all questions relating to the liberty of the press and the public revenue, augmented by confiscating the property of Spaniards to nearly the amount of 1,400,000 dollars.

In the mean time Artigas and Rondeau prosecuted the siege against Monte Video with vigour and success; and the captain-general, Elio, being unable to hold out long without assistance, applied to the Portuguese government in Brazil for succour. Through the influence of the Princess Charlotte, sister to Ferdinand VII. with Souza, the minister, Elio obtained 4000 men, besides money and jewels from the Princess herself. The troops were commanded by general Souza, brother of the minister; but, notwithstanding their arrival at Monte Video, Elio offered terms of peace to the government of Buenos Ayres, and in November, 1811, a treaty was concluded. The Portuguese troops were to return to their own territory, and the army of Buenos Ayres to

raise the siege and evacuate the Banda Oriental as far as the river Uruguay. Accordingly the siege was raised, but the Portuguese troops, instead of being withdrawn according to the treaty, committed acts of hostility in the territory of Rio de la Plata.

The army of Peru was destined to experience further disasters, and was defeated by the royalists under general Tristan, who added the province of Salta to those then in the occupation of the royal troops. The revolutionary cause in Buenos Ayres was now in a dangerous and critical situation; the government having no troops to re-enforce the army of Peru, to enable it to check the royalists, who were advancing victoriously towards the capital, and at the same time threatened by the Portuguese in an opposite quarter. Unappalled by the dangerous aspect of affairs, the government prepared to act with all the energy of which their situation would admit. Sarratea, one of the members of the government, marched at the head of 4000 men to oppose the Portuguese army; and general Belgrano, who commanded in Peru, was ordered to retire to Tucuman. The unexpected advance of the army against the Portuguese occasioned alarm, and the minister Souza, dying about the same time, his successor, count de Las Galveas, proposed terms of peace, and an armistice was concluded in June, 1812, without limitation of time. The Portuguese troops withdrew from the territory of Buenos Ayres, and peace was concluded between the two governments, which mutually guaranteed each other's territories.

But external hostilities were not the only source of danger, nor perhaps the most alarming, with which the government of Buenos Ayres was threatened. A bold and daring conspiracy was formed against it for the purpose of arresting the revolution. All the members of the junta and the partisans of the revolution were to be put to death. Don M. Alzaga, a Spaniard, and a rich merchant of Buenos Ayres, was at the head of the conspiracy, who, with twenty more of the principal leaders, was tried, condemned, and executed. The plot was discovered by means of the Portuguese ambassador, who was solicited to join in the conspiracy, but declined, and gave intimation to the government of their danger. General Belgrano, retreating agreeably to his orders, was pursued to Tucuman by the royal general Tristan, and would have continued to retire, had not the inhabitants of Tucuman armed themselves and compelled him to keep his ground. He was attacked by the royalists under general Tristan, on the 24th of September, who suffered a most signal defeat, losing 1100 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. This victorious field was honoured with the appellation of *campo del honor*. The royalists were compelled to retreat after their defeat, which relieved the government and people from apprehension on the side of Peru.

On the 5th of April, 1812, a congress was convened at the capital, which elected Don J. M. Pueyredon a member of the government; and at a meeting held on the 6th of October, Don M. Medrano was nominated a member. Both of these assemblies claimed to possess the sovereign power of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and undertook to form a constitution; this was evidently exceeding their authority, and was opposed by the governing junta, and both assemblies were dissolved by military force. Two days after the dispersion of the last assembly, a general meeting of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres was held, which confided the government to Don N. Pena, J. J. Passo, and A. A. Jonte.

The captain-general, Elio, having violated the treaty with Buenos Ayres, by hostilities committed by the Portuguese troops, the governing junta determined again to besiege Monte Video; and the foundry which had been established at the capital by Monasterio, who was director of the military school at Madrid in the reign of Charles the IV., supplied the requisite bombarding cannon. Don G. Vigodet succeeded Elio in his command, and having received re-enforcements from Spain, he not only felt confident of defending Monte Video, but entertained hopes of crushing the junta at Buenos Ayres. Rondeau again commanded the troops sent against Monte Video, and on the 31st of December, Vigodet attacked him, but was defeated with loss. Re-enforcements were sent from Buenos Ayres under Sarratea, who assumed the chief command, but a misunderstanding soon arising between him and Artigas, and the officers supporting the latter, Sarratea was obliged to quit the army, and leave the command again to Rondeau. Not discouraged by his defeat, Vigodet, availing himself of his naval superiority, embarked a body of troops and landed them at Parana, on the coast of Buenos Ayres, in February, 1813, for the purpose of procuring provisions, of which the besieged were in great want. The governing junta obtaining information of this expedition, despatched colonel San Martin to oppose the royalists; having come up with the enemy with his cavalry at San Lorenzo, on the river Parana, this gallant officer gave them battle without waiting for his infantry, and obtained for his country a most decisive victory, and for himself, the first fruits of the distinguished fame which he afterwards acquired.

Belgrano having received re-enforcements, attacked the royalists of Salta, on the 20th of February, 1813, and after a hard fought battle of nearly four hours, victory declared for the patriots, and general Tristan and all his troops fell into the hands of the victors. But the advantages of this victory were partially lost by an act of indiscreet generosity on one part, and base perfidy on the other. Belgrano and Tristan had been intimate friends, and the

former confiding in the faith and honour of the latter, permitted him to withdraw with all his troops on taking an oath that neither himself nor any of his soldiers would ever take arms again against Buenos Ayres. But so lightly did he regard his honour or his oath, that he immediately, with all his men, joined the royalists under Goyeneche, who was preparing to take the field. The government disapproved of the generosity of Belgrano, but its consequences could not be prevented. This victory, however, compelled Goyeneche to retreat to Oruro, and restored to the patriots the provinces of Potosi, Charcas, Chayante, and Cochabamba. On the 31st of January, a congress, called the *constituyente*, composed of deputies from the towns and cities of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, met in the capital. The sovereignty of the congress was acknowledged by each inhabitant. The style of the governing junta was changed to that of the supreme executive, and consisted of Pena, Perez, and Jonte. The congress adopted some liberal measures; that every future child of a slave should be free, and that all slaves from any part of the world, who might come into Rio de la Plata, should immediately be emancipated. A plan was also formed for the gradual manumission of the slaves; all proprietors were to sell to government when required, one third part of their slaves, the price of which was to be liquidated as a debt against the state. The government was to manumit the slaves purchased; but they were to be formed into battalions, their officers to be whites, and to be fed, clothed, and paid by the government.*

A new conspiracy was formed at Monte Video, against the popular government, instigated by Spaniards at Buenos Ayres; but it was discovered, and the conspirators arrested, tried, and four of them executed. In August, the term of Jonte as a member of the executive expired, and the congress filled the place by Don G. Posadas. Jonte and Don J. Ugarteche, were appointed commissioners to visit the provinces and make the necessary political reforms and arrangements, conformable to the new order of things, and particularly as it respected the finances.

The armies of the hostile parties in Peru, the royalists under Pezuela, the successor of Goyeneche, and the patriots commanded by Belgrano, met at Vilcapugio on the north of Potosi, where a severe and long contested engagement took place; the advantage was on the side of the royalists; Belgrano retreated to Ayoma on the north of Chuquisaca, but being hotly pursued, another action was fought near the close of November, in which the patriots were completely defeated, after fighting with such determined bravery and perseverance, as extorted a tribute of praise from the royalist general in his official despatch. This victory made the

* Outline of the Revolution in South America.

royalists masters of all Upper Peru, and also Jujuy and Salta. These serious disasters placed the government at Buenos Ayres in a critical situation, and occasioned general alarm. A victorious army without any troops to oppose it, threatened the country on the side of Peru, and the war on the east side of the river required additional forces. These threatening circumstances which demanded the entire resources of the country, instead of calling into requisition those resources, served to impair both the energy of the government, and its means, as the public mind began to waver as to the issue of the contest: and when their country had most need of their services, many were thinking only of their own safety. Under the influence of this appalling aspect of affairs, the governing junta proposed to concentrate the executive power in one magistrate, to give more energy and decision to the government; and on the 31st of December, the congress repealed the decree establishing a triplicate executive, and vested the powers of government in one chief magistrate, called the supreme director. Don G. Posadas was nominated director, and an executive council of seven members was also appointed for his advice and assistance.

At this gloomy period, an individual, whose name afterwards became illustrious, was brought into notice. This individual was San Martin, who was appointed to succeed Belgrano, the latter having been ordered to be tried for his late defeat. San Martin, in the course of a few months, *created* a new army of 3500 men; besides which, he formed the guerrillas into several corps, which cut off the communications between the different divisions of the royalists, and by constantly watching and harassing foraging parties, deprived them of provisions. In consequence of these annoyances by the guerrillas, the Spanish general was obliged to abandon Salta, Jujuy, and a part of Upper Peru, where the war was carried on by Pinelo, Munecas, the Indian Pomakagua, and other partisan warriors. In the mean time, Don Juan Larrea, secretary of finance, contrived and executed a plan for establishing a naval force superior to that of the enemy. Two brigs, three corvettes, and one schooner, were equipped, manned, and ready for sea, with troops on board. Mr. Brown, an English merchant at Buenos Ayres, was appointed to command this little flotilla, which, having put to sea, engaged some ships of the enemy, in April, 1814, near the island of Martingarcia; and on the 25th of May, another engagement took place off Monte Video, in sight of the town, of a more decisive character. Two of the enemy's corvettes were taken, two others destroyed by fire, and the rest escaped. This victory enabled Brown to blockade Monte Video. General Rondeau, in consequence of a difficulty with Artigas, had been obliged to withdraw his troops from the siege, but

had renewed it with more vigour than ever, before colonel Alvear arrived from Buenos Ayres with re-enforcements to assume the command.* San Martín having demanded leave of absence, in consequence of the impaired state of his health, Rondeau supplied his place, as commander of the army of Peru. Soon after Alvear took command of the besieging army, the town not being able to hold out any longer, Vigodet proposed to capitulate, and the terms agreed on, were, that the garrison should be permitted to embark for Spain, that the troops of Buenos Ayres should enter Monte Video, and hold possession of it until the result of the deputation should be known, which the congress intended to send to Spain. There were 5500 prisoners surrendered, 11,000 muskets, and an immense park of artillery and military stores. The government did not, however, strictly comply with these terms of capitulation, for neglecting which, they assigned various reasons; the principal one was, the right of retaliation for Tristan and Goyeneche's breaches of faith. Vigodet was permitted to embark for Spain, but the troops were distributed through the interior provinces of Rio de la Plata, except what could be induced to enlist into the popular service.

The difficulties between the government of Buenos Ayres and Artigas, commenced almost immediately after their united exertions had captured Monte Video, and reduced the Spanish power in the Banda Oriental. Artigas claimed that Monte Video ought to be given up to him, as chief of the Banda Oriental; this demand was resisted by the government of Buenos Ayres, and to check the designs of Artigas, a part of their troops were left in the country under the command of colonel Soler, who was appointed governor of Monte Video. To the contention with Artigas, was added mischievous dissensions among the patriots at Buenos Ayres. Availing himself of the ephemeral popularity, which the capture of Monte Video had given him, Alvear obtained the ap-

* General Rondeau, in the name of the government, convened an Oriental congress for the purpose of appointing deputies to represent the Banda Oriental, and to choose a governor for the province. Artigas, as chief of the Orientals, demanded that the electors should appear at his headquarters, and receive instructions from him. This arbitrary demand being disregarded, he opposed the congress, declared it illegal, and attempted to dissolve it. The electors, however, appointed deputies and a governor, which so exasperated Artigas, that he exerted himself to spread disaffection among the Oriental troops, and finally withdrew from the army, and carried off nearly all the Orientals. This conduct produced great indignation against Artigas at Buenos Ayres, and the director, Posadas, declared him both a traitor and an outlaw, and deprived him of all his offices, offering 6000 dollars to any one who would bring him in, dead or alive. This rash measure, fraught with great cruelty and injustice, only served to strengthen the influence of Artigas over the Orientals, and render the breach between them and the government of Buenos Ayres almost irreparable.—*Funes.*

pointment of commander in chief of the army in Peru, and marched with a large re-enforcement to join the army; but, learning before he arrived, that from the influence of Rondeau, the troops were opposed to him, he returned to Buenos Ayres. Here he solicited the place of supreme director, which he obtained in January, 1815, Posados resigning the post. These events occasioned deep animosities and general anarchy. The army of Peru refused to acknowledge Alvear. Some of the provinces declared for Rondeau, and others supported the director. Communication between the capital and many of the provinces was obstructed, although the two factions did not commit actual hostilities. To complete the difficulties of the republic, their troops were defeated in the Banda Oriental, by Rivera, one of Artigas' generals, which compelled the director to order Soler to evacuate the country with the remnant of his forces. Artigas now entered Monte Video, and being in the undisputed possession of the Banda Oriental, he was a more formidable enemy to Buenos Ayres, than the royalists in that quarter had been. He determined to invade the territories of Buenos Ayres, and proceeded against Santa Fe, which, instead of opposing him, declared in his favour. The director sent 2000 men to oppose Artigas, commanded by general Viana and colonel Alvarez; but the latter declared against the director, arrested Viana, the commander in chief, and united with Artigas, for the purpose of overthrowing the director. The army in Peru sent Jonte to insist on Alvear's renouncing the directorship; and being at last satisfied that he could not rule a people against their will, a people who had lost all confidence in him, in consequence of his rash ambition, he reluctantly yielded to the general voice, and resigned his post. So indignant were the inhabitants against the director, that when Alvarez had joined Artigas, and was marching against Buenos Ayres, they collected in crowds, and denounced the director, instead of the apostate officer. These occurrences occasioned a public meeting of the inhabitants, who declared the authority of Alvear, and also that of the congress, illegal and disannulled, and vested the government in the municipality of the city. The ex-director, Alvear, retired three miles from the city, where the troops were encamped, of which he assumed the command; and it being reported that he meditated attacking the town, the inhabitants were thrown into alarm and confusion, and the municipality ordered every citizen under arms, and arrested the wife of Alvear, and several deputies, who were his partisans. An accommodation finally took place, and Alvear engaged to leave the country. He embarked for England in a British frigate, commanded by captain Percy, who acted as mediator between the parties, and engaged to guarantee the performance of Alvear.

The municipality established a new junta, called *de observacion*, and promulgated a new provisional constitution. The junta of observation were a sort of tribunes ; whose duty it was to see that the laws were executed, to watch the conduct of the director, check his ambition, and oppose his acts when prejudicial to the public interest. Rondeau retaining his post at the head of the army, colonel Alvarez was appointed his substitute. The public papers were filled with invectives against the members of the late administration ; more than twenty persons were arrested, and the government was occupied in preparing for their trial. Colonel Paillardel was condemned to death, and executed, but the people of Buenos Ayres being much dissatisfied, the rest of the accused were exiled.*

The destruction of the Spanish naval force procured for Brown the rank of admiral, and in 1815, he proposed to the government to sail with his flotilla on a cruise into the Pacific ocean for the annoyance of the Spanish commerce. The government approving of the proposal, and having made the necessary preparations, the expedition sailed at the end of the year. For some time it cruised with success, but the admiral's ship having grounded on the sands near the coast of Guayaquil, was captured by the Spaniards. Brown, however, was exchanged for the newly appointed governor of Guayaquil, who had been captured on his way from Panama, a few days before, by one of Brown's cruisers. Whilst on this station, Brown greatly annoyed the Spanish commerce, and captured many vessels, some of which he sent to Buenos Ayres. On his return in the *Hercules* with a rich booty on board, Brown was captured by the British ship of war, *Brazen*; his vessel was carried into Antigua, where it was condemned, on pretence that it had violated the navigation laws.

Great disorders prevailed at Santa Fe, and a body of troops was sent thither under general Viamont to overawe the partisans of Artigas and the disaffected. The death of the governor, and the selection of a lieutenant governor, occasioned fresh tumults. The inhabitants, rising in a mass, led by Vera, and aided by a few troops, attacked Viamont with that fury which a spirit of faction inspires, and compelled him and all his troops to surrender. To this disaster, succeeded one still more serious. The royalist general, Pezuela, having received re-enforcements from Spain, attacked the patriot army in Peru, and defeated it at Sipesipe, in November, 1815. This victory enabled the royalists the third time to occupy the provinces of Charcas, Potosi, and Jujuy. Civil dissensions still continued to agitate the state. Alvarez, who exercised the supreme executive authority, in consequence of the

* Outline of the Revolution. Dean Funes' History of the Revolution in the United Provinces.

absence of Rondeau, ordered the convocation of a new congress; but before it assembled, he was displaced from his command, by a popular revolution, and Balcarce appointed to succeed him; but he also was soon removed by the popular voice, and the government placed in the hands of a committee. Notwithstanding these commotions, the new congress assembled in Tucuman, and their first act was the appointment of a supreme director. Don J. M. Pueyredon was elevated to the supreme executive authority, which gave great satisfaction to the inhabitants, tired and disgusted with repeated revolutions, and revived the hopes of the friends of liberty. Pueyredon commenced his administration with energy; he gave the command of the army of Peru to general Belgrano, and sent troops to re-enforce San Martin, who was defending the frontiers of the country bordering on Chili. But he found the republic in a general state of anarchy; not only the Orientals under Artigas, opposed the government, but Santa Fe maintained its independence, and Cordova and other cities refused to submit to the government of Buenos Ayres. The capital was charged with arrogating every thing, and of assuming all the powers of government. Those opposed to the government were in favour of a federative system, securing to all the provinces an influence according to their population. Previous to this time, a corps of troops from Buenos Ayres had been sent against Santa Fe, under E. D. Velis, which being aided by a small squadron, the inhabitants, seeing no chance of defending the city, resolved to abandon it, and all fled, leaving every thing they could not remove to their invaders. So inveterate was their animosity against Buenos Ayres. Having captured the vessels of the enemy, they not long after returned and besieged their invaders in their own capital. Affairs being in this situation, the director sent deputies to attempt an accommodation with Santa Fe; but before they arrived, the troops of Buenos Ayres had evacuated the city and gone down the river. The threatened invasion by the Portuguese, rendered the director more anxious for a reconciliation with Artigas, to whom he sent a deputy and a supply of arms and munitions of war, offering to furnish all the assistance he wanted to enable him to repel the threatened invasion. Artigas received the supplies, but refused to listen to any terms of accommodation. The congress issued a manifesto, deploring the disorders, exhorting the people to obedience, and threatening the disturbers of the public tranquillity; but it produced no effect.

The congress, on the 9th of July, 1816, in a short, yet solemn declaration, announced the independence of the United Provinces. At a subsequent period, a manifesto was published, assigning, at greater length, the reasons which moved them to a separation.

The invasion of the Portuguese induced Pueyredon, the director,

to make a second attempt at reconciliation with Artigas, and commissioners were appointed to treat with him. A treaty was finally concluded, wherein it was stipulated that the province of the Banda Oriental should acknowledge the authority of the government of Buenos Ayres; that it should send members to the congress, and that the government should immediately furnish troops for its defence. This event occasioned great joy with the inhabitants, on both sides of the river; which, however, was soon checked, by information that the Orientals refused to ratify the treaty, influenced, as was supposed, by Artigas. The executive of the United Provinces remonstrated with the Portuguese general, Lecor, and warned him of the consequence of an unprovoked and unjustifiable invasion, but without any effect. His pretext was, that the disorders and anarchy in the neighbouring provinces rendered it necessary to occupy the country, to prevent the contagion from spreading into Brazil.

In the mean time the war raged in Upper Peru, where colonel M. A. Padilla checked the progress of the bloody Facon. To oppose the successful career of Padilla, the enemy despatched 1000 men towards Laguana. Padilla prepared to meet the assailants, and entrusted to his captains the defence of several posts, and one to the command of *his wife*; the enemy made a furious assault, but was completely repulsed and routed, and this heroic female, deserving of Spartan renown, had the satisfaction of presenting to her husband a standard of the enemy, taken with her own hands. Padilla pursued the fugitives in every direction, driving such as escaped into the town of Chuquisaca, where they were shut up. The wife of Padilla, for her heroic conduct, was rewarded by the government with the commission and pay of a lieutenant colonel.

Another victory was obtained over a body of Spaniards of 1000 men, under the command of Facon, in person, by the patriot officer Warnes, the royalists being almost entirely destroyed. In Salta and Jujuy, general Guemes, with a formidable guerrilla force, and numerous other corps of guerrillas under different leaders, constantly annoyed the royalists, deprived them of their conquests as fast as they were made, and finally compelled Pezuela to retreat.

Internal dissensions and the voice of faction had not yet ceased to disturb the public councils. The removal of the congress from Tucuman to the capital was deemed expedient for the better management of the war; as it was convenient to have the different departments of the government near each other. This measure was opposed by most of the provinces, who desired to have the congress out of the reach of the influence of the capital. After much discussion, a vote was obtained in congress to

remove the capital, which gave rise to new commotions and disturbances. Don Francisco Borges was the leader of the factions; and a body of veteran troops being sent against them, they were routed and dispersed, and their leader, Borges, taken prisoner, who paid with his life the price of his factious temerity. Disturbances also occurred in the province of Cordova; the governor, Antonio Funes, brother of the historian of that name, although a man of great firmness and prudence, could not protect himself against intrigue and conspiracy. He was seized in his house by the conspirators, led by Bulnes, his son-in-law, and thrown into prison with Sayos, the military commandant. The insurgents not having sufficient confidence in Bulnes, appointed another person to be their leader; but the governor, obtaining his liberty, collected a small force of militia, with which the conspirators were dispersed, and took refuge in Santa Fe; their leader was taken prisoner, who, with several others was sent to Buenos Ayres, where they were condemned and executed. Tranquillity was restored, and the governor re-established in his authority.

The boundary between the Portuguese possessions in America, and those of Spain, was long a subject of dispute, and notwithstanding the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded in 1777, the court of Brazil had made frequent attempts to extend its limits to the La Plata; and since the emigration of the royal family to Brazil, it had become an object of more importance to obtain the territory east of the river, and it was hoped that the distractions of the Spanish provinces would afford a favourable opportunity to accomplish this desirable object. It was this consideration which induced the court of Brazil so readily to send an army to Monte Video, in 1811, at the solicitation of Elio. Encouraged by the disorders in the provinces, particularly in the Banda Oriental, which afforded a pretext for the measure, and urged on by Alvear, Garcia, Herrera, and other disaffected persons, who having been banished from Buenos Ayres had retired to Monte Video, the Brazilian government resolved on invading the eastern shore. Troops were obtained from Lisbon, and an army of 10,000 men was collected at Rio Grande, with which the Portuguese general Lecor, in December, 1816, invaded the Banda Oriental in three directions. General Lecor, with 5000 men, marched by the way of Santa Teresa; general Silveira, with a division of 1600 troops, advanced by the way of Serno Largo, and the third corps of 3400, led by general Curau, proceeded towards Purification. It was impossible for the Orientals to oppose this overwhelming torrent. Rivera, one of Artigas' generals, attacked the Portuguese general, Pinto, at India Muerte, but after a sharp conflict, was repulsed, with the loss of half of

his men: mortified with this defeat, soon after one hundred Orientals fell in with the same number of the enemy, who had marched out of Maldonado, and attacked them with such fury that they were literally cut to pieces. Rivera and Forges opposed general Silveira; they harassed him on his march, but had not a force sufficient to engage him, or prevent his junction with Lecor, whose march Artigas had not been able to oppose. After this junction, general Lecor proceeded to Monte Video, which was evacuated by the garrison on the 19th of January, 1817, and entered by the Portuguese the next day. Artigas still occupied the province of Banda Oriental, and by his guerrillas continued to harass the Portuguese, and to cut off their supplies of provisions from the interior.*

CHAPTER XIII.

War between the Portuguese and Artigas—San Martin—his expedition into Chili—difficulties in passing the Andes—victory of Chacabuco—San Martin returns to Buenos Ayres—events in Upper Peru—affairs in the Banda Oriental—events of the war in Chili—parties in Buenos Ayres—conspiracy—arrival of Spanish transport—revolt of Spanish prisoners—threatened expedition from Cadiz—constitution proclaimed—resignation of Pueyredon—negotiations with France—invasion by the Monteneros—they defeat Rondeau the director—Pueyredon's party overthrown—anarchy and civil war ensue—defeat of Alvear and Carrera—Rodriguez appointed governor of Buenos Ayres—Ramirez defeated—treaty with Spain—arrival of Mr. Rodney, minister from the United States—minister sent to Washington—meeting of congress—revolution in the Banda Oriental—conduct of the emperor of Brazil.

AFTER the fall of Monte Video into the hands of the Portuguese, on the 20th of January, 1817, the right wing of the Portuguese army under Curau, marched against the Orientals, and at Arayo de los Catalanos, were attacked by general La Torre, con:

* Dean Funes' History of the Revolution in the United Provinces.

manding 3000 men, in opposition to the advice of his officers. The action was obstinate and sanguinary ; but terminated most disastrously to the patriots, who were defeated with very great loss. Artigas occupied a position in the rear of the army, with 100 men, and before he was aware of this disastrous result, he was surrounded with 400 troops, and only escaped by the aid of an Indian, leaving his baggage to the enemy. In the mean time, Lecor found himself shut up in Monte Video, and all supplies being cut off, he was suffering for provisions, and exposed to all the privations of a siege, which compelled him to march into the interior with 2000 men in pursuit of cattle. His movements were watched by Rivera, one of the Oriental chiefs, who surprised and attacked him several times with considerable success.

The calamities which now afflicted, and the more serious calamities which threatened the Banda Oriental, produced a universal cry among the inhabitants, for a re-union with the confederacy ; and even some of their chiefs were in favour of the measure, believing it the only means of saving the country from conquest and desolation. Under the influence of these sentiments, a correspondence was opened with the director, who, to evince his desire of an accommodation, immediately sent some military supplies and arms by way of Colonia. Rivera consented to the union, subject to the provision, that it met the approbation of Artigas. This daring chief, influenced only by ambition and a determination to preserve his own power, used all his influence, and all the artifice he possessed to prevent the union. The party in favour of a union, however, was numerous, and several corps and detachments of the troops, elected Don Tames Garcia their commander, and entered into articles of union with the government of Buenos Ayres. Rivera, after a warm altercation with Garcia, sent to Artigas for a re-enforcement of 500 men to oppose him by force. Being decidedly opposed by general Forges, who expressed great horror at a measure calculated to enkindle again the flames of civil war, Artigas sent only fifty men to Colonia, under the pretext of defending that place from the Portuguese flotilla, but as is supposed, with the real design of uniting with Rivera, to make war on the party in favour of the union. Finally the party of Artigas prevailed, and this favourable opportunity for an accommodation passed by without producing this desirable object.

While disorders reigned in the east, which cast a shade over the political horizon, a more brilliant prospect was opening in the west. San Martin, then governor of Cuyo or Mendoza, had, for some time, conceived the bold and noble design of crossing the Andes, with a force sufficient for the emancipation of Chili, which was groaning under an exasperated tyranny, the Spaniards having

re-established their authority over the country, and banished a large number of the most influential patriots to the island of Juan Fernandez. Chili had sent men and money to assist the United Provinces, when threatened by the Spanish general Elio, which required a return; but the constant annoyance of the United Provinces, by the royalists of Chili and Peru, rendered it an important object to the security of the republic, that the royal authority in those countries should be overthrown. The invasion of Chili, therefore, promised, not only the emancipation of that country, but security to the frontiers of the United Provinces, and to advance the general cause. But how was this to be effected? San Martin had no army, and the confederacy had no means of raising or supporting one; its affairs had never been in a more deplorable condition since the commencement of the war. The province of Cuyo was thinly peopled, and impoverished and devastated by the predatory incursions of the Spaniards. These discouraging circumstances, however, did not deter San Martin from his noble enterprise, but only served to bring into requisition the wonderful resources of his mind. Such was his influence over the people of Cuyo, and so completely had he engaged their affections and confidence, that they placed every thing they had at his disposal. They voluntarily furnished him with 600 slaves, 300 horses, 10,000 mules, and contributed, by money and personal exertions, to the construction of barracks, and providing arms, munitions, and equipments. They furnished the means also of conducting troops from Buenos Ayres.

After one year spent in organizing and disciplining an army, composed of such materials, San Martin set out on his patriotic and daring enterprise. He had to cross the majestic Andes, with an army accompanied with baggage and artillery, which, for 300 miles, presented rugged and almost inaccessible summits and narrow defiles, admitting of two persons only abreast along the giddy verge of frightful precipices, where eternal frosts hold their undisputed reign. This passage with an army over the highest mountains in the world, is an achievement more daring and difficult than that of the renowned Hannibal in crossing the Alps; and perhaps there is nothing on the page of history that surpasses it. But no obstacles could shake the purpose of San Martin; no difficulties were too great for his genius to overcome. In thirteen days, the frozen Andes were vanquished and passed, with the loss of 5000 horses and mules, and a few men. The liberating army encountered the enemy at Chacabuco soon after; and the veterans, who had conquered the Andes, experienced no difficulty in vanquishing the instruments of tyranny. Seldom has a victory been more complete, or a triumph more splendid. "In twenty-four days," said the commander, "we have crossed the

most elevated mountains of the globe, terminated the campaign, put an end to the sway of tyrants, and given liberty to Chili." The remnant of the royalists took refuge in *Talcahuano*. The inhabitants formed a junta at Santiago, and, as a reward for his services, offered to San Martin the dictatorship of Chili, which he declined, and this power was vested in Bernardo O'Higgins.

After this splendid victory, *the general of the Andes*, as San Martin was now called, returned to Buenos Ayres to concert a plan with the government to direct the victorious arms of the republic against Peru. As he approached Mendoza, the capital of Cuyo, the whole inhabitants of the town flocked out to meet him; the youth strewed the road with roses, and all demonstrated the most lively sensations of admiration and joy on beholding the hero of the Andes, and the liberator of Chili. At Buenos Ayres the same sentiments prevailed, and preparations were making to receive him with every mark of respect and honour; but being apprized of what was intended, he stole into the city unobserved, to the no small disappointment of the people.*

General Belgrano, who had been appointed by Pueyredon, to the command of the army in Upper Peru, by his talents and exertions, had retrieved the disasters of the republic in that quarter. The Spanish general Pezuela was succeeded in the command by general Serna, a less skilful general than his predecessor. After the death of Padilla and Merceces, the bloody Facon was successfully opposed by Warnes, Ganderilla, and Fernandez, who pressed him hard; but he was destined to fall a victim to a higher power; a stroke of lightning from heaven put an end to his days and his cruelties. General Serna, haughty and presumptuous, resolved to recover the provinces which his predecessor had been obliged to abandon. At the head of 2000 men he pushed forwards into Jujuy, but was so closely pursued and harassed by Guemes with his formidable guerrilla, that he soon had occasion to repent of his temerity. After several engagements, in which he sustained considerable loss, as well as from the continual annoyance of several guerrilla corps, Serna was compelled to retreat with the remains of his army, and abandon his designs of conquest.

The state of affairs in the Banda Oriental remained essentially the same; Erenu and Samanuego, the chiefs in the province of Entre Rios, made some concessions, and manifested a disposition for an accommodation with the United Provinces; but Artigas sent an abusive letter to the director, accusing him of secretly favouring the Portuguese, of having connived at the supplies which had been furnished them, and threatening to attack

* Funes.

him even in the capital. To secure Santa Fe, which commands the interior of the province of Buenos Ayres, and at the same time to furnish relief to the people of Entre Rios, the director sent a body of troops under Montes de Oca, which were furiously attacked and defeated by a detachment ordered against them by Artigas; a re-enforcement sent under colonel Balcarce, was also attacked with still greater desperation, and shared the same fate.

These disasters were soon followed by intelligence still more disagreeable from Chili. Whilst San Martin and O'Higgins were exerting all their means to reduce the fortress of Talcahuano, the last strong hold of the royalists, the viceroy of Lima succeeded in throwing 1500 men into that fortress, which as to strength will almost compare with Gibraltar. San Martin, however, instead of being discouraged by this untoward event, was re-enforcing his army, and preparing for a grand expedition to Peru, intending to strike the same blow there, which he had with such important results in Chili. Alarmed at this threatened invasion, the viceroy resolved to decide the fate of Peru in Chili, and accordingly, after great preparation, embarked an army of nearly 5000 men, under Osorio, for Talcahuano. Almost immediately after the landing of his troops, Osorio, confident of victory, and despising the army, and the general whose valour he had not yet tried, commenced his march for the capital of Chili. Being re-enforced by the garrison of the fortress, and the royalists in the country, his army amounted to 8000 men. He marched rapidly through the province of Concepcion, and advanced as far as Talca. Previous to this, the divisions of San Martin's army had united and kept up a continual skirmishing with the royalists, and on the 19th of March, the van of the Spanish army was attacked and driven back into the streets of Talca. Osorio now became alarmed for his safety, and resolved to attack the patriots in the night in their encampment. The attack was made in the most unexpected and furious manner; and the independents were surprised, thrown into confusion, and completely routed. San Martin, with the remains of his army, retired to the pass of Angulemu, on the route to Santiago, and in a few days marched towards the capital, where, in a short time, by his own incredible exertions, and the patriotism of the inhabitants, his army was re-enforced, re-organized, and prepared to dispute the dominion of Chili and of Peru, on the plains of Maypu. Here on the 5th of April, 1818, was fought one of the most sanguinary actions which the records of the revolution in South America afford, the result of which was equally decisive and glorious. It annihilated the Spanish army, secured to San Martin an imperishable renown, and established the independence and liberty of Chili and Peru.

San Martin was universally greeted as the saviour of the country, and the hero of the revolution. Soon after this, he returned to Buenos Ayres, where he was received with the honour due to his private worth and important public services.*

At this period many privateers were fitted out at Buenos Ayres, or sailed under commissions of the government of the United Provinces; some were fitted out in the United States, in violation of our laws, and others in England, which obtained commissions from that government; many also sailed with commissions from Artigas. These privateers scoured the ocean, and destroyed what remained of the Spanish commerce, and some of them committed outrages on neutral vessels.

The war on the other side of the river still continued between the Orientals and the Portuguese; but the government at Buenos Ayres took no part against the Portuguese, and Pueyredon was even accused of secretly assisting them. On the first of May 1818, the Portuguese got possession of Colonia, either by force or treachery, and stationed there a garrison of 1000 men. About the same time the Portuguese general Curau, with a force of 3500 men, took Purification and Pysander, and a body of cavalry crossed the river Uruguay, and ravaged the country. Purification was afterwards abandoned and the troops took a station between the Uruguay and Pysander. Their vessels went up the river to co-operate with their troops, without any efforts being made by the government of Buenos Ayres to prevent it.

A strong party existed in the United Provinces, opposed to the administration, which was charged with secretly favouring the designs of the Portuguese against the Banda Oriental; but the principal ground of dissatisfaction, was an alleged opposition on the part of the director and his party to the rights of the provinces, which complained of the controlling influence of Buenos Ayres. The opposition were in favour of what was called *federalism*, or a different system of government, which should give to all the provinces an equal participation therein. The violence of the opposition led to a conspiracy against the administration, which was discovered in August, 1818. The plan was to seize and carry off the director, but the plot was discovered, and the leader arrested, who accused three distinguished citizens as being the authors of the conspiracy, who were arrested, tried, and acquitted. This conspiracy, and the measures adopted to suppress it, increased the agitation of the public mind, and the director issued a proclamation to quiet the alarm, and preserve tranquillity.

In the month of February this year, (1818,) the commissioners of the United States, Messrs. Rodney, Bland, and Graham, who sailed from our shores the preceding December, arrived at

* Funes' History of the Revolution in the United Provinces.

Buenos Ayres, and were the first public functionaries received by the republic from any foreign power. They were sent by the president, as special agents to obtain information as to the state of the country, and the condition of the new government. They were received by the public authorities at Buenos Ayres with much respect, and obtained extensive information respecting the country and the war, which the following year was laid before congress, contained in the reports of the commissioners, and the accompanying documents.

In the month of August, a Spanish transport, which had sailed from Cadiz with 200 troops for Lima, arrived at Buenos Ayres. The troops mutinied, killed such of their officers as would not join them, and compelled the captain and crew to conduct the vessel to Buenos Ayres, where they took the oath of allegiance to the independent government, and joined the forces of the republic. On the 12th of December the congress passed a decree recognising the independence of Chili. Most of the troops of the government being in Chili, under San Martin, or on the frontiers of Upper Peru, the Monteneros or hordes of Indians, disturbed the public tranquillity, and cut off all communication with the interior. Early in the year 1819, the Spanish prisoners at San Luis revolted, and seven of them, headed by a general officer, attacked the governor in his own house; but, undaunted by their number, he defended himself, killed one, and compelled the rest to retreat. Twenty-seven of the conspirators were arrested, condemned, and shot; including one brigadier-general, two colonels, and several other officers. The expedition, which had long been preparing at Cadiz, occasioned considerable excitement, and attracted the principal attention of the government, which made all the preparations its situation would admit of, to meet any force that might invade the country.

The congress of the confederacy assembled on the 25th of February, and the session was opened by a message from the supreme director, who speaks of the dissensions which prevailed, and of the conspiracies against the government. He says, that "the frequency of disorders, and the repeated instances in which he had been under the painful necessity of punishing the authors of disturbances, and the enemies of the republic, had rendered him obnoxious to the malice and vengeance of many individuals who might be useful to the country," and adds that he would resign, did he not think it would have an unfavourable influence, at home and abroad, under present circumstances. He urges the speedy adoption of a constitution as the most effectual means of pacifying the disaffected, and restoring the public tranquillity. "The threatened expedition from Spain," he remarks, "requires preparations for defence commensurate to the

danger ;” and recommends that the provinces assume a warlike attitude, and be put in the most complete state of defence ; and intimates that “ this will require a head possessing more military experience and capacity than he can claim.” Whilst engaged in providing for the defence of the country, the congress were also deliberating on a constitution for the state, and one having been prepared, was publicly proclaimed on the 25th of May. It was formed on the federal basis, and its principles did not vary essentially from the constitution of the United States. It presented the great features of liberty ; the legislative power being vested in two chambers, one consisting of deputies, chosen by the people for four years, the other of senators, elected by the provinces or states ; the executive authority was vested in one person, called a director ; it declared the equality of the citizens, the freedom of the press, the inviolability of persons, their dwellings, &c.

Shortly after this event, Pueyredon, in consequence of ill health, as he alleged, but perhaps from the disaffection to his administration, and the apprehension of a gathering storm, resigned the directorship, and Joseph Rondeau succeeded him *ad interim*, until a new director could be chosen according to the forms of the constitution. Great preparations to defend the country against the long threatened expedition from Cadiz continued to be made until all apprehensions, from that quarter, were put at rest by the revolution in Spain, which defeated the expedition. No important operations of the armies of the United Provinces, in Upper Peru and Chili, occurred this year ; but the war, on the east side of the river, was kept up by the indefatigable Artigas, who with astonishing perseverance and ability, maintained the unequal contest with the Portuguese, without any assistance from the government of Buenos Ayres, and whilst often at open war with it.

The revolution in South America early attracted the attention of the great powers of Europe, forming the “ holy alliance ;” and from the period it became evident that Spain could not re-establish her authority over her American colonies, there is the strongest reason for believing that the allied powers seriously meditated such an interference as should dispose of the destinies of those countries. The primary object of the allied powers, the proscription of all revolutions and political reforms originating from the *people*, and their determination to oppose the establishment of free institutions, could leave no doubt of the concern and hostility with which they viewed the development of events in Spanish America, and the probable establishment of several independent free states, resting on institutions emanating from the will and the valour of the people. But there is more specific evidence of their hostile intentions. Don Jose Vaventine Gomez, envoy from the government of Buenos Ayres at Paris, in a note to the secretary

of his government of the 20th of April, 1819, says, that "the diminution of republican governments was a basis of the plans adopted by the holy alliance for the preservation of their thrones; and that, in consequence, the republics of Holland, Venice, and Genoa, received their death blow at Vienna, at the very time that the world was amused by the solemn declaration, that all the states of Europe would be restored to the same situation they were in before the French revolution. I also expressed the belief, that the sovereigns assembled at Aix la Chapelle, had agreed, secretly, to draw the Americans to join them in this policy, when Spain should be undeceived, and have renounced the project of reconquering her provinces; and that the king of Portugal warmly promoted this plan *through his ministers.*"

By a circular note addressed by the Spanish minister to the allied powers in 1817, it appeared that these powers had agreed with the Spanish sovereign to interfere in the dispute between Spain and her American colonies, and that the manner and extent of their interposition was to be determined on at the congress to be held at Aix la Chapelle.* The great obstacle to the interference of the allied powers, was Great Britain, whose commercial policy, in this instance, was opposed to the political designs of the alliance, and to her own political views. Her commercial interests were the strongest, and she could not be persuaded to favour the designs of the other allied powers against the independence and liberty of Spanish America. The condition of the United States, and the attitude assumed by the government, (the president having declared, subsequently, that the interference of any foreign power against the independence of the states of South America, would be viewed as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States,) were not without their influence on the designs of these powers.

But, if the obstacles which Great Britain and the United States interposed, prevented their attempting to dispose of the countries of South America by force, as they had of Naples and Spain, they were in hopes to control their destinies by the arts of diplomacy and disguised friendship. Taking advantage of the threatened invasion from Spain, and the alarms which it excited at Buenos Ayres, the French cabinet attempted, by intrigue and artifice, to establish in the United Provinces, a monarchy under a European prince related to the house of Bourbon. Rondeau, the director, was by birth a Frenchman, a circumstance which favoured this bold intrigue.

The French minister for foreign affairs, in a conference with Gomez, the envoy of the United Provinces, after expressing the ardent wish of the ministry for the success of the glorious cause

* See President Monroe's Message, in 1818.

in which the United Provinces were engaged, and regretting the obstacles which prevented France from affording them assistance, said, "that on reflecting on their true interests, he was convinced that these entirely depended on the choice of a government, under whose influence they might enjoy the advantages of peace; and that he firmly believed this form of government could only be a constitutional monarchy, with a prince of Europe at its head; whose relations might command and increase a respect for the state, and facilitate the acknowledgment of their national independence. This measure he thought alone would ensure tranquillity to the provinces, conciliate the powers of Europe, and even lead to peace and a recognition of the independence of the country on the part of Spain itself. He recommended the Duke of Lucca, late heir of the kingdom of Etruria and a Bourbon by his mother's side, as a suitable prince; and said that the emperors of Russia and Austria were very friendly to him, and that England could find neither reason nor pretext to oppose his elevation. It was proposed that France would furnish the necessary land and naval forces to render the new king respectable, and secure the independence of the country; that the duke should marry a princess of Brazil, on condition of a cession from the government of Brazil of the country east of the La Plata to the United Provinces, and that France would use her influence with the king of Spain to induce him to acknowledge the independence of the country.

Gomez informed the secretary that he had no authority to negotiate on this delicate and important subject; but that he would communicate what he had expressed to him, to his government, which he did by a note dated the 19th of June, 1819. The same intrigue was undertaken with the government of Chili through its deputy, Don Jose Yrizarri. The despatches from Gomez were received in October, 1819, and on the 26th of that month, Rondeau, the director, communicated them to congress, without expressing any opinion, but urging a speedy decision.* After long deliberation, at a secret session on the 12th of November, strange as it may seem, the congress approved of the project of France, subject to nine conditions; the principal of which were, that his most christian majesty, the king of France, should obtain the assent of the five great powers of Europe, including England and Spain; that he should facilitate the marriage of the duke of Lucca with a princess of Brazil, and procure a cession of the provinces east of the La Plata; that France should afford to the duke all the assistance necessary to defend and consolidate the monarchy, and to comprise within it all the east side, including Monte Video and Paraguay, and also furnish troops, ships,

* See the despatch of Gomez to his government.

and four millions of dollars by way of loan, to put the country in a condition to defend itself, and secure its independence. The design and result of this scheme, had it succeeded, could not have occasioned a moment's doubt. It was intended to prostrate the republic, and to have established a monarchy on its ruins, under the protection, and consequently, entirely under the control of France. If this daring plot against the independence and liberties of Spanish America had succeeded, the example would have been laid hold of to favour similar attempts, by other European powers, against the other governments in Spanish America. Fortunately for the interests of South America, and the cause of liberty, there was too much virtue and intelligence in the people, in the midst of all their dissensions, to permit so degrading and pernicious a scheme to be carried into effect. And those who had favoured it, were soon treated with the indignation and contempt which their conduct deserved.

In the month of November the territory of Buenos Ayres was invaded by the Monteneros, headed by one of Artigas' officers, and J. M. Carrera, a distinguished Chilese, well known in the United States for his inveterate opposition to the administration of Pueyredon in the United Provinces, and that of O'Higgins in Chili. The director, Rondeau, placing himself at the head of the troops which could be collected, proceeded against the Monteneros; in the beginning of February, 1820, he was defeated by these formidable guerrillas, commanded by Ramirez, formerly an officer under Artigas, and a plain guacho, but shrewd, brave, and violent. Previous to this disaster, near the close of the last year, another conspiracy had been discovered in the capital against the administration, and many persons were seized and banished from the city. The dissensions and disorders that existed, were much increased by the defeat of Rondeau, which produced the greatest alarm at Buenos Ayres, and occasioned general confusion and anarchy. The opponents of the administration were now emboldened to act more openly and decisively, and the authority of the government was entirely prostrated. Buenos Ayres, the cradle of the revolution in this part of Spanish America, which had displayed distinguished patriotism, and made immense sacrifices for the independence of the country, and the cause of liberty, was now threatened with invasion, without any army for its defence, without a government; and what was worse, had become a theatre of faction, civil war, and intrigue. Ramirez was at the head of 3000 men, within seventy miles of the city: the congress and director proposed to treat with him, and appointed commissioners, but he refused, declaring that he would not negotiate until a new set of rulers were appointed, who should be free from the influence of Pueyredon.

The Pueyredon party which had long maintained the ascendancy, although with a powerful and violent opposition, could no longer sustain their authority. They were accused of having brought on the country all the evils which afflicted it; of having occasioned the dissensions which distracted the state, by their male-administration and violent measures; of promoting the disgraceful intrigue with France; of preventing an accommodation with Artigas, and of having secretly aided the Portuguese to crush his power, and in their encroachments on the Banda Oriental, and of entirely neglecting to prosecute the war against the royalists in Upper Peru. Whatever truth there might be in these charges, it was evident that a conjuncture had arrived, which rendered the fall of this party inevitable. To avoid the storm, Pueyredon and his friends fled to the Portuguese for safety, carrying off, as was said at the time, a large sum of the public treasure; but the truth of this was never established, and the charge was probably wholly unfounded.

When Rondeau left the city to command the army, the congress, on the first of February, named Don Juan Pedro Aquirre to fill the office of director, during the absence of the incumbent; and on the 5th of the month, Rondeau returned after his defeat, and resumed the directorship; but on the 8th a revolution took place, which overthrew the administration, and dissolved the congress. A provisional junta was established by the cabildo of the city, which assumed the government. Manuel de Sarratea was appointed governor of the city.* He opened a negotiation with the enemy, and on the 20th of February, concluded a treaty with Ramirez, when Carrera and the adherents of what was called the federal party, entered the city. Tranquillity, however, was not restored; for early in March a counter revolution was effected, headed by general Balcarce, and Carrera and the leaders of the federal party were obliged to flee to the army. Balcarce was invested with the powers of dictator until a government could be provided; but on the 12th of March, the troops on which he relied, deserted him, when he immediately made his escape. The same day Sarratea, who had been obliged to leave the city, returned and resumed his authority amidst the acclamations of the people. The officers of the two late administrations were arrested, and many of the adherents of Pueyredon. This revolution led to a discovery of the disgraceful negotiation with France, for *importing* a king, and placing the country under the protection of that

* The government constituted by the cabildo was confined to the province of Buenos Ayres, which, for a considerable time after, stood alone; each province governed itself, or remained in a state of anarchy. In the absence of higher authority, the cabildoes of the capital cities of the provinces assumed the power of government, or vested it in a junta

monarchy, and all the members of the congress who voted in favour of this measure were arrested, with the exception of three, who accompanied their signatures with a protest.

The most dreadful factions, anarchy, and civil war followed these events, and continued to distract the country, for several months. Many valuable citizens fell victims to these disorders. The severity of the storm fell on Buenos Ayres, although it was felt throughout the provinces. Numerous governors of the city rapidly succeeded each other, and such was the state of alarm, turbulence, and faction, that there was no safety of persons or property. Ramirez, Carrera, and Lopez, were not pacified, but kept the field at the head of formidable parties of Monteneros, cutting off all communication with the interior, and threatening the capital. Alvear and forty or fifty officers, who had formerly been in the service of Buenos Ayres, had joined Carrera and the other chiefs of the Monteneros. On the 10th of July, Martin Rodriguez, who had been appointed to the command of the troops of Buenos Ayres, amounting to nearly 3000 men, had an engagement with Alvear and his confederates, and obtained some advantage; they, however, still continued to threaten an attack on the city, which was kept in a continual state of alarm, so that no business could be transacted. Alvear continued to menace the city during the early part of the month of August, threatening vengeance against those who had some years before been accessory to his banishment while a director.

For the restoration of tranquillity, or at least for the discomfiture of its enemies, the country seems to be indebted principally to Rodriguez, and general Dorego, governor of Santa Fe. Dorego, the latter part of August, completely routed the forces of Alvear and Carrera, and made prisoners of Alvear and a number of officers, formerly in the Buenos Ayrean service, and 3 or 400 men. Carrera had several hundred troops from Chili, and the rest of his force consisted of the Monteneros, and the male-contents of the United Provinces. Carrera escaped with some followers; his fate, however, was not long deferred. This victory promoted the public tranquillity, and prepared the way for a better order of things. A junta, which was chosen from the city and country, on the 26th of September, 1820, appointed Rodriguez governor of Buenos Ayres. The turbulence of dissension, however, had not yet subsided, for on the 1st of October, Rodriguez was driven from the capital by a desperate faction; but on the 5th he routed and dispersed them, resumed his authority, and partially restored tranquillity to a distracted city, so long the prey of factions and civil war.

The power of Artigas, which had experienced so many vicissitudes, was completely prostrated about this period; being defeated

by the Portuguese, with the loss of nearly all his army, Ramirez, the chief of Entre Rios, who had formerly acknowledged the supremacy of Artigas, turned his arms against him, and compelled him to take refuge in Paraguay. Rodriguez maintained his authority, preserved the public tranquillity of the capital, repelled the predatory incursions of the Indians, and defeated the machinations and hostility of the desperate malecontents. Great disorders, however, still existed in the provinces, of which Carrera was regarded as being the principal author; he continued his predatory incursions, and often committed dreadful outrages on the inhabitants in remote settlements. He seemed to have become a desperate and infatuated man, and to be bent on destroying every thing within his power, which finally brought destruction on his own head. Ramirez also continued his hostility to the government of Buenos Ayres, and even threatened the capital; he had the command of the forces of the Banda Oriental, formerly governed by Artigas.

The government exerted itself to oppose him, and fitted out a flotilla, for which purpose, it pressed some of the seamen of the United States to complete the crew; and not only Buenos Ayres, but some of the other provinces brought considerable forces into the field, for their security. A wing of the united armies of Cordova and Santa Fe, commanded by Don Francisco de Bedoya, acting governor of Cordova, on the 10th of July, 1821, attacked Ramirez and his party at Francisco, on the river Seco, and completely defeated them. Ramirez was among the slain; about 200 of his followers only escaped, who joined Carrera. The time had at last arrived, which was to witness the extinction of the torch of civil war that had so long spread desolation over the La Platan territories. Of the several leaders and chieftains who had risen up in arms against Buenos Ayres, Carrera only remained, and the fate of this brave, but desperate man was not long deferred. His situation had become so hopeless, that colonel Manuel Arias organized a revolution among his adherents, which he communicated to the governor of Mendoza, and an assurance of his personal safety as well as some of his associates. This was soon followed by the total defeat of Carreras' party, on the 31st of August, 1821, by a body of troops sent against them by the governor of Mendoza. Carrera was made prisoner, and shot on the 4th of September, in the public square, in the city of Mendoza, on the same spot where two of his brothers had been executed. He met his fate with that courage and firmness which would have excited unqualified applause, had he died a martyr to liberty, instead of a self-devoted victim of infuriated passions. The only favour he asked of his conquerors, was, that he might be buried in the same grave with his two brothers. Jose Miguel Carrera

was a brave man, possessing great resources of mind, and at first undoubtedly a good patriot, but the dreadful conflict of parties disappointed ambition, and a deep sense of personal injury having sacrificed a large estate, and lost two brothers in the civil wars, rendered him perfectly desperate, and equally regardless of the maxims of political justice, and the dictates of self-preservation.

Whilst Buenos Ayres, in conjunction with the other provinces, was exerting itself to bring to a close the civil war, it was not inattentive to its political situation. Don Bernadino Rivadavia was appointed secretary of state, and Don Manuel Jose Garcia placed at the head of the treasury; the departments of state and treasury having previously been united. These two enlightened ministers, possessing much experience in public affairs, improved by a residence at foreign courts, and enjoying an unusual share of public confidence, undertook a general reformation in the different departments of the government. The principal opposition to a reformation was from the military men, and the partisans of Pueyredon, who opposing the new ministers, attempted to overthrow the government. The first object of the government was to restore peace, and conciliate the disaffected, thus securing to the state the services of all its citizens. For this purpose, after the defeat of Ramirez and Carrera, an act of general amnesty was passed by the legislative junta, and also a decree by the executive, which, with the exception of nine persons, permitted all who had been exiled in the successive revolutions, or who had fled for their own safety, to return to the bosom of their country.

The revenue had been delapidated by a most extensive practice of smuggling, which the new ministers boldly attacked, by removing Don Fernando Calderon, the head of the custom house department; who had, without disguise, encouraged smuggling, and introduced corruptions into every branch of the revenue. A new system of tariff was established, and duties levied on the *ad valorem* principle; some of the government loans were reimbursed in a gold currency, which, with the reform in the revenue, contributed to restore public credit, so long entirely prostrate. Among other objects of reform, was privateering, which had become little short of a general system of piracy. Mr. J. M. Forbes, agent for the United States at Buenos Ayres, had very earnestly pressed this subject on the attention of government, which finally produced a decree, passed on the 6th of October, 1821, ordering all persons having commissions from any of the governments which had existed at Buenos Ayres, to surrender them to the minister of marine within a given time, after which, if they neglected to do it, they were to be treated as pirates. The

decree also provided, that in future, no commission of privateering should be granted without a previous declaration on the part of the government, stating the causes which compelled it to grant such commission.

Whilst zealously engaged in reforming this existing government, the ministers were not insensible of the paramount importance of a union, and general confederation of all the provinces. Notwithstanding the disorders and contests which had so long distracted the country, a disposition for a federal union was manifested in many of the provinces, and availing themselves of these favourable circumstances, the several provincial governments, united in assembling a congress, which was installed in Cordova in September, 1821. To forward the great object of a union of the provinces of La Plata, on a federative plan, the government of Buenos Ayres published a project containing the basis of a system of federation, which was accompanied by a manifesto of the executive, unfolding more fully the views of the government on this momentous question. But such were the existing difficulties, and sectional jealousies, that all the influence of the government was not sufficient to induce the congress to adopt any plan of union.

The commencement of the year 1822 found the affairs of the United Provinces in a more prosperous condition; the internal enemies of the republic had been destroyed or driven out of the country; the voice of faction was silenced; the government had acquired energy and respect, and was engaged in works of improvement, in forming schools, and establishing libraries, calculated to prepare the people for the appreciation and enjoyment of liberty. The papers discussed freely, and often ably, important political questions connected with their new situation. A splendid edifice was erected for a congressional hall on the same spot, where, in 1780, was reared the dungeons of Oruro, in which were immured those accused of promoting the independence of Peru. Peace was also restored with the provinces of Entre Rios and Corrientes, a convention having been concluded between them and the province of Buenos Ayres and the city of Santa Fe, on the 14th of January, whereby the parties stipulated to be at peace, and make common cause against external and internal enemies, and mutually to defend and assist each other. The Portuguese or Brazilians maintained possession of the city of Monte Video, and the province of Banda Oriental. The public mind became more and more tranquilized, and the government acquired energy and the confidence of the people. The disaffected, however, were not entirely removed or conciliated, as a conspiracy was discovered at the capital on the 23d of August, said to be headed by Tagle, secretary of state, during

Pueyredon's administration; and a number of persons were arrested. It did not, however, occasion any commotion, and the public tranquillity continued undisturbed during the remainder of the year.

On the 4th of July, 1823, a convention or a preliminary treaty of peace was concluded between Buenos Ayres and Spain by commissioners appointed by the Spanish government, under the direction of the Cortes and Rivadavia, secretary of state for Buenos Ayres. It was stipulated that hostilities should cease for eighteen months, that the relations of commerce should be renewed between the two countries, and that within the time the two governments should negotiate a definite treaty of peace and friendship. The congress authorized the executive to ratify the convention, and resolved that on its being ratified by Spain, and a definitive treaty of peace concluded, twenty millions of dollars should be voted to Spain, to maintain her independence on the representative system, provided she should be invaded by France, that sum being the amount which the chambers of Paris had granted the king for the prosecution of hostilities in Spain. Notwithstanding this liberal conduct of the congress, the convention was rejected by the Spanish government.

On the 16th of November, 1823, Cæsar A. Rodney, minister from the United States, arrived at Buenos Ayres, and in a few days presented his credentials. He being the first envoy ever received from any foreign power, it was deemed important by the government that his recognition should be public in the hall of the government house, attended with a solemnity and splendour of ceremonies corresponding with the importance of the occasion. But the state of Mr. Rodney's health would not admit of this at that time. On the 27th of December, his health having been restored, the ceremony of presentation took place. He was conveyed to the government house, by the minister of foreign relations, in a coach of state, attended with military display and every mark of honour, and conducted by a deputation of the government into the hall, through an immense concourse of citizens, where he was presented to the governor, by the minister of foreign relations. Mr. Rodney delivered an address in his own language, which was interpreted; and having concluded, he presented his credentials. Rodriguez, who was deeply affected, made a suitable reply. The interesting relations thus established between the government of Buenos Ayres, and the first minister from any foreign power, was destined to be of short continuance. Mr. Rodney's health was not re-established, and he continued to languish until the 10th of June, 1824, when he expired. The government passed a decree expressing their grief at the event, directing his bu-

rial, with public funeral honours, and providing for the erection of a monument.

During the year 1824, the political and internal affairs of the United Provinces continued tranquil and prosperous, and the governments being relieved from the horrors of anarchy, and in a great measure, from the evils of war, were engaged in consolidating the republic, and in improving its condition. It is an evidence of the stability of the public mind, that an election of a new chief magistrate for Buenos Ayres took place in a peaceable manner, and without occasioning any disturbance, which is the first instance in which there had been a change in the executive without a revolution, or the employment of military force. Attempts were made for a re-union of all the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and the establishment of a general congress; and a more favourable disposition, both in the capital and in the provinces was manifested for this desirable object.

In October, 1824, general Alvear arrived in the United States, from the United Provinces, as resident minister near our government; and on the 11th of the month he was presented to the president by the secretary of state. In his address on the occasion, he says that he was charged in the name of all the provinces of Rio de la Plata, to express to the government of the United States the regard, friendship, and gratitude they entertain for the magnanimous expression with which they had been honoured in the solemn recognition of their independence. He adds, that the letters which he has to present to the president, will unfold more fully the solicitude and sincere desire which his government feels for an intimate union. The envoy of the United Provinces, however, scarcely entered on the duties of his office, before he returned to his country, the government having appointed him to the chief command of the army destined against the royalists in Upper Peru, where the Spaniards still maintained their authority over some of the provinces; as the government of Buenos Ayres, in consequence of the dissensions and civil wars which had prevailed for several years, had made but little effort in prosecuting the war against the Spaniards of Peru.

A congress of the United Provinces convened in December, 1824, at Buenos Ayres, and on the 15th of the month the executive delivered a message, which unfolds the present condition of the republic. He speaks of the efforts which he had made to secure the friendship of the American states engaged in the same cause, and says, he has appointed ministers to Colombia, and also to Peru. "The empire of Brazil," he remarks, "forms a contrast to the noble republic of the United States, and a deplorable exception to the general policy of the American nations." He

complains of the base and low artifices by which the province of Monte Video has been separated from the union, and retained in subjection by force of arms. Every effort, he adds, has been made with the court of Rio Janeiro, to induce it to abandon its usurpations and listen to the dictates of reason and justice, which might prevent the terrible necessity of war, but without success. The executive, however, does not despair of effecting an accommodation; he speaks in high terms of the conduct of Great Britain, and says, that the principles she has adopted towards the American nations, must soon result in a recognition of their independence.

The Brazilians still had possession of the province of the Banda Oriental on the east side of the river; but in April, 1825, a revolution took place in the Banda Oriental, which liberated it from the authority of Brazil. Lavalleja, Oribe, and several other officers and inhabitants of the Banda Oriental, on the 27th of April, left Buenos Ayres, and crossed to the opposite side of the river, where they expected to have found 200 men assembled, who had collected, accordingly, but had taken fright and dispersed. Having discovered that about forty of the Brazilian troops, and thirty of the inhabitants who had been pressed into their service, were at Arenal Grande, Lavalleja and his party appeared before them, and they joined and followed him. Being also joined by a number of the inhabitants, he entered Sariano, and re-organizing the government of the place, marched to the Gallinas, where he destroyed about 200 Brazilian troops who guarded it. Here Lavalleja found plenty of horses and provisions, and was joined by the militia in the neighbourhood, and even by many of the Brazilians. Re-passing the Negro, he marched towards the Perdido, and by stratagem, took possession of the person of Fructus Rivero, the Brazilian military commander of the country, and his escort, all of whom, except the officers, joined the party of Lavalleja. Rivero himself afterwards joined the revolutionary cause, and publicly burnt his imperial uniform in the streets of Santa Lucia. He also summoned the commander of Monte Video to surrender that place. More recent intelligence represents that the revolution has extended throughout the province, the whole population being engaged in it; that a provisional government had been established, which had sent deputies to the general congress of the United Provinces, soliciting their assistance and co-operation in expelling the Brazilians from Monte Video. In pursuance of the solicitation of deputies sent to the government of Buenos Ayres, the congress passed a resolution, authorizing the executive to guard the territory of the United Provinces from the dangers which might arise in the present state of the Banda Oriental, and to re-enforce the line of the Uruguay.

Lavalleja was appointed governor and captain-general of the province of Banda Oriental, and on the 12th of October, 1825, he attacked a corps of Brazilian cavalry, 2000 strong, at Lavandi, and obtained a signal victory. The Orientals form the best cavalry in the world, their number was about the same as that of the enemy. "To meet and to conquer," says Lavalleja, "was the act of a moment. The charge was the only manœuvre that took place on both sides, and it was the most obstinate one that ever did take place. The enemy commenced theirs by a heavy discharge of fire arms, which was despised by our brave troops, who with sabre in hand, and carbine on the shoulder, met, encountered, and put the enemy to the sword; and after completely routing him, pursued him six miles with great slaughter. The result was 400 killed on the field of battle, and 522 prisoners, besides many wounded, and fugitives afterwards taken. The entire province is now liberated, and the Brazilians only hold possession of the city of Monte Video. After carrying on open war with the country east of the river for several years, and a disguised one with Buenos Ayres, the Emperor of Brazil, on the 12th of December, 1825, declared war formally against the United Provinces, and immediately published notice of the blockade of the port of Buenos Ayres.

An engagement took place between a party of the republican troops and a detachment of Brazilians in the latter part of January, 1826, near Monte Video, in which the enemy was defeated, with 50 killed and wounded. A partial engagement of an undecisive character has also occurred between the blockading squadron of the enemy and that of the republic, commanded by commodore Brown. Neither party appears to have sustained much loss. It had the effect, however, of compelling admiral Lobo, the Brazilian commander, to raise the blockade of Buenos Ayres, and to fall down with his squadron to some distance below.

Fortunately the provinces are now harmonious, are all at peace, and united on some plan or other into one confederacy, the form and principles of which we have not been able to ascertain. But there can be no doubt, that all the provinces will make common cause against a troublesome and mischievous neighbour, who has so long manifested a disposition to encroach on their territory, by taking advantage of their dissensions. Fortunately also no enemy now exists on the side of Upper Peru, so that the provinces will be enabled to direct their whole energies against the Brazilians. The republic has been so long engaged in war that it possesses the materials for forming large and efficient armies. The military force, previous to this war, was nearly 8000 strong. The empire of Brazil is in an agitated state, and already exhibits

the incipient stage of revolution. By the last accounts, Bolivar had visited Potosi, where general Sucre has a veteran army, and there is great reason to believe, that the conquerors of Ayacucho intend to take a part in the war against the emperor of Brazil. Perhaps the liberator of Colombia and Peru possesses the laudable ambition of being the liberator of all South America; he may believe that the new governments will not be safe until royalty is exterminated from the new world, and every part of the American continent is not only independent, but FREE. When these facts are considered, it cannot appear improbable, that this rash step of Don Pedro, should bring upon him the arms of all the southern republics, and result in the overthrow of his empire, and the establishment of a republic which shall take its rank in the family of nations, in the southern hemisphere. The province of Paraguay is still entirely independent, and has no political connexion with Buenos Ayres, or any of the other provinces; it has taken no part in the bloody events of the revolution, which disgraced and devastated the confederacy. Not long after, Belgrano, in 1810, marched against the royalists of Paraguay, and was defeated, on the river Tacuari, within thirty or forty miles of Assumption, the Paraguayans effected a revolution, without the aid of Buenos Ayres. They deposed Velasco, the royal governor, and established a government for the province, but refused every solicitation to unite with the confederacy. There were at first two parties, one headed by Yedros, who had commanded the troops which defeated Belgrano, and the other by doctor Francia, who was educated to the law, and possessed a great reputation for wisdom; and to avoid civil commotions, the people appointed them both as joint governors. Dr. Francia, however, soon found means to displace his colleague, and a public meeting of the citizens conferred on him the supreme authority, which he has ever since exercised. He is styled dictator, and has for years possessed the power of an absolute sovereign, without any of the appendages or expenses of royalty, or any of its usual means of support. He has no nobility, no courtiers, and no favourites, nor does he make use of official patronage, as a means of maintaining his ascendancy. His government is a mixture of patriarchal, and military authority; without any system or written laws. He exercises nearly all the functions of government himself, managing the affairs of the state, as a father does those of his family. The only civil officers he employs, are a postmaster, and a collector. The peculiarly submissive, and docile character of the Paraguayans, produced by the Jesuits, which still remains, contributes to the support of this singular

government ; yet the strength of it is undoubtedly military power, as the dictator has organized a national militia of 6000 men, a part of which are kept constantly in service. He prohibits the freedom of the press, and excludes all foreigners from Paraguay. By the last accounts from Buenos Ayres it appears that Rivadavia, long secretary of state and of foreign affairs, had been elected president of the confederacy, in a peaceable manner, and had entered on the duties of his office.

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HISTORY

AND PRESENT STATE OF

CHILI.

CHAPTER XIII.

Extent and boundaries—the Andes; summits and passes of—maritime border, bays, and harbours—rivers—face of the country—soil—climate and productions—desert of Atacama—mines—copper mines of Coquimbo—districts— islands—Santiago—Valparaiso—government—population—army, navy—commerce—exports.

THE republic of Chili comprises the tract of country that extends from the summit of the Andes, westward, to the Pacific, and along the coast of the Pacific from the desert of Atacama, in latitude 25° south, to the straits of Magellan, in latitude 54° south, according to some authorities; but according to Pazos, it extends no further south than the gulf of Guaytecas, in latitude 42° . Its length according to the first description, would be about 2000 miles: according to the last, less than 1200; its average breadth is estimated at about 140 miles. Its northern boundary is the desert of Atacama; its eastern, the Andes; its southern, the Patagonian territory, or the straits of Magellan; and its western, the Pacific.

The lofty summits of the Andes, which traverse the entire continent of South America, skirt the whole eastern border of Chili, and form its eastern boundary. The highest summits in this range are Manflos, in latitude $28^{\circ} 45'$; the Tupungato, in lat. $33^{\circ} 24'$; the Desebezado, in lat. 35° ; the Blanguillo, in $35^{\circ} 4'$; the Langavi, in $35^{\circ} 24'$; the Chillan, in 36° ; and the Coccabado, in 43° ; some of these are more than 2000 feet above the level of the ocean. There are fourteen volcanoes, which are in a constant state of eruption, and a greater number that discharge smoke only at intervals. The two principal passes of the Andes lie between the United Provinces of La Plata and Chili, those of

Putamda and Patos ; the first leads from the city of Mendoza, and is about 200 miles in length ; the latter leads from the city of San Juan, and is longer. To the north the Andes are broader, but to the south they are said to subside into such gentle slopes, that a good carriage road might be made across the country which is unsettled.

Waters.—Like Peru, Chili has an extensive maritime border on the Pacific, and is much better accommodated with bays and harbours, which are numerous along the whole coast. The most considerable is the great gulf of Guaytecas, in which is situated the Archipelago of Chiloe. Few countries are so well supplied with rivers as Chili. Lying at the foot of the Andes, it naturally receives the waters produced by the melting of that immense body of snow which annually falls upon those mountains. There are more than 100 rivers of considerable size which run westward, of which fifty-two fall directly into the ocean. The principal of these rivers, some of which are navigable some distance into the interior, are the Huasco, Lospontos, Maypu, Maule, Chillan, Itata, Biobio, Imperial, and Valdiva.

Surface, soil, climate, and productions.—The numerous ridges by which the surface of Chili is broken, present obstacles to the internal communication, but such as are no where insurmountable. The loose composition of those ridges is such that roads may be formed along their sides with comparatively little labour ; and when made, such is the temperate regularity of the seasons, that with few repairs, they may be preserved for ages. But the wide desert, and the lofty Cordillera, by which Chili is enclosed and separated from the rest of the continent, presents a barrier, consisting of a dreary waste, and a range of mountains elevated in such ragged masses, and reared so far into the region of snow, that it is only passable for mules by some few narrow passes, and during particular seasons of the year. The desert of Atacama may be said to commence in Chili, almost immediately after crossing the Juncal or dry river, as it is sometimes called ; thence to the river Salado, the northern boundary of the state, is a distance of fifty miles ; thence to the town of Atacama, in Upper Peru, is a distance of nearly 300 miles, by the way of the coast, and the road passes wholly over a dry, sandy plain, where the traveller meets no living thing, either of the vegetable or animal kingdom ; and losing sight of every other guide, his way is often only to be directed by the bleached bones of mules, which have perished in attempting to force a passage over that terrible waste. Instead of passing this dreary region, it is generally thought safer and better to climb the steep crags of the mountains, and take the road leading over the Andes along their giddy precipices, and narrow passes. Travellers and post-riders sometimes cross

the deserts of Atacama, along the lower and more level road ; but few or no traders or carriers ever venture to pass that way ; nor is it presumed any military leader would lightly be induced to encounter its difficulties for the purpose of carrying hostilities along that route into Chili. The desert of Atacama may therefore be considered as a great natural barrier, by which it is closed on that side against both commercial and hostile visitors.

From the Andes the inclination is so great that all the rivers flow with the rapidity of torrents, and are therefore not navigable. They serve to irrigate the vallies, and render them the most fertile in the world. The climate makes this method of cultivation absolutely necessary—for from the Salado to the Ileta, that is from 25 to 36° of south latitude, not a cloud is to be seen above the horizon from the month of November to the month of May. The atmosphere, during this period, is perfectly clear, and the dews are scarcely perceptible, nor is the heat oppressive. The proximity of the Andes tempers the air, and the mercury fluctuates between 70 and 80° of Fahrenheit, and rarely rises to 85 degrees. Thunder storms, so frequent on the east of the Andes, are unknown in this part of Chili. Winter commences in the month of May ; the cold is mild, and the rains gentle, and unattended with wind. The rains of the winter fertilize the hills, and the plains which cannot be irrigated during that season, afford pasture for the cattle. The spring commences in September, and the face of nature, in Chili, is then peculiarly beautiful. The hills are verdant and covered with innumerable flowering shrubs, and the plains present to the eye a carpet of flowers. The abundance of water, and the peculiarity of climate enable the inhabitants to raise all the fruits of the earth in great perfection. The wheat which is cultivated in the vallies, is of excellent quality, and the produce seldom less than forty times the seed ; sometimes ninety, and on the best land, even one hundred. Indian corn is likewise cultivated, and produces abundantly. Barley is raised in great quantities for the use of horses and mules, which, in the winter, are fed on this grain mixed with chopped straw, as in Arabia and old Spain ; hemp and flax grow luxuriantly. Cotton is here and there cultivated for domestic manufactures. The climate and soil is well adapted to the culture of sugar, but the inhabitants have been long accustomed to procure that article from Peru in exchange for their wheat, and are not disposed to change their ancient habits. Only a single sugar plantation is cultivated. Rice likewise would grow on the low lands, but it is also brought from Peru.

South of the river Ileta, the climate varies ; rains are frequent in the summer, and in the winter are attended by storms of wind. The grape is chiefly cultivated in these districts, and the wine is

better than where the vineyards are irrigated; the olive grows luxuriantly throughout all Chili, and the oil is of the first quality. On the banks of the river Maule, and on all the rivers south of $35^{\circ} 17'$ there is excellent timber, and the whole country abounds with forests of a thorny minosa, which makes good charcoal, and is in general used for fuel. Mines of the precious metals abound in almost every part of Chili, and their annual produce, in prosperous times, has been estimated at 3,000,000 of dollars. In the year 1825, a silver mine was discovered thirty or forty miles from Coquimbo, which is represented to be of the most extraordinary richness. The vein is about forty miles in extent, and the metal is said to merit the name of *native silver*; it is thought not to be mineralized, but rather mixed with quartz and feldspar. Silver to the value of half a million of dollars is said to have been dug from this mine in twenty days, and it is supposed that in one year, its produce will exceed five millions. Besides the precious metals, the copper mines of Coquimbo actually produced during the year, ending the 1st of May, 1818, amidst the difficulties of the times, 41,000 quintals, which were shipped in foreign vessels, chiefly of the United States.

The copper mines are principally situated near the coast, and are believed to be the most productive in the world: In addition to the copper, there has also been shipped from Chili, a considerable amount of tin. Of these two metals, the annual production may be estimated at about 500,000 dollars. The mines of iron and quicksilver are very abundant; mines of lead are also numerous and rich, but almost entirely neglected; antimony and fossil salt are found in great quantities; salt springs abound; sal-ammoniac and salt-petre are also abundant.

The republic of Chili is divided into the following districts or provinces, viz: Copiapa, Guasco, Coquimbo, Cusco, Petorca, Quilota, Melipilla, Santa Rosa, Rancagua, Colchagua, Curico, Maule, Chillan, Isla de Maule, Canquenes, Itata, Puchacay, Concepcion de Chili, and Isla de la Laxa. The country occupied by the warlike tribes of Araucana, extends from the river Biobio, in lat. $26^{\circ} 50'$ to the 39th degree of lat., and from the Andes to the Pacific. It is divided into four districts or provinces, by lines running from north to south. The country between the river Totlen and the southern boundary of the republic, is called Huilli Maypro. There are 82 islands in the Archipelago of Chiloe, 32 of which are inhabited by Indians or the descendants of Europeans. The largest is Chiloe, 180 miles in length from north to south, with a breadth of 60 at the widest place.

The city of Santiago is situated in the district of Melipilla, and was founded the 17th of February, 1514, by Don Pedro de Valdivia, on the south bank of the Maypu, in $33^{\circ} 31'$ south lat.

Santiago contains 40,000 inhabitants. The plain on which the city stands, extends along the foot of the Andes, certainly to the line; and it is believed quite to the isthmus of Panama north, and south to the straights of Magellan. This is the only uniform level in Chili; from hence to the coast the descent is rapid and broken by irregular mountains and vallies. On the eastern extremity of the city rises the small rocky hill of Santa Lucia, formerly called the mountain of Gudon. These insulated hills are frequently seen on the great plain of Chili. A broad road extends round the south side of the town like the boulevards of Paris, and separates it from the suburbs, which are extensive and well built. The river is broad and shallow, and in summer flows in several channels. There are in Santiago eleven convents, seven nunneries, four parochial churches, three hospitals, an university, and a mint.

The port of Valparaiso is situated in $33^{\circ} 1' 45''$ south lat., in the district of Petorca. The town extends around the bay from the castle of Saint Antonio, for nearly a mile, and is separated from Almíndral, a suburb of Valparaiso, by a low beach; the houses are irregularly scattered over the sides of steep hills, which rise abruptly from the shore, and extend along the ravines of Saint Augustine, Saint Francisco, and Gomez, the ground being very broken and rugged. The country near the town is very barren, and all the supplies are drawn from Quillotta. The population of Valparaiso, including the Almíndral, does not exceed 6500 souls. *Conception* is the third city of Chili, and is considered the metropolis of the southern part. *Talcahuano*, its port, is six miles distant, and has a fine harbour. *Coquimbo* and *Copiapo* have good harbours. *Valdivia* has one of the finest on the coast; but it has no cultivated country around it to give it importance. The city is five miles from the sea, on a river of the same name.

The island of *Juan Fernandez*, off this coast, was the residence of Alexander Selkirk, whose story gave rise to the romance of Robinson Crusoe.

Government and population.—Since the liberation of Chili, in 1817, an independent republican government has been maintained the principal part of the time, under a chief magistrate, called a supreme director. A congress was convened in 1825, which framed a constitution for the republic, which now forms the basis of the government. The independence of this country has been acknowledged by the United States and Great Britain. The population of Chili, exclusive of the independent tribes of Indians, is estimated at 1,200,000 inhabitants, most of which are north of the river Biobio.

Army, navy, and commerce.—In July, 1818, the regular army of Chili amounted to 8400 men, exclusive of militia, which were

28,960; an army, respectable for its numbers and discipline, is still maintained, and is distinguished for its well known services in the liberation of Peru. A formidable navy was organized in 1818, and has ever since been efficiently employed in aiding the great cause of liberty and independence. The principal articles of export from Chili, consist of gold, silver, copper, tin, wheat, flour, hemp, cordage, hides, tallow, jerked beef, vicuna, and guanaco wool, chinchilla skins, and several kinds of dried fruits, figs, raisins, &c. The trade of Chili is chiefly carried on with the United States, England, and the neighbouring republics. Chili may be considered the granary of South America. The commerce of the United States with Chili is important and increasing; from February, 1817, to July, 1818, there was exported to Chili, by our citizens, merchandise to the amount of 1,375,000 dollars. Besides the direct commerce of the United States with Chili, which has been estimated at 2,000,000 dollars, the opening of its ports, which is one of the consequences of its independence, affords the most important advantages to the whale fishery, pursued in front of the coast of Chili, in which from fifteen to twenty American ships are engaged yearly, and also to the trade with the north west coast, in which about fifteen vessels from the United States are employed annually. Great advantages will likewise accrue to the trade, which our citizens pursue of collecting cargoes of seal skins and Sandal wood on the islands in the Pacific ocean, and carrying them to China, where they find a ready market, and the avails purchase a home cargo of great value. The settlement on Colombia river will ultimately maintain an important trade with Chili, which will afford a good market for ship, and other timber, with which that country abounds.

HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTION IN CHILI.

CHAPTER XIV.

Establishment of a junta—disturbance at Santiago—congress called—complaints as to the mode of election—measures of the congress—it is overthrown by the Carreras—their administration—Chili invaded from Peru—events of the war—revolution in the government—treaty concluded—dissensions among the patriots—success of the royalists—their authority re-established—expedition of San Martin—victory at Chacabaco—emancipation of the country—O'Higgins appointed director—expedition from Peru—defeat of the patriots—victory of Maypu—its effects—squadron under lord Cochrane—expedition to Peru—war with the Araucanian Indians and Benevides—piracies of Benevides—resignation of O'Higgins—establishment of a new government—general Freyre chosen director—Chili affords further succour to Peru—its fleet blockades Callao—its exploits—expedition to Chiloe—state of the country—conclusion.

THE first revolutionary movement in Chili occurred in Santiago, where the inhabitants, in July, 1810, compelled the captain-general to resign, and count de la Conquista was appointed to succeed him, who favoured a revolution. He called together the most respectable land-holders, in September, 1810, to take into consideration the present condition of the country, and of Spain, and to decide on the measures proper to be adopted. The result was the creation of a junta, of which the count de la Conquista was president. The junta determined on assembling a congress, and prescribed regulations for the choice of representatives. The election in Santiago took place on the 11th of April, 1811, and a detachment of troops, under Don J. Figueroa, was stationed in the square of the consulado to preserve or

der. This officer, although a Spaniard, had declared in favour of the revolution, and was in the employ of the junta; yet, nevertheless, he had formed a faction against it, and availed himself of his situation, and of the occasion to attempt to crush the revolution. A skirmish ensued between the troops that adhered to Figueroa, and those who remained faithful to the junta, in which fifty or sixty men were killed. The result was favourable to the popular cause, and the leading conspirators were seized and banished, except Figueroa, who was executed. After this the royal audiencia was dissolved, and its powers vested in a new tribunal.

The election of deputies to the congress was made according to the regulation of the junta, which prescribed the number for each municipality, but not according to the population. There was consequently little equality in the representation of different towns, which occasioned complaints and remonstrances. The three brothers, of the name of Carrera, sons of a wealthy landholder in Santiago, joined in the clamours, and put themselves at the head of the disaffected, of which the military of that city formed a part. The congress acknowledged the necessity of a reformation in the representation, which being made, tranquillity was restored, and the congress resumed its session. It passed a decree declaring that all Spaniards who were dissatisfied with the new order of things, should leave the country within six months, in which period they might dispose of their property and remove with all their effects. The congress also enacted many salutary laws for the reformation of the abuses of the old system; the curates were to be paid from the public treasury, not by their parishioners; the children of slaves born in future were declared free, and the restrictions were removed from commerce; the ancient law by which government disposed of places in the municipalities, was abrogated, and it was provided that the members of the municipalities should be elected annually; many useless offices were abolished, and the salaries of others reduced. A manufactory of fire-arms, and a military school, called *artilleria practica*, were established, and the powers of the junta prescribed.

Notwithstanding these revolutionary measures, Abascal, the viceroy of Peru, remained on apparent terms of friendship with the new government.

Encouraged by the success of their first attempt, the Carreras formed a plan for effecting a revolution, and placing themselves at the head of that government. And their connexion with the army, one being major in the grenadiers, and another captain in the artillery, facilitated the success of their enterprise. Having acquired an ascendancy over the troops, and placing themselves at their head, on the 15th of November, 1811, they compelled congress to depose the junta, and appoint three new members, of

whom J. M. Carrera was one. This junta, the offspring of violence and usurpation, immediately attempted to render itself absolute ; a new regiment of cavalry was formed, and J. M. Carrera placed at its head ; and having strengthened themselves sufficiently, on the 2d of December they dissolved the congress. The junta now ruled without control, relying for its support entirely on the military, who were greatly devoted to the Carreras.

The administration of the Carreras occasioned opposition and disaffection, which surrounded them with difficulties and dangers ; one conspiracy against them was formed after another, four of which they succeeded in suppressing. At length, to increase their embarrassments, they quarrelled among themselves, and J. M. Carrera withdrew from the government ; but a reconciliation having been effected, he resumed his former situation in October, 1812.

These dissensions and disorders in Chili induced the viceroy of Lima to send an expedition against that country, under general Pareja, which early in the year 1813, attacked and took possession of the post of Talcahuano without resistance. From this place he advanced to La Concepcion, where the garrison declared in his favour, which increased his force to 4000 men. He marched towards the river Maule.

To oppose Pareja, J. M. Carrera, leaving his brother, Juan Jose, in his place in the government, marched at the head of 6000 men, and approached the royal army. On the night of the 12th of April, 1813, he sent a detachment of troops to surprise and attack the enemy in their encampment. This attack was successful, but not without great loss to the patriots. It however induced Pareja to retire to Chillan, where he erected fortifications for his security ; and the garrisons which he had left at Talcahuano and La Concepcion, were obliged to capitulate ; but their commanders escaped to Peru.

To free themselves from the influence of the Carreras, the junta sent Juan Jose Carrera to the army, and filled his place, so that it now consisted of J. A. Perez, A. Eyzaguirre, and M. Infante. They removed to the town of Talca, near the seat of war, the better to direct its operations and watch over the safety of the country. J. M. Carrera continued to command the army, and governed without restraint over the country where his troops were stationed ; at length his conduct and the devastations of his army so exasperated the people throughout the intendancy of La Concepcion, that they declared for the royalists. It was deemed necessary to remove from the command of the army a man who had rendered himself so obnoxious to the people. Carrera was accordingly displaced by the junta, and colonel O'Higgins appointed to succeed him, and colonel M'Kenna, second in command, on

the 24th of November, 1813. Carrera refused to relinquish the command, but being abandoned by the army, he was compelled to yield, and on his way to Santiago, with his brother Luis, both were taken by a party of royalists, and conducted to Chillan.

For nearly a year the Spanish forces remained at Chillan, and no important military operations took place. On the death of their commander, Pereja, general Gainza arrived from Lima with re-enforcements, and took the command. On the 19th of March, 1814, Gainza attacked M'Kenna with one division of the Chilian army, encamped at El Membrillal, twelve miles from Chillan, but was repulsed with loss; and the next day O'Higgins, who had come to the relief of M'Kenna, engaged the royal army with success, and it suffered severely. Not discouraged by these checks, Gainza resolved to march against Santiago, which was in a defenceless condition; and advancing rapidly, the royalists crossed the Maule, and O'Higgins pursuing them, encamped on the opposite side of the river. In the night O'Higgins crossed the river with his army without destroying his encampment by which movement Gainza was completely deceived; being so surprised in the morning at seeing an army before him, and an encampment in his rear, which he supposed filled with troops, he abandoned his plan and retired to the town of Talca, which he had taken a few days before. O'Higgins opened a communication with Santiago, and cut off that of the enemy with Chillan.

The fall of Talca was attributed to the want of energy and courage in the junta, who left the town several days before the approach of the enemy, and took off a part of the garrison for their own security. This occasioned a revolution; the junta was deposed, and the government entrusted to Don F. Lastra, governor of Valparaiso, who was styled supreme director. At this time, propositions for an accommodation were received from the viceroy of Lima, brought by captain Hillyar of the British frigate *Phoebe*, which induced Lastra to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Santiago, which decided that the director should propose terms of capitulation to general Gainza. The result was a capitulation, on the 5th of May, whereby Gainza and his troops were to re-embark for Lima within two months, and to leave the places he then occupied, in the same state of military defence as he had found them. It was also stipulated that the viceroy should acknowledge the government of Chili, and all the changes which had been made, and that Chili should send a certain number of deputies to the cortes of Spain, as members of that body. Two colonels were delivered by each party as hostages, and peace was restored for a season. The only object of the Spanish chiefs, however, seems to have been to gain time and save their army, as Gainza, under various pretences, refused to fulfil the ar-

articles of the treaty, and by this base expedient preserved his army until General Osorio arrived with reinforcements from Lima.

The two Carreras, having escaped from Chillan, on the 23d of August, 1814, succeeded in deposing Lastra, and re-established the junta. This revolution, effected by force and corruption, excited much indignation with the inhabitants of Santiago. At their desire, O'Higgins marched with his troops toward the capital. Just as these troops and those of Carrera, brethren in the same cause, were about to shed each other's blood, intelligence arrived that the viceroy of Lima disapproved the capitulation. This put an end to the civil war, and O'Higgins submitted to the junta. Leaving O'Higgins at the head of the army, Carrera returned to Santiago. Meanwhile the Spanish forces under Osorio approached. O'Higgins was unable to resist them; great consternation prevailed throughout Chili. More than two thousand of the inhabitants, and also Carrera with 600 of his troops, fled from the country. Osorio took Santiago, Valparaiso, and all the principal towns, without opposition, and at the end of October, 1814, the Spanish authority was completely re-established throughout Chili. The inhabitants became the victims of royal vengeance; arrests, imprisonments, punishments, and banishments followed, filling the country with terror, suffering, and horror. More than one hundred patriots were exiled to the desert island of Juan Fernandez, 380 miles from the coast.

For more than two years the royalists maintained their power in Chili, and governed with the greatest rigor. At length the people, like the Israelites of old, found a deliverer raised up to free them from bondage. This was General San Martin, governor of the neighboring province of Cuyo; who conceived the noble design of emancipating Chili. After a year spent in preparations, in January, 1817, he commenced his march across the Andes. After the most incredible exertions, in passing over frozen summits, and through narrow and dangerous defiles, he at length reached the enemy. An attack was immediately commenced, the royalists put to flight, and the country emancipated. San Martin was appointed Supreme Director of Chili, but he declined the office, and it was conferred on O'Higgins.

San Martin returned to Buenos Ayres, to concert measures for an expedition into Peru. Great exertions to fit out this expedition were made both by Buenos Ayres and Chili. The viceroy, alarmed at these preparations, resolved to decide the fate of Peru in Chili. Osorio, with 5,000 men, landed at Talcahuano, and marched for the capital. Before he could reach it, San Martin and O'Higgins had united their forces, and attacked him. In the first engagement they were defeated and obliged to retire. But, in a few days another engagement took place, on the plains of Maypu,

where, after a long and most obstinate contest, the entire Spanish army was destroyed, its chief alone, with a few horsemen, escaping. Every thing belonging to them fell into the hands of the Patriots. The capital, which since the defeat of the army, had been covered with gloom, was now filled with joy and rejoicing; the sublime effusions of popular and patriotic feeling, which were exhibited, cannot be described, nor even conceived by those who have never witnessed a similar scene. The people in transports of joy, universally exclaimed, "*At last the plains of Maypu have sealed our Independence,*" while San Martin was hailed as the savior of the country, and the master-spirit of the revolution.

The preparations for the expedition against Peru were now resumed; and at length, under the conduct of San Martin, it resulted in complete success. Owing to dissensions, however, in the new government, the Spaniards succeeded in again establishing their authority there; but it was of short duration. Bolivar, in conjunction with the government of Chili, again restored it to freedom. Happily for the new world, happily for the cause of liberty, the Spanish despotism on this continent is completely overthrown; and as if recoiling on itself, it now seems about to expire at home by agonies of its own infliction.

