

CHAPTER XIV.

DEFENSE OF SAN MATEO — HEROISM OF RICAURTE — SIEGE OF VALENCIA — INTERVIEW OF MARIÑO AND BOLIVAR — UNEXPLICABLE DEFEAT OF ARAO — DEPUTATION FROM CARACAS — BATTLE OF CARABOBO — SAVAGE CONDUCT OF THE SPANIARDS AT SAN CARLOS — FATAL EXIT OF THE BATTLE OF LA PURTA — CRUELTY OF BOVES AT LA CABRERA — SECOND SIEGE OF VALENCIA — ATROCITIES OF BOVES IN THIS CITY — BOLIVAR ABANDONS CARACAS — QUERO — GLOOMY EPOCH OF 1814.

THE Liberator established his headquarters at San Mateo the 20th February. He possessed there one of the richest properties, which he had inherited from his parents; and formed of his house a fort to resist the impetus of the enemy.

Boves was at Cura.

The Liberator knew that he was preparing to assault anew; having disciplined his cavalry and increased his force. Also he was surrounded by persons of his same breed, lost to all virtue, and only thought to prosper with robberies and disturbances.

Bolívar was wanting in soldiers, the main element of defense, having been unable to unite more than 1200 infantry and 600 horse. Boves undoubtedly was much superior; and in the plains where the impulse of his powerful cavalry could not be checked, he would always have been victor, never conquered. On account of this the Liberator drew him to the mountains, because the soil balanced the strength of the armies, depriving Boves of his preponderance.

At the same time that with his military skill he caused the hosts of Boves to be less dreaded, Bolívar with his extraordinary activity, attended to the destruction of the guerrillas who infested the neighborhood of the lake of Valencia; he garrisoned the position of La Cabrera; he was forming a fleet; he was constructing entrenchments to cut off the royal highway of La Victoria, without failing to communicate daily with D'Elhuyar, who commanded the besieging lines of Puerto Cabello: with Escalona, who governed at Valencia: with Mariño, who was marching to his help, and whose movements it was necessary to combine; with authorities of Caracac, who would consult him on the least affair his attention always vigilant, his mind constant in all difficulties did not give way to fatigue, nor was he embarrassed by affairs, nor would misfortune find him off his guard or perturbed. *It is requisite that we force fortune to be prosperous*, he used to say frequently to his officers; and to encourage them on some desperate occasions, he would recall to them that tempests can carry a ship more rapidly to the port than good weather.

Boves was filled with pride, on considering that he was about to fight Bolivar in person for the first time, confiding in surely defeating him.* The reverses suffered by him anteriorly had irritated him; and now he determined to finish by one blow the independence, crushing its bravest and most loyal defenders.

On the 25th February the hosts of Boves appeared upon Cagua, a town in the vicinity of San Mateo, amounting to 7,000 men, the greater part cavalry. They immediately attempted to ford the river, dislodging the advanced forces, but the Major-General Mariano Montilla resisted them valorously; and as night was approaching, they retired. Boves allowed his troops to rest for two days, and at the break of day of the 26th, he charged the republicans impetuously with shouts and yells. The resistance which was made him in the intrenchments, and the withering fire directed by the Liberator in person, and the brave Lino Clemente, caused the royalists great loss; however, Boves was not discouraged, on the contrary, relying on the number of his troops, he exasperated the action with such tenacity, that he seemed to fight to decide the fate of the world. The sun had already mounted to its full height and the combat was still far from being decided. Villapol was killed; Campo-Elias wounded; thirty officers were already hors de combat, a terrible and well-aimed fire on the side of the royalists made the fight every time more bloody and dreadful; but Bolivar disregarded the bravery of Boves, and he, surprised, beheld the sun setting without having yet obtained the victory which he had considered so easy of attainment. Night came to pacify the anger, and on its closing, Boves, wounded, retreated and camped on the adjoining heights.

After eighteen hours and a half, the Liberator remained victorious on the battle-field.

The streets of the town and the roads were drenched (literally) in blood and covered with dead bodies.†

By this happy victory at San Mateo, the independents gathered more strength

*The relation of the priest Don Juan Antonio Rojas Queipo, a vile flatterer of Monteverde, is entirely false. The said clergyman, whilst preaching the funeral rite of Boves, said, that "the royalist chief had (directing himself to the Liberator), said: Bolivar, if you wish to give a proof of bravery and evade the shedding of human blood, come and fight hand to hand with me; the army whose chief shall be conquered, will be surrendered to the conqueror. Bolivar trembled, and did not accept the challenge, replying by a fire of his muskets and cannda. . . &c." This is absurd; and with such tales of old women did this unworthy minister profane the doctrine of truth, converting it into a doctrine of pestilence. None can imagine to what a degree fanaticism, in its hatred against the Liberator and the patriots, was carried; and, although not only once, he caused the Holy Bible to be the instrument for slavery and the most vile abjection.

† The Bulletin, No. 39, which relates the vigorous defence of the fortifications of San Mateo, numbers amongst the dead the brave Pedro Buroa. "Another Buroa again is seen in the honorable lists of the martyrs of liberty" all exclaimed when they arrived at this part of the Bulletin. In effect, this family, like unto that of the Fabii, almost all perished fighting against the enemies of their country. Lorenzo was the first who marked out the path of honor to his brothers. He died the 12th August, 1811, fighting the rebels at Valencia. Venancio was killed at the battle of Araure (5th December, 1816) in the vanguard of the "brave chasseurs." Pedro died at San Mateo. The blood of this generous family shed on the battle-field for the independence and glory of Venezuela, was like unto that of the Decii in Rome, the happy omen of triumph.

and the Liberator even thought (as he was much inclined to undertake difficult problems) of surprising Boves at Villa de Cura, where he was healing his wound. He confided this perilous mission to the young officer Manuel Cedeno, second to none in courage, with twenty picked soldiers, who followed him till Pao de Zarate; but the attempt was not realized, because dismounted from their horses it did not afford the security which the case required.

The mortification of seeing frustrated this plan, was joined to the disagreeable news which the Liberator received (9th of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon) of the return of Rosete to occupy the valleys of Tuy, thus threatening defenceless Caracas.

Thus it was that affairs were becoming extremely complicated.

Boves was being cured of his wound; and more vigorous than ever, he was preparing to rush upon Bolivar. His forces were superior. We had lost valuable and experienced officers, who could not be easily replaced. Caracas solicited assistance; but on the eve of a combat with the enemy in front, it was not prudent to weaken more and more the forces. . . . Bolivar, however, forgot generously his own peril, only looking at that of his beloved country; and picking out three hundred of his best soldiers, he put the Major-General Montilla at their head, and marched them to the capital (10th March.)

This column set out, in obedience to the strict order of the Liberator, beating their drums and flying their colors in full view of the enemy. It was a boast of confidence; it was also a stratagem, so that Boves or his second supposing themselves about to be attacked on their right flank, they should reinforce that wing with their best troops, and be alert and firm. Meanwhile Montilla was to keep on, as he did, marching tranquilly to his destination.

All happened thus: The advanced forces passed the night on their arms, and the following day when Montilla was already far on his march, the enemy understood that they had been deceived. Such a deceit exasperated him, and with the evidence that Bolivar had reduced his forces, he attacked him the 11th, although unsuccessful, the Liberator proving to him that he relied more on the heroism and fidelity of his troops than on numbers.

Ostentating the intrepidity and extraordinary bravery in the defense of San Mateo, the Liberator executed a movement upon the royalists on the night of the 16th, under the shelter of the obscurity, and at daybreak of the 17th he charged and routed them completely, distinguishing themselves in this daring attack the Granadian Colonel Hermogenes Maza and the Lieutenant-Colonel Tomas Montilla.

The death of the intrepid Pedro Buroz was accompanied by circumstances which will always honor his memory. This youth had hardly completed his fourteenth year, when he had already shed his blood for his country. Having given repeated proofs of splendid valor, his superiors did not wish (for a certain feeling of gratitude and compassion towards his family) to expose him to the fatal uncertainty of battles. During the last campaign they left him garrisoned; but the patriotic and generous youth asked, begged, supplicated to be allowed to go to fight against the oppressors of his country. His premature end was now close approaching. A musket-ball took his life, but covered him with glory, in the vicinity of San Mateo, the 27th of February. There he died, to live in immortality.

Whilst the sacred fire of the country remains in the hearts of the Americans, the brief but worthy history of the Burozes will not be remembered without a feeling of enthusiasm and veneration.

Meanwhile, Boves appeared at the head of his hosts (20th March) who received him with demonstrations of great joy, greeting him as the genius of war. He became impatient to fight and kill; dreadful in wickedness and horror; thirsting for all the excesses of the brutal passions, and like unto Attila and the Goths, who had no other design than to obliterate the Roman name, his only wish was to exterminate the American people. It is singular and worthy of mention, that the description made of the savage Attila by Paulus Diacono,* is the most faithful likeness of Boves; an ample chest, a distorted countenance, an overhanging brow, the nostrils distended, the eyes sunken, the head large, his gaze troubled and fearful, and which glanced around him as those of a tiger who thinks of his prey; born for the desolation of the earth! (*Vir in concussione Orbis in mundo natus.*)

On the same day (the 20th) and shortly after he had passed a review of his troops, he made a formidable charge. Bolivar resisted, causing him heavy losses. But Boves was untiring. He was agitated by the demon of extermination; and as he had received the doubly mortifying news of the defeat of Rosete at Ocumari, and the approach of the army of Mariño, redoubling his strength, he thought of giving the independents a vigorous attack, and defeat them, before the junction with the army of the East should be formed, the proximity of which he knew well we had not any notice, thanks to the incommunication caused by the guerrillas. He combined ably his operations, ordering a column to charge the house of the plantation, and take possession of the magazine whilst he should attack the lower positions on all sides.

The magazine and the hospital for the wounded were in dwelling-houses, the summit of which ruled the whole farm, and its defence was confided to Captain Antonio Ricuarte, a native of Santa Fe.

In the fortified barriers which should resist the deadly charges of Boves, were placed Lino Clemente, brave in peril, but calm; Martin Tovar, a zealous soldier of the country; Tomas Montilla, daring; Gogorza, victorious at Ospino; Pedro Leon Tofres, whose fearlessness terrified; Maza, a valiant Granadanian, friend and companion of Girardot and D'Eihuyar and other patriots, proud of being commanded by Bolivar. I cannot remember them all, but there was not a single one who did not confide on that important occasion.

At the dawn of day on the 25th, the signal for the combat was given.

Boves in person, running to and fro on horseback, skillful and daring, encouraged his troops, and brought them, carried on by his audacity, to the very edge of the parapets, which he helped to scale. A lively fire was then opened, and blood and death was seen on all sides. To the undisciplined daring of the "llaneros" to that cloud of destruction which surrounded all, embraced all, Bolivar and his loyal companions opposed intrepidity and calm valor. How many charges! How much and what firm resistance! The dead bodies obstructed and the blood ran in torrents! The phantom of death with its inexorable sickle, did not cause our troops to lose courage, and it mowed them down pitilessly! During the thickest of the fight, that column of Boves which silently mounted the height in the rear of the patriots, presented itself in front of the dwelling on the hill, infusing new vigor into the royalists and discouragement and anxiety to us.

"The magazine!" all exclaimed.

* Hilar. Miscel., L. 15.

The enemy was in need of ammunition, they were now about to take it.

The salvation of the republicans at San Mateo depended on the valor of Ricaurte. Ricaurte is unflinching; but how resist?

A moment of uncertainty disturbed the minds of all.

What will finally happen?

Numerous forces were gathering against the house. Ricaurte ordered out the wounded.

Anxiety was still more increased by this. Friends and enemies turned to look again what would succeed.

The phalanx of Boves approach. The magazine will be taken by them! Ricaurte ordered his soldiers to descend in retreat.

The Liberator tranquil in the midst of that indescribable agitation, calm with that serenity which is the principal gift of nature for command, dismounted from his horse, and ordered him to be unsaddled. Placing himself afterwards in the midst of his troops; "Here," he said, "will I die the first."

This manifestation of a wonderful confidence and an extraordinary valor, revived the enthusiasm, when suddenly a fearful noise re-echoed over the battle-field. What an unusual clamor, what a terrible din! Dense clouds of smoke covered the space. Nothing could be seen. The combat was suspended for a moment.

The smoke had cleared away and all could see well what had happened.

Boves beheld his defeat.

Bolivar admired American heroism.

Ricaurte had dismissed his soldiers, and with his own hand had fired the magazine when he saw the dwelling was filled with enemies. Sublime determination of an heroic soul! how much virtue! how much glory!

Ricaurte satisfies the universal admiration, proving that in conflicts there is no company like that of the heart of a hero!

Miracles of patriotism and valor!

Boves was stunned. The loss he suffered was terrible. He immediately sounded a retreat, and fell back on the heights, leaving eight hundred men stretched on the field.

Fearful spectacle should have been this, where ferocity was displayed so dreadfully!

This chief remained quiet during two days, as if reposing from the amazement which had taken possession of him; at the termination of which he abandoned his position, and marched on to the rear, where he was now threatened by Marino and his soldiers.

On the 30th of March he raised the siege of San Mateo. Boves marched by the road which from San Sebastian leads to Villa de Cura. The Liberator had lost more than two hundred valuable officers and some fifteen hundred brave soldiers. Judge what must have been the fury of that fight! Never did any general of an army display more vigilance and untiring attention, more presence of mind in such a strict, bloody and tragic siege.

The very enemies of Bolivar confess that only he could have resisted so much and with such resolution. More than thirty assaults did he repel from the "llaneros" of Boves; and if on many occasions he did not obtain victory, he at least saw the phantom, never giving way to the impetus, to the numbers, or to the fortune of the Spanish arms.

A new cause added to the past losses, came to call the attention of the Liber-

stor, by the news he received from Urdaneta and of the state of affairs in the west, where fortune had shown herself in dark and gloomy colors. Ceballos and Cagigal, encouraged by the victory which Boves obtained at La Puerta over Campo-Elías, succeed in forming a division of one thousand men, and with it to surprise and defeat Urdaneta at Barquisimeto. To the force of those chiefs now increased, was added that of Calzada, who had until now remained at Arauca. Urdaneta, being unable to make himself strong at San Carlos, fell back on Valencia. From that city he reported to the Liberator what had occurred assuring him that Valencia would be soon attacked by the combined armies of Cocha and Apure; and added that he should not rely on any of the people of the west, as all were hostile to the independence. Bolivar answered him on the spot; "Citizen general, you will defend Valencia until death, because all our elements of war being there, losing them is to lose the republic. General Marino is to come soon with his army from the east, as soon as he arrives he will defeat Boves, and immediately proceed to your rescue. Send two hundred men to the help of D'Elhuyar at the besieging line of Puerto Cabello, so that he can cover the point of Palito, from whence it would be easy for the Spaniards to send ammunitions to Boves, who is in want of them."

This order was fulfilled.

Urdaneta had scarcely reposed from the reverse he had suffered, and which he reported to the Liberator, when (as he had judged) Ceballos appeared upon Valencia, at the head of three thousand men, establishing a line of circumvallation to besiege it. On the 30th and 31st of March the royalist chief possessed himself of almost all the city, defended courageously and with singular valor by the weak garrison which were placed there, fighting at all hours and on all sides; the patriots totally lacking of water, and appeasing their thirst with sour lemons, stagnant water, and finally chewing balls.

The bitterness of that terrible state was somewhat relieved by the news which was received by the partial victories obtained by the divisions of Marino upon the guerillas of the plain at Tucupido, Corosal, Lezama, Altagracia and other points, and afterwards by the news of the splendid triumph of Bocachica, in which Marino routed Boves, he leaving five hundred killed and wounded on the battle-field (31st of March).

Boves then retreated for Guigue towards Valencia, where Ceballos was; and although without loss of time Valdez, Bermudez, Montilla (Mariano), and other officers, wish to pursue him, Marino refused, remarking that he was in need of ammunition, and that it was more important to join the Liberator and put themselves in accord with him, for which reason the victorious army also retreated by the road of Pao in the direction to La Victoria; an indiscreet movement which was fatal to our cause, as it allowed the enemy to recuperate, at the same time that it destroyed our horses on a rocky road, and gave place to desertion, which was considerable.

On his side Bolivar, at the knowledge of the defeat of Boves at Bocachica, harassed his rearguard with cavalry from San Mátteo, and persecuted him so severely that he was able to capture from him one thousand horses, three hundred prisoners, baggage, arms and numerous emigrants which he was carrying away by force.

Notwithstanding this, Boves in his retreat arrived at Valencia (3d of April) with more than three thousand men; and the forces joined amounted to six thousand men. The situation of the besieged city was now still more difficult;

the troops who garrisoned it were exhausted by thirst and fatigue, besides there were a great many wounded; and in this exigency the desertion of some soldiers who passed over to Ceballos, caused to be feared fresh and stronger assaults from the enemy, and such ones as would entirely destroy the garrison. In effect Valencia beheld herself attacked on all sides at the same time; the houses perforated, the artillery placed on the roofs. The combat did not calm nor the fire cease for an instant. At five in the evening the families had taken refuge in the church, and the enemies had penetrated in the city. The sun was already setting in the horizon, and it was necessary to make a gigantic effort to resist those last shocks, which were becoming more furious. Honor is due to the defenders of Valencia, covered with unfading glory! At half-past six, night having fallen, the besiegers desisted; and as Ceballos feared the junction of Bolivar with Marino, he raised the siege and retreated with his forces towards Tocuyito, leaving the city sacked, fired in part and covered with dead bodies.

The garrison was reduced to one-half. The besieged, who saw themselves in the last extremity, prostrated at the feet of the arms with which they had so heroically defended liberty, were unable to pursue the cruel besiegers. It was all that Captain Espinosa could do to go out with a few horsemen to observe the direction in which the retreat was executed, to make a few prisoners of the rear guard, and to rescue the casket of San Francisco, with other jewels and precious things which the Spanish soldiers of Ceballos had robbed.

On the 2d of April, Bolivar and Marino met at La Victoria; they embraced each other affectionately, and the Liberator congratulated most cordially his new friend on the victory of Bocachica, conceding by a general order, a shield to the army of the East, and after, using a gay and familiar style, which agreed exceedingly with the simplicity of the character, which he had already penetrated, of General Marino: "Fortune," said he, "always favors the brave; but remark that she is as much wanting in constancy as she is superfluous in womanlike qualities. It is necessary not to permit her any triviality."

Forthwith the Liberator flew to Valencia accompanied by his aids and staff, where he arrived the 3d, in the morning, completing by his presence the joy of the unconquerable defenders of that city. Later on, arrived 700 muskets, which by forced marches, Bolivar himself had sent from San Mateo for the help of the besieged.

Bolivar returned immediately to La Victoria (the 5th April) and persuaded Marino that he should keep on to Valencia, to oppose the royalist army. . . . During those days the Liberator labored incessantly, organizing the subsistences of the army (this subject was more difficult than could be supposed, at first sight, because the country was positively parched) collecting sufficient cattle, and providing his divisions with arms, uniforms, ammunition, equipments, etc. He gave them a more suitable organization, and set out for the lines of Puerto Cabello, bringing it reinforcements.

From Puerto Cabello he returned to Valencia to determine on the march of the combined army which was to attack Ceballos. This chief was now at San Carlos, with only his soldiers, as Boves had marched away with his "llaneros" to Calabozo. Such a division of the royalist forces afforded an opportunity to destroy Ceballos, leaving the West in part cleared and the power of the enemy diminished. The Liberator then organized a strong army composed of one and the other; of his own and those of Marino, and which he placed under the orders of this one as a demonstration of the esteem for his

person, and the merit which he gave to his services. Marino set out for San Carlos with 2,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, which bodies were commanded by Bermudez, Valdez, Cedeño, Ayala, Retaluer, Salas, Montilla, Tovar, and others. The Liberator went to Puerto Cabello with the intention of assaulting that place.

Marino was to have halted with his army at Tinaro, four leagues from San Carlos, to procure cattle, and move them all to incorporate the artillery and magazines, which were marching slowly on, carried on shoulders. In that town he received the false news that Ceballos had abandoned San Carlos, and credulous even to imprudence, without considering that the country was hostile, he marched on, supposing to occupy the place without difficulty. Many and very precious remarks were made to Marino by Urdaneta, to whom Bolívar had given the order to afford the commander-in-chief all convenient indications; but strange to say, Marino, who was docile and condescending on all occasions, on this was obstinate, and the most discreet observations were useless. Unhappy undeception! On the 16th of April, at daybreak, Marino saw himself placed in the indispensable necessity of fighting against 2,500 men, formed in line of battle, whom he encountered on the hill of Arao, and was forced to combat, by his own fault, without any spare ammunition. This imprevision and temerity endangered the glorious victor of Bocachica, who, in this emergency, relied only on the bravery of his soldiers; but all the decision and valor of the world are not sufficient to conquer without the proper elements. The shock of the enemy's cavalry put in disorder our horsemen; and soon the troops of Cedeño were flying aghast and Marino and almost all the chiefs of the army retreated. And the worst of it was that in the confusion produced by the shameful flight of the cavalry and the aberrance of the commander-in-chief, no operation could be combined. Our infantry commenced their retreat toward Valencia, the Spaniards remaining in their own lines, without having stirred, nor having even discharged a gun. At the dawn of day on the 17th, the relics of the army arrived at Tinaco; they did not find Marino nor any of the chiefs, but the magazines destroyed by them, to take advantage, perhaps, of the horses who had carried them. They also found at Las Palomeras, the wood-work of the artillery set on fire. The fugitives had fired them, so that they should not fall into the hands of the enemy. Marino and Cedeño were in the forest, and from there they were saved by the calmness of Lieutenant Calzadilla, who resisted some shocks of the enemy to liberate them.

The Liberator was celebrating at Puerto Cabello, upon the bastions captured from the enemy, the grand national feast of the 19th April, and was getting ready to realize the assault of the place, when he received the unhappy news of the defeat of Arao. As always happens in such cases, the news came exaggerated, and Bolívar truly believed Marino and the troops of his command totally destroyed. "Our position becomes more critical," he said to Colonel Palacios: "we are left alone to restrain the furious torrent of devastation; but we will check it!" He immediately gave fresh orders to D'Elhuyar and proceeded without delay to Valencia.

Posterity cannot do less than admire so much daring, so much and such magnanimous constancy. Each disaster seemed to impart to Bolívar new valor, more activity and stronger reliance in his definitive triumph; and with no other help besides his genius and his strong desires for the liberty of his country, he stood firm before the tempest which threatened to submerge it,

throwing lustre and dazzling glory upon the American arms. What an invincible moral force! If firmness is the exercise of the courage of the mind; if perseverance is the loftiest virtue of the superior man, who, more valiant and virtuous than Bolivar?

At Valencia the Liberator convinced himself that the disaster of Arao had not been as considerable as reported to him, and he immediately thought of reorganizing the army and going out in search of Ceballos and destroy him. This decision was received with applause by the chiefs and by the army of the West, and strengthened by the military preparations, which were made successfully in the first moments, was delayed, because it became known that the Captain-General *pro tem.* the field-marshal Don Juan Manuel Cagigal had set out from Coro with a reinforcement of troops and ammunition, and had formed a junction with Ceballos at San Carlos (30th April). This was true, and the royalists passed in review 6,000 men of all arms. Such a circumstance, if not unforeseen, at least unexpected, caused the Liberator to proceed to Caracas in search of help to continue the campaign opposing Cagigal. From this place, in effect, he drew 800 men, whom he sent to Valencia under the orders of Ribaa. He forwarded munitions, provisions, money, medicines and other necessary resources, and he himself was preparing to proceed in person to Carabobo to command the battle.

During the days anterior to his departure, a deputation presented itself in Caracas, sent by the President of the State of Cartagena to the Liberator. It was composed of Lieutenant-Colonel Juan Salvador Narvaez and the Prefect of the Legislature, Doctor Pedro Gual. The first brought the act of the 15th March, celebrated in honor of General Simon Bolivar, by the House of Representatives of Cartagena; and the second the power and documents indispen-

* ACT IN HONOR OF THE CITIZEN GENERAL SIMON BOLIVAR.—The House of Representatives considering: That General Simon Bolivar, after having rendered important services to the republic, leading its armies to victory in the field of honor, has made himself a creditor to the gratitude of his fellow citizens, redeeming them from the blackest slavery, have this day in session, decreed and does decree the following:

1st. The Legislature proclaims the citizen General Simon Bolivar, as a well-deserving son of the country.

2d. His name shall be placed in golden letters on the public archives of this Legislature, created by the law of the 14th March, 1814.

3d. The formula of this inscription shall be the following: "General Simon Bolivar, native of Caracas, did not behold with indifference the chains which Spanish barbarity had for a second time placed on his country; he conceived the daring project of redeeming it, and joining himself to this state, he succeeded in entering in the undertaking. The republic of Cartagena saw him with pleasure amongst its children, and entrusted him with the command of their arms. From the borders of the Magdalena to the walls of La Guayra, this American hero marched gloriously. The republic has the pride of calling the Liberator of Venezuela her well-deserving son."

4th. This formula shall also be inscribed in all the municipal archives of the state.

5th. Let it be communicated to the supreme executive power for its publication. Given at the palace of the legislative power of the State of Cartagena de Indias, the 15th of March, 1814.

PEDRO GUAL, Prefect.

ble directed to affiliate the bonds of friendship, and to promote the union between the States of New Granada, Cartagena and Venezuela.

The deputies were received with all the honors due to the illustrious people they represented.

Narvaez had fought under the orders of Bolivar during the first campaign, which was opened by the liberating army in the territory of Venezuela. At the moment of placing in his hands his credentials, he recalled with pride this circumstance, and added: "I approach Your Excellency, and two lively feelings are mixed in my heart; that of love for an estimable man who has bestowed a thousand distinctions on me, and that of admiration which the presence of heroes should naturally inspire. . . . As much the warlike actions as the talents and civic virtues have caused the name of the young General Bolivar to re-echo in all the populations of New Granada and Cartagena is the first who is pleased by the triumphs to which she concurred, and to count Your Excellency among her worthy officers. The day on which was published in that city the victorious entry of Y. E. in redeemed Caracas, was one of the most beautiful which has appeared on our horizon."

To these words of Narvaez the Liberator replied:

"Nothing can be more flattering to me than to see myself among the well-deserving sons of the State of Cartagena. I accept, then, with the most cordial gratitude, a title which in all respects flatters my heart. I have received from that State the succours which placed me in aptitude to liberate my country. I have fought with the brave Carthaginians, whose valor constantly aided my efforts. If I have had the glory of breaking the chains of my enslaved country, I owe it principally to the favorable reception and the generous sacrifices which I merited from the State of Cartagena. These shall never be obliterated from my memory. The most solid friendship, the most perfect union will always reign between Cartagena and Venezuela. Our bonds shall increase the greatness of the republic, and our enemies on beholding us united, will abandon the foolish project of ruling us, which has fascinated them. The sons of Cartagena and Venezuela shall be sons of a same family, joined by gratitude, joined by love and mutual interests. I, in the name of the people whom I have the glory of commanding, and who have confided me their care during the war, offer to the State of Cartagena all that is in my power, and can contribute to the destruction of our enemies and to our mutual security."

As to the project of Confederation, which was no other than the union of the littoral provinces of Venezuela and Cundinamarca, from the mouth of the Orinoco to the Cape Gracias Adios, on the Mosquito Coast, it never had any results. It was an anticipated step, but useless; as all that is projected outside of the opportunity, which is the enamel of all affairs. During that violent course which

In accordance I order all the tribunals, chiefs and authorities civil as well as military and ecclesiastical, to obey, and cause to be obeyed, complied and executed, in all its parts.

Given at the palace of the supreme executive power of the State of Cartagena de Indias, 15th of March, 1814, 4th of our independence.

MANUEL RODRIQUEZ,

President-Governor of the State.

LUIS CARRASQUILLO,

Chief-Officer.

was brought about by the events, the soil infested with hostile guerrillas, with armies like those of Cagigal and Bovea, which inspired a just alarm to the patriots, and who boasted of their numbers, manifesting openly their intention of enchaining liberty, it was not possible to occupy at the same time in internal and tranquil organizations. It was indispensable to meet them face to face; conquer them or die. Bolivar warmly acknowledged the homage presented to his glory, and deferred for a time, when he should have passed through that long journey of perils and evils, the realization of the project of the Council of Cartagena.*

On the 10th of May the Liberator was at Valencia; the 12th he passed a review of the troops; the 17th he was encamped in front of the enemy. It was in the plains of Carabobo!

The forces of Bolivar numbered 5,000 men. Cagigal was superior; but a Divine Providence was to favor the ventured action in this glorious field. Temerity is not always unlucky, as is also prudence always fortunate.

In the midst of so many fatigues and perils, having Cagigal in front and Bovea at Carabobo, who was marching on with a numerous and formidable body of cavalry; the existence of the republic entrusted to the morality and valor of the independents; when it was necessary to conquer, an extraordinary event came to trouble and deeply mortify the mind of the Liberator! The infantry of the East, which Marino had brought, led off by the sergeants, deserted. A column of 200 men abandoned the field in the silence of night, taking the road to San Diego. Fortunately they got lost in the forests, ignoring the road; and Urdaneta informed of the event, sent out in their search, reducing them easily to obedience. On the arrival at Valencia, they were drawn up in front of the army, and there, the ringleaders and one soldier out of every five were shot. The evil was cured; but Bolivar was surprised by this crime, which if it was again repeated could be of such fatal consequences.

With the division which Ribas brought from Caracas the Liberator organized anew the army into four divisions; the right wing was confided to Bermudez; the left to Valdez; the centre to Colonel Florencio Palacios; the reserve and artillery to Colonel Jalon; the cavalry of the East with the dragoons of the West to Colonel Antonio Freites. Urdaneta was named Chief of Staff; Montilla (Mariano), Sub-Chief; Marino and Ribas were to second Bolivar, who had beside him Colonels José Leandro Palacios, Garcia de Sena, Aldao, Tomas Montilla and other chiefs. In this order the army marched against the hosts of Cagigal. The Liberator directed personally all the operations, being the first in the perils and military fatigues:

. . . . Monstrat tolerare labores
Non jubet.. (Lucan, l. IX.)

At one P. M. on the 28th of May the fire commenced. The most glorious vic-

* Notwithstanding all, when the Liberator was informed of the misfortunes of Napoleon, of the occupation of Paris by the allies, he invited the Congress of New Granada to the view of sending a plenipotentiary minister to Europe, to defend the rights of the South American republics, and to obtain its recognition from the Congress of Chatillon. The Granadadan minister should go united with the one that Venezuela should send. In effect, the government of the union nominated Doctor Jose Maria del Real, a lawyer of Cartagena, who knew the customs of Europe, and an officer named Aldao was appointed his secretary. They left imme-

tory should crown the efforts of Bolivar. Those hordes, who threatened the freedom of the country, and came thirsting for vengeance and crime, found their death on the very territory they profaned. His orders were the most precise and to the purpose, and he compensated for the numerical inferiority of his troops by the dexterity of his manœuvres. His calm sight ran every moment over the field where the glories were increasing and trophies being elevated to Venezuelan honor. Disorder was thrown in the ranks of Cagigal; he wished still to defend himself on the heights; but in vain, he was driven back, and the timid chief was forced to fly along with some of his subalterns, Correa, Calzada and others towards Barinas. The royalists were routed; the infantry were killed or taken prisoners. Several officers, amongst them the commander of the regiment of Granada, fell into the hands of Bolivar; others, as Puyes, Mendez, Paz, Somarriba (Major-General of infantry), were found stretched in the dust; all the enemy's artillery, 500 muskets, 9 flags, 4,000 horses, provisions, cattle, magazines, documents, and a large booty were the trophies of this famous battle, which for the fifth time saved the republic!

Such is the celebrated battle of Carabobo, won with less men, the laurels snatched from the brows of an enemy which thought itself victorious.

The victory of Carabobo made known the details of the unheard-of acts of barbarous cruelty consummated by the Spaniards at San Carlos. What horror! The history of the most savage fierceness does not present such terrible scenes of blood and martyrdom. "The brutal Calzada," says an ocular witness, "as soon as he took possession of San Carlos by the evacuation of our soldiers, caused to be murdered more than two hundred persons, without excepting the aged, the fair sex, nor tender infancy. In the sacred temple he caused to be assassinated two individuals who had taken refuge there, fleeing from the savage ferocity. In the same temple they violated two virgins and robbed all the sacred jewels. But their crimes and barbarity did not cease here; the chaplain Carlos Quintana, a native of this town, after having been castrated and his ears been struck off, was flayed alive: they made him look on his skin, and after he had seen it they cut his throat. This is the conduct which is observed in regard to Americans. The town was fired; the dwellings pillaged; and the inhabitants left without anything to cover their nudity, nor with what to live! This is the catastrophe which the town of San Carlos has just suffered, one of the most beautiful of the towns of Venezuela."*

However strong may have been the mind of the Liberator, born for great undertakings, he could not help to suffer the most terrible anxieties when he paused to reflect what fate should attend on the provinces of Venezuela, and the whole of America, if disdainful fortune should deny him a participation of her favors. He had just conquered; but the battle of Carabobo, although important and glorious, was not decisive. The terrible enemy, Boves, was preparing to deliver another tremendous combat, with a large number of warlike

diately; but did not succeed, because the English ministers refused even an audience to Real. Real occupied himself at London in writing a great deal on the American revolution: he made it known, prognosticated its triumph, and he also employed himself in purchasing arms and other indispensable elements of war.

* A private letter written the 2d of June, 1814, by a citizen of San Carlos, inserted in the *Gazeta of Caracas* of Monday, 18th June, No. 76. Printing press of Domingo Torres.

troops; and in the calculations of the most daring man alone could the hope of victory be entertained. The mind of Bolivar possessed of that elevation, which is discovered in predestinated men, succeeded in drawing advantage from the victory, inflaming the mind of the soldier with his fiery military eloquence, and imparting to the chiefs the same greatness of his feelings. Demonstrating to all the necessity of making fresh and more prodigious efforts in favor of liberty and the country, because without extraordinary sacrifices it was impossible to restrain the impetuous torrent which threatened to overrun the republic, he gave the orders most appropriate so that the army should cover all the different points, which were most prominent. Urdaneta marched to the West to recuperate the territory which had been lost during the past month; Ribas returned to the capital, to maintain himself in expectation; Mariño and Jalon countermarched upon Cura, to keep Boves in check, who was approaching at the head of 5,000 mounted "llaneros," and 8,000 musketeers. The Liberator flew to Caracas, to reanimate the public mind of its inhabitants, to foresee what was necessary, and to see finally what resource he could derive for the army, principally in the branch of clothing. The governor complimented him for the brilliant victory of Carabobo: "Let us not allow ourselves to be dazzled by the triumph with which fortune has to-day crowned us, he replied; let us prepare ourselves for greater combats, let us put in movement all the resources of our good or evil position, parting from the principle that there is nothing done, when there is anything left to do; and to us there is left a great deal."

Great valor is revealed in extreme afflictions. The Liberator knew that Boves had made powerful preparations at Calabozo, and had incorporated to his army, the dispersed of Bocachica and the fugitives of Carabobo; that he possessed all that was needed, men and horses; that by the rivers Guárico, Apure and Orinoco he had received from Guayana, muskets, money, and ammunition for his soldiers; and around him all was wanting! The succour had all been drained, all was penury! To the royalists were reserved all happiness, to him troubles and calamities. They fired the fields, they trod down the seed, they murdered the owners and nothing was wanting to them; they made war to nature itself, depriving her of the means with which she sustains us, and all was abundant in their fields. Bolivar was wanting in all, and his task was becoming by moments more and more painful! An active man, but not violent, he respected private rights; he did not employ force; he did not despoil, and he suffered inexplicable want. Was there ever a moment that passed that did not present him motives for pain and sorrow? But troubles did not weaken his heart; nor if he did feel overpowered by fatigues, did he show signs of discouragement or mistrust. Like unto the palm, dejected by rains, one day erects itself triumphant, displaying to the air the pomp of its luxuriant branches, so Bolivar, pressed by contrarieties, weighed down by misfortunes, afflicted with such great ravages, would be elevated each time higher, to manifest to the world the treasure of his immortal virtues.

The morning of the 12th of June dawned in sorrow for the independents. Already the news was repeated that Boves was marching on with a large number of select men and determined to lay waste to all. Mariño, on being informed of it, did not retreat from Cura, where he was posted; but on the contrary he advanced with his 2,800 men to the unlucky point of La Puerta, where he posted himself the 14th. The following day at dawn the two forces beheld each other; but as Boves hid his troops, and as Mariño did not receive exact

news of the number he had brought from Calabozo, he prepared himself for the combat, believing to fight probably with equal forces. At this moment the Liberator arrived from Caracas, and took command. He wished immediately to change the scene and to make more efficacious and advantageous attacks against the enemy, so as not to risk the battle; but it was now too late. The combat had begun. He still thought of retreating, to draw out by this stratagem the hostile force, and to extract his own from that position,* but Boves did not give him time. Sure of destroying the republican army, when he beheld our infantry fighting bravely, he ordered to come forth, like an horrible deluge from the sinuities of the soil and the adjacent bushes, three large masses of cavalry who attacked impetuously, and in a few moments destroyed us. All was lost. A brave battalion of Cumana, formed a hollow square, delayed, but could not evade their entire ruin. About 1,000 republicans perished on that fatal day. The brave General Antonio Maria Freitas, wounded to the heart on beholding the destruction of the troops he commanded, took away his life with his own pistols. Colonels Garcia de Sena, Aldao, Muñoz, Tebar, Secretary of the Liberator, died gloriously fighting as soldiers. Boves murdered ALL THE WOUNDED PRISONERS; and to display better his ferocious coolness, he seated to dine Colonel Jalon, who was one of the last, and at the conclusion of the meal, at the same table and in the presence of the victim, he ordered him to be hung, and that his head should be sent to Calabozo, as an agreeable present to his friends.

Marino, with a few followers, succeeded in escaping by the ridge of Pao de Zarate. Bolivar and Ribas went to La Victoria, and from thence to Caracas.

On his arrival at La Victoria, the Liberator did not hide from any one the unhappy event of La Puerta. He related the destruction, and ended in recommending strength of mind and constancy through the fickleness of fortune. To obstruct the operations of the victor whilst he went to the capital to invent means of resistance and to save Caracas; he notified Colonel Jose Maria del Sacramento Fernandez to defend the small forts of Cabrera; to D'Elhuyar he recommended the greatest vigilance; to Colonel Escalona, military chief of Valencia, he ordered to put the city in a state of defence; to Urduñeta, finally, who was at Barquisimeto with a column of six hundred men, he sent notice to fall back to Valencia. "Let us repair the severe blow which for the second time we have suffered at La Puerta," he said to all; "the art of victory is learnt in defeat."

On the 18th of June the Liberator arrived at the capital, accompanied by General Ribas and other chieftains.

The position of Caracas was really painful.

The same day that Bolivar arrived here Boves entered La Victoria, following on the heels of the defeated. This chief divided his forces in two portions, destining two thousand men under the command of Captain Gonzalez, to operate against Caracas, and with the main body of the army he proceeded in person towards Valencia at the break of day of the 17th. He overcame the resistance he met with at Cabrera (to which action the son of the Marquis of Casa Leon concurred, leading the hordes of Boves through his own farm, "La Trinidad"), and put to the sword the brave defenders of the fortifications, as also

* This was the same place where Campo-Elias fought a battle against Boves, in which he was defeated.

many of the families of the adjacent villages. The slaughter there caused by the royalists was terrible, treading inhumanly under foot the dead bodies, which they left unburied to horrify the living.*

Boves, who had received a reinforcement of eight hundred men at Guacara, and who was at the head of three thousand victorious "llaneros," besieged Valencia the 19th, making fearful intimations to the garrison.

Colonel Don Juan Escalona resisted heroically, relying on receiving reinforcements from Urdaneta and Bolivar.

Boves reiterated his threats, promising to murder the population; but Escalona replied bravely and determinedly that "he would not surrender the place whilst he possessed means to defend it." The combat was incessant. The 22d the Spaniards occupied San Francisco.

It then happened that, either through cowardice or treason, the two brothers Medina, citizens of San Carlos, passed over to the camp of the royalists, and were received, great God! in the most cruel manner that can be imagined by the most blood-thirsty and savage of men. Horns were bound to their foreheads, and they were teased as in a bull-fight, lancing them until they died. Inhumanity unworthy of savages!

The 24th, D'Elhuyar, placed between two fires, raised the siege of Puerto Cabello, and embarked with his small force at Ocumare de la Costa for La Guayra. By this the defenders of Valencia became more abandoned and weakened, who lost the hospital and other houses contiguous to the place (25th of June). There were killed the wounded who were unable to escape; and Boves, who breathed only blood, carried to an extreme his purpose of taking the lives of all. He wished to depopulate America, as she was depopulated before, and left it a desert by the Almagros, Nicuzas, Aguirrea, Pizarros, and remaining companions.

The besieging chief on being informed of the determination of D'Elhuyar, marched with a few soldiers to Puerto Cabello, leaving the siege in charge of his second, Don Francisco Tomas Morales. This one made an assault on the place at night, which was bloody, the conflict of the besieged being increased by the explosion of some barrels of powder, which caused many misfortunes. Several peaceful citizens presented themselves to the enemy believing thus to secure better their fate; but they found a tomb instead of protection; the Senor Cazoola (one of them) perishing by blows from an axe.

At the same time that Boves returned from Puerto Cabello, bringing along with him from there hand grenades and muskets, with which he did not give a moment's peace to the besieged; Cagigal, Calzada, Ceballos, and other chiefs

* The Spaniard Torrente, on referring to this cruelty of Boves, says very coolly, as if he was treating of dogs: "The whole of that brilliant column (that which defended the fort of Cabrera) was put to the sword, from Fernandez to the lowest drummer." And not even the least expression of sorrow for such a barbarous massacre, which horrified humanity! Not even the smallest sign of disapprobation for that sea of blood! On the contrary, a little further on, he is uttiring in praising this scourge of God, and says that Boves was, "the bravest man America ever beheld; the most unblemished royalist, the warrior most abundant in resources and stratagems; the most fortunate leader, the most popular chief, and who knew more than any one else how to gain the love of the soldier, and a semi-adoration on the part of the "llaneros!" . . . (Vol. II, p. 83)

Where are the morals and good judgment of the Spanish historian?

joined him with twelve hundred men collected at Barinas, which subdly made still more hopeless the fate of the defenders of Valencia. The fire had already devoured many of the houses, and the patriots were reduced to an only angle of the place. That handful of men, the bravest, the most deserving of immortal praise, resisted the impetuous attacks of four thousand soldiers who spread death on all sides. Never has any band fought with more bravery. Escalona, Governor Espejo, Lieutenant-Colonel Usategui, Captain Velazoo, Granadanians Alcovar, Gogorza, Oienfuegos, Peña, Lopez (father of General Narciso Lopez) and others, immortalized their name by that admirable tenacity with which they defended the place, dying of thirst, eating filthy animals, the dwellings reduced to rubbish, without shelter, breathing an atmosphere infected by the putrefaction of the bodies which laid unburied. And all this under a deadly and incessant fire!

Valencia was now defenceless.

It was impossible to fight against sickness, against hunger and thirst, and unceasing and painful fatigue.

On the morning of the 9th of July, they heard the reveille from the enemies camp, vivas to the king, and a salute of twenty-one cannons. They beheld afterwards a white flag placed on an edifice, and later on there appeared an officer, bringing a missive from Caracas, sent by the Archbishop Ooll and Pratt and the Marquis of Casa Leon, notifying them of the occupation of the capital by the Spaniards and the retreat of Bolivar and the Independents. Boves proposed a capitulation to the besieged. Escalona and Espejo repeated with heroism, "We should not surrender;" but the officers and many other distinguished persons urged them to accept the capitulation, and they consented. They named as plenipotentiaries to negotiate the treaty the Dr. Miguel Peña and Colonel Felis Usategui; they solicited hostages and the negotiation was opened.

Boves entered Valencia (10th of July) under favor of this treaty, by which was stipulated the inviolability of life in regard to the inhabitants of that capital, military or civil, who were not to be molested for their opinions, and could leave the country, taking along with them their wealth. . . . Boves swore he would fulfill this agreement; he invoked the chastisement of Heaven if he deviated from his promises, and in the presence of the Holy Sacrament he repeated a hundred times that he would not shed the blood of the defenceless, and of those who submitted themselves by the capitulation; but, alas! hardly had he beheld himself master of the position, he perfidiously ignored the treaty, violated his oath in disregard for the Divine Majesty, and he murdered with lancea, inhumanely and savagely, Governor Dr. Francisco Espejo, ninety of the principal citizens, sixty-five officers, and three hundred and ten soldiers!* . . .

Enormous outrages and examples of cruelty and perfidy, executed not only

* The night of the day on which Boves occupied Valencia, his officers obliged the young ladies mourning for the death of their fathers and brothers, to dance at a ball, which they prepared in honor of the victor, and while such an immoral performance lasted, the second in command, Morales, with a company of assassins, entered the house of lady Uricoa, where they found some patriot officers, and put them all to the sword. Espinosa, Paris and others, died there martyrs. Favored by the ball, and informed of what was happening, Colonel Escalona, who was detained in the very apartment of Boves, fled!

by hatred and passion, but by the advice, which persuaded the royalists not to respect the word given to insurgents, and convenient to the cause of Spain the desolation and depopulation of America!

The Liberator had dictated at Caracas all the measures which his eminent warlike talents, his activity and his love for independence had suggested to him. He assembled the people to speak to them, and inspire them with hope; he published the law of the emancipation of all the slaves who should enlist under the republican flags; he solicited from the churches the jewels which were not indispensable for the worship, with the view of applying them to the urgencies of the moment; he dictated several measures to save the republic from the tempest in which it was to wreck; but all in vain. At the same time that Gonzales was advancing with part of the troops of Boyes by the road of La Victoria, the guerrilla Machado passed over the ridge of the mountains of Ocumare, and threatened Caracas on the south. For one moment the Liberator thought of resisting in this capital, and even caused to be erected a small fort, and water and food to be collected at San Francisco, in the seminario and other edifices which were placed on the fortified district; but he soon changed his mind on account of solid reasons. What did he promise himself with the defense of Caracas? From whom did he expect help? Was it not better to remain free to go in search of succours in the East and carry the war to the plains, lost as was the free portion of the republic? The resistance at San Mateo can be understood—the army of Marifo was coming to the help of the Liberator. Urdaneta was able to resist at Valencia; Bolivar would fly to his succour. But the defense of Caracas, even with the probability of sustaining the siege for a long time, of what service would it have been? What would have been its utility? All would have terminated, after suffering a thousand irreparable evils, in capitulating at discretion and Bolivar never capitulated! In the terrible strife for the emancipation of the New World, he caused nearly all the enemies who opposed him to capitulate; but he never capitulated, he never surrendered his sword. He exercised generosity toward the conquered: he never reclaimed it from the conqueror.

Bolivar determined to evacuate the capital. Before doing so, however, he wished to make an attempt on the enemy at Adjuntas, and sent a column of troops who met the royalists at Macarao. This reconnoitre was fruitless, which cost the lives of our prisoners, among them the Commandant Manuel Zarasqueta.

The Liberator set out finally on the 6th of July in retreat towards Barcelona. The country was left to the mercy of the conquerors. "In vain," relates an ocular witness, "in vain were the cruel sacrifices which the Caracaceniens made to save their temples, their firesides, the soil on which they were born from the impious outrages of barbarity; the tyrants, drenched with blood, walked through the streets, and in the name of the king they consummated the sacrifice of an entire population; who, aghast, sought refuge in the inaccessible roads, in the forests, on the seas, fleeing from the savage murdering knife. . . . The aged, the honest and delicate young girls, tender infants, numerous and respectable families abandoned their beloved country because Spanish dominion had spread on all sides fire and destruction. . . . Caracas was deserted; and the Spanish flag waved over the tomb of patriotism."¹⁰

* Sketch of the Military History of Venezuela.

All that the chronicles of those times relate of the crimes of Boves and his followers in the year 1814 should be believed. Even it can be added that they relate almost nothing of what transpired; tyranny, of which there has never been any examples, extortions, insults, violence, ruins! Boves to satiate his heart astounded by his cruelty. No sweet affection could soften that breast of bronze! * To describe by one act the fierceness of such bandit, it is sufficient to say that the Count de la Granja and Don Manuel Marcano, respectable persons, inoffensive and of royalist opinions, commissioned to congratulate Machado, and accompany him to Caracas, he ordered them to be lanced, and caused to expire amidst tortures.

And what then was of Cagigal? will ask my readers; where was this man of moderation and social virtues, to whom corresponded the command of the Captain-Generalsy of Venezuela? A miserable paper did he represent in the midst of so many excesses. His authority was void; his person looked upon with suspicion, and even with hatred by Boves, Calzada, Morales, etc. At Guacara the first mentioned of these wretches disregarded him, who, like Monte-verde, had raised himself with the Province; full of mortification, Cagigal went to shut himself up at Puerto Cabello, reporting to Spain the insubordination of Boves, and of his unheard of insults to humanity and religion. The chastisement which he received from the government of Madrid was the approval of his conduct, to style "glorious triumphs" his devastations; to receive the rank of

* The presbyter Ambrosio Llamozas, whom many of my readers must have known, occupying a distinguished post in the chorus of the Cathedral of Caracas, was chaplain of Boves. A priest full of piety and christian virtues never justified the excesses of that savage; but on the contrary, he on many occasions exhorted him to humanity and to feelings of compassion. When Boves proclaimed the famous circular of the 1st November, 1813, which I will copy in continuation, the Sr. Llamozas spoke to him with unction, but only got in reply a threat and gross expressions. The presbyter Llamozas wrote to Spain, and secretly forwarded a memorandum of the atrocities of Boves, day by day, with indications of the places, accidents, names, &c.: a precious document, of which there is preserved a copy from the archive of the old captain-generalcy of Caracas. The government of the Peninsula paid no attention to the exposition of Llamozas; and he was written to from Spain, that he exposed himself that the government should delate him to Boves, when the purpose of the virtuous priest was none other than to put an end to so much desolation.

The circular of which I have above made mention of, all written and signed by the very Boves, and which is printed in the Gaceta No. 19, corresponding to the 20th November, 1813, reads thus: "Don JOSE TOMAS BOVES, commander-in-chief of the army of Barlovento, &c. By the present I give commission to Captain Jose Rufino Torrealva, so that he may recruit as many men as may be useful for the service, and placed at the head of them, he can pursue all traitors and punish them with the last penalty; in the understanding that only time sufficient to recite a credo will be given to them to recommend their souls to the Creator, giving notice that the interests which may be collected from these traitors shall be divided amongst the soldiers who defend the holy and just cause and the merit which every individual may acquire, shall be recommended to the commander general of the province. I ask and charge all the commandants of the troops of the King to assist him in all that may be necessary.

JOSE TOMAS BOVES.

Headquarters of Guayabal, November 1, 1813.

Colonel, and to manifest to him that the throne acknowledged his important services, and admired his distinguished bravery! *

Boves entered Caracas the 16th of July. His first act was a decree of amnesty which he published the 18th, offering to forget the past, and the complete security of the persons; but on the 23d he circulated an order to the judges that by their own power, and without the intervention of any superior authority, *they should cause to be shot all those whom they considered accomplices in the death of the Spaniards.* Such a commission given to men offended, and most commonly ignorant, produced terrible and bloody retaliations. "Arbiters of qualifying the crime, and stimulated, now by revenge, again by the desire of enriching themselves with the spoils of their victories, these judges devastated the country, feeding themselves, as is usual for tyranny and vulgarity, on the best and most distinguished. On all sides there were organized bands of assassins, who in silence would take out from the towns men with supposed orders of the authority, and would kill them without pity. Then it was that Chepito Gonzales of the royalist executioners at Caracas, made forever his name horrible, and that of the Canada de Cotizita; then it was that La Victoria, San Mateo, Cura, Turmero and other towns experienced other men and other places of horror and malediction.†

Boves continued in pursuit of the rearguard of the Liberator, leaving in his stead at Caracas as Governor Don Juan Nepomuceno Quero.

"Who would have believed," exclaims Baralt with reason, "that during those unhappy days the quick departure of Boves was an evil for Caracas!"

In effect, Quero caused Boves to be loved, and judged merciful and kind! As he had no other desire than to distinguish himself as a royalist, causing to be forgotten his former opinions, he obliterated them in the blood of his countrymen!

This circular, which opened the way to revenge and theft, was followed by others, and by communications the most arbitrary and inhumane. Months afterwards, the very same Boves, writing to the Judge of Camatagua, said to him: "I received the men, and I expect from your efficacy that you will not leave one that may be of use, to conclude with these knaves, and after repose in the bosom of their families."

"P. D.—Half of those you sent me deserted; it is a rascality. You shall put them to the sword, and if they do not appear, you shall send me their families arrested, to make an example. Don't be easy with these rogues. Calabozo, 15th May, 1814.—Boves." In another communication dated the 23d May, he said to him: "Endeavor to assemble all the capable men which may be found in the field, and he who refuses to appear to the voice of the King, shall be held as a traitor, and be put to the sword. The thefts, the outrages, the ferocities which the horrified presbyter Llamozas relates, causes one to shiver. With reason did the Liberator say that "Boves was not bred with woman's milk, but with the blood of tigers and the furies of hell." Notwithstanding he found friends and partisans; he found defenders, and the Spanish government rewarded abundantly *his important services!* After the death of that savage, the tyrants even made ceremonies, and the funeral rites which were celebrated for his soul were pompous! in the cathedral of Caracas the 14th February, 1815, officiating as pontifical the Archbishop! What aberration! what fanaticism! To offer the lamb for a hyena! . .

* Royal order of the 6th October, 1814, communicated to Cagigal himself.

† Resumen of the History of Venezuela.

Quero in the time of Miranda served the cause of independence, as second Commandant of Cavalry, and when the capitulation of La Victoria took place, he was Governor of Caracas, *pro tem.*, on account of the absence of Colonel Francisco Carabáño. Secretly adhering to the royal party, he wrote to Monteverde in order to ingratiate himself in his favors, and informed him that he could rely on him, and to quicken his march on the capital. He knew afterwards how to make himself esteemed by the Spaniards; and more than all he knew how to murder his brethren, being one of our most cruel persecutors. Quero was named Governor of Caracas, at the departure of Boves (30th of July), in the direction of the East; and it cannot be contained in exaggeration the despotism and the ferocity of that renegade American! Quero was born on the same day and year as Bolívar; he was a Venezuelan. But in the manner that on the same soil is born and bred besides the beneficial plant, the poisonous hebe- bore; thus, these two men were born and bred on the same soil; one destined to stain himself with infamy, the other to cover himself with dazzling glory.*

During this same fatal epoch, (unhappy year of 1814!) in which Boves was victorious over Bolívar and that the Republic of Venezuela was plunged in a deep abyss of sorrow and sacrifices, the Spanish General Osorio, disembarked at Talcahuano and defeated O'Higgins and the brave and expert José Miguel Carrera at Rancagua (Chili). Thus in the extremes of the Continent fortune re-joiced in prostrating us; and also prostrated us in Mexico, where the intrepid Morélos and the sagacious Matamoras surrendered to the strength of the blood-thirsty Calleja; but what a different fate experienced our brethren of the South and Mexico! Osorio was a man, he showed himself sensible to entreaties. . . . Llanca, Orrantia, Armijo, softened the severe orders of Calleja; they were horrified at murdering the defenceless. But Boves, Morales, Quero, Gonzalez, Roseta, Puy, Yañez, Millet, Calzada, Lison. Great God! were beasts amongst the very beasts, who ignore what is compassion and humanity. On all parts there were outrage and violence; there were tyrants it is true; but amongst were let loose the furies of hell.

Ecce populus veniet de terra Aquilonis;
Sagittam et scutum arripiet; crudelis est
Et non miserebitur.

(JEREM. VI.)

"Behold a people cometh from the north country; they shall lay hold on bow and spear; they are cruel and have no mercy."

* The traitor Juan Nepomuceno Quero, who was making his career under the Spanish banners, by flattering the chiefs, by servility to the European shop-keepers and peddlers, and by the most cruel persecution of his own countrymen, remained in charge of the command of the capital, and prolonged the murders and depredations in an unheard-of manner. Under his authority there were organized bands of persecutors and assassins, who shed human blood and made numerous families mourn. Chepito Gonzalez, Don Ignacio Hernandez, apothecary, the artisan Ponte and others, received orders from the insolent Quero, and dragging from the fire-sides in the obscurity of the night, the father, the husband, the son, the brother, the relation or friend, they would lead them to the dreadful site of Cotacista, a place which made itself monumental, or they would assassinate in the very streets in the most iniquitous and ferocious manner. (Sketch of the Military History of Venezuela.)