

CHAPTER XVII.

1815.

DEPARTURE OF THE LIBERATOR FROM CARTAGENA — PROCLAMATION OF MORILLO — ORIGIN AND OBJECT OF HIS EXPEDITION — OF WHAT IT WAS COMPOSED — HIS ARRIVAL AT PUERTO RICO — SUBMISSION OF MARGARITA — BRAVE ACTION OF BERNUZZI — OPPRESSIVE ACTS OF MORILLO — HE SETS OUT FOR CARTAGENA — SIEGE OF THIS CITY — ATROCITIES OF MORALES AND MORILLO — DEPENDENCY AND NATURAL COOLNESS OF THE HOPE OF THE LIBERATOR.

ON the 9th of May, 1815, on a dark night, and almost in a calm, the Liberator departed from Cartagena. He was accompanied by his private secretary, Briceno Mendez, and his chief aid-de-camp Kent and the two brothers Carabatto.

A few days afterwards he was followed by General Mariso and other Venezuelan officers, who refused to serve under the orders of Castillo.

On the 11th Bolivar lost sight of the Colombian land.

On this same day Don Pablo Morillo issued at Caracas a proclamation, announcing the *beneficial* views which would guide him in his campaign and the interior arrangement of that captain-generalcy.

Involved in these announcements there were terrible threats, mixed with insolent insults.

It was Morillo that spoke!

Before following the Liberator in the Antilles, and referring to what transpired at that time, I judge opportune to turn the view to Spain, and to relate succinctly the origin and object of the expedition, which the Field-Marshal Don Pablo Morillo commanded. With it we have suddenly met, and it is natural to show the relation it had with our affairs.

After long years of struggle and glory, Napoleon saw that for the year 1814 the situation of public affairs was being extremely complicated.

Evidently Fortune had turned her face from him.

Pressed on all sides, and the Allied Powers having broken the treaties of Chaillon, proclaiming the continuation of the war, the French Emperor hastened to place in liberty Ferdinand VII., imprisoned at Valençay since the beginning of 1808. By this, at the same time that he took off his shoulders embarrassing and hateful enmities, he pretended to derive fruit from his generosity, although *forced*. The passports were received at Valençay on the 7th of March at half-past ten of the night; and Ferdinand left his prison the 18th, accompanied by his brother Don Carlos, and his uncle Don Antonio, proceeding towards Tolosa by way of Perpignan. He stepped on Spanish territory protected by Marshal Suchet the 23d, and entered Madrid the 18th of May, 1814.

Whilst still on his way, the king ordered the arrest of the Regents and several ministers and deputies. Unheard-of measures in the annals of indiscretion and tyranny, which were secretly executed by Don Francisco Eguia, Captain-General of New Castile! There were then arrested the Regents Don Gabriel de Ciscar and Don Pedro Agar, an American; the Ministers of State and several liberal deputies: Arguelles, Muñoz Torrero, Martínez de la Roca, Calatrava, Don Manuel José Quintana, Don Nicasio Gallego, and with these the Americans Don Antonio Larrazábal, Ramos Arispe and others, whom with saying that they were Americans is to anticipate that they were liberals.* The king ordered the Cortes to be dissolved, and gave a "Manifest" in which he declared his hatred of liberal and progressive ideas, saying finally that he would *never swear to the Constitution*. †

And he did not stop here, notwithstanding that it was already much, but he displayed a system doubly more tyrannical than that of his predecessors, the persecutions and intolerance increasing each day against all the men who loved enlightenment and sought the progress of reason.

Fernando immediately thought of subduing the dominions of the New World, where liberty to him was *insupportable*; and to recuperate the former powers of the throne, he actively organized an expedition that assured to him the result. He wished slavery in Spain. What did His Majesty want in America! And if Spain, itself constitutional, who struggled against French oppression, maintained the war in the New World to keep in submission her colonies, how could she tolerate the independence of these when she herself was abjuring her own liberty, and throwing herself, subdued, at the feet of King Ferdinand? In the purpose of reconquering the ultramarine dominions and to reduce them to the will of the Cortes, the king and the nation agreed. An order and a few executions had been sufficient to hold this; but to enslave America and to cause her to drag the chains of ignominy; to deprive her of her dignity, of her wealth, of her destinies, it was necessary to organize powerful armies.

And they were organized!

It was of such importance to reduce the vast regions to a blind obedience, which drowns the energy of the people! It was of such importance to bring them anew to insensibility and to stupidity, which were replaced for a moment by manly and expressive vitality!

* For the honor of America (although not strictly in reference to the history I write), I will say two words about the American deputies in the Cortes of Spain. There were amongst them then, a type of intelligence and vivacity, and the best friends of liberty, being prominent amongst them all, Don José Mejías, a man of education and of much learning; astute; of an extreme perspicacity; of subtle debate, and with refinement and fluency. Arispe, merited with the honors of the persecutions of Ferdinand VII.; the same with Larrazábal, Peres de la Puebla, etc. The reply which the first gave to the inquiries made to him by the judge in the criminal examination was complimented, when he was asked to answer, "Where was in his opinion the sovereignty—in the King or in the Nation?" "Imprisoned here," he replied, "I cannot know it; allow me to go out and see society and I shall immediately return to the prison to answer." In these few words, there is no doubt that the incontestable principle of the sovereignty of the people was included. The interrogated supposes the principle which he seems to doubt, and wishes to see by act, that which makes it incontrovertible.

† Manifest of May 4th, 1814.

that afterwards, and without the greatest effort, he should subdue New Granada. From Santa Fé he was to march to Quito to form a junction with the royalist troops of Montes, and immediately crossing victoriously the Lower and Upper Peru, to fall on Buenos Ayres and occupy it. The flag which had arrived from Spain to the coast of the Caribbean Sea was to return triumphant to Cadiz from the River of La Plata.

Glorious march, worthy of Cæsar and Alexander!

The Spaniards, observes a French writer, although having lost the brilliant heroism of the knights of the Middle Ages, had preserved their foolish presumption.

We shall see further on how Morillo effected his return to Spain; and after having gone through America, enslaved to Ferdinand, he embarks at Buenos Ayres for Cadiz!

Just now I will only say that the fatal path by which the strong, the wise, the fortunate, the powerful are lost, is pride. Pride destroys all the elements of happiness!

The expedition arrived at Puerto Santo, to the leeward of Campaño, on the coast of Cumano, on the 8d of April.

Morillo afterwards informed himself of the state of affairs in Venezuela, and determined to proceed without delay to Margarita.

This island was the only Colombian territory where, in that time, liberty was cheered. Arismendi and Bermudez commanded there with a force of four hundred men.

After the battle of Urica, the sanguinary Morales had subdued the towns of Guiria and others situated in the eastern extremity of Cumana, because *only thus*, he repeated frequently, *we will succeed* in exterminating the seeds of the revolution; and he was preparing himself at Cumana to bring 5,000 men to land at Margarita, and attack the island. Morales possessed thirty-two vessels, twelve armed in war, and the rest transports, and he was active in terminating what he styled his "reconquest," when the expedition was signaled.

At the presence of that formidable fleet, it would have been rash to resist.

Arismendi surrendered himself and the island.

Not so Bermudez, who, reproving the submission made by his companions, and which he judged as pusillanimous, with a resolution truly brave and proper of his character, he embarked in the canoe *Golondrina*, and passed through the midst of the Spanish fleet, insulting the tyrants of his country; he swore death to them in loud cries, and when he was tired of thrusting himself amongst the cannon of Morillo, and provoking them in all manners, he took up his course towards the Antilles, stopping at Granada, from whence he proceeded to Martinica, St. Thomas, and finally to Cartagena.

This daring resolution of Bermudez caused amazement.

Some who did not understand the haughty intrepidity of the patriot, inquired, What does this man seek?

Others said, it is a frantic man.

He perceived it, and in return he cried out, "I am General Bermudez," with something else which was sublime to say, but which cannot be written.*

* In the "Universal Biography of Contemporaries," published in Paris under the direction of MESSRS. Babbe, Vieilh de Boisjolin and Saint Preuve, can be read, that JOSE FRANCISCO BERMUDEZ was a Spaniard by birth; without which defect, he

Morillo landed with his staff at Asuncion on the 9th of April; he ordered obedience to be sworn to the king, and began what his instructions styled, *the work of pacification*.

Morillo was an audacious and ferocious man, a brave soldier, but a middling general, of small understanding, and unfit for the cares of government. Of low birth, and in his youth a sergeant of marine, he made distinguished services in the war of Spain, receiving from Wellington praises for his intrepidity, but without ever having learned any manners of urbanity and ease, of which he was early accused by General Galuzzo, to whom he was aid-de-camp. On the return of Ferdinand to Spain, having now been ascended to the rank of Brigadier-General, for his retreat from Santa Engracia, and Field Marshal for a wound he received at La Victoria, was one of the first in acknowledging the king as "absolute sovereign and master." This merited for him the destination of chief of the expedition to Venezuela and New Granada.

Amongst all the Spanish generals of high rank, whose number was not small in the Peninsula, Morillo was the least qualified to go to pacify these provinces. His election was fatal to the interests of Spain and America; as so certain is it, that he afterwards wrote to the king: *To subjugate the insurgent provinces, it is necessary to have recourse to the means which were employed in the first conquest—*EXTERMINATE THEM. Impious and barbarous opinion, which could only be conceived by a savage! But Morillo understood desolation for peace, and death for tranquillity; in the manner of those tyrants of whom Tacitus says: *Solitudinem faciunt, et ibi pacem appellant*. And what was worse, the persons united to him, and from whom he could receive some advice, showed themselves cruel, rapacious, and of infamous inclinations: thirsting for gold and American blood. Don Pascual Enrique, Brigadier-General of Marine, a person of good understanding, and who for this and having been born at Havana of an illustrious house, was called to lead this one by the good road, was a man of severe character, revengeful, and of perverse mind. Of Morales there is no use of speaking. It is sufficient to say that he was a beast. "Unmerciful for pleasure; cruel by instinct." Morillo gave him the title of the *Terror of the Wicked*, that is to say, of the innocent Americans; but Boves, who knew him better, always repeated

could have reached the rank of Captain-General of the Independent army; that he served Spain in 1798, making the campaign of Rosillon under the orders of General Ricardos, etc. All this is one tissue of absurd fictions. Bermudez was born at San José de Arcocora, province of Cumana, on the 23d of January, 1783; he never was in Spain, nor did he fight in Rosillon under Ricardos (at 11 years there is no fighting), nor in any part under the command of Spanish chieftains. He was one of the bravest and most intrepid warriors of our revolution, and he reached, after a short time, the rank of General-in-Chief of the armies of the Republic.

The authors of the Dictionary have filled their book with errors in all that regards prominent American men. It seems that Europe knows nothing of the glorious struggle which has given life to so many nationalities, and when the interest of vanity or that of commerce brings to light some work upon this unknown America, facts are shifted; proper names are changed; they make Bermudez a Spaniard and a soldier under Ricardos; they call Paez, Vicente; Dr. Roscio, a priest; Bolivar, a lawyer; Bonaire, a place in the vicinity of Curacao, they mistake for Buenos Ayres; Cabruta, with Calcuta; they besiege Miranda at La Guayra, and after a heroic resistance they make him surrender by hunger.

(Et voilà justement comme on écrit l'histoire.)

that he surpassed him in barbarity and cruelty—a man who exceeds Boves in cruelty! And this in the opinion of Boves himself!

America, then, could not hope for justice: and the patriots who raised on high the standard of liberty, convinced themselves afterwards that the sword was placed at the throat, and that it was inevitable to expiate the crime of having wished to be free!

When General Morillo arrived at Costa Firme, all had been subdued: hardly could there be excepted a few points of the mountains of Chaguanaras, where Zaraza and some other places of Guayana defended themselves, and the plains of Barcelona, where were left Monagas, Rojas, Cedeno, Parejo, and indefatigable guerrillas, without any other campe than the borders of the swamps: without any other forces than those who fled from the oppression of the royalists; without any other arms than their bravery and desperation. Spain had recovered her colony without any effort on her side, and only at the price of American blood!

Morillo perceived immediately that all was destroyed; that Morales and the friends and companions of Boves had not even established a military authority, and there was nothing else in Venezuela than a permanent *slaughter of victims* marked out by cupidity or sacrificed by vengeance.

Another, who would not have been Morillo, and who would have known to raise his thought to the height of his dignity, and to the importance and greatness of his mission, would have relieved the lamentable fate of Venezuela. But he made her worse by causing the ruins to be greater, and increasing the number of those who mourned in silence. Notwithstanding, he acted the rôle of merciful and generous, and offered a *complete forgetfulness of the past*. "Nothing," said he, in his "Manifest," "was excepted in my forgetfulness. All the chiefs were respected, and even Arismendi, the cruel and ferocious Arismendi, remained in his country, his house and property.* But Morales treacherously assassinated

* Morillo never used proper expressions for our brave chiefs—which was not strange—as for him, he alone was "great and good." It is sufficient to say, that in speaking of Napoleon I., in his proclamation of the 22d September, 1816, he said that "Barbarians were nothing in the world!" Napoleon I imbued with the fatal idea that he should only outrage, when least, if not kill all that did not pertain to the Peninsula. Bolivar he named a miserable rebel; Serviez, *bird of prey*; the rest, *bandits*. But the one on whom he poured most lavishly his invectives was the brave General Arismendi, whom he called *base and vile monster*, in his proclamation of Mompox (March 1st, 1816); *hypocrite and despicable*; *born for evil, as cowardly as he was mean*; in another of Barale (June 16th, 1817); *cruel and ferocious, etc.*, in his "Manifest" of 1820, etc. This hatred of Morillo against Arismendi gives the measure of the importance of our chief. The disorder of the words of Morillo were corresponded by Arismendi with elaborate and immortal achievements. Arismendi was one of the most distinguished leaders of our independence; a determined man, to whom nothing was difficult. He was born at Atmicou, capital of the island of Margarita, about the year 1770, of wealthy and distinguished parents. In 1804, Arismendi was Captain of the white militia and commandant of the town of Norte; employments then of consideration, and only given to persons of known respectability. When General Arismendi passed opposite Pampatar with his expedition—which has already been referred to—Arismendi and his contemporary, Rafael Guevara, manifested pronounced sympathies for the cause of the independence of the country which was then being initiated. Aris-

fifteen officers and patriots who embarked from Margarita for Barcelona, relying on this *forgetfulness*; and Morillo said nothing to him, nor did he even reprove his conduct, as he should have done!

A strong garrison remained at Margarita and Cumana, sufficient to preserve their safety against superior enemies; and the Commander-in-Chief sailed for Caracas, where he arrived the 11th of May, and took charge of the Captain-Generalcy, the exercise of which Cagigal held by recent orders of the Court.

A few days after Morillo published a proclamation to the Granadanians (17th of May), promising them that "shortly he would be amongst them with an army which was the terror of the enemies of the sovereign." Morillo saw the importance to gain time to present himself before the city of Cartagena, by which operation he was to open the campaign, or better said, the massacres of Santa Fé, and hurried his departure from Venezuela, whose capital he abandoned the 1st of June, 1815.

Before leaving, and in consequence of the destruction by fire of the three-decker *San Pedro*, where it was said the military treasure was on board, he imposed an "obligatory law" of two hundred thousand dollars, a sum enormous in those times of misfortune and destitution; he confiscated the flour belonging to private persons, for the soldiers the billeting of the officers, etc., was made obligatory; but all this practiced in such a violent and brutal manner, that it was in effect insupportable. The most upright and honest citizens were arrested, because they were unable to pay the contribution with the promptitude that was exacted of them. Nor even were ladies exempted from arrest. The arrest of the Sra. Carmen Samoran y Montbrun of Puerto Cabello, recommended as she was for the sacrifices she had made, was scandalous! The lodgment was executed without regard to rule or decency. Mothers, with their virtuous

mendi followed the movement of the year 1810, and under the government of the Junta, he was appointed to the command of the same town of Norte.

The Spanish government being re-established after the capitulation of Miranda with Monteverde, he was arrested and remitted by the Governor Pascual Martinez to the dungeons of La Guayra, from whence he was liberated by the influence of the Bishop of Puerto Rico, his relation. He returned to Margarita, and Martinez would not allow his landing, for which he was arrested on the vessel and placed in the fort of Pampalao. It was then that the young José Rafael Guevara proclaimed the re-establishment of the Republic. Martinez shut himself up in the fort; he was attacked, reduced, and made prisoner. Arismendi was placed at liberty, and acknowledged as a chief, with the rank of Colonel. His activity immediately proportioned resources to General Marino, who was fighting at Cumana, forming a fleet of fourteen vessels, which he placed under the command of José Ribas, provided with arms and ammunition. Arismendi following the example of Marino at Cumana, put to death D. Pascual Martinez and twenty-eight of his companions; being informed of the cruelties of Zuazola, Antanasias and Zerveria. The war to the knife commenced in deed. Arismendi came to Caracas in 1814. By the absence of General Ribas, he was temporarily charged with military government. It was him who received from Bolivar the order to fulfil the tremendous execution of 800 Spaniards and Ialencos. The order was fulfilled; but it is untrue that Arismendi carried it out with cruelty. He was exact as always, but not unfeeling. The activity, determination and moral force of Arismendi were imponderable. His services to the Republic were of a superior order. We already know the antecedents of this chief, up to the time of the appearance of Morillo before Margarita; we shall afterwards see his constant labors in the re-establishment of the Republic.

daughters, were seen mixed in small rooms, with officers and soldiers, forced to sell their scanty jewels to support them. And because a citizen complained that he had too many, a whole company was lodged in his dwelling! With scandal was it seen that a magistrate was forced to sweep out his own room, receiving lashes. Complaints remained unattended, and what is worse, were punished. By a law the baker who should sell bread to citizens, as also the citizen who should buy it, were condemned to the last penalty; all the flour was destined to the Spanish soldiers! And whilst this was being decreed, thousands upon thousands of stalks of bananas were ordered to be cut, with the pretext of feeding the cattle, which was to be shipped. And the stalks were not shipped, because it was seen that the cattle did not eat them; thus the population were deprived of bread as well as of the banana, which supplied the deficiency of that one. The most distinguished men had their hats struck off their heads publicly on the streets, "to make uniform," said the executors, with a jarring accent, "the sailors of the frigate *Diana*!" All the oxen and cattle necessary for the expedition to Cartagena were taken without giving any account or reason, and it is unnecessary to say, without pay! Morillo formed a *Council of Sequestration*, based on the Royal order of the 19th of December, 1814, to take and sell the property belonging to the patriots, and named as its President the Brigadier-General Don Salvador Moxo, one of the most shameless and rapacious men that the world has known. Almost all the inhabitants of Venezuela then beheld themselves reduced to the most fearful misery; and those who lived in deep mourning, and shedding bitter tears for the sacrifice of their fathers, of their sons, of their brothers immolated by Spanish ferocity, were forced to add the torture of poverty and the pain of seeing their property occupied. Oh, infamous expropriation! by their own enemies. Property to the value of twenty-two millions was confiscated, and the greater part sold.*

Behold the prosperity brought by the *Pacifactor* Morillo, in execution of the **BENEVOLENT** views of his king! behold the splendid perspective placed before our eyes the success and fortune of his dispositions!

And he added to these ruinous measures the creation of *permanent councils of war* composed of Spanish officers, who were to judge by court-martial the crimes of rebellion. And is it necessary to say, the lightest, the most insignificant expression was considered as treason—even silence!

Morillo suppressed the Supreme Court, and creating by intrigue a tribunal of appeals, he named the members that were to compose it, and placed Venezuela under the iron rod of the expeditionary despotism. "I have not rested," he said on departing to Cartagena, "to leave Venezuela in tranquillity, and heal the wounds which are always opened by disturbances. I leave with the sweet satisfaction of having removed all obstacles," etc.† It would have been better if he had not come, we say; and that his labors, so *useful and precious*, should have been enjoyed by his country, which was in so much necessity of skillful politicians and directors, of statesmen and consummate wise men!

Morillo set sail at Puerto Cabello for Santa Marta, accompanied by his second,

* Restrepo says fifteen millions, but he is mistaken. The documents which are preserved of the confiscation of the properties of the insurgents, amount to a value of twenty-two millions of dollars; and it is possible that there are some which it has not been able to consult.

† Proclamation of June 1st, 1815.

Enrile, and two inquisitors, who were to continue the *Inquisition* at Cartagena, Don Pedro Prudencio Castro and Don José Odariz, ornaments to Spain, and a sample of her civilization and progress! There also went with the expedition the Quartermaster-General of the army, Don José Domingo Duarte, a person well known at Santa Fé, as he had made his studies in that city, although he had not returned in twenty-eight years. The expedition consisted of 8,500 men, embarked on fifty-six vessels of war and transports.

This now, as also the proximity of the danger which threatened her, was brought to Cartagena by the British man-of-war "Jealous" (4th of August). Cartagena was then in a deplorable state. The royalists commanded the Magdalena and a part of the Cauca. Castillo, the spiteful Castillo, vain and pretentious, of a superfluously exact and silly character, was in no manner the man called upon to save that position, bristling with perils and obstacles. He had, it is true, under his orders good and brave generals; but something more than integrity of heart and valor of mind was needed; there was required the talent of the occasion, a sublime talent which sees in darkness, and breathes in a vacuum; and then it was that the friends of the independence bitterly regretted the absence of Bolívar, and the loss to the republic of such an illustrious chieftain. Many, even his opposers, wrote to him, beseeching him urgently to return; and succeeded in getting their letters to Jamaica.

Morillo came in sight of Cartagena the 18th of August, and established the blockade, situating his headquarters four leagues from the city.

A few days afterwards the division of Morales, composed of three thousand five hundred men of Venezuelan troops, arrived by land, and Cartagena was rigorously blockaded on all sides.

The Spaniards captured eighty thousand dollars in gold and jewels, by which the government of the Union was helping Cartagena, which sum went to the military treasure of Morillo. The citizen José María Portocarrero, a merchant of Santa Fé, bearing dispatches of the greatest importance to the government, fell into their hands; and towards the middle of October they succeeded in dispersing the garrison of the town of Nechi, taking the greater part prisoners. The Commandant Pedro Villapol and other officers were put to the sword in the camp, in the presence of Morillo himself, who then began that career of blood "in which he was to assimilate himself to the monsters who devastated America in the sixteenth century." Although indulgence and friendship drain all their efforts to justify or exculpate him, they never will be able to wash out that name, rendered hateful by the ugly stains with which it covered itself forever.

The city of Cartagena, one of the best fortified of South America, sustained a severe siege, during which the besiegers had as allies of their shells, the time fever, hunger. Heroic and never well-considered defence, which cost to Spain the loss of many soldiers, and which rendered illustrious the name of the free Cartagenians. Rash and desperate was it called by Morillo; but the impartial and civilized world has a different opinion, and reserves other applauses for Cartagena.

In consulting the history of modern sieges, Carnot says that the defence of the best fortified places can scarcely be prolonged more than forty days, and Cartagena resisted one hundred and six. Assaulted by superior forces, suffering the frightful bombardment which almost reduced it to rubbish, only the most desperate hunger, hunger brought to the extreme of torture, of death, could

subdue its incomparable constancy! Cartagena beheld her generous population perish in her very streets, mingled with the intrepid army, which was no longer able to protect her; and notwithstanding there were none who proposed to surrender or to make peace with the tyrants. What heroism!*

The city occupied by Morillo, he found only a vast charnel-house, in which there were still to be seen a few half-living skeletons. A more painful spectacle cannot be described.

Six thousand persons had perished during the siege. And instead of inspiring feelings of admiration for those magnanimous beings who did so much to preserve their liberty, the Spanish chieftain established—oh, barbarous impiety!—a permanent council of war, to judge and condemn to death those who surrendered.

Morales took possession of the forts of Bocachica, and published a proclamation offering security to those who should present themselves. Confiding in his promises, aged men, children, women, unfortunate fishermen who had not taken part in the political events, presented themselves to him. He ordered them to be beheaded on the shore of the sea, to the number of four hundred persons. Many also perished in the fire of the hospital of San Lazaro, built near the creek of Oro on the bay, a fire executed by the orders of Morales himself. Neither those afflicted by elephantiasis, a sickness which inspires so much compassion, were able to escape from this scourge of humanity, thirsting for human blood. It was a common rumor that, in the silence of the night, he massacred many other victims in the convent of La Merced, converted into barracks; there he placed them in stocks, and the soldiers, who acted as executioners, killed them by blows, or by running their bayonets through their skulls. This ferocious man, notwithstanding, was rewarded by Morillo and favored by the king.

On his part, the Pacifator, forced to justify to the world that his heart was not a tiger's, nor that he belonged to the class of those who, with the reins of government in their hands, beheld the defenceless massacred with impunity,† he filled the prisons with distinguished patriots, amongst them the brothers Carabanos, who were returning from Jamaica to Cartagena, desirous of contributing to its defence, the Dra. Garcia Toledo, Ayoa, Granados, the merchant Portocarrero, the Brigadier-General of Engineers, Don Manuel Anguiano, the General Castillo, Amador, Ribon, and other persons belonging to the first families of Cartagena; and afterwards he caused them all to be hung, confiscating their property.

Meanwhile, the royalist troops took possession of the provinces of Pamplona and Socorro, and made themselves masters of the whole country to the neighborhood of Velez.

The loss of the battle of Oachiri destroyed the Granadanian army, and the taking of Antioquia prostrated the opinion for the cause of the independence. Then discouragement was spread on all sides; and those worthy patriots who, in the alternatives of victory and defeat, struggled against oppression, succumbed, to be dragged to the scaffold.

* See the "History of Columbia," by Restrepo; referring to the details of the siege of Cartagena.

† Words of Morillo, in his proclamation of Torrecillas on the 23d of September, 1815.

Congress dissolved, and Santa Fé opened its gates to the Spanish general, who celebrated his victories by causing the execution of SIX HUNDRED AMERICANS. In vain did Colonel Latorre represent to him the amnesty he had given at Zipaquira, and his word solemnly compromised in the name of the king for the pardon of the patriots. Morillo showed himself hard, inexorable; he refused to value the amnesty and the promises of Latorre, and the massacres and inhumanities began which make horrid the remembrance of that epoch. There was no judgment, nor proofs, nor would exculpations nor exoneration be listened to. Three Spanish officers, in general enemies of the Americans, decided the lives of the so-called criminals; and Morillo had the effrontery to announce by a proclamation that the Vallavicencia, Valenzuelas and Lozano, were to die on the scaffold; making this proclamation the very same day on which their judgment had commenced.*

America shall weep for a long time, amongst other illustrious victims, the Jurisconsults Camilo Torres, Joaquin Camacho, José Gregorio and Frutos Gutierrez, Crisanto Valenzuela, Miguel Pombo, Jorge Lozano, Francisco Antonio Ulloa, Manuel Torices and José Maria Davila; amongst the officers, Cabal, Baraya, Oustodio Robira, Mejia, Villavicencio, and other subalterns. The death of the Engineer Francisco José Caldas, a celebrated mathematician, was the most barbarous cruelty of Morillo.

The most distinguished patriots disappeared before the ferocity of the tyrant; the wealthiest proprietors; the bravest soldiers; the richest merchants; the wise, the most prominent and notable men of New Granada.

Morillo wished to satiate himself with blood in darkness.

Many respectable persons interceded for the lives of the virtuous Camilo Torres, the humane General Rovira, the viceroy of Peru himself, Abascal, and the Lieutenant-General Montes, implored pardon for the philosopher Caldas, but in vain. Morillo had decreed their death. The injustice of these executions even came to the ears of the court, and the King Ferdinand himself reproved that of the Count Casa-Valencia. What would he have said if he had had news of that of the General Count Villavicencio, frigate-captain, whom Morillo caused to be shot because he recalled to him that he had been his defender in a court-martial when he was a sergeant of artillery?

The wives of these illustrious men were condemned to the lash or to exile. Great God!

Are there, unfortunately, any more vengeancees to be executed; more cruelties to satiate? Will more innocent blood be shed? Will unhappy America be decimated unceasingly? Yes, because passions are insatiable by excesses; and the Spanish, who knew how to hate, ignored when to put an end to their spite, and nothing satisfied their vehement thirst for blood. After the taking of Quito, where the royalists shot one out of every five of the garrison, the war was marked every day by bloody massacres. Barbarous, atrocious manner of subduing people and suppressing interior disturbances; a wandering and insensate policy (if at any time terror can be called policy), which occasions insurrections; which makes just war and retaliations; which exalts the passions, and removes to a great distance forever the benefits of concord and peace. Spain, I will say openly, lost her colonies by the ignorance and cruelty of the men whom she, with so little judgment, sent to govern us. Never did they know how to

* Proclamation directed to the inhabitants of Popayan and Choco.

derive profit from their victories, nor from their advantageous positions; "as the art of governing is more difficult than that of conquering; because at most times chance rules arms, and in government always judgment."⁶ And as nothing to them were the examples of moderation which gave so many delicious and abundant fruits to Scipio, Sertorio, Vespasian, Titus, Flaminius, Charles VII. of France, Don Alonso I. of Castile, and the fifth of the same name of Naples. If there is an incontestable truth in policy, it is that force and violence are not the bonds which unite men nor bind empires. The true chains which guarantee the duration of these are justice, the kindness of the rulers, and the love of the citizens.† This maxim of celestial wisdom was much too superior for men such as Monteverde, Morales, and Morillo; and it was also forgotten by the courtiers and counsellors of Ferdinand. From his disregard was it that America was deluged in blood, and that Spain lost the richest element of her greatness and power.

To the executions without the legal form of judgment; to the death of so many illustrious citizens, and of all the chiefs of any distinction and military value, executed at Bogota, Popayan, and other places, were added obligatory contributions, iniquitous confiscations, spoliations of all classes, outrages, misery, spying. It was entirely a system of tyranny, of extortion, of insult, never known before, sustained by thirty thousand bayonets which Morillo disposed of from Guayaquil to Angostura, from Avila to Pasto. In all the cities, in all the ports, in all the strongholds the banner of Castile floated. The will of the sovereign, or better said, of his agents, was law. There no longer existed a country, no longer the idea of liberty! The word *rights* was a sarcasm; and that sublime cry, *Hurrah for America liberated!* which re-echoed on the glorious battle-fields of Venezuela, was a sorrowful remembrance, a dream, a dissipated illusion, which none ever expected to see again realized.

"Providence," said Bolivar, "had decreed the ruin of these unhappy regions, and sent them Morillo with his exterminating army."

Colombia had ceased to exist.

Who would think any longer of expelling our oppressors? Who will return for our cause after tyranny has been so strongly cemented? Let us confide; let us not be discouraged by the frowning aspect of affairs, as fortune is not softened by faint hearts. A great and generous mind hopes, believes, confides. It is not cowered and disheartened by fatigues, it is not dispirited by misfortune, as tears are a womanly weakness; it suffers with valor, and awaits. The future is known by none; it is full of events; and the elements of all fortune, of all progress, of all triumphs, are time and hope.

"Post tenebras lux!"

Besides, does not Bolivar exist? And whilst he lives is the cause of America lost? Will the Liberator behold indifferently, inertly, liberty enchained?

⁶ Saavedra Enterprises.

† Diodor, of Sicilia, book 16; chap. ix. "Tyranny and the army are not the support of the magistrate," says Sallust: "They are the friends who are not gained by money, nor by force of arms. They are the fruits of moderation and good deeds." (Jugur, x.)