

## CHAPTER VII.

1812.

CAPITULATION OF MIRANDA — APPROVAL OF HIS CONDUCT — IMPORTANT FACTS LITTLE KNOWN — OPINION OF BOLIVAR AGAINST THE SURRENDER — MIRANDA AT LA GUAYRA — THE "SAFFIERS" — PLOT OF THE PATRIOTS AGAINST MIRANDA — HIS IMPRISONMENT — JUDGMENT OF THE CONDUCT OF BOLIVAR — MONTEVERDE CLOSES THE PORT AND CASAS OBEYS HIM — IMPRISONMENT OF THE PATRIOTS — PASSPORT GIVEN TO BOLIVAR — LEAVES FOR COBAÇAO — ERRORS OF LALLEMENT — REMISSION TO SPAIN OF SEVERAL PRISONERS — UNHAPPY FATE OF MIRANDA AND THE AMERICANS!

THE arrangement of the treaty of capitulation had for principle an armistice of suspension of arms which Miranda solicited of Monteverde, the 12th July, from his headquarters at La Victoria. He commissioned Messrs. José de Zata y Bussy, Secretary of War of the Venezuelan Confederation, and Manuel Aldao, Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers to go to Valencia and confer with Monteverde; and after (22d July) he sent also in commission the Marquis of Casa-Leon, "a distinguished person, he said in his dispatch, of known probity and enlightenment," and they made the agreement which was ratified at La Victoria by the Generalissimo, the 25th. In this arrangement were arranged the foundations of the surrender of our soldiers, the giving up of our armament, artillery, ammunitions, and other military effects. . . . . Monteverde took possession of La Victoria the 26th, and entered Caracas the 30th.

The idea of capitulation and submission produced from the first moment, amongst the major part of the republican officers the greatest exasperation. Nothing was heard amongst them except expressions of complaint and dissatisfaction. "A chief," they said, "can abandon a territory where defence is impossible but to surrender, . . . . when there are means of conquering, is it not the greatest crime? When a Dictator has been named, and the measures for the public weal which he takes are authorized beforehand, it has not been able to understand the power of changing the form of government, and still less to submit the country to an enemy."

The capitulation was truly unnecessary, ignominious and prejudicial.

All reproved it; not knowing its details, because Miranda kept an impenetrable and mysterious reserve on this point. Opinion arrived to the extreme of suspecting the Generalissimo of acting as an enemy; and there was not wanting those who expressed the thought that it would be convenient to imprison him. But Miranda, who lacked sufficient determination to oppose the royalists, had sufficient energy to imprison the officers who headed the sedition, depose others and make himself obeyed and respected by all. Was there, however, anything more just than this exhibition of the sorrow of the republicans? On the same day that the suspension of hostilities was proposed to Monteverde, the patriots had obtained a small advantage, surprising, and routing the advanced detach-

ment of the enemy. And with superior force, and when victory began to re-establish the credit of our arms, the capitulation was initiated! . . . . Here is the opportunity of referring to some facts in connection with the capitulation which is now treated of, and of which neither Restrepo, nor Baralt, nor Montenegro have made mention of.

When the Marquis of Casa-Leon, in his interview with Miranda, touched the point of his living in foreign countries, the Generalissimo talked of returning to England; but finding himself without means to live in London, his desires were, he said, in contraposition with his actual position. The Marquis took advantage of this and offered Miranda one thousand doubloons of gold, placing at the same time at his disposition the faculty of disposing of some of the sums which were in the public treasury.

Let no one think that such promises determined Miranda to adopt the plan which followed such important consequences. Others were the causes which worked on his weakened mind for such a fatal negotiation.

It is, however, an incontrovertible fact, that when Leon parted, to go to Valencia, to effect the preliminary interventions of the treaty with Monteverde, he placed in the hands of Miranda a draft in his favor and against the Spanish merchant Don Gerardo Patrullo, but of which Miranda never made use of, probably not having exacted such service.

It is also a positive fact, that in those days an English sloop of war, the "Sapphire," arrived from Curaçao commanded by Captain Haynes, who placed himself at the disposition of General Miranda.

It is also true that by his order, communicated by the Director of Customs (Marquis of Casa-Leon) \$22,000 were given to Mr. George Robertson, an English merchant, who received the sum at the hands of Don José de Alustiza, and placed it on the sloop, "Sapphire," with the circumstance that no voucher should be exacted of Robertson;\* and lastly, that the Marquis de Casa-Leon, worked in regard to Miranda, with remarkable disloyalty, and little worthy of the quality of a Spanish knight, giving the Generalissimo a draft against Patrullo, and at the same time writing to this one secretly to protest the note, and by no means to pay it! . . . .

Miranda took the draft to Caracas with him, but did not present it.†

\* The communication of the first delivery by the treasurer of La Guayra, Don José Alustiza, reads thus: The ten thousand dollars in specie, which were remitted to me yesterday by the Citizen Director General, have been duly delivered to Mr. George Robertson, and by virtue of an order from you, instructing me to deliver them up to the said Robertson, as explained by yours of to-day.

Health and Liberty. Guayra, 18th July, 1812, 2d year of the Republic. José de Alustiza, Citizen Military Commandant of this city:

According to the order of the Generalissimo, to which you refer in your communication of to-day, ordering me to dispose that the receipt given by Mr. George Robertson for ten thousand dollars for having taken them into his power from the public treasury of this State, I include it adjoined the original according to your order of the 18th inst, because you gave a draft in his favor, based on the order of the same day sent to you by the Citizen Director General of Customs.

May God have you in his care. Guayra, July, 1812, 2d year of the Republic. José de Alustiza, Citizen Military Commandant of this city.

† In a letter written by the Señor Don Felipe Fermin Paul to Messrs. Pedro Cans, Bros., in relation to the capitulation of Miranda, he says:

After the republican General signed the ratification of the Treaty of Capitulation for all that General J. Austria may say in his *Military History of Venezuela*) it was ratified by Miranda as will be seen in the note;\* he gave orders to retreat to Caracas; and he himself marched away before daybreak of the 27th July.

The officers and soldiers ignored the details of the agreement, and only foresaw an irregular and dangerous dissolution.

Mires, to whom the command of the army remained, when Miranda marched to Caracas, provoked a military Junta, and in it gave ample breadth to the indignation which overflowed in the republican hearts against the proceedings of the Dictator. Juan Pablo Ayala distinguished himself amongst those who composed the Junta, his energy of character and rectitude of sentiments did not mould themselves to these debilities of the mind or to the designs of shame or dishonor. He refused with forcible determination to remain at La Victoria to surrender it to Monteverde, and by his example all resolved to proceed in order to Caracas, where they would take convenient measures.

Bolivar had arrived at Caracas after the misfortune at Puerto Cabello, and found himself on his way to the head quarters of General Miranda, when he was informed of his return and the surrender of his country; and as he was determined not to submit himself, he decided to return to La Guayra and emigrate to foreign parts.

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"The capitulation of General Miranda was a mystery to all; as it was said that he would sign it on board; none of the employés of this capital and La Guayra heard of it until after the territory was occupied by the Spanish troops; and the anxiety and suspense in which all were, caused projects of disturbances which were principally directed against General Miranda, on account of having abused the confidence deposited with him, of having proceeded against the desire and universal opinion, and for having compromised a multitude of citizens who were left exposed to the sufferings and insults which they afterwards suffered.

"Thus a want of patriotism cannot be imputed some facts against the said General, in which moved the most illustrious authors of the independence, but an irresistible impulse for their self-preservation, calculating that if the head was saved, they also should obtain the same fortune. Patriotism was put aside by cause of the pressing and conflicting circumstances, it did not appear in their countenances, but it existed in their hearts.

"It was not I who drew the drafts against the merchant Don Gerardo Patrullo, but the Marquis de Casa-Leon, from the valleys of Aragua, and which the General brought with him, but I received a dispatch from the said Marquis, telling me to inform, without loss of time, Patrullo to protest and not pay them, which friendly message I executed efficaciously. Then I was informed that in these calamitous times orders were given for the delivery of a considerable amount of dollars to the Englishman, Geo. Robertson, and which were paid in different sums." . . . .

\* Austria was surely ignorant of the communication of Miranda to Monteverde, which says as follows:

HEADQUARTERS, LA VICTORIA, 25th July, 1812.

In virtue of the last and definitive answers of the Commandant General of the Spanish troops of the Regency, D. D. Monteverde, to the new propositions which were made to him on my part, of whose explanation the Commissioner Antonio Fernandez de Leon was charge, I have thought, consulting the federal Executive Power, for not having space to do so with the people of Caracas, that I should ratify them, attending to the present circumstances.

FRANCISCO MIRANDA.

The opinion of Bolivar was energetically opposed to the capitulation. The conduct of Miranda irritated him, and the grade of the intention of his ideas may be judged by the following lines which he gave forth in his manifesto to the nations of the world, and in which he rapidly sketches the panorama of the events to which I have referred. It says, as follows :

" The people of these provinces, after having proclaimed their independence and liberty, were subjugated by an adventurer, who, usurping to himself an authority he had not, and taking advantage of the consternation produced by an earthquake, which was made more terrible than its devastations by ignorance and superstition, he invaded the province, spilling the blood of the Americans, pillaging its inhabitants, and committing the most frightful atrocities . . . . . Monteverde, against the express orders of General Miyares, on whom he depended, marched on, subjugating the frightened and easily seduced people, up to the vicinities of the City of Caracas, recently destroyed by the terrible earthquake of the 26th March, 1812. The only force which opposed him, was unfortunately commanded by an officer who, preoccupied by his ambition and violent passions, who either did not know the imminent peril, or wished to sacrifice to them his country; excessively despotic and arbitrary, he not only dissatisfied the soldiers, but he deranged the different departments of public administration; he placed the province, or the portion that was left of it, in a complete state of nullity.

" Monteverde, supported by several ignorant and demoralized priests, who saw in our independence and liberty the destruction of their power, exhausted all his resources to finish, to seduce the majority, and to leave the minority without any chance of defense. The capital destroyed; its inhabitants dispersed in the fields; the people dying from hunger and misery; terrified by the murders of Antonanzas, Boves and other satellites which Monteverde had distributed by bands in the interior of the province to take life without pity, by cold blood, without ceremony or formality, of as many as were conceived to be patriots; the soldiers without officers; the people doubtful of their fate. . . . .

" Such was the unhappy state of Caracas, when, among the valleys of the coast in the East, burst forth the insurrection of the negroes, free and slaves, provoked and helped and sustained by the emissaries of Monteverde. These barbarous and atrocious people fed themselves on the blood and wealth of the patriots, to whom a list of these were given at Curispe and Caucaagua. Marching against the neighborhood of Caracas, they committed in those valleys, and especially in the town of Guatire, the most dreadful murders, pillage, violence and devastation. The prostrate, the peaceful countrymen, the most honest men, the innocent, all were dying by the pistol and sword, or were barbarously flagellated even after the publication of the armistice. Blood ran on all sides, and the dead bodies were the ornament of the streets and plazas of Guatire, Calabozo, San Juan de los Morros and other villages inhabited by industrious and peaceful people, who, far from having taken up arms, would fly to the mountains on the approach of soldiers, from whence they were taken, their arms tied, to be killed without any other ceremony, hearing or judgment, than causing them to fall on their knees. Any officer or soldier had authority to kill with impunity any one whom he thought to be a patriot, or whom he had to rob.

" In this difficulty, Caracas threatened in the East by the negroes, incited by

"Spanish Europeans, already at the village of Guaremas, eight leagues distant from the city; and in the West by Monteverde, animated by the success at Puerto Cabello, without any other troops to oppose than those quartered in the town of La Victoria; discouraged and almost dissolved by the arbitrary and violent conduct of a hated chieftain, treated of capitulating, and, in effect, after several interlocations, the articles of the capitulation were agreed to, by virtue of which all the arms, ammunition and supplies were surrendered to Monteverde, who quietly entered the city and took possession of all without any opposition.

"The principal articles of the capitulation, signed at San Mateo the 28th July, 1812, were, that the life and property of the citizens should not be touched; that no process should be made against any one for his political opinions anterior to the capitulation; that no one should be troubled; and that there should be an entire forgetfulness of the past. A treaty thus made with the chief of the soldiers of a civilized nation of Europe, which has always boasted of its good faith, satisfied the most wary and timid men, and all rested from their past troubles, if not content with the fate that Providence had destined them, at least quiet and confiding in the good faith of treaties. They had endeavored enthusiastically to sustain their liberty, and if they had not been able to preserve it, they consoled themselves with the satisfaction of having employed all the means in their power."

In this brief but truthful sketch, there are words of extreme severity, which injure the memory of General Miranda; but it should be kept present, that the Republicans, instigated by an ungrateful impression, judged him rigidly, and that not only they did not esteem him now, but even hatred was felt against him.

Bolivar was at La Guayra when the Generalissimo arrived at that port. It was about seven o'clock of the evening of the 30th July.

In that act, and afterwards, many other officers arrived, flying from the persecution they justly feared; and it was divulged (which unfortunately was true) that Miranda had concealed his voyage, and that, in Caracas, he had told them that they could retire to their homes, abandoning them to the most cruel suspense. The irregularity and uncertainty with which the capitulation was passed through; the confused dissolution of the army, and the ignorance of the terms of the agreement, gave sufficient ground to judge wrongly of the acts of the Dictator, and make him suspicious; and the exaltation of the minds counselled them towards taking the violent measures which their mutual unhappy fate justified.

Immediately after the arrival of the Generalissimo at La Guayra, Captain Haynes came on land. Miranda, wearied by his fatigues and the heat of the day, was reposing; afterwards he seated himself at the table, being present Manuel Maria Casas, Military Commander, who had accompanied him, the Dr. Miguel Peña, Civil and Political Governor, the Dr. Pedro Gual and others. Whilst at table, it was talked of that Miranda should remain on land for that night, *it being too late already for him to embark*. Haynes insisted, saying that on board the commodities were plentiful enough for the General. Notwithstanding this, as nothing needed such a ridiculous precipitation, Miranda consented to remain until the following morning.

Haynes left visibly disgusted.

That same night secretly assembled the Dr. Miguel Peña, Manuel Maria

Cases, the Colonels Simon Bolivar, Juan Paz del Castillo, José Mires and José Cortes; the Commandants Tomas Montilla, Rafael Chastillon, Miguel Carabano, Rafael Castillo, José Landacta, who commanded the garrison, and Juan José Valdez, sergeant-major of the Plaza. They spoke of the conduct of the Generalissimo, who had sacrificed the work of so many careers, renies to his duties, and abandoning the defense of his country when all predicted victory; that he had submitted them shamefully to the chains and revenge of Spain. They blamed his conduct, and resented his insulting replies which at table he had given to Dr. Gual and to the Colonel Castillo, when, in a friendly manner, they asked explanations upon the treaty of capitulation! . . . . It is unnecessary to say that Bolivar surpassed them all in his warmth, because he who had spoken to the Minister Wellesley of Independence in 1810, and who in Rome, in advance to all purposes and hopes, swore for it on the Monte Sacro in 1805, could ill brook the disastrous idea of a new slavery.

Indignant, then, at the treasons (as they named them) of Miranda, they deliberated to detain him, because they judged that, once on board, he would not ratify the capitulation, leaving the patriots strongly compromised, and the only hope of a less unhappy fate disappearing. They wished to oblige him to sanction with his signature that important document, which was the safeguard of their lives and property. . . . . The pressure of the moment, in such an affair of transcendental importance, did not permit them to reflect clearly and calmly, because, if Miranda had not ratified the agreement, of what value was the signature of Miranda to Monteverde, being given in a prison, where he was placed by his own friends and subordinates? This consideration was evident; but their minds were irritated, and did not understand anything within the limits of reason. . . . . It was all, at a time, surprise and consternation. At the bottom of all these were errors, inconsistencies, abandon; with Bolivar, Montilla and their ardent companions, all was passion. Passion dictated their resolutions. . . . .

. . . . . "Male cuncta ministrat  
Impetus." (Brac., *Thebaid* X.)

For the execution of that project, which should result so lamentably, without contributing, in any manner, to the bettering of the country, the services were combusted as follows:

Cases (in whose house was accommodated the old man, sleeping in an unlocked room) should place himself at the head of the troops in the Castle of Colorado.

Valdez should surround the house in which Miranda slept with a body of men;

Bolivar, Chastillon and Montilla should take possession of his person, either willingly or by force;

Mires was to receive and guard him in the Castillo.

All was executed as was disposed; and at three o'clock in the morning of the 31st July, Miranda was a prisoner.

He was plunged in profound sleep, when he was awakened by those charged to capture him. "Is it not too early?" he inquired, thinking that he was called up to embark. His astonishment was unspeakable when he found he was a prisoner. Thoughtful and resigned, he silently followed his conductors, without proffering any complaint or resistance.

Those most severe, who judged Miranda culpable, thought of punishing him with death. Bolivar was amongst those most inclined to the greatest demonstrations of severity; and always said, to the last day of his life, that the plan had been to impose on Miranda the pain of death, as they considered that he had betrayed the cause of the independence by capitulating with the Spaniards. The *Liberator* never vacillated, affirms Restrepo, in defending, as a good action, that of imprisoning Miranda, reputing it to be a patriotic duty.

The Spanish writers who sketch the events of the year 1812 in Venezuela, and who describe at their will the scenes which passed there, censure the imprisonment of the Dictator, and strive to criminate the intention of those who executed it. They call Bolivar *ungrateful* and *false friend*, and attribute to him "desires of ingratiating himself with Monteverde."\* The meanness meant by this last supposition is such that I would fear to fail to the respect due to the gravity of historical subjects, if I would enter to occupy myself with it. For the rest, agreeing with the Senor Urquinaona that it was Bolivar who transported Miranda from London, recognizing his military science and his love for the independence, and who placed his house at his disposition, having afforded him innumerable proofs of friendship. I conclude with all logical rigor, that he was not personally discontented with him, and that on the subject of the imprisonment, there prevailed no other sentiment besides that of his country. Because all duty should not have been put aside to respect the errors of the Dictator, nor the republicans abandon their dearest interest, amongst these calamitous circumstances, and allow that the will of Miranda be complied with, who had unfortunately forgotten his obligations towards his friends and companions. The officers who met that day at La Guayra, and those who did not, approved of the imprisonment of Miranda; because they looked upon it as a means for the ratification of the agreement of the capitulation, whose contents, although ignored, all comprehended that it favored the country in its misfortune, and that Monteverde would not dare to break through it as long as there was no pretext for it.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 81st, an order communicated to Casas by Monteverde, caused the port of La Guayra to be closed, advising him at the same time that no one be allowed to embark *without a passport from him* (Monteverde). Casas displayed the communication, and said in a determined voice: "Señores, there is no outlet; no one embarks." . . . . Some person wished to remark something, but Casas, without paying attention, interrupted him, and repeated in a loud voice: "*No one embarks.*" These words had the effect of a lightning-stroke. La Guayra was converted immediately into another Babel. What confusion! How many different and opposite opinions! What a world of torments and fears! All the emigrants had fallen into the hands of the enemy. . . . .

Why did Casas obey the order of Monteverde? Why did not he prefer to embark himself with Miranda, Bolivar, Montilla, and the most compromised republicans, thus saving them all? Why did he complete by his obedience, the ruin of the patriots which the Generalissimo prepared by his inexplicable conduct?

In spite of the activity of Casas, and the rigor with which he decided to fulfil the order of Monteverde, the English sloop "Sapphire" and the brig

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\* Urquinaona, work, cit. Torrente, I. p. 308.

"Zeloso" set sail; and the other vessels would have done the same had they not been prevented by the cannon of the fort, which had sunk the schooner "William," amongst others who had attempted to sail out.

Towards evening, the column of the Spanish commandant, Don Francisco Javier Zerberiz, arrived, and to him was made the formal surrender of the city with all its accessories.

Bolivar left about sundown, accompanied by his former aid-de-camp and secretary, Don Francisco Ribas; and, disguised, passed through the Spanish sentinels, entering Caracas without having been recognized. The following night he went to the house of Don Antonio Leon, Marquis of Casa-Leon, where he remained concealed, meditating what he should do. He was there informed that on the first of August the bark "Matilde," Captain A. Chataing, had left, having on board the lawyer Francisco Javier Yanes, the Don Antonio Nicolas Briceno, and the French commandant Pedro Labatut, who had served the Republic; as also other persons with the Don Pedro Gual, the Colonel P. Arévalo, and some other patriots, who landed at Ouraço, not without inconvenience on the trip.

The patriots complied faithfully with the conditions of the capitulations, and Monteverde had nothing left to remark; but he on his part perfidiously broke through them from the first day he entered Caracas, beginning the series of persecutions which caused his name to become execrable.\* Miranda was thrown into a dungeon, as also Ayala, Mirus, Paz Castillo, Montilla (Thomas), and other distinguished patriots. The Deacon Cortes Madariaga was brutally abstracted from an American vessel to be cruelly treated. The respectable and virtuous Don Juan German Roscio, and the aged and meritable Brigadier Salcedo, were placed in stocks, to public shame, in the Plaza de las Capuchinas, and afterwards conducted on *enjalmes* (filthy horse blankets made of straw), tied hands and feet to the dungeons of La Guayra; insults were committed on many other patriots, the cruel Spaniard, Zerberiz, causing their costly baggage to be disembarked, and who appropriated it to his own use without scruple or shame, as spoils of war.

Meanwhile, the treacherous Monteverde caused a proclamation to be published in these words: "Venezuelans! you have listened to an eternal forgetfulness of the past from my mouth, and it has thus happened! . . . . My promises will be fulfilled; live quietly by this inviolable fulfilment!" . . . . Unexampled impudence! Base sarcasm, ironically thrown in the face of so many loyal and distinguished republicans!

The ignoble passions of the rude, although fortunate Spanish chieftain, were incited by the low-life multitude of Islenos of Caracas, the priest Rojas Queipo,

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\* The good faith with which on the part of the Independents, the treaty of capitulation was complied, is acknowledged by the same royal historians, and this so much more satisfactory for us, as it deepens the stain of perfidy on Monteverde who violated it. Listen to what is said by Torrente himself: Miranda being solicitous to comply exactly with the conditions of the treaty, and observing that several bodies of troops were hastily leaving the town of La Victoria in the direction of Caracas, declaring that they would not agree to the adjusted capitulation, he gave the most determined orders for the surrender of the troops which remained in said town, and left for the capital, etc. [ ] Thus Monteverde met no opposition on his entry into Caracas. [ ] (Vol. I. p. 807.)

the infamous assessor José Manuel Oropeza\* and other men of evil antecedents, thirsty for persecutions. Monteverde after established a military commission and a tribunal which he named *Public Security*, under the presidency of Don Fernando Monteverde, a near relation, and solicited denunciations! . . . . .

Great God! In a moment the dungeons of La Guayra beheld themselves replete; and to make space in them, the prisoners were passed to the pestilential vaults of Puerto Cabello, in which place were suffocated to death the unhappy General Moreno, Commandant Beniz, Gallegos, Mendez, Perdomo and other victims of unheard-of cruelty. It was the Spaniard Armendi, supervisor of the Customs of Puerto Cabello, who threw into dungeons of the Puntilla, five vials of volatile alkali and caused the asphyxiation of those innocent prisoners! . . . . .

Meanwhile the 14th August arrived. Fatal day! In detachments through the city and the surrounding country of Caracas, parties of islenas, catalans, and other Europeans, and orders being communicated to their satellites in the interior of the province, commenced the imprisonment of the Americans. The men most distinguished in the times of the Republic, snatched from the bosoms of their wives, children and families in the silence of the night: tied to the tails of the horses of the country grocers, storekeepers and the most low-lived people: ignominiously conducted to the prisons; some brought on foot, others on *enjalmes*, tied by the feet and hands, to the dungeons of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello: imprisoned there with irons and chains, and given up to the inhuman vigilance of ferocious men, many of whom had been persecuted during the revolution; heaping on them injuries, under the pretext that these unhappy beings were the authors of a revolutionary project against the agreement of the capitulation; and in this manner doubts were kept alive, and all vacillated until being assured of such calumnious felony, they fled to the mountains to seek security amongst the wild beasts, leaving deserted the cities and towns, in whose streets and public roads were to be seen only Europeans and islenas, armed with pistols, swords and blunderbusses, boasting and vomiting forth vengeance, committing outrages without distinction of sexes, and robbing in the most bare-faced manner; so much so, that there was not a soldier of Monteverde who did not wear on his person a shirt, coat or pantaloons of some American, whom they had despoiled, and even some officers who were commandants of forts, as the one of La Guayra. The atrocious Zerberiz would enter the prisons of that fort with the object of grossly insulting those same victims of whose spoils he was covered from head to foot.

These men made themselves masters of all; they occupied the farms and dwellings of the citizens; and would destroy or render useless anything they were not able to carry off. It is impossible to sketch with the briefness requisite of the circumstance the state of the province. The most honest men; the heads of families; children of fourteen years; priests, imitators of the Evangelists and the true doctrines of Jesus Christ; aged men, innumerable persons

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\* The notice given on this blood-thirsty lawyer by the Spanish Fiscal Don José de Costa Gall in his dictamen of the 28th November, which says: Amongst the calamities of that province (Venezuela) the least of all is not that to which General Monteverde is given up to the assessor Don José Manuel Oropeza, a man of no education, without prudence, and who, instead of conciliating the minds, foments disunion, and authorises disorder, pleasing, in a criminal manner, the passions of the General who had the misfortune to take him as an adviser.

who had had nothing to do, nor could have had part in the revolution, imprisoned in obscure, damp and stifling dungeons, loaded down with irons and chains, and full of misery; some died suffocated in their very cells, others could no longer resist the suffering and martyrdom, and gave up their lives without corporal or spiritual assistance because they were impiously denied to them, or they would be conceded to them when the dying were without strength, movement or voice. In the streets there were heard nothing else but the cries of unhappy wives for their husbands, mothers for their sons, sisters for their brothers, relations for relations. The residence of the tyrant resounded with the cries and laments of so many unhappy beings; he enjoyed this homage, pleased by the vapors exhaled by the blood of his victims; and his satellites, particularly his countrymen, the isleños, far from pitying them, would insult them with the barbarous expressions and gross smiles, which manifested the joy they received from the humiliation of the people of the country.\*

Miranda depicted in lively colors the sketch of the events in the time of Caracas when directing himself to the audience from the dungeons of Puerto Cabello, he wrote:

"I protest to your highness, that never was I more pleased at having complied with my charges, when in the disastrous circumstance to which I have already referred. I ratified with my signature a treaty so beneficent and analogous to public good, stipulated with so much solemnity, and sanctioned by all the requisites known by the rights of people: *a treaty which was to form an interesting epoch in Venezuelan history, a treaty which Great Britain would look upon equally with pleasure, for the conveniences which it would afford her ally: a treaty, finally, which would have opened to the Spaniards of ultramarine a secure and lasting asylum, even when the war with France, into which they were plunged, should terminate in any manner.* Such were my ideas, such my thoughts, and such the firm supports of this pacification, which I proposed, negotiated and brought to its due effect.

"But what was my surprise and satisfaction on seeing, that on the second day after the re-establishment at Caracas of the Spanish government, and the same moments in which the inviolability of the capitulation was proclaimed they proceeded to its infraction; abusing and conducting to the prisons several persons, arrested arbitrarily, or for crooked ends! Their first excesses, committed against the common security and in violation of the known treaty, agitated the passions of those who only seek a pretext to let them loose; the denunciations are multiplied: *political opinions formerly sustained and forgotten by virtue of that treaty are now qualified State crimes, and finally, interlacing the crimes, they open the lists of an almost general proscription, which reduced to mourning, tears and desolation the unhappy inhabitants, who having recovered themselves from the ravages of the earthquake, generously and confidingly gave themselves up to the securities and guarantees so many times ratified.*

To justify these proceedings, they pretext new conspiracies, projects of revolutions, submissive juntas, and as many springs as could be moved were within the reach of malice; arrests were made repeatedly, and every day was marked by the imprisonment of several persons. All these victims were conducted to the port of La Guayra, some mounted on beasts of burden, tied hands and

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\* Succinct exposition of the doings of the Spanish Commandant, Monteverde. Manifest of Bolívar to the Nations of the World.

feet; others dragged along on foot; and all threatened, insulted and exposed to the vexations of those who escorted them, deprived even of performing on the way the functions of nature, presented to the face of the spectators the object most worthy of compassion and pity.

"I saw, then, with horror, repeated in Venezuela, the same scenes of which my eyes were witnesses in Franca. I saw arrive at La Guayra bands of the most illustrious and distinguished men, treated as highwaymen. I saw them plunged, along with myself, in those most horrible dungeons. I saw venerable age, I saw tender age, the rich, the poor, the mechanic; finally, even the priesthood, reduced to irons and chains, and condemned to breathe a mephitic atmosphere, which, extinguishing an artificial light, infected the blood, and prepared an inevitable death; and lastly, I saw sacrificed to this cruelty citizens distinguished for their honesty and talent, and perish almost instantly in these dungeons, not only deprived of the assistance which humanity dictates for corporal relief, but also denied the succors which, in such cases, our holy religion prescribes; men whom, I am certain, would have died a thousand deaths, defending themselves with arms in their hands, when they generously capitulated, before they would submit to such insults and treatment!"

In the midst of the confusion of these general imprisonments, Bolivar, who did not relish the idea of seeing himself insulted and thrown into a dungeon, nor even the inactivity of a voluntary prison, availed himself of his friend, the honorable Bizcayan, Don Francisco Iturbe, a man of great heart, and a friend of Monteverde's, to obtain a passport. Iturbe met a repulse from Monteverde at the first insinuation. This one told him that it consisted of a summary made upon the conduct of Bolivar, who had been "a raging patriot, he himself having erected at Puerto Cabello parapets and entrenchments to oppose the entrance of the arms of the King, and persuading his soldiers to die first rather than return under the rule of Spain."\* Iturbe, who wished to be of service to Bolivar, and whose condition of Spaniard and Treasurer of the *Diesmos* gave him much influence, persisted in asking the passport of his protégé, and concluding said, that he offered his own person as guarantee, *if that was of any value.*

When, on his exit, he had observed that Monteverde was less inflexible, he returned at the expiration of an hour, presenting Bolivar, and exclaiming, in these generous words: *Here is the Commandant of Puerto Cabello, the Señor Don Simon Bolivar, for whom I have offered guarantee; if any penalty is imposed on him, I will suffer it; my life is for his!* An act of magnanimity which immortalises the sweet memory of Don Francisco Iturbe! Monteverde replied: "It is well;" and turning to his secretary, Don Bernardo Muro, he said, "A passport is conceded to the gentleman (looking at Bolivar) in recompense of the service he has done to the King by the capture of Miranda." Until that moment Bolivar had said nothing; but on hearing the words dictated by Monteverde to his Secretary Muro, he promptly replied, "that he had captured Miranda to punish a traitor to his country, and not to do a service to the King."

Such an answer irritated the mind of Monteverde; but Iturbe, surpassing

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\* This process, commenced at Valencia the 10th July, 1812, in the presence of the judges of the tribunal of Sequestrations, Don José Antonio, Don Juan Bautista Echeandía, is found in the office of Registers of the city of Caracas.

himself in generosity, insisted that the passport had been offered to him, and that his guarantee was given, concluding his good endeavors by jocosely saying to Muro, to whom he was united by a good and faithful friendship: "Come, now, don't mind this rash youth; give him his passport and let him depart."

Bolivar received his passport and went immediately to La Guayra (26th August); chartered, with others, the Spanish schooner "Jesus, Maria and Joseph," and on the 27th, at nine in the morning, sailed in the direction of Curaçao. Along with him went the young man Tadeo Pifanngo, who afterwards lent remarkable services to the Republic; and not finding means to leave Venezuela, where he did not wish to remain ruled by Monteverde, he disguised himself as a servant of Bolivar's, attending to the conducting of the baggage on board, etc.

That which Lallement writes on this subject should not be believed; that is, "that the favor of the passport is to be attributed to the small political importance which Bolivar had." This is untrue. Monteverde was well aware that the protégé of Iturbe was not a common man, and with only the declarations of the summary formed at Valencia, he had sufficient to form an idea of the true character of Bolivar, and of the inflexibility of his opinions. But the influence of Iturbe smoothed away all repugnances; and, above all, Providence saved the man who, inspired by his star, wrestled valorously with irremediable misfortune to convert it into glory, and change it to liberty and the joy of the American world.

From this point Bolivar takes upon himself the duties and destinies of a hero. He does not go into exile nor into repose (*otium sine dignitate*); he goes to combat. In his eyes Columbia, America, liberty, are a deposit confided to his valor and constancy. His country is his idol; independence, his faith; his illusion ardent, pleasing. . . . . He will follow her in deserts, in battles, in Congresses, resolved to die to defend her, or live to see her free by his efforts, and his country restored to her first dignity, to her name and to her greatness!

Monteverde did not know what he did when he signed the passport of Bolivar. Afterwards he deeply regretted it; and his friends would perceive him to change color at the mention only of his condescension to Iturbe. Insensate! As if it had been in his power to prevent the fulfillment of the eternal, inevitable decrees of Destiny.

The mind of the Spanish chieftain (he entitled himself Commandant-General of the army of H. C. M.) little satisfied with the destructions, extortions and arbitrarities which he had committed, after he had given the passport to Don Simon Bolivar (Monteverde never acknowledged the military ranks of the rebels), he ordered out to Cadiz, with irons on their feet, the citizens Dr. Roscio, Deacon Cortes Madariaga, Juan Pablo Ayala, Juan Paz de Castillo, José Miro, Manuel Ruiz, José Barona and Francisco Yznardi, this last Secretary of the Congress of Venezuela. The document with which he sent them to the authorities of Cadiz, is worthy of being transmitted. He directed himself to the Regency, and said:

"I present to your Highness these eight monsters, origin and first root of all the evils and changes in America, who have horrified the whole world: let them be ashamed and confounded before the Majesty, and may they suffer the penalty of their crimes. . . . .

"May God have your Highness in his mercy many years.

"DOMINGO MONTEVERDE."

As for General Miranda, buried in an obscure and narrow prison, weighed down with irons, brought first to the jail of Puerto Cabello that there he might behold the most tragic and unhappy scenes, afterwards to the Morro of Puerto Rico, was finally conducted to Cadiz and imprisoned in the arsenal of La Carraca, where mournful and solitary, bearing with unutterable resignation the sufferings of his mind, consumed by misery and melancholy, he gave up his soul, in the silence and in the complaints of neglect, . . . . early on the morning of the 14th July, 1816!

I have heard referred, by the officer O'Dempsey, of the Royal British Navy, a very respectable person, that he had seen, on several occasions, the *noble old man*, as he called him (the good old man, the venerable and distinguished prisoner), tied to the wall by a chain around his neck, neither more nor less than a dog. Such cruel barbarity seems incredible! The guest of Catherine II., the friend of the Emperor of Austria, one of the most prominent figures of Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century—epoch in which so many great men rose up—tied like a dog! . . . . with a chain around his neck! . . . . in the last days of his life! . . . .

What an insatiable thirst for torment!

The Cortes wrote down beautiful principles of liberty and humanity in their Constitution of 1812; the liberals declaimed against oppression and arbitrary measures; . . . . but all this should be understood, and did understand only the natives of Spain. In respect to the Americans, the system was distinct, as we have already said; the constitutional guarantees did not protect them. Those means which society secures to all its members to make respected the rights which it recognizes in each one; precious means which the people envy, and whose possession the free do not lose, so as not to leave off being so, are given to citizens, to men, to all those who are capable of right and liberty! . . . . and the Americans were *parias*! Only in this manner can it be explained that the Regency had no blame to be made an accomplice of Monteverde, justifying his arbitrarities. Only this can be explained, that Cortes should say nothing; that the independent press and the leaders of liberty in Cadiz, Argüelles, Quintana, Toreno, Martínez de la Rosa, Galiano and others should not have raised their voice to ask the relief of that illustrious victim. . . . . He was an American! A similar, though harder, fate was reserved to the unhappy Indian Juan Tupac Amaru, brother of José Gabriel, of whom we have spoken in the note, p. 18. Juan, whose constitution was weak and sickly, and whose thoughts were not as elevated as those of his illustrious brother, did not take part in the insurrectionary movements of 1781. Notwithstanding, as the King had given an order that all the Tupacs Amarus, their wives and children, and all those who were thought to be, or taken to be, descendants of the Incas,\* should be captured and sent to Spain. Juan was embarked and remitted to Cadiz under arrest. He arrived at that port in 1788, and there encountered the terrible news that his wife and children had perished in the navigation. Innocent beings which the Court of Madrid sacrificed to their vengeance! . . . . The unhappy Juan, his heart pierced by sorrow, beheld himself barred in a hard prison, dragging a chain for three years; at the lapse of which he was confined to the prison of Ceuta, for the crime alone of God having made him born a brother of Tupac Amaru, three reals being given him daily for his food. . . . . Thirty-five years were

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\* Royal Order directed to the Viceroy of Peru in 1788.

passed by that venerable martyr in the prison of Ceuta! Last remnant of the illustrious race of the monarchs of Peru, who should die as a slave in the prisons of Spain!! In vain did he implore; in vain did he claim his liberty. . . . . Nothing!! Three monarchs reigned over Spain: Charles III., Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII., and the entreaties of the unhappy old man were heard by none of them. Ceuta had many governors; but none paid attention to the innocence of the poor American. Godoy did not attend to him; the Supreme Court imposed silence; the Cortes did not listen; the liberals would pretend not to understand, so as not to trouble themselves with the tears, nor inquire into the interests of the justice of that innocent who claimed his liberty. For him there was no friend, no press, no pardon, no law, no solicitude, nor favor of any kind. Thirty-five years in a prison! . . . . . In 1820, when Riego raised the cry of liberty at Cadix, the dwellers of Ceuta let loose this victim of the infernal policy of the kings. Juan Tupac Amaru had lost even the knowledge of events. He cried like a child, and only repeated, from time to time, "Because I am an American!"\*

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\* Juan Tupac Amaru appeared at Buenos Ayres towards the year 1823. The Argentine government immediately gave him a house and assigned him a monthly pension. Tupac Amaru wrote an exposition of his sufferings, which document is conserved in the archives of the State. It cannot be read without horror.