

General H.L.V. Ducoudray Holstein



MEMOIRS OF
SIMON BOLIVAR
AND OF HIS PRINCIPAL GENERALS



SIMON BOLIVAR

Ilustrado por José María Espinosa ca. 1840.

Grabado por Lemercier

Museo Nacional de Colombia

MEMOIRS
OF
SIMÓN BOLÍVAR
PRESIDENT LIBERATOR
OF
THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA
AND OF
HIS PRINCIPAL GENERALS
COMPRISING
A SECRET HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION, AND THE EVENTS
WHICH PRECEDED IT, FROM 1807 TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
GEN. H. L. V. DUCOUDRAY HOLSTEIN
EX-CHIEF OF THE STAFF OF THE PRESIDENT LIBERATOR
PROFFESOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES AT THE
GENEVA COLLEGE OF NEW YORK

PUBLISHED IN
LONDON
1830

TERRA FIRMA EDITORES

Published in Boston in 1828 and in London in 1830

www.memoriasdebolivar.com

©2010 Juan Carlos Vela Correa.
All Rights Reserved

Set in Granjon LT Std 10.75/11.75 pt.

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publisher.

ISBN: 978-958-44-6124-7

PREFACE

THE author of these Memoirs has been constantly attached to the cause of liberty in both hemispheres. He served in France during the whole time of the French revolution, and was, after the year 1800, attached to the staff of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Attracted by the sacred cause of the Spanish Americans, he proceeded to Carthagen, where the government offered him service, and conferred on him the highest military rank in its power to grant, that of *Gefe de Brigada* (Chief of Brigade.) He had the fortune to be commander-in-chief of the forts of Boca Chica. What other service he rendered in Colombia, will be related in the course of these Memoirs.

He, as one of the chieftains of the Republic, had a good opportunity of being well informed of facts, whether secret or open, and of contemplating at leisure the disposition and talents of the chiefs, who were his daily companions, and many of them his subordinates. He particularly studied the character of General Bolivar, with whom he lived on terms of great intimacy.

On leaving this service, some friends suggested to him the idea of writing a history of Colombia, as he had been an eye witness of so many interesting facts. He complied with this suggestion; but, not satisfied with his own observations, he consulted many

of the most distinguished leaders of both parties, (Spaniards and Patriots,) opportunities for which were frequently offered to him during his long residence in Hayti, Curaçao, and St. Thomas's; and accordingly he derived from them information upon certain facts, with which he had not been personally acquainted. He afterwards diligently and faithfully compared the various statements, and adopted what seemed to him to be the plain intermediate result. He thinks, therefore, he has *approached* as nearly as possible to a correct and impartial relation of facts. He has, besides, kept up an active correspondence, collected the bulletins, the proclamations, the manifestoes, and memoirs, both of Spaniards and Patriots, and compared them with each other; and lastly, he commenced, and has continued to make, short notes, after consulting distinguished and well-informed gentlemen, who have furnished him with information.

He has been occupied in pursuing this subject more than five years; and as these Memoirs, now respectfully submitted to the public, contain a great many facts hitherto unpublished, the author hopes they will not prove to be without some interest to the reader.

Geneva College, New York
February 4th, 1829.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

..... 1

SECTION I.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF COLOMBIA.

Geographical Divisions and former Government of the Countries at present comprehended within the limit of Colombia—Revolution from 1810 to the present time—Extent of Territory—Number of Inhabitants—Debt and Revenue—Forts and Fortifications—Seaports—Judicial Administration—Form of Government—Slavery—Indians—Common Schools, Colleges, Universities—Roads—Rivers—Mines—Diseases—Burial Places—Poor Houses and Beggars—The Clergy—Executive Influence, Provincial Officers—Obstacles to the Establishment of a regular efficient free Government, and to Improvements and Prosperity in Colombia.

..... 1

SECTION II.

EDUCATION, MANNERS, HABITS, CHARACTERISTICS.

Education of the Colombians—Their Vanity, Ambition, Contempt of Trades and Mechanic Arts—Classes and Ranks in society—Marriages—Intrigues and Dissoluteness—Women, their Manners, Character, Education, Dress—Those of Bogota as distinguished from those of Caracas and Carthagea—Houses, Furniture—Luxuries and Extravagance—Superstition—Influence of the Priests—Characteristic Habits and Traits—Llaneros, their Dress, Equipments, &c.—Paez, Zarasa—The Margaritans—Religious Ceremonies—Former Punishment for Murder and Robbery—Public Punishment of a Young Female at Bogota, for

an attempt to steal the Jewels of the Image of the Virgin Mary.

..... 24

CHAPTER I.

Causes of the present imperfect Knowledge and erroneous Opinions respecting the Political Events and Leading Characters in Colombia.

..... 51

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Bolivar—His Family—Visit to Europe—Marriage—Errors in the Biographical Sketch of his Life in Ackermann's Magazine.

..... 55

CHAPTER III.

Events previous to the Entry of Bolivar into the regular Army of Venezuela—First causes of the Revolution at Caracas—Napoleon's Invasion of Spain, and its influence upon the Spanish Colonies—Propitious Inducements for the Americans to rise against their Oppressors—Policy of the Cabinets of St. Cloud and St. James's in regard to the Spanish Colonies.—[Years 1807 and 1808.]

..... 61

CHAPTER IV.

Situation of Venezuela in 1808—Arrival of Captain-General Emparan, and Lieutenant-Colonel Simon Bolivar, at La Guaira, from Spain—Emparan's Administration—Details of the Revolution at Caracas, 19th April, 1810—Venezuelan Junta—Spanish Regency—Conspiracy—Commencement of Hostilities—Marquis del Toro—Miranda's arrival at Caracas—Congress—Executive Power—Patriotic Society—Islenian Conspiracy—Declaration of Independence—Military

*Operations of Miranda—Project of a Constitution—
Situation of the Republic in 1811.—[Years 1808— 1811.]*

..... 72

CHAPTER V.

*Earthquake at Caracas, and its Consequences—Particulars of
Bolivar's entry into the Army, and of his nomination as Governor
of Porto Cabello—Capitulation at Victoria—Dissolution of the
Republic—Arrest of Miranda at La Guaira—Anarchical State of
Venezuela under the Government of Monteverde—Cruelties of the
Spaniards—Monteverde's solemn Entry into Caracas.— [1812.]*

..... 84

CHAPTER VI.

*Departure of Lieut.-Col. Bolivar from Caracas to
Curaçao and Carthagená—Expedition of Bolivar
against the Spanish in Venezuela—His entry into
Caracas—His nomination as Dictator.—[Year 1813.]*

..... 97

CHAPTER VII.

*Discontent of the Inhabitants of Venezuela with the Dictatorial
Government—Convention held at Caracas—Skirmish of
Flora —Execution of 1,200 Spaniards by order of Bolivar—
Action of St. Mateo—Mission of Deputies to London, by
order of the Dictator—Victory of the Patriots.—[1813—14.]*

..... 118

CHAPTER VIII.

*Boves—Battle of La Puerta —Defeat and Flight of the two
Dictators—Caracas in the power of the Spaniards—Bolivar*

and Mariño embark at Cumana—Their Reception at Margarita and Carupano—Their Arrival at Carthagena—Justificatory Memoir— Secret History of their Conduct at Carthagena—Factions and Party Spirit in that City—Particulars of Occurrences in the Assembly of the Legislative Body at Carthagena—Persecutions of the Author.—[Year 1814.]

. 128

CHAPTER IX.

Situation of New Grenada—Arrival of General Bolivar at the Congress of Tunja—His Reception—His March against Bogota and Carthagena—His Stay at Mompox—Correspondence between him and General Castillo—Bolivar’s secret Motives in besieging Carthagena—Details of this Siege—Bolivar embarks for Kingstown in the Island of Jamaica.—[Years 1814—1815.]

. 150

CHAPTER X.

Consequences of Bolivar’s besieging Carthagena—Situation of New Grenada and Venezuela—Marquis de San Leon and Captain-general Cagigal—Death of Boves—Execution of Ribas—Cruelties of Morales—Conspiracy of the Blacks.—[1815.]

. 171

CHAPTER XI,

Events at Carthagena—Siege of that Place by Morillo—Castillo, Bermudes, Ducoudray Holstein, Brion—Evacuation of Carthagena and BocaChica—Causes of Bolivar’s Return.—1815

. 181

CHAPTER XII.

*Particulars of the Stay of General Bolivar in Aux Cayes—
Characteristic Anecdotes.*

. 198

CHAPTER XIII.

Sailing of the Expeditionary Army, under command of General Bolivar, from Aux Cayes to Margarita—Naval Action on the 2d of May, and General Bolivar's behaviour in it—Events in the Island of Margarita—Arrival of the Expedition at Carupano—Characteristic Anecdotes of General Bolivar—The Author takes final leave of the Service—What happened between General Bolivar and him at Aux Cayes and at Port-au-Prince.—[Year 1816.]

. 218

CHAPTER XIV

Evacuation of Carupano—Skirmish at Ocumare — Fifth Flight of General Bolivar, and his Retreat to the Island of Hayti—McGregor's Retreat towards Barcelona.

. 254

CHAPTER XV.

Cause of General Bolivar's Recal to the Main — His Arrival at Barcelona — Siege and Occupation of Barcelona by the Spaniards — Behaviour of General Bolivar at Barceloua.— Years 1816-17.

. 267

CHAPTER XVI.

Conquest of the Provinces of Guayana by General Piar and Admiral Brion—Trial and Execution of General Piar—Bolivar and Mariño—Anecdotes. 1817.

..... 276

CHAPTER XVII.

Campaign of 1818.—Foreign Legions—Conspiracy against Bolivar’s power.

..... 302

CHAPTER XVIII.

Bolivar and Sanander—Council of Government at Angostura—Roscio and Torres—Situation of both contending Parties—Generals Urdaneta and English—Bolivar’s Expedition against New Grenada—His Return to Venezuela—Events at Angostura—Fundamental Law of the Republic of Colombia. (Years 1818-19.)

..... 320

CHAPTER XIX.

Events from the Proclamation of the Fundamental Law of the Republic of Colombia, December 1819, to the Armistice between General Bolivar and Morillo, November 1820.

..... 343

CHAPTER XX.

Renewal of Hostilities—Manifesto of General de la Torre—Battle of Carabobo—Conduct of La Torre and Morales—Bolivar at Caracas—Surrender of Carthagena, Maracaybo, and Porto Cabello—Entire Evacuation of the Main by the Spanish Forces.— (1821-1824.)

..... 366

CHAPTER XXI.

Conduct of the Dutch Government in the Island of Curaçao against the Republic of Colombia and the Spaniards— Expedition against

*Porto Rico, and Spoliations committed by the Dutch Government
of Curaçao, under Pretence of the Criminality of General D. H.*

..... 383

CHAPTER XXII.

*Biographical Sketches of Louis Brion, Francisco Pablo de
Sanander, and Francisco Antonio Zea.*

..... 396

CHAPTER XXIII.

Biographical Sketches of Generals Paez and Arismendy.

..... 406

CHAPTER XXIV

*Recapitulation of Facts—General Bolivar as he is, and not as he
is commonly believed to be.*

..... 419

APPENDIX

..... 446

JUSTIFICATORY DOCUMENTS.

..... 460

CHAPTER XXIV

Recapitulation of Facts—General Bolivar as he is, and not as he is commonly believed to be.

I Have shown how General Bolivar acted from 1810 to 1814. His campaigns in Peru do not come within my plan, but they are well known, as are also his political transactions in regard to the Bolivian constitution, which is his own work, and by which his principles are fully developed.

The memoir of the late Marquis De Torre Tagle, President of Peru, which will be found in No. 9 of the Appendix, is a remarkable document to show the character of General Bolivar. The marquis has been represented as a traitor, because he stated the truth during a time when Bolivar's power was at a low ebb. The truth, however, will be re-established, and history will transmit it to posterity.

In the Appendix, No. 10, will be found another document, a letter from Mr. Manuel Vidaurre, one of the most distinguished patriots of Peru, which places the character of Bolivar in a just light. I will endeavour to give his portrait.

General Bolivar, in his exterior, in his physiognomy, in his whole deportment, has nothing which would be noticed as characteristic or imposing. His manners, his conversation, his behaviour in society, have nothing extraordinary in them, nothing which would attract the attention of any one who did not know

him; on the contrary, his exterior is against him. He is five feet four inches in height, his visage is long, his cheeks hollow, his complexion a livid brown; his eyes are of middle size, and sunk deep in his head, which is covered thinly with hair; and his whole body is thin and meagre. He has the appearance of a man sixty-five years old. In walking, his arms are in perpetual motion. He cannot walk long, but soon becomes fatigued. Wherever he goes his stay is short, seldom more than half an hour, and as soon as he returns his hammock is fixed, in which he sits or lies, and swings upon it after the manner of his countrymen. Large mustachios and whiskers cover a part of his face, and he is very particular in ordering each of his officers to wear them, saying that they give a martial air. This gives him a dark and wild aspect, particularly when he is in a passion. His eyes then become animated, and he gesticulates and speaks like a madman, threatens to shoot those with whom he is angry, steps quickly across his chamber, or flings himself upon his hammock; then jumps out of it, orders people out of his presence, and frequently arrests them. When he wishes to persuade, or bring any one to his purpose, he employs the most seducing promises, taking a man by the arm, and walking and speaking with him as with his most intimate friend. As soon as his purpose is attained, he becomes cool, haughty, and often sarcastic; but he never ridicules a man of high character, or a brave man, except in his absence. This practise of abusing people in their absence, is characteristic of the Caraguins generally. The following is extracted from Colonel Hippisley's 'Narrative of the Expedition to the Rivers Orinoco and Apure, in South America, London, 1819, p. 382.

"I had a full opportunity of surveying the general (Bolivar) while he was conversing with Captain Beire. From what I had heard of him, I was led to expect in appearance a very different man from the one I saw before me. General Bolivar is a mean looking person, seemingly, though but thirty-eight, about fifty years of age. He is about five feet six inches in height, thin sallow complexion, lengthened visage, marked with every symptom of anxiety, care, and I could almost add, despondency. He seemed also to have undergone great fatigue. His dark, and according to report, brilliant eyes, were now dull and heavy, although I could give them credit for possessing more fire and animation, when his frame was less harassed. Black hair, loosely tied

behind with a piece of riband, large mustachios, black handkerchief round his neck, blue trousers, boots and spurs, completed his costume. In my eyes he might have passed for any thing but what he was. Across the chamber was suspended one of the Spanish hammocks, on which he occasionally sat, lolled, and swung, whilst conversing, and seldom remained in the same posture for two minutes together," &c.

General Bolivar occupies himself very little in studying the military art. He understands no theory, and seldom asks a question, or holds any conversation relative to it. Nor does he speak of the civil administration, unless it happens to fall within the concerns of the moment. I often endeavoured to bring him into serious conversation on these subjects, but he would always interrupt me; "yes, yes, *mon cher ami*, I know this. it is very good; but apropos"—and immediately turned the conversation upon some different subject.

His reading, which is very little, consists of light history and tales. He has no library, or collection of books, befitting his rank and the place he has occupied for the last fifteen years. He is passionately fond of the sex, and has always two or three ladies, of whom one is the favourite mistress, who follows him wherever he goes.

Dancing is an amusement of which he is also passionately fond. Whenever he stays two or three days in a place, he gives a ball or two, at which he dances in his boots and spurs, and makes love to those ladies who happen to please him for the moment. Next to this amusement he likes his hammock, where he sits or lolls, conversing or amusing himself with his favourite mistress, or other favourites, some of whom I have named in the course of this work. During this time, he is inaccessible to all others. The aide-de-camp on duty says to those who have important business to transact with him:—"His Excellency is deeply engaged at present, and can see no one." When he is out of humour, he swears like a common bully, and orders people out of his presence in the rudest and most vulgar manner. From his habits of life, or rather from his love of pleasure, it happens that many matters of business are heaped together, and left to his secretary; as his decree of 8th March, 1827, fixing the Custom-House duties of Venezuela, which is attributed to Ravenga, and which has destroyed the commerce of the country. When

he suddenly recollects some business, he calls his secretary, and directs him to write the letter or the decree. This brings more to mind, and it often happens that in one day he hurries off the work of fifteen or twenty. In this manner it often happens that decrees, made on the same day, are in direct opposition to each other.

General Bolivar has adopted the habits and customs of the European Spaniards. He takes his *siesta*, (noon nap) regularly, and eats his meals in the manner of the Spaniards. He goes to *tertulias*, (coteries) gives *refrescos*, and always dances the first minuet with the lady highest in rank in the company. This old Spanish custom is strictly observed throughout Colombia.

Inasmuch as General Bolivar is the sport of circumstances, it is difficult to trace his character. Bolivar, in success, differs, not circumstantially alone, from Bolivar in adversity; he is quite another man. When successful, he is vain, haughty, ill-natured, violent; at the same time the slightest circumstances will so excite his jealousy of his authority, that he arrests and sometimes condemns to capital punishment those whom he suspects. Yet he, in a great measure, conceals these faults, under the politeness of a man educated in the so called beau monde. They appear in his fits of passion; but not, however, unless he is sure of having the strength on his side; the bayonets at his command. When he finds himself in adversity and destitute of aid from without, as he often did from 1813 to 1818, he is perfectly free from passion and violence of temper. He then becomes mild, patient, docile, and even submissive. Those who have seen him in the changes of his fortune will agree that I have not overcharged the picture.

The predominant traits in the character of General Bolivar, are ambition, vanity, thirst for absolute undivided power, and profound dissimulation. He is more cunning, and understands mankind better than the mass of his countrymen; he adroitly turns every circumstance to his own advantage, and spares nothing to gain those he thinks will be of present use to him. He is officious in rendering them little services; he flatters them, makes them brilliant promises; finds whatever they suggest very useful and important, and is ready to follow their advice. A third person suggests something to him, or he meets with some unexpected success—instantly he resumes his true character, and

becomes vain, haughty, cross, and violent; forgets all services and all obligations, speaks with contempt of those he had just courted, and if they are powerless, abandons them, but always manifests a disposition to spare those whom he knows able to resist him.

At Aux Cayes, General Bolivar and I lived very much and very intimately together. Our conversation turned one day upon General Mariño, and he said, laughing to me, "Oh, I despise Mariño. He is a brute and not able to command four men." Mariño at that instant came in. Bolivar met him at the door and embraced him warmly, as a dear friend; and we remained together an hour or more.

Bolivar represented General Arismendy to me as a man without education, and yet as a very intriguing and dangerous man. He was evidently afraid of Arismendy. He remembered that when he himself, and Mariño, came as fugitives to Juan Griego, in 1814, Arismendy had prevented his remaining there, and even threatened violence if he attempted to do so. Bolivar had not forgotten this when we came to Margarita after the sea-fight in May, 1816, and would probably then have been afraid to venture himself on shore, but that Brion, who, on account of his wound, had been put ashore had made such representations to Arismendy as had reconciled him to Bolivar, and induced him to come on board our vessel. As soon as Arismendy came on board, Bolivar immediately took him down into the cabin and conversed with him for a good while. He regained him by giving him a formal promise to convene a new congress, and lay aside his title of supreme chief, which was very offensive to the republican Arismendy. The latter, relying on his word, engaged again to recognise him as commander-in-chief. The day after Arismendy's formal recognition of Bolivar as commander-in-chief, he took again the title of supreme chief. And when I told him that Arismendy would be offended, he said, "Never mind, never mind, I care not much for Arismendy; I have gained him over, and he will do as I wish; and besides, he sees no further than the end of his nose." But when, in 1819, at Angostura, Arismendy had compelled Zea to leave the post of vice-president, and had taken it himself, Bolivar became so alarmed for his own supremacy, that he left his command to General Paez, marched about two hundred and fifty miles with his body-guard against

Arismendy, and reinstated Zea, with whom he could indeed do as he pleased. But he could and did only send him back to his former command, at Margarita.

Whilst General Bolivar stood in need of the military skill of General Piar, he flattered him highly; but when he came to fear his influence, he sacrificed him. He would not at that time have put Piar to death, if he had not been so advised and supported by others; not that he was unwilling to have Piar put out of the way, but that he would not have dared to condemn him.

In 1826, General Paez openly raised the standard of rebellion against the lawful authorities; and he was not only not punished, but suffered to remain in command as before. His impunity, like that of Arismendy, was owing to the strength of his party.

General Bolivar's disposition with regard to money is the reverse of miserly, and he is generally believed to be very generous. His disposition in this respect cannot be better described than by saying, that if he had a hundred thousand pounds to-day, he might very probably not have a cent tomorrow. He very seldom gives money to those that are in want, or to those who from delicacy refrain from asking for it, but he bestows profusely on his flatterers.

He has been compared to Napoleon Bonaparte. Bolivar in his proclamations imitates, or endeavours to imitate, the style of Napoleon. He began with a small body-guard, and afterwards greatly increased it, like Napoleon. He is ambitious, absolute, and jealous of his command, like the other. On public occasions he is simply dressed, while all around him is splendid. like Napoleon, and he moves quickly from place to place like him. With respect to military and administrative talents, there is no resemblance between them.

Bolivar, when dictator of Venezuela, ordered the execution of 1,253 Spaniards and Isleños, prisoners of war, and others, who were put to death in February, 1814. This was done in cool blood, and no entreaties could save them. I have mentioned an instance of his want of feeling, which I witnessed at the port of Juan Griego in May, 1814, and another in the naval combat just before.* This first was attended by an additional circumstance of

*See Chapter VII.

cruelty; that the prisoners were compelled to dig their own graves! Admiral Brion was on shore, on account of his wound, but as soon as he heard of this execution, he sent positive orders, that no more prisoners should be taken on shore, even if Bolivar himself ordered it; and by this means about 120 lives were saved.

The following fact was related to me by a respectable eyewitness, whom I would name, but for the danger of exposing him to the vengeance of the dictator-liberator. The relator, at the time he stated the fact to me, I presume, had no thought of my writing the history of Bolivar.

During a small skirmish which General Bolivar had with a Spanish detachment, not far from Araure, in 1814, one of his officers came full speed and reported to him, that a detached company was attacked on a bushy hill, a mile from his headquarters, and that they were in great want of cartridges. Twelve soldiers, who heard the report, immediately offered themselves to carry the cartridges. Bolivar ordered the chief of his staff, Thomas Montilla, to send with each of these soldiers a box of cartridges. But, as there was no road at all, they were obliged to seek a passage through a very thick forest, full of briars and thorns, in order to ascend the hill. After having laboured to force their way until they found there was no probability of penetrating farther, they were compelled to return to headquarters. They explained to the dictator the impossibility of going further, and showed him their clothes, torn in pieces, and their bodies covered with blood and wounds. Bolivar, in a furious passion, called them cowards, rascals, traitors, &c. and ordered the three first who arrived to be shot. His major-general, or chief of the staff, Thomas Montilla, who is a great favourite, his commandant of the artillery, Joseph Collot, and various other of the surrounding officers of the staff, entreated him to revoke his order. The men fell upon their knees, and with pathetic lamentations, entreated him to spare their lives, as they were innocent, and fathers of large families. All was in vain. As they came into his presence, two or three together, he renewed his order; and the whole twelve were bound and shot. On various occasions has Bolivar manifested the same disposition as I have shown.*

*See Chapter XII.

Colonel Hippisley, in his work already cited, says, p. 464:

Bolivar would ape the great man. He aspires to be a second Bonaparte, in South America, without possessing a single talent for the duties of the field or the cabinet. He would be King of New Grenada and Venezuela, without genius to command, consequence to secure, or abilities to support, the elevated station to which his ambition most assuredly aspires. In victory, in transient prosperity, he is a tyrant, and displays the feelings and littleness of an upstart. He gives way to sudden gusts of resentment, and becomes in a moment, a madman, and (pardon the expression) a blackguard; throws himself into his hammock, which is constantly slung for his use, and utters curses and imprecations upon all around him, of the most disgusting and diabolical nature. In defeat, in danger, in retreat, he is perplexed, harassed and contemptible, even to himself, weighed down by disasters, which he has neither skill or strength of mind to encounter, lighten, or remove. In this state he appeared to me at the retreat to and from San Fernando, when he looked the image of misery and despair.

He has (p. 462) neither talents nor abilities for a general, and especially for a commander-in-chief. The numerous mistakes he has made throughout the whole of his campaigns, for the last eight years, have nearly desolated the provinces and annihilated the population. The repeated surprises he has experienced from the enemy, (already seven,) prove my assertion, and bear me out in declaring that any one of them would have disgraced a corporal's guard.

Tactics, movements, and manoeuvres, are as unknown to him as to the lowest of his troops. All idea of regularity, system, or the common routine of an army, or even a regiment, he is totally unacquainted with. Hence arise all the disasters he meets, the defeats he suffers, and his constant obligations to retreat whenever opposed to the foe. The victory which he gains to-day, however dearly purchased, (of which his list of killed and missing, if he calls for or keeps such details, must evidently convince him) is lost tomorrow, by some failure or palpable neglect on his part.

Thus it is that Paéz was heard to tell Bolivar, after the action at Villa de Cura, that he would move off his own troops, and act no more with him in command; adding, "I never lost a battle wherein I acted by myself, or in a separate command, and I have always been defeated when acting in concert with you, and under your orders."

The native and black troops (freed slaves) can and do dash on, in

their native country. Yet, under the name of courage, they will rush, without order, regularity, or discretion, upon the enemy, resolved at that moment to conquer or die; and if, in this onset, they are beaten or repulsed, and find themselves "able to go about" and to retreat, "the devil take the hindmost" appears to be the general cry; for they all continue to run until they reach a place of safety; and it is allowed by the royalist troops themselves, that the patriotic army, with Bolivar at their head, was never beaten in this respect.

The final slaughter of the prisoners, after the battle or during the retreat, is completely acquiesced in by Bolivar, who has himself condescended to witness this scene of butchery, &c.

These passages are sufficient to confirm what I have said in the course of these memoirs, of General Bolivar and his troops. I could cite various other writers, to the same purpose.

It is true that his flatterers and courtiers have endeavoured to compare General Bolivar with Napoleon; but none of them have suggested to him the idea of aspiring to deserve being compared with Washington.

All who have compared him with the latter were either strangers, or persons who have seen Bolivar perhaps a few hours, or not at all.

Bolivar's conduct as dictator, in Venezuela, in 1813-14, as supreme chief, in 1816-17-18; his project of a monarchical constitution, in which he proposed the creation of a senate for life, with the titles of dukes, marquises, counts, barons, &c., in 1819; the constitution of Bolivia, the secret history of his protectorate in Peru; his behaviour in Venezuela; his famous proclamation directed to the grand convention of Ocaña; and his self-nomination as supreme chief or dictator of Colombia, are proofs of his ambition, his hypocrisy, and his secret determination to become an absolute monarch.

A great man would have directed the efforts of the ambitious and ignorant chieftains of Colombia to one point, the driving their common enemies from the country, in the first place, and then establishing a free government. Bolivar's object has invariably been his own personal aggrandizement, to the exclusion of every good and noble purpose. He is certainly a rare example of great ambition, unaided by talent or virtue. Yet, such are the inhabitants of Colombia, that they are ruled by this man.