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The Annotated Diary of John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson of Person County, North Carolina, First Diplomatic Representative of the United States to Venezuela, 1835-1840.

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THE ANNOTATED DIARY OF JOHN GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS WILLIAMSON
OF PERSON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, FIRST DIPLOMATIC
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES TO
VENEZUELA 1835-1840

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of History

By
Nancy Jane Lucas
B. A., American University, 1929
M. A., Louisiana State University, 1942
May, 1946

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ABSTRACT

John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson was a lonely frustrated American in a foreign land. He was a man of uncompromising moral integrity who served his country well in a trying diplomatic situation. Deserted by his wife because she "had not the philosophy to endure Caracas," this childless man died in office on August 7, 1840. He was buried in an alien cemetery and forgotten for a hundred years until the chance discovery of his diary, in 1942, rescued him from oblivion and revealed a unique contribution to history.

Williamson knew the two greatest men in Venezuelan history: Simón Bolívar and José Antonio Páez; his diary contains many references to them. This fact is more significant than Williamson's successful career as a minor diplomat. Bolívar's contemporaries wrote hundreds of books about him, but among them there is none written by a citizen of the United States. As a result, the world has known Bolívar through British, Irish, Scotch, French, and Spanish interpretations. Needless to say, a man like Williamson, from a vigorous young republic, did not see Bolívar as Europeans saw him. Williamson was a shrewd, if biased, observer of Venezuela during its formative period. Thus, his diary is an important first-hand account of the history of

Venezuela from 1826 to 1840, a period about which there have been altogether too few satisfactory records.

Very little is known about the early life of this man. A contemporary described him as "the handsomest man in New York when he came here as a merchant. . . . To a magnificent person he added as handsome and sweet a face as I ever saw on man's shoulders." Although he was in business there as a young man, Williamson was not a native New Yorker. He was born near Roxboro, Person County, in North Carolina, on December 2, 1793. He represented his county in the General Assembly of the state for three years: 1823, 1824, 1825. In 1826, John Quincy Adams appointed him as United States Consul at La Guayra.

During the nine years that Williamson served as consul, he witnessed the dissolution of Great Colombia, the establishment of the third Venezuelan Republic, and the emergence of Páez as the strong man who was able to subdue the Bolívar faction and achieve a measure of stability. In spite of England's attempts to dominate the commercial and political interests of Venezuela, Williamson was able to lay at Caracas the foundation for future friendly relations with the United States and to establish the basis for his successful career as a diplomat.

Williamson made a trip home in 1832-1833, and on May 8, 1832, was married in Philadelphia. to Fanny Travers of that city. He returned to Venezuela alone for a few months, then came back to the United States "to get his family." He was appointed chargé d'affaires on March 3, 1838. This meant the United States had finally decided to recognize Venezuela as an independent republic. Williamson, as the first diplomatic representative from the United States, felt the importance of his position. This time, his return to Venezuela was full of promise. Mrs. Williamson remained with him until May, 1840, and then went back to Philadelphia. A few weeks later Williamson died in Caracas.

Williamson's record as a diplomat appears very successful when compared with the achievements of his colleagues in New Granada. He succeeded in making a "Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Navigation, and Commerce" in 1838. Several ministers to New Granada attempted to negotiate such a treaty. It was ten years before one was written; and then a treaty was concluded only because New Granada wanted the protection of the United States against European interests.

All the major claims, except one, presented by Williamson were fairly settled. In the case of New

Granada, only one such claim was settled. Williamson's insistence on the rights and privileges due to foreign representatives resulted in the passage of the law of May 19, 1841, which declared the "Immunities which Public Ministers should enjoy." New Granada did not pass such a law until 1851.

Williamson's diary begins on the day of his "appointment to a foreign diplomatic situation" and ends in May, 1840, when his wife decided she would return to Philadelphia. The first part of the diary deals with Williamson's official reception in Caracas and the revolution of 1835-1836. That portion of the diary is missing which deals with the period from May 16, 1836, to June 24, 1838; however, the narrative has been partially reconstructed from Williamson's correspondence with the State Department. The last part of the diary is noticeably different from the first. Williamson tells us there that Caracas is dull, monotonous; that Sir Robert Ker Porter, the English consul, appears to be better received than he; that Mrs. Williamson is unhappy and Williamson himself is ill. The dearth of intellectual stimulus leaves him nothing to do but record current gossip and scandals, or to comment on world events.

The English reading public, in so far as it

knows revolutionary Venezuela, has received its information from Old World sources. Here for the first time is presented a thoroughly North American interpretation which is occasionally friendly, often unsympathetic, but always sincere.

INTRODUCTION

A Forgotten Diplomat

John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson was the son of James Williamson, who was born in Angusshire, Scotland, July 3, 1761. James left his native land and arrived at Philadelphia on November 26, 1783; then he moved to North Carolina where he established himself as a merchant¹ in Person County and served at least two terms (1801, 1802) in the General Assembly of the state.² His first wife, the mother of John G. A., was the daughter of Dempsey Moore who was the first settler of Roxboro, the county seat of Person.³ John G. A. was born on December

¹Stephen B. Weeks, John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson, typescript, in the Charles Van Noppen Collection, Duke University Library.

²Manual of North Carolina, 1913, issued by the North Carolina Historical Commission for Members of the General Assembly. Page not given.

³After the death of Williamson's mother, his father married Susan Paine (b. April 9, 1779), the daughter of Major Paine of Person County. There were three sons and five daughters by this second marriage: Robert, a physician of Rockingham County, died about 1843; James Monroe, member of the House of Commons 1834-1836, later moved to Tennessee; William Alexander (1814-1895), a merchant and banker in Memphis; Mary, who became Mrs. Donoho; Parthenia, married Hon. John M. Dick, judge of the North Carolina Superior Court; Susan, married a brother of Hon. Thomas Ruffin, the elder; and Madrid (1817-1893), married Calvin Jones (1810-1889) a native of Person County who moved to Tennessee and served as Chancellor of the Western Division, 1847-1854. Weeks, (Continued on next page)

2, 1793.⁴ He was a student at the University of North Carolina in 1813, but did not graduate.⁵ He "was educated for the Bar---...he never practiced [law] but embarked in Mercantile business in New York."⁶

3 (continued from page xviii) John G. A. Williamson. The fifth daughter (whom Weeks does not list) was Anne. In his will, James Williamson lists his children by the second marriage as Mary, Parthenia, Robert, Susan, Anne, James, Alexander, and Mildred. North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Person County Wills, 1831-36, 321.

⁴The source for this date is Williamson's Diary, 719. In the entry for December 2, 1839, he notes that it is his forty-sixth birthday.

⁵Daniel Lindsay Grant (editor), Alumni History of the University of North Carolina (Durham, 1924), 678.

⁶National Archives, Venezuela, Applications, 1821-1828, letter of Romulus M. Saunders to John Quincy Adams, February 10, 1823. Romulus Mithbell Saunders (March 3, 1791- April 21, 1867) was a member of the North Carolina House of Commons in 1815, of the State Senate in 1816, and again of the House, 1818-1821. He served three terms in Congress, 1821-1827; was Attorney General of North Carolina, 1828-1831; member of the Commission of French Spoliation Claims, 1834; Judge of the Superior Court, 1835-1840; again served in Congress, 1841-1845; and in 1846 was appointed by Polk as minister to Spain with a special commission to negotiate the purchase of Cuba for \$100,000,000. He returned home in 1849; represented Wake County in the North Carolina House of Commons, 1850-1854; and was Superior Court Judge, 1852-1867. Dictionary American Biography, XVI, 382-383; John H. Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina From 1684 to 1851, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1851), II, 79-80.

Williamson represented Person County in the General Assembly for the year 1823, and in that same year began his application for a "situation. . . . That should be a permanent and honourable one to which there might be attached a salary and perquisites, or salary alone sufficient for a genteel living." In this letter he went on to say: "I am entirely unacquainted with the many small offices or appointments that may arise from particular circumstances of government (at least such as I should be looking for) that it would be almost impossible to say what or which I should apply for-- I certainly could offer but few qualifications, and but little acquired information, as inducements for the government to give me any place I might ask for; but when there should be a want of understanding, I could only offer them a willing hand and an honest ⁷ zeal in promoting the interest of my Country--"

During the next two years, Williamson continued ⁸ to represent Person County; ⁹ and his friends, in spite

⁷National Archives, Applications, letter of Williamson to R. M. Saunders, February 4, 1823.

⁸A. R. Newsome, "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," in North Carolina Historical Review, V (1928), 314.

⁹For instance, B. Yancey and H. G. Burton wrote (Continued on next page)

of his confused self-appraisal, worked for his appointment to some "honourable situation." They were successful when, on the nomination of John Quincy Adams, the Senate consented (March 29, 1826) to his appointment as "Consul of the United States at La Guayra, in the Republic of Colombia."

10

After Williamson reached Venezuela, he developed

9 (continued from page xx) to Henry Clay, under date of December 15, 1825: "We take the liberty of soliciting from you, the appointment for Consul of Mr. Jno. G. A. Williamson of Person County in this State: Mr. Williamson is a young gentleman of between 25 & 30 years of age, of fine capacity, good talents, & whose life has been chiefly employed in Commercial affairs. He is desirous of going abroad. Seems to prefer the Situation of Consul, if Such an appointment Can at this time be obtained. His talents and qualifications are well adapted to the employment of Secretary to any foreign Mission, or to the most advantageous & Conspicuous Station as Consul, which may be in the gift of the Government.

Permit us to add Sir, that if Mr. Williamson can obtain a situation equal to his Merits, besides conferring on us individually an obligation, it will be advancing the position of a young gentleman, who is meritorious & deserving." National Archives, Venezuela, Applications and Recommendations for Office, 1821-1828.

Bartlett Yancey, a man "worthy of Rome in Rome's best days," was a member of Congress, 1813-1817; and of the Senate from 1817, until his death in 1828. John H. Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina, From 1584 to 1851, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1851), II, 79-80.

Hutchins Gordon Burton (c. 1774-April 21, 1836), was a representative in Congress from 1819-1824; and Governor of North Carolina, 1824-1827. Allen Johnson (editor), Dictionary American Biography (New York, 1928--), III, 343; Wheeler, Historical Sketches, II, 200-201.

¹⁰National Archives, Venezuela, Confirmations and Rejections, 1820-1832, pages not numbered.

an anti-British, anti-Bolivar bias. In order to discover why this happened and to understand the difficulties with which Williamson had to contend, it is necessary to give some consideration to his predecessors and to the history of Great Colombia.

Consular relations between the United States and South America began in 1800, when all of that continent except Brazil and the Guianas was still part of Spain's colonial empire. Three years earlier, on November 18, 1797, Charles IV had opened La Guayra to neutrals.¹¹ Before "the clamour raised by merchants of the mother country" compelled the king to revoke this order, John Adams had appointed "Augustine Madan, Esq., of La Guaira, to be Consul of the United States for the port of La Guaira, and the province of Caracas, in Spanish America."¹² This appointment was confirmed by the Senate on January 8, 1800;¹³ but, on the 13th of the next month, the king annulled the decree of 1797 and "every other permission, general or particular, granted either by himself, or by the governors, viceroys or

¹¹An Officer of the United States' Army [Richard Bache], Notes on Colombia, taken in the Years 1822-3 (Philadelphia, 1827), 27.

¹²Senate Executive Journal, 4 vols. (Washington, 1828-1887), I, 332.

¹³Senate Executive Journal, I, 333.

intendants of America."¹⁴

The United States made no other appointment to Venezuela for ten years. During this interval the Napoleonic Wars engaged Spain to such an extent that her American colonies were able to take advantage of the situation and begin their struggle for independence. On April 19, 1810, the revolutionary junta of Caracas expelled the Spanish authorities and later, sent commissioners to various countries. Simon Bolivar and Luis Lopez Mendez, with Andres Bello as secretary, were sent to England; while Juan Vicente Bolivar (Simon's brother) and Telesforo Orea went to the United States.¹⁵

The latter presented a letter to Robert Smith, Secretary of State, which said:

The new government of this Province . . . yearns to draw even closer the ties of its alliance with the people of North America. . . . The government of the United States of America will be kept acquainted with the new system established in Caracas and of the reciprocal advantages that its commerce will have with us. And so our harbors await with open arms all the peaceful foreigners

¹⁴Baohs, Notes on Colombia, 27.

¹⁵Francisco Gonzalez Guinan, Historia Contemporanea de Venezuela, 15 vols. (Caracas, 1909-1925), I, 19.

who may call to exchange for
our fruit and products all their
industry and commerce. ¹⁶

As a result of this invitation, Robert K. Lowry of
Maryland was appointed "Marine and Commercial Agent of
the United States," and he arrived at La Guayra on
August 30, 1810. ¹⁷ The United States Consulate at La
Guayra (whether we consider it as being established by
Madan in 1800 or by Lowry in 1810) was the earliest
to be established on the Caribbean shore of South
America. ¹⁸

In his correspondence with the State Department,
Lowry frequently reported British activity in getting
special privileges and in displaying force to protect
the interests of ubiquitous Englishmen. He inclosed
with his letter of September 6, 1810, "an act of the
Supreme Junta granting an exemption of one fourth of
the duties on Imports & Exports, to the British commerce."

¹⁶William R. Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence
of the United States Concerning the Independence of the
Latin-American Nations, 3 vols. (New York, 1926), II,

¹⁷National Archives, File Microcopy 84, Roll I,
Letters of Robert K. Lowry, July 10, 1810, and June 9,
1811.

¹⁸National Archives, File Microcopy 84, Roll
I, Introduction, pages not numbered.

Then he made a request which Williamson and others were to repeat many times:

I beg leave to observe, that a Governmt. vessel sent to cruize on this coast to protect our commerce from. . . Pirates, and empowered to offer its assistance to this Govt. for the same purpose, would, in any future arrangements the Govt. of the U. States may wish to carry into effect with this Province, be of the first utility—It would place us on a footing with our competitors, of whom there are 19 at present two Brigs of War in this port.

His next letter stated that

several English Commercial Houses are about to be established. They have obtained permission to transact business by Vendues, which will enable them to inundate the country with their merchandize and may in the end lead them to influence which will be highly injurious.²⁰

Another possible British threat observed by Lowry, and later reported rather fully by Williamson, was to haunt Venezuelans for years to come: "Strong apprehensions exist with this Government, that the British have in view to possess themselves of the Province of Guayana. . . ."²¹

¹⁹File Microcopy 84, Roll 1, Letter of Robert K. Lowry, September 6, 1810.

²⁰File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letter of Robert K. Lowry, October 10, 1810.

²¹File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letter of Robert K. Lowry, October 2, 1811.

Venezuela declared its independence from Spain on July 5, 1811; and the revolution seemed to be succeeding when the terrible earthquake of March 26, 1812, worked to the advantage of the royalists. They pointed out that the towns destroyed were those that had favored independence and that God had, with this catastrophe, punished such effrontery. In the emergency, Francisco de Miranda (who for more than twenty years had agitated for independence in the United States, Europe, and England) was given extraordinary powers by the patriots. Miranda did not take the offensive when he had the opportunity; thus, he failed to preserve the republic. He surrendered to the royalist leader, Monteverde, on July 25, 1812.²² For this reason most of the supplies sent by the United States for the relief of earthquake sufferers²³ fell into the possession of

²²Rafael María Baralt and Ramón Díaz, Resumen de la Historia de Venezuela, 3 vols. (Paris, 1841), II, 102-104.

²³The United States Congress was in session when the earthquake occurred, and it provided that five ships loaded with flour should be sent to Venezuela. Baron von Humboldt said: "This manifestation of national interest, of which the overflowing civilization of old Europe offers few examples, appears a precious pledge of the mutual benevolence which should forever unite the nations of the two Americas." Henry Rowan Lemley, Bolívar, Liberator of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia (Boston, 1923), 18. It is interesting to (Continued on next page)

Monteverde. Alexander Scott, our special agent who was given the additional duty of distributing the supplies in Venezuela, did not reach La Guayra until June 27. He wrote the State Department that

Miranda by a shameful and treacherous capitulation surrendered the liberties of his country-- Whether he was an agent of the British Government as he now states, or whether this conduct resulted from a base and cowardly heart, I cannot decide.²⁴

The re-instated royalist government refused to recognize Lowry who now bore the title of consul;²⁵ and on January 1, 1813, he and Scott were given a "decisive order" to leave the province in forty-eight hours.²⁶ Lowry did not return to La Guayra until 1821. He died

²³ (continued from page xxvi) notes that "Light-horse Harry" Lee, father of Robert E. Lee, tried to get the appointment which was given to Alexander Scott. Lee was trying to escape from his creditors, and this would have been an easy way to get out of the country. Thomas Boyd, Light-horse Harry Lee (New York, 1931), 306.

²⁴File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letter of Alexander Scott, November 16, 1812.

²⁵Lowry was appointed "to be Consul of the United States at the port of La Guayra" on January 27, 1812; Senate confirmation, January 30, 1812. Senate Executive Journal, II, 207, 208. File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letter of Robert K. Lowry, November 30, 1816.

²⁶File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letter of Robert K. Lowry, February 17, 1813.

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there in office, January 24, 1826. His nephew, Enoch
M. Lowry, acted as vice consul for a few weeks; then a
local merchant, John M. Foster, assumed the responsi-
bilities of that office until the arrival of Williamson. 28

In the meantime, Simón Bolívar, "son of unhappy
Caracas" had escaped to Cartagena in 1812. He began
to comprehend the nature of the struggle with Spain, 29
and became the directive force of the revolution. In-
vading Venezuela from the West (New Granada), he entered
Caracas in triumph on August 6, 1813, and two days later
set up the second Republic of Venezuela. This Republic,
like the first, lasted about a year. Spanish troops
succeeded in cutting communications with New Granada;
and José Tomás Boves, a new terror, appeared from the

27 File Microcopy 82, Roll I, Letter of Enoch
M. Lowry, February 1, 1826.

28 File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letters of John
M. Foster; May 15, and July 2, 1826.

29 Bolívar's Cartagena Manifesto (December 15,
1812) analyzed the reasons for the failure of the first
Venezuelan Republic and pointed out two guiding
principles for future efforts: solidarity and offensive
warfare. For the text of the Manifesto see Felipe
Larrazábal, Vida y Correspondencia General del Libertador,
2 vols. (New York, 1887), I, 147-154; Vicente Lecuna
(ed.), Papeles de Bolívar (Caracas, 1917), 11-22.

Orinoco plains. Ten thousand Caraqueños, led by Bolívar, fled from the city, toward Barcelona and the coast. Bolívar escaped to Jamaica where the English governor received him cordially. Since the Napoleonic wars were over, Spain in 1815, was able to send a huge expedition to America under Pablo Morillo. Soon all of northern South America was again under Spanish control. At the same time Bolívar began to talk about and to work toward the formation of Great Colombia.

Because of the influence of the Holy Alliance and resulting European entanglements, Bolívar could not assemble munitions of war on Jamaica; so early in 1816 he went to Haiti. President Alexander Pétion received him kindly and gave him substantial assistance with the understanding that Bolívar would free the slaves in his native land as soon as he had the power to do so. Bolívar's next step, an expedition to the

³⁰The novel by Arturo Uslar Pietri, Las Lanzas Coloradas, gives a vivid picture of the depredations of Boyes. (Santiago de Chile, 1940).

³¹Bolívar's Jamaica Letter (September 6, 1815) is his second great document of the revolution. It "is a document of faith and a vision of hope in the blackest hours of the revolution." Víctor Andrés Belaunde, Bolívar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution (Baltimore, 1938), 160. Text of the Jamaica Letter, Larrazabal, Vida del Libertador, I, 391-402.

mainland, was a failure. In a second attempt he succeeded in establishing headquarters at Angostura (today Ciudad Bolívar) on the Orinoco River. This gave him control of the lower Orinoco plains with their vast resources in cattle and horses. Soon he dominated the entire river system for the great llanero chieftan far up the Orinoco, José Antonio Páez, fell under his spell as "Liberator" and became a powerful ally in driving out the royalists.

Bolívar decided the time had come for Venezuela to form a government which other nations would respect, so preparations were made for a congress which opened its sessions on February 15, 1819. On that day Bolívar told his legislators that the kind of government needed must coordinate the principles of human liberties with governmental efficiency. He frankly recommended the
32
British system. His diplomatic mission to London in 1810, his meeting with Miranda, and Miranda's influence on him may explain in part Bolívar's admiration for the British government. A more constant and immediate pro-British factor was the presence and help

³² Bolívar's Angostura Address, his third and greatest document of the revolution, established him as a statesman. Several editions were printed to commemorate the centenary of the installation of the Angostura Congress. Simón Bolívar, Discurso de Bolívar en el Congreso de Angostura (Caracas, 1919).

of hundreds of English, Scotch, and Irish officers and soldiers who began arriving in 1818. From then on, Bolívar had English secretaries and advisors, and the English influence steadily increased.

The United States was trying to remain neutral because of her negotiations with Spain concerning Florida. A few Yankees found their way into the revolutionary army and navy but none of them became intimate with Bolívar. Two agents from the United States were sent to Angostura, but this was at the insistence of businessmen whose shipping interests were being despoiled by the piracy and privateering which had increased since the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

Baptis Irvine, an "Irish-American Baltimore journalist and politician," was appointed special agent to Angostura on January 21, 1818, with instructions to demand indemnity for two United States vessels which had been seized in 1817, and later condemned and sold.³³ Irvine was not successful at Angostura, so the next year Commodore Oliver H. Perry was sent there to see

³³In Irvine's reports to the State Department there were "candid and caustic descriptions of Bolívar." Lewis Hanke, "Baptis Irvine's Reports on Simón Bolívar" in Hispanic American Historical Review, XVI (1936), 361. Irvine was invited to attend the Angostura Congress and was received with enthusiasm by the citizens. José Manuel Restrepo, Historia de la Revolución de la República de Colombia en la América Meridional, 4 vols. (Besanzón, 1858), II, 473-474.

what he could accomplish. The purser of his ship, Charles Q. Handy, wrote to John Quincy Adams, September 29, 1819:

The fatal illness which terminated in the death of Commodore Perry, has imposed on me a task of a very delicate nature. . . . The Commodore while engaged in negotiation with the public authorities in Angostura recorded the principal conversations on the several topics presented for discussion in a book which had been one of a very common place kind to him for many years. . . . In his last moments he confided to my care all his public and private papers, and . . . I deem it a matter of primary importance, to make known to you sir, the various impressions made upon the mind of the Commodore, connected with the moral and political prosperity of the province. . . .

The people of Venezuela generally think that the U. S. regard with an eye of indifference their struggle for independence, and they have never really enlisted our sympathies. These impressions have derived their origin in the conduct of the British Government in permitting men to be enlisted within its territories, and officers to embark in their service. Whereas the U. S. have never countenanced such proceedings. These sentiments are encouraged and actively propagated by the English in Venezuela, who are the avowed favorites of the Government. . . . There are only two or three Americans in that section of the country, and they are so immediately occupied with their private concerns, that they have no leisure to devote to the discussion of political prejudices. The most active and persevering enemy of the U.S. is a Mr. Hambleton, a Scotchman, on terms apparently of close intimacy with the Vice President. He is an agent of some commercial houses in Europe, and never fails to embrace every opportunity to excite a spirit of hostility towards the U. S. in Angostura, and in England by his scandalous misrepresentations Money and stores have been procured

for their armies in England; we have supplied them with neither. . . . The arrival of a vessel with about a hundred English soldiers during the stay of the Commodore, excited a very strong sensation in Angostura in favor of England. The enlightened part of the population (and this comprehends but a small portion,) look with distrust at the apparent interest of Great Britain in their welfare. ³⁴

Vice President Zea agreed to submit to Congress the claims presented by Perry, but their consideration was postponed because that body was busy keeping up with Bolívar. In May, 1819, he made the spectacular crossing of the Andes, invaded New Granada, and by August 7, had won the decisive battle of Boyacá. This victory liberated New Granada; so Bolívar established a provisional government, took it for granted that all the inhabitants were citizens of Colombia, and appointed Francisco de Paula Santander to be Vice President. On December 14, 1819, Bolívar was back at Angostura, and he asked Congress to approve the union of Venezuela and New Granada. A committee of deputies from the two countries presented a plan of union; and on December 17, Congress approved the law creating the Republic of Colombia. It was divided into three departments:

³⁴Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence concerning Independence of Latin American Nations, II, 1178-1182. After leaving Angostura, Perry contracted yellow fever. He died at Port of Spain, Trinidad, on August 23, 1819; He was thirty-four years old. Niles Weekly Register, XVII (October 2, 1819) 71-72.

Venezuela, New Granada (including Panama which became part of New Granada in 1821), and Quito (Ecuador, which was yet to be liberated, 1822). On May 6, 1821, a congress met at Rosario de Cucuta and framed a constitution for Great Colombia.

While that congress was in session, Bolívar continued the war. With Páez, he attacked and defeated the royalists on the plain of Carabobo, June 24, 1821. With this battle the eleven years of struggle for the independence of Venezuela (April 19, 1810 to June 24, 1821) ended successfully. Bolívar left Páez in control of central Venezuela and went back to New Granada and then on to Quito, Peru, and Upper Peru (Bolivia). He was gone five years and when he came back to Venezuela, John G. A. Williamson was one of the group who hopefully awaited his return.

Events of 1826 had conspired to make the recognition of Williamson uncertain and rather annoying. A rebellion was in full swing--the basic cause of which was the traditional jealousy and incompatibility between Venezuela and New Granada as exemplified by two persons: Páez and Santander. The latter, as vice president of Great Colombia, was the superior of Páez; and Santander's letters to Bolívar in Peru are full of suspicions and accusations, not only of Páez, but of

many other Venezuelans. Páez wrote in a similar vein to Bolívar, accusing Santander. Santander's opportunity to eliminate his rival came when the municipality of Caracas complained (January 16, 1826) about the method of Páez in raising Venezuela's quota of recruits for the army. He had rounded up soldiers in a characteristic manner--just as he might round up wild cattle on the plains.³⁵ The vice president ordered Páez to appear at Bogotá for trial, but Páez refused to obey. As Acting-Consul Foster reported, civil war started with Valencia as rebel headquarters.

I deem it my duty to inform you of some circumstances that have recently taken place here & which have disturbed the tranquillity of this CountryThe Governor of Puerto Cabello. . . has been displaced, & Col Cala friend of Genl Páez placed in command. . . . Genl Marino a General of Division acting under the order of Genl. Páez is now in Caracas. Genl. Páez remains at Valencia, where the principal part of the Army is stationed say Four Thousand Men-- Depena & Col Carabaño are the political advisers of Genl Páez. . . . A contribution of \$50,000 has been levied on the inhabitants of Caracas & La Guayra to support the Army. An Embargo was laid on all the Shipping in La Guayra for two days-- it has been raised-- The English Merchants residing in La Guayra & Caracas sent a Memorial to Sir Robert Ker Porter the British Consul residing in Caracas

³⁵González Guinán, Historia Contemporánea, I, 29-131; José Antonio Páez, Autobiografía, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1888), I.

praying that he would send to the nearest Naval Station for a British force to protect them which he has done- I would suggest to you the propriety of ordering a Naval force to this coast as soon as possible-- The arrival of the President Bolivar is anxiously expected. . . .I have no doubt that the plan is to separate Venezuela from the Genl. Government. ³⁶

Such a program had every probability of success because Bolivar was absent from Venezuela and had been absent for five years. Remote control weakened the influence of his dominating personality, while hostility to him developed as a result of rumors to the effect that he aimed to establish a monarchy with himself as emperor. (There are frequent references to the monarchical plan in Williamson's diary, and other sources fairly well substantiate his conclusions. It should be noted that Bolivar was encouraged in his project by English advisors.)

Although Williamson had been appointed in March, 1826, he did not arrive in Caracas until November-- it had taken considerable time for him to "wind up his business in New York." ³⁷ At his earliest opportunity,

³⁶File Microcopy 84, Roll 1, Letter of John M. Foster, May 15, 1826

³⁷File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letter of Williamson, September 26, 1826.

after his arrival he reported on the military movements of the revolutionists, and added:

In consequence of these disturbances, considerable interest is felt here among the citizens of the U. States for the want of that necessary protection which in the event of their growing more serious, they would require for their persons and their property-- As yet no attempt has been made to infringe upon either, and the ordinary regulations of the Country under the Laws of Congress are observed---

Since the death of my predecessor no acknowledged agent of our government has been admitted here, consequently we have partially lost that standing and influence which we have usually maintained at this place, and which from the importance of its commercial & political situation deserves the particular attention of the U. States.

I feel well assured from the unsettled state of affairs in this Country, and the great inactivity when, on the arrival of the Liberator that the Genl. Govt will at once perceive the necessity of sending out an armed vessel to look into the ports on the main, and to protect the persons and the property (which is considerable) of its citizens in the event, in close revolutionary movements, changes should take place, by which a lawless attempt might be made to trample upon both-- 38

Immediately after sending this communication to the State Department, Williamson received news that Intendente Mendoza had been removed from office in Caracas. Evidently Mendoza was the official to whom

³⁸Ibid., Letter of Williamson, November 25, 1826.

Williamson should have presented his credentials, for he reported Mendoza's departure and added:

Consequently I conceive that as my commission is directed to the Colombian Govt. or such authorities as they may appoint in the different selections of that Govt., my authority to act here cannot be acknowledged by any other power; And as that must be considered now. . . . I therefore without advices from my Govt cannot feel myself at liberty to offer my commission to any other, than the authorities to whom it is directed. 39

Under the existing state of affairs, Williamson's position was "a peculiar and unpleasant one." If acknowledged by the government of Colombia at Bogotá, Williamson feared that Páez and his officers would not allow him "all the privileges usually attached to the situation." On the other hand, if Páez accepted Williamson, the authorities at Bogotá might not permit him to exercise his "official situation."⁴⁰ Williamson delayed presenting his commission for two other good reasons: he would not "hazard it through the post office Department, for it is pretty well understood that all letters are intercepted and opened," and,

³⁹File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letter of Williamson, November 26, 1826.

⁴⁰File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letter of Williamson, December 17, 1826.

word had reached him that Bolívar was on his way to Venezuela. After reporting these facts to Henry Clay, Williamson wrote an opinion, which, whether he realized it or not, was to be the stubbornly-adhered-to motif of his career in the service of his country:

With no nation of people do I think it so essential as with the Spaniards, to have the authorities, privileges, immunities of the stationary officers of foreign Govts. completely and unequivocally defined--otherwise in the discharge of the most ordinary duties pointed out by the authorities of their Govt. they are liable to be athwarted, or some obstacle thrown in their way. ⁴¹

Bolívar reached La Guayra at the very end of the year, forgave Páez; and again, Páez fell under the spell of the Liberator. The excitement of revolution gave way to that of reconciliation, and "every gentleman of La Guayra" was invited to attend a grand banquet in the "Sala Principal de la Aduana." Toasts were to be given and Williamson spent a week concocting "what he considered a certainty--namely the health of John Quincy Adams." This toast was not given. An English naval officer who attended the banquet reported what happened there:

Bolívar. . . . allowed himself to be carried away by the stream of his own eloquence,

⁴¹File Microcopy 84, Roll I, Letter of Williamson, December 17, 1826.

which flowed so smoothly and fluently, that for a moment he swept his attentive listeners away, charmed by the rapidity and beauty of his language. The speech was handsome in the extreme to the English nation; but when the President expressed his wish that from the southern point of Spain to the banks of the Neva, all should be one Great Britain, under one great George, the French and Dutch consuls were by no means gratified, and gave very evident marks of their displeasure. There was still time to have rectified the mistake, or at any rate to have soothed the parties; but by some unaccountable oversight, no reference was, throughout the different speeches, made to either one country or the other, and the party broke up without having drained one drop to either the king of the Netherlands or the sovereign of France. The insult, evidently not intended, was quickly forgotten by the lazy Dutchman, while the French representative soon danced off his spleen; but the Americans--the fathers of republics, the emblem of the free, the first nation which recognized these Columbians--⁴² they bitterly felt the neglect, and, like freeman, were not slow to show it. The American consul. . . . when he found that no allusion was even made to his country, he looked as pale as Mrs. Elizabeth Woodcock, who was found buried in the snow near Cambridge, in 1799; and directly the President rose, the whole of the free-born walked out in great dudgeon, and left us to lament their loss in the ball-room. ⁴³

⁴²March 19, 1822, the House Committee on foreign relations reported favorably on the recognition of Colombia; and on June 19, 1822, Manuel Torres was received as Colombian charge. E. Taylor Parks, Colombia and the United States 1765-1934 (Durham, 1925), 102.

⁴³Frederick Chamier, The Life of a Sailor, 2 vols. (New York, 1833), II, 164-165.

Williamson never forgot this incident.

Within a year he was subjected to another mortifying experience from Venezuelan officials. Their neglect and delay in granting ^{him} a passport resulted from a personal altercation with a fellow American. Edward W. Robinson, a man who had made considerable profit during the time that privateering was carried on extensively from the port of La Guayra (1821-1824),⁴⁴ outwitted Williamson in a business deal. Robinson's operations centered in Bogotá for a time and there he met Colonel J. P. Hamilton, "late chief commissioner from His Britanic Majesty to the Republic of Columbia,"⁴⁵ who entertained lavishly as part of the "ceaseless efforts of resident British to gain dominant influence."⁴⁶ Hamilton reported that "On the 11th of April [1825] we all dined with Mr. Robinson an American merchant, who had considerable claims on the Columbian government for stores, &c. supplied during the war. Among many

⁴⁴File Microcopy No. 84, Roll II, Letter of Williamson, June 12, 1829.

⁴⁵Colonel J. P. Hamilton, Travels Through the Interior Provinces of Columbia, 2 vols. (London, 1827), I, title page.

⁴⁶E. Taylor Parks, Colombia and the United States 1766-1934 (Durham, 1935), 113, 114.

delicacies-- Mr. R. was a bon vivant--he gave us a fricassee of chicken, which had been sent in jars from New York, and it was excellent; which proves that our Transatlantic friends know something of gastronomy."⁴⁷

Robinson had given H. Toler a Vale (bond, promissory note), and Toler had passed the Vale on to Williamson. When it was embargoed by order of the Intendant, Williamson asked restitution from Robinson since the Vale had been embargoed as his property. Robinson wrote Williamson that if the Vale which he gave "last May to Toler has since been embargoed, 'tis owing to neglect which the parties interested will be able to place to its proper source."⁴⁸ His taunts and refusal to make reparation irritated Williamson to violence. In reporting the incident to the State Department, he wrote: "I met with him [Robinson] accidentally, at least on my part on the evening of the 14inst. [September, 1827] & knocked him down with my fist."⁴⁹ Robinson retaliated with legal prosecution

⁴⁷Hamilton, Travels Through Columbia, I, 137.

⁴⁸File Microcopy No. 84, Roll I, Letter of Williamson, September 12, 1827.

⁴⁹Ibid., Letter of Williamson, September 19, 1827.

before an alcalde and made Williamson's life miserable for some time by having his freedom restricted. The alcalde tried to seize and imprison Williamson, but the Court of Caracas declared it had no authority in the case. In October, Williamson sent the Intendent an official note stating that he was thinking of returning to the United States on Commercial business. He requested a passport, but this was refused because of Robinson's petition that suit against Williamson had not been terminated. Williamson did not get a passport until the middle of January. He was deeply humiliated by the "neglect and disrespect the Intendent showed his official communications."⁵⁰ Williamson did not use the passport at this time because unsettled conditions in Venezuela made it necessary for him to remain at his post of duty.

Venezuela separated from Great Colombia in 1829; and during 1830, a constituent congress framed a constitution for the Republic of Venezuela. Páez was elected president and assumed office in 1831. In that year he had to put down an attempt by the followers of Bolívar to overthrow the government. Williamson's

⁵⁰Ibid., Letter of Williamson, October 28, 1827; File Microcopy No. 84, Roll II, Letters of Williamson, January 1 and 15, 1828; and June 17, 1828.

correspondence of the next four years shows that Páez as leader of the anti-Bolívar party was able to give Venezuela peace and prosperity. These facts disposed Williamson to look favorably upon Páez, although the latter exhibited good will toward the English. Therefore, Williamson's relations with him were friendly and this connection prepared the way for his success as a diplomat.

Williamson made a visit to the United States in 1832⁵¹ and on May 8 of that year was married⁵² in Philadelphia. Reluctant to return to Venezuela, he became a congressional candidate from the eighth district of North Carolina; but, according to the election returns,⁵³ he was defeated because he failed to carry Wake County. A few days later he received a reprimand from the Secretary of State for⁵⁴ being absent from the Consulate more than a year.

⁵¹National Archives, File Microcopy No. 84, Roll III, Letter of John M. Foster, Acting Consul, December 1, 1832.

⁵²Infra, 615.

⁵³Raleigh, Star & North Carolina State Gazette, August 28, 1833.

⁵⁴National Archives, Venezuela, Instructions to Consuls, Volume V, Letter of Louis McLane, August 27, 1833.

Williamson departed for La Guayra at the end of 1833,⁵⁵
but Mrs. Williamson apparently did not accompany him.
In February of the next year, Williamson received
permission to return to Philadelphia "for his family."⁵⁶
One can surmise from the following letter that he knew
the United States Government was planning to send a
charge to Venezuela in the near future; and that, as
a good businessman, he coveted the position because
of the opportunity to make a favorable trade treaty.

Washington 27 Oct. 1834 .

Genl R. M. Saunders
Dr Sir:

I anticipated on my arrival here a few days since to have met with you & I have waited two days with the expectation of your arrival, but as you have not come I return to Phila. in hopes of hearing from you. My object here was in connection with some personal affairs to ascertain whether the President would or would not send out a public agent to the Govt. of Venezuela, which I think I have clearly ascertained that such will be the case, tho I have not seen the President nor the Secretary of State in consequence of his absence, and could not in either event consider myself at liberty to speak to them on this subject, as there is

⁵⁵File Microcopy No. 84, Roll III, letter of Williamson, December 6, 1833.

⁵⁶National Archives, Venezuela, Instructions to Consuls, Volume V, letter of Louis McLane, February 10, 1834.

already a certificate signed by all but two of the delegation of North Carolina in my favor for the Situation before the Secretary & President-- Permit me to ask you to call & examine it, as it would afford me great pleasure can you do so to add your weight and influence in my behalf, so sensible I am that it would be of great importance to me, if you were to ask it for North Carolina and for me, it would be granted---

I am not very ambitious to be consid^d an applicant for high office, but the greatest pride I should feel would be that I might be clothed with power to make a Treaty of Commerce, amity, & with Venezuela, and thereafter if the President should consider that I have any further claims, might give me such other appointment as he thought proper-- My general acquaintance with the authorities of Venezuela & a tolerable knowledge of the Spanish Language together with merchantile information of their trade productions & would give me some advantages over any person they might send--

As regards the expenses attendant upon such a negotiation it would be much less than to immediately dispatch a Charge for that purpose and I should only look to such as the Congress might consent to give-- It would not should I be clothed with such power, give the least uneasiness that thereafter a charge should be sent & that officer not me-- My ambition & pride would be to make the Treaty & I really think from an 8 years residence in Venezuela that I have some claims upon the Govt to throw that circumstance into my hands---

Can you feel yourself personally interested in this affair for me I almost feel assured you can obtain for me the object I wish, aided at the same time by the document & documents now in the Secretary of States office signed by our members of Congress-- Permit me to solicit your attention & friendship in this affair & believe me

Yours Truly 57
J. G. A. Williamson

57National Archives, Venezuela, Applications and Recommendations for Office, 1829-1836, Letter of Williamson, October 27, 1834.

Again Williamson's political friends from North Carolina worked successfully in his behalf. Saunders sent the above letter with his recommendation to John Forwyth, and Senator Brown wrote to Andrew Jackson:

Senate Chamber, Washington, 9th
January 1835

His, Excellency, The President of the United States.

Sir: I herewith enclose a recommendation signed by some of the most respectable members of our State Legislature⁵⁸ suggesting the name of Mr John G. A. Williamson as a gentleman every way qualified for a diplomatic appointment be made. I also enclose a letter from William H. Haywood Junr. Esq. on the same subject, whose character as a gentleman of high respectability and standing is, I presume, known to you.

I will add my entire concurrence in the favorable opinions which these Testaments express, of the character and qualifications of Mr. Williamson, and should feel much gratified if the appointment should be conferred on him.

I have the honour,
to be, with great
respect yours
B. Brown 59

⁵⁸This letter, dated from Raleigh on December 31, 1834, was signed by eleven members of the Legislature of North Carolina. Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

"On the 3rd March 1835 by the advice and
consent of the Senate of the United States under a
nomination made to them by Andrew Jackson,"⁶⁰
Williamson was appointed charge d'affaires to the
Republic of Venezuela. John Forsyth, Secretary of
State, had Williamson's instructions ready by the
middle of April. These were contained in several
letters of which the following is the most important.
It reviews the principles and legislation which
established our commercial relations with all countries,
and gives Williamson full power to negotiate a treaty.

Department of State
Washington, 15th April, 1835

NO. 3

John G. A. Williamson, Esquire,

Appointed Charge d'Affairs of the

United States to Venezuela

Sir

A long residence in Venezuela as a
Consul of the United States, has afforded
you opportunities which have been no doubt
faithfully improved of becoming familiar
with the language and habits of the people,
with the policy of the Government and the
general condition of the commerce of the

⁶⁰Infra, 1.

United States with that very important portion of South America. Diplomatic relations will be opened with that country under circumstances of peculiar interest and the President anticipates the most favorable results from your zeal and knowledge.

A recognition of the Republic of Venezuela has been delayed, under the expectation that a reunion might be effected between the States once forming the Republic of Colombia. Desiring only that the neighbouring nations might adopt and pursue such a policy as would be best calculated in their own opinion to promote and to secure their permanent interests, the United States have been at all times prepared to acquiesce in whatever has been done by them, confidently believing that separated into independent Governments or confederated under one; justice will equally be done to their desire to promote mutual interests by acts of reciprocal good will, and the faithful observance of all the obligations of good neighbourhood.

While it appeared probable that the several states comprising the Republic of Colombia with whom a treaty had been formed, would reunite, it was due to consistency to refrain from recognizing formally the separated portions of the Republic. As it is now ascertained that the separation is to be permanent and the parties have themselves amicably arranged the terms of it, the President is happy to congratulate them on the event, and to proceed to welcome each on its entrance into the great American family of nations. The President considered the treaty with Colombia as fixing the basis of our commercial intercourse with Venezuela, New Granada and Equator and obligatory upon each and all of them. This is understood to be acknowledged by Venezuela from the tenor of the Report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Congress of Venezuela of the 20th of January, last. That Minister, with great prudence and propriety suggests that the dismemberment of the Republic and the new order of things produced by that event, required the conclusion of other compacts. Mr. Michelena, the Envoy of Venezuela at Bogota, has expressed the same sentiment to Mr McAfee, adding that he had no doubt his Government would promptly

and cheerfully empower him to enter upon the negotiation of a treaty, should the disposition of Venezuela be reciprocated by the United States, and Mr. McAfee be authorized to carry that disposition into effect. Obvious reasons, however, having led the President to prefer Caracas to Bogota as the seat of the negotiation, the duty of concluding the compact will devolve upon you, and you are herewith provided with a full power for that purpose.

As the treaty with Colombia, though in many respects mutually beneficial, does not secure for our commerce and navigation all the advantages that are at once desirable and not incompatible with the interests and obligations of the States of which that Republic was formed, the President desires that a more liberal basis should be proposed to the Venezuelan Government.

It will be proper therefore, in this place, briefly to allude to the principles which have governed the United States in the establishment of their commercial relations with all countries. These principles are founded upon the broadest basis of perfect equality and reciprocity. They have engaged the attention of negotiators and legislators ever since the first year of our political existence and have been adhered to with the most undeviating fidelity. Upon this groundwork has been erected a system the wisdom of which is daily exemplified by the advantageous commerce we are now carrying on with other nations, and by the eagerness with which all the Governments that have commercial intercourse with us, and among them several of the great European Powers, have accepted the terms which it offers equally to all nations willing to reciprocate to us the benefits flowing from it. Its leading features are embodied in our own legislation of which the following is a brief abstract.

In 1815 the United States repealed all their acts imposing discriminating duties of tonnage and import upon foreign vessels or upon the produce or manufactures of the nation to which such foreign vessel might belong, and which were imported therein; such repeals to take effect in favor of any foreign nation which should extend equal exemptions to the vessels and produce of the United States.

In 1817, they restricted importations into the United States in foreign vessels to the productions of the country to which such vessels belonged or as could only be or were not usually shipped, in the first instance, from such country; but confining the operation of that restriction to such nations only as enforced a similar one against the vessels of the United States and their cargoes.

In 1824, they declared the suspension of all discriminating duties in respect to the vessels and productions of several European nations and their territories in Europe which had accepted the terms proffered by the Act of 1815, and conferred authority upon the President to allow similar privileges to all nations which should thereafter comply with its requisitions.

In 1828, they authorized the President to extend the exemption from alien duties which of previous Acts, was restricted to the productions of the country to which the vessel belongs to those of any foreign country imported into the United States in vessels of any nations which should allow us similar privileges.

The effect of these various enactments has been to rest in the President of the United States the power of granting to any foreign nation willing to reciprocate the same benefit to us, the privilege of importing into or exporting from our ports in its own vessels, the produce of its own soil or manufacture, or of the soil or manufacture of any other country, upon equal terms with those imported or exported in vessels of the United States.

These terms, which are offered indiscriminately to all nations willing to reciprocate them, go as far as the principle of equalization of duties on vessels and cargoes can be carried. They have either by treaty or separate legislation, been virtually accepted to their full extent by Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, the Hanse Towns, the Grand Dukedom of Oldenburg, Central America and Brazil, and, in part, by Great Britain, Russia, the Netherlands, France, Hanover, the Roman States and Colombia. The President is anxious that the wisdom of our policy should be appreciated by all nations, and would be happy to see Venezuela added to the list of those which are now reaping in common

with ourselves the un questionable advantages it affords to general commerce.

The principle upon which you will first endeavour to negotiate with the Venezuelan Government is that on which the Act of 1828 was based. You will find it unfolded in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th articles of the Treaty concluded in 1828 with Brazil, which adopts our system in its full extent as to the equalization of duties on tonnage and imports whatever may be the nature and origin of the cargoes or from whence imported. You will not be at a loss to adduce arguments to prove the beneficial effects which such a liberal extension of commercial facilities must have upon the commerce of Venezuela. The extent of that commerce and its profits both to the native and foreign merchant depends not alone upon the quantity and variety of its materials, but on the facilities afforded in the means of transportation and exchange. Several of the Spanish American States evince an overweening anxiety to force into existence a commercial marine for themselves, and misled by the example of other nations, seem disposed to adopt means of at least questionable wisdom. It is understood that Venezuela should be included in the number. Her productions are almost exclusively agricultural and that branch of her industry despite the exuberant fertility of her soil is but slowly reviving from the ravages of civil war, it would be highly injudicious to check its expansion and prosperity by paying an enhanced price for vehicles to transport its products to market and to carry back whatever she may want of the productions of other countries. It is not improbable that the example and success of the United States may mislead the Spanish American States on this branch of their public policy, and it will be useful to explain how we were originally forced to adopt the system of retaliatory duties to counteract the monopolizing spirit of other nations. With fisheries, an immense coasting trade, the best materials for constructing vessels, sailors to man, with nautical skill to navigate them, we were forced reluctantly into the contest of commercial restrictions, which we have not only abandoned as early as possible but have induced other nations the most

enterprising and clear sighted of the world to follow our example. The object of the United States was not to secure monopoly by exactions, but to secure reciprocal equality by retaliating the exactions of other nations. What motive can Venezuela have, with none of the enumerated advantages, to check her agriculture and domestic enterprise by heavy burthens upon the transportation of its products in a state of the commercial world entirely different from that which impelled this country to adopt and for a season to adhere to them? What hope of accomplishing, even partially, the object, but at the expense of her general prosperity, tenfold greater than its actual worth. The discriminating duties imposed will be met by like burdens abroad, until fair competition is attained, a fair competition secured by no exactions on either side, much more effectually than by counteracting exactions on each.

The rule of our relations by the Second article of the Treaty with Colombia, is that of the most favored nation in respect to commerce and navigation. If either party grant special favors to another nation, they become common to the other party, who shall enjoy the same freely, if the concession was freely made, or on allowing the same compensation if the concession was conditional. This stipulation leaves either government at liberty to burthen vexatiously the commerce and navigation of the other, to foster its own mercantile and navigating interest. Independent of this great objection, which leaves the relations between the parties liable to be constantly trammelled or overloaded by restrictions on one side, counteracted by retaliatory restrictions on the other, the rule of the most favored nation, even explained as it is in the second article, has been found in practice to be uncertain and illusory in affecting the avowed objects of the parties, that is to give to each a fair competition in the ports of the other with all foreign nations. Favors may be granted to some nations by one party, for which the same compensations cannot be allowed by the other. With the best intentions on both sides this may occur: with a desire to disregard the spirit of the article by either, it will constantly happen. Under a just

interpretation of the second article of the treaty with Colombia as it was affected by the treaties between Colombia and Central America and Colombia and Peru, our commerce and navigation with Colombia was placed upon a footing almost as liberal as we could have desired. By these Treaties, Colombia and Central America and Peruvian vessels proceeding directly from the ports of one party to those of another, are placed upon a like footing as it respects duties of tonnage and imposts on cargoes in the ports of either party, in other words, in these respects all are treated as national vessels. Under the second article of our treaty with Colombia, the United States claimed this favor from Colombia, and it being a conditional or reciprocal favor, the same compensation for it was offered in all the ports of the United States. The offer was accepted, and by a decree of the 21st November, 1831, the vessels of the United States and their cargoes, proceeding directly from ports of the United States, were placed in Colombian ports upon the same footing as national vessels. Very much to the surprise and dissatisfaction of the President, and contrary to the earnest remonstrances of our representative near the Government of Colombia, this decree was subsequently repealed and discriminating duties collected upon all foreign goods imported into the Republic in vessels of the United States. The repeal of the decree was the more surprising as it took place not at the instance or in consequence of the complaints of either Central America or Peru, but, as it is understood, of other powers, who neither had extended, nor it is believed would extend to the commerce and navigation of Colombia in their ports, the benefits secured to them in the ports of the United States by the Act of Congress of the 19th of May 1832. By that Act which reciprocates the provisions of the decree in question, the vessels of the Republic of Colombia and their cargoes, whether of foreign or domestic produce, coming direct from Colombian ports are placed upon an equality with our vessels and their cargoes in the ports of the United States, and the President is authorized to take off the restriction of "coming direct from a port in Colombia," so

soon as he shall receive satisfactory evidence that a like restriction is taken off from vessels of the United States in the ports of Colombia. The act also authorized the President to abrogate by proclamation the privileges it secures to Colombia, whenever he shall be satisfied that the benefits secured to the United States by the decree, shall have ceased. This decree was declared by the Treasury Department of New Granada to have been unauthorized and it expired on the 17th of December, 1832, but the President, actuated by the hope that it would be renewed, has abstained from exercising the authority vested in him and Colombian vessels and their cargoes still enjoy in the ports of the United States all the privileges secured to them by the Act of Congress referred to.

If, therefore, you should not find the Venezuelan administration disposed to treat upon the basis first mentioned, it is the wish of the President that you should represent to them that he considers the Treaty with Colombia as reciprocally binding and that as it is so considered by Venezuela, he deems it unnecessary to enter upon the negotiations of a treaty upon the same basis--at least until our Convention with Colombia shall expire. You will also represent that as it is presumed Venezuela likewise deems the Treaties of Colombia with Central America and Peru as obligatory upon her, it is considered, for the reasons specified, that the United States, under the Second article of their Treaty with Colombia, have a clear right to the same advantages which are secured to those Republics in Venezuelan ports, and that if discriminating duties upon our vessels and cargoes should not be repealed, the President will be constrained to cause the privileges now enjoyed by the vessels and their cargoes of the States formerly composing the Republic of Colombia, to be abolished.

Should you induce the Venezuelan Government to assent to a treaty placing the commerce and navigation of the parties upon the basis of our Act of 1828, for the other articles you will adopt as a model the treaty with Brazil, with the following exceptions.

It is understood that the people of Venezuela are less bigoted in their attachment

to the predominant religion than those of any of the Spanish American States and that the authorities of that country tolerate protestant worship. As this liberal feeling, however, may change, you will propose to substitute the twelfth article of the treaty between Great Britain and Colombia for the eleventh of ours--with the following additions. In the second sentence of the Article, after the words 'private houses', add 'or in the chapels or places of worship appointed for that purpose', omitting the words, 'Provided that this take place.' In the third sentence, after the words 'local authorities,' add 'or in such other places of sepulture as may be chosen by the friends of the deceased.' If the Venezuelan Government should object to the substitution of the British article as thus modified, you may propose that that article be inserted as it now stands.

The treaty with Colombia was to continue in force twelve years, but no provision like that contained in the treaties with Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Russia and Brazil, is made for its continued duration. You may propose twelve, ten, or eight years for the duration of the of the treaty and a clause for its continuance similar to that in the treaties referred to.

The plenary power with which you are furnished contains a clause authorizing you to negotiate upon the subject of claims. There are at present but four claims known to this Department for the recovery of which the interposition or good offices of this Government has been solicited. The first is that of Messrs John Donnell and Sons of Baltimore for the balance of an account for the cargo of the schooner Eleanor, sold to authorities of Venezuela in 1812, under a contract--represented to have been compulsory. The amount claimed is stated to have been eventually paid in paper money which possessed no intrinsic value and which was deposited in the Treasury of that State whence it has never been received. You will investigate this case, and if you should find that the agent of the claimants was forced to enter into the contract, you will demand indemnification for the sum due with interest according to the amount in the letter of Messrs Donnell and Sons to me upon the subject, a copy

of which accompanies this. You will also herewith receive the original contract and the certificate of deposit. But if it should appear that the contract was spontaneous on the part of the agent of the claimants, they will be entitled to your good offices only towards obtaining redress, and will have no right to the authority of this Government to enforce payment if it should ultimately be refused.

The second claim is that of Mr. William Hollins of Baltimore for balance due for the cargo of the schooner Speedwell taken under similar circumstances and at the same time with that of the Eleanor. You will receive, herewith, a copy of Mr. Hollins letter to me relative to the case, a copy of the contract, an account of the balance due, and the original certificate of deposit. An original certificate of deposit in favor of the Agent of the same claimant for three thousand three hundred and seven dollars and seventy five cents, also accompanies this communication. You will prefer a third and a separate claim for that sum and will employ your good offices in the case.

You are already familiar with the circumstances of the claim of Mr. Jacob Idler for supplies furnished to Venezuela during her war of independence. On the 28th of November, 1833, you were instructed by this Department to aid the claimant with your good offices, but Venezuela not having then been recognized by the United States, it could not be expected that your representations would be considered as authorized by this Government. This claim having likewise originated in a contract with the Government of Venezuela, the claimant would not be entitled to the authority of this Government to enforce payment in case the Venezuelan Government should eventually refuse it. A great injustice appears to have been done, in this case, it is hoped that your further good offices, which you are instructed to exert, will be the means of obtaining the satisfaction which has been so long withheld.

Mr McAfee has informed the Department that in the Convention concluded at Bogota on the 23d of December, last, between Venezuela

and New Granada relative to the division of the debts of Colombia, Venezuela has stipulated to pay twenty eight and a half per cent of the whole amount. Claims upon Colombia, however, are required to be submitted to a board of Commissioners which will meet at Bogota immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the Convention, and payment of the claims cannot be expected until the board shall have decided upon them. So soon as the decision shall be made, you will be authorized to receive the amount which shall be found to be due by Venezuela.

With regard to the general duties of your mission, it may be observed that every application in behalf of an American citizen must be carefully examined before it is carried to the Government. Even where you are sure of obtaining an advantage, let no demand be made unless it be founded in justice. But, on the other hand, press firmly, though respectfully for the redress of every injury, and insist, strenuously, for every privilege and advantage for your fellow citizens to which the law of nations entitles them. These instructions are made thus particular because your mission will lay the foundation of the reputation which our country is to enjoy in the New Republic. First impressions are of the greatest importance, let a deep one be made of our moderation, firmness and justice. Let it be clearly understood that we ask no exclusive favors, will insist on no unjust demands for the nation or its citizens, and will suffer no deliberate wrong.

You cannot be too careful in refraining from identifying yourself with or from appearing by your words and actions to favor or lean towards, any of the political parties into which the country may be divided. One of the settled principles of this Government is that of non-interference in the domestic concerns of nations, and as it would not tolerate it in others, so

must every act of its own functionaries which might be construed into a departure from this principle, incur the decided disapprobation of the President.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
John Forsyth ⁶¹

Williamson and his wife sailed for Venezuela late in May and arrived at La Guayra on June 19, after a twenty-one day voyage. ⁶² President José María Vargas received Williamson officially on June 30. ⁶³ Eight days later a revolution, instigated by the Bolívar party, upset the government and President Vargas was exiled to St. Thomas. Páez came out of retirement to head the constitutional army and preserve the government. Hostilities did not end until the following March; however, conditions were stable enough by January of 1836, so that Williamson could begin negotiations for the treaty which meant so much to him.

The treaty was signed on January 26, and a copy was sent to Washington. Ratifications were exchanged

⁶¹National Archives, Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Instructions From the Department of State to John G. A. Williamson et al., March 18, 1835, October 14, 1853.

⁶²Infra, 12.

⁶³Infra, 65-70.

in Caracas on May 31; and by June 20, 1836, the treaty was proclaimed in both countries.⁶⁴ This is a very good record in treaty making. It is true that Williamson had the Brazilian treaty for a model, together with clear instructions from Forsyth; yet his ready reception by the Venezuelan government and the favorable relations he had established with it undoubtedly hastened the ratification of the treaty. In contrast, one may note that Robert B. McAfee, charge to New Granada 1833-1837, failed to make a similar treaty. His successor, James Semple, left Bogota in disgust in 1842, not only because of failure to make a treaty but also because he was frustrated in settling claims; and the next charge, W. W. Blackford, was not able to make such a treaty until 1846.⁶⁵ Thus, Williamson's treaty had been in operation for ten years before a similar treaty was achieved in New Granada.

Most of Williamson's duties as charge were of routine character. He presented the claims mentioned in his instructions from Forsyth and other claims as

⁶⁴Infra, 312, 317.

⁶⁵For a detailed account of the antecedents of the Treaty of 1846 see E. Taylor Parks, Colombia and the United States 1765-1934 (Durham, 1935), 151-215,

well. The only important one left dangling was that of Jacob Idler, and one can see by reading the last part of the diary that Williamson was greatly concerned about it. Meanwhile, in New Granada, Semple had presented a list of eleven claims but got no results. Blackford, his successor, wanted to collect them by force; however, Calhoun would not consent to a naval demonstration for this purpose. The number of Colombian claims disallowed under the Claims Treaties of 1857 and 1864, indicates "that clashes over claims were largely owing to New Granadian procrastination and Yankee misrepresentation."⁶⁶

After his wife returned to Philadelphia (May, 1840), Williamson was subjected to a final humiliation. He was preparing to move into a smaller house when he received a summons to appear before the Supreme Court of Venezuela on a charge that concerned the rental of the larger⁶⁷ house. With his dying breath, Williamson protested against this "insult of sending a civil process to the house of an American Charge d'affaires," and wrote to

⁶⁶Parks, Colombia and the United States, 165-169.

⁶⁷William H. Gray, "American Diplomacy in Venezuela, 1835-1865" in Hispanic American Historical Review, XX (1940), 561-562.

Guillermo Smith, Secretary of State and Hacienda of
Venezuela:

Legation of the United States
Caracas 23rd July 1840

Sir

The undersigned Charge d'Affaires from the United States of North America begs to hand the inclosed document left at his house this morning issued it would seem by one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of this City-- a document so extraordinary, and so at variance with the exclusive privileges attached by the international Law of nations to members of my grade, cannot be viewed in any other light than as a direct insult to me and a greater one to my Government-- There is no power in Venezuela that can send a civil process to my house, or in any way interfere with my perfect freedom from the Laws of the Country--and I have a right by the Laws of Nations to demand of Venezuela that she should in this case punish those who have insulted the Character which I represent-- In my Country Sir neither the Judge nor his officers could escape in this case, but would receive that punishment for this outrage so necessary to protect ministers of my grade in the full enjoyment of their international rights-- I will not stop to notice the document signed by one F. Montilla upon which the order signed Sr. Mercedador has been issued from the Supreme Court, more than to say, that it contains a false representation---

On this question I stand upon my rights and cannot answer in any way to the civil Laws of Venezuela. If I have done anything amiss, let this Govt. complain to mine, but not Sir insult me and insult it by sending officers of the Law to invade my premises.

The undersigned has the honor
to be with high respect and
consideration your obt servt.
J. G. A. Williamson

I regret Sir to be under the necessity of presenting such an outrage to this Govt. and to be under the necessity of complaining of it, but a sense of my duty and my character, and the Govt. which I have the honour to represent, leaves me no alternative, when by yielding, there would be a sacrifice of both.⁶⁸

Williamson did not live to see the result of his protest; but nine months after his death, the Venezuelan Congress passed a law "declaring the immunities which public ministers should enjoy," and providing severe punishment for any violations of⁶⁹ them. Again, Williamson's success is in marked contrast with the record in New Granada where such a⁷⁰ law was not passed until March 26, 1851.

Williamson's diary is an index of his moods and fortunes in fair weather and foul. In the first volume, more than in the second, it is very evident that he is trying to appear as a cultured, ante-bellum, southern gentleman.⁷¹

⁶⁸Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Notes to the Foreign Office, June 26, 1835-October 15, 1845.

⁶⁹For the complete text of the Law of May 19, 1841, see A. H. Feller and Manley O. Hudson (editors), A Collection of the Diplomatic and Consular Laws and Regulations of Various Countries, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933), II, 1404.

⁷⁰Ibid., I, 303-304.

gentleman who uses classical quotations and in other ways displays his learning. If we may judge from the first pages of the diary, Williamson is elated and a little puffed-up with his appointment as charge, and mentions with pride the important people he meets. His estimate of the Secretary of State, who received him "very courteously," is accurate enough--"Forsyth possesses much of the guaviter in modo, more than either of his immediate predecessors Melane or Livingston--";⁷¹ but Williamson might very aptly have used the full quotation, guaviter in modo, fortiter in re ("gently in manner, strongly in deed"); because Forsyth did not hesitate later to reprimand Williamson sharply for his carelessness in writing, for his "general inaccuracy of accentuation and punctuation," and for his "material errors of words." The reader will agree with Forsyth for Williamson was not consistent even in his misspelling.

One will come across old fashioned words in the diary and words whose meanings are archaic--disemboguing,⁷² slang, lamping; and he will be delighted with

⁷¹Infra, 2.

⁷²Infra, 41, 531, 659.

Williamson's descriptive phrases, such as: Queen Victoria's husband is a "rib of her ribs," Mrs. Jove is a "perfect horse Marine," Sam D. Forsyth is "the most leaky man I ever knew," or "the French Treaty is undergoing a kind of gastronomick purification to suit the taste and stomachs of the Congresantes." ⁷³ One will learn about old card games and well known literary characters of a bygone age--Paul Pry, Joe Surface, Major Jack Downing. ⁷⁴ Williamson presents many amazing characters, among them: Renato Beluche, one of La Fitte's pirates; Gregor MacGregor, filibuster and "cazique of Poyais"; Dublin born Daniel Florencio O'Leary, Bolivar's chief secretary; José Félix Blanco, a priest who "dowsed his casco and seized the sword" and later edited a great work of Venezuelan documents; Agustin Codazzi, Italian geographer; and Sam D. Forsyth, an "ambidextrous personality." Others of a similar character are Carlos Soubllette, Frederick Chamier, José Tadeo Monagas, General Laurencio Silva, Diego and Andrés Ibarra, Lord Henry Peter Brougham, P. Joskin Ayers, Federico Tomás de Adlercreutz, Thomas Richards, Simon Bernard, Santiago Mariño and Pedro Carujo. Then there are famous people

⁷³Infra, 743, 692, 684, 693.

⁷⁴Infra, 697, 685, 654.

who are better known: Simón Bolívar, José Antonio Páez, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Queen Victoria, Henry Clay, Santos Michelena, Francisco de Paula Santander, and Alejandro Ibarra. Mention of these does not imply that Williamson assumed intimacy with all of them.

The first volume of the diary deals mostly with Williamson's arrival in Caracas as charge and the revolution which broke out on July 8, 1835. Williamson's former residence makes possible an interpretation of the excited condition of the country. Then, since this is an age of published travels, Williamson describes the country in the style of Humboldt, Depons, Duane and others. The second volume is more subjective; one realizes that "society here has no power to remove cares, or drown associations--it is but one dull routine of unsociable existence--no social interchange of familiar visiting, or meetings to dissipate cares or feelings." ⁷⁵ There is "no excitement except in the ⁷⁶ little pitiful personal slanders." Mrs. Williamson is unhappy in Caracas, and apparently makes no attempt

⁷⁵Infra, 523.

⁷⁶Infra, 690.

to be agreeable. Williamson is ill and lonely; he is, in a sense, isolated because he will not yield to the mores of Caracas. He finds release in his diary where there is nothing to inhibit expression. His comments are as pungent and bracing as North Carolina pine,⁷⁷ and his criticisms have the flavor of its pitch.

By 1839 Williamson has accumulated enough⁷⁸ capital so that he ventures to plan for retirement. Caracas, "much afflicted with fever and many deaths occurring,"⁷⁹ is no longer desirable, especially since his wife is so anxious to leave. Williamson thinks back over his thirteen years of "pleasure and pain" in Venezuela and recollects that he has no near relatives or friends-- "death and removal and change and vicissitudes of life have separated us forever. . . . my dear wife is all with whom it seems I cling for⁸⁰ tranquility and happiness."

Mrs. Williamson finally makes up her mind to return to Philadelphia. Williamson's unselfish consideration

⁷⁷Infra. 510, 529-531, 593, 624, 625, 658-659.

⁷⁸Infra. 531-532, 544, 517-518, 523-524, 598.

⁷⁹Infra. 597.

⁸⁰Infra. 522.

for her is perfect and beautiful. Aware that Williamson's days are numbered, one cannot read the last few pages without emotion.

A few weeks after his wife left him, Williamson became critically ill. He entrusted the legation records to Sir Robert Ker Porter, the British Consul--the man whom he had regarded as his rival. Sir Robert had been a constant source of irritation to Williamson, possibly because he was an artist and an author and possessed "that effrontery common to all Englishmen." Sir Robert saw to it that the funeral was a state occasion. In death, at least, Williamson had all the deference and respect which would have meant so much to him in life.

Williamson was buried in the English cemetery. Nearly thirty years later a traveller wrote:

The English burial-ground and the German are on the southern outskirts of the city, and are very poor places as compared with the Catholic cemetery. They are both covered with weeds, but in the English burial-ground, the rank grass is so tall that it is impossible to see the graves, and the whole place is full of ant-hills several feet high. There is a chapel, with an inscription to say it was built by Robert Ker Porter at his sole expense. 31

81 Edward B. Eastwick, Venezuela: or, Sketches of Life in a South American Republic; with the History of the Loan of 1864 (London, 1868), 52.

Editing Procedure

Williamson's diary, as presented here, is as exact a reproduction of the original handwritten document as a typewritten copy can be. No attempt has been made to correct the "material errors of words" except occasionally to add a letter or obvious words for the sake of clarity. Where this has been done, the letters or words are inclosed in brackets. In a few instances the editor has added a comma or period where it seemed essential. Williamson numbered each page of the diary. In the typed copy, the original page number is placed in brackets before the first word of the page to which it belongs. The editor has added chapter divisions and, in order to facilitate the typing of such a lengthy work, has placed the footnotes at the end of each chapter.

For the sketch of Williamson's life, the author has depended mainly upon the diary itself and on the microfilm material from the National Archives. In addition, a few facts have been obtained from John H. Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina, From 1584 to 1851 (Wheeler gives an incorrect date for the death of Williamson); the biographical sketch by Stephen B. Weeks in the Charles Van Noppen Collection, Duke University Library; A. R. Newsome (editor), "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," in North Carolina Historical

Review; and items from the North Carolina Historical Commission contributed by Miss Marybelle Delamar through the courtesy of Christopher Crittenden.

T. R. Ybarra has given the editor permission to quote from his works.

In attempting to discover the missing portion of the diary and to learn more about Williamson himself, inquiries have been made of the following sources: Solon J. Buck, Director, The National Archives, Washington, D. C. (Microfilm copies of all official correspondence and all data relating to the service of Williamson were purchased by the Department of Archives, Louisiana State University.); L. S. Rowe, Director General, Pan-American Union; Thomas P. Martin, Acting Chief, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress; Christopher Crittenden, Secretary, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; A. R. Newsome, University of North Carolina; Noma L. Goodwin, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library; Registrar of Deeds, Person County, Roxboro, North Carolina; Senor Julio Planchart, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Caracas; Frank P. Corrigan, American Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary, Caracas; T. R. Ybarra, Harvard Club, New York.

[CHAPTER I]

[MARCH 3 to JUNE 27, 1835]

Having determined to keep a diary from the day of my appointment to a foreign diplomatic situation I will therefore sum up the most material part to the day of my embarkation to assume the duties incident to the appointment.

On the 3rd March 1835 by the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States under a nomination made to them by Andrew Jackson the President of the United States, ¹ I was appointed Charge d'affaires to the Republic of Venezuela one of the dismembered States of the former Republic of Colombia in South America, lying on the coast of Tierra Firma between the Latitudes 8 & 15 degrees north on the Atlantic Coast, commencing at the British possession of Demerara ² to a few leagues below the mouth of the lake of Maracaybo.

At the time of this appointment I was residing for a short time with my wife in Phil^a, and in 8 or 10 days afterwards I rec^d notice of the same [2] officially from the Secretary of State John Forsyth Ez^e of Georgia, handing my my commission & & --I left immediately for Washington, called on the Pres^t and Secretary of State, and requested all my dispatches, instructions to be got

ready as early as convenient, that my private affairs required some attention in Carolina; was rec^d very courteously by the Secretary, could not be otherwise, as Mr Forsyth possesses much of the suaviter in modo,³ more than either of his immediate predecessors McLane or Livingston.

Left Roxboro⁴ the 8th April 1835, advised Mr Forsyth, and arrived in Washington the 4^t day afterward. Called on the Secretary of State, was invited to dine with him, went at five o'clock, found it a court dinner, all the foreign delegation of the city was there; felt a little awkward, not suposing it was a diplomatic affair or a dinner of ceremony, taken by surprise of course not well prepared--arrived the last person, was rec^d [3] by a servant and ushered in by him until met by Mr Forsyth, presented to his wife,⁵ a tall woman, with black eyes, and rather intelligent in appearance, but extremely plain in manners, to his daughter a girl about 16, sickly in appearance, eyes dark and intelligent not easy in manner, something stiff and formal, without formality. Introduced⁶ to Sir Charles Vaughn [sic] the English Ambassador, a stout plain portly old gentleman, about 60 years old, nothing particularly striking or intelligent about him, but rather a good sample of a plain gentleman, had no conversation with him, save the mere conversation of an ordinary

introduction, but should say he was a very commonplace man, has been a long time at Washington in the character of Minister and by his urbanity of manner & deportment succeeding in attaching the citizens generally at Washington to him. He wore on the present occasion [4] a white sash with some order, but did not know what, but otherwise very plainly dressed in citizens cloths.

⁷
Tacon the little miserable dwarfish looking minister of his or her most Catholic Majesty of Spain, was strongly contrasted with the Dutch phlegmatic, round faced, stout chested Charge of King William of Holland: Neither of them possessing anything remarkable, and I believe are not remarkable for anything but being a public agent: The name of the dutch man is Bille---

⁸
Mr Pageot was there the charge pro tempori in the Absence of the French Minister, he is married with a daughter of W^m D. [sic] Lewis celebrated for his cunning and one of the Auditors, ⁹ as well as being at the head of what is called by the opposition to the present administration, the Kitchen Cabinet--I do not know nor Have I ever heard he was celebrated for anything--He is a pert Petit Matre looking chap, and I cannot think he is above ordinary-- [5] There were several attaches, among them a real cossack looking one to the Russian legation, the most complete nincompoop looking & savage

dog I ever saw, or that ever murdered a Pole--His name
 as savage as himself, and I should hate myself if I
 could ever remember it---

10

Mr M. Van Buren was there, a man of small slight
 stature, but very genteely made, of easy manners, light
 blue eyes, projecting nose, round face, ball head in
 front with long hanging hair considerably frosted over
 his ears, a mouth of a most peculiar character, teeth
 rather bad, and set badly in the mouth, his carriage easy
 and deportment much of the man of the world, his manners
 unafected, and with great self possession--This is the
 great magician of his opponents---

11

He certainly has great combinations of character,
 and of his appearance would indicate sagacity, fore-
 thought [6] with untiring perseverance, perhaps he has
 strongly marked in appearance intrigue, if so it belongs
 of right, of necessity to all great men, the soldier
 would no more go into battle without his sword than the
 politician embark in the struggles for power and fame
 without a proportion of intrigue--Able men of deserved
 fame or reputation possess it in a more or less degree,
 and he enjoys the greater reputation who has the faculty
 of secreting it from the common observation of mankind
 and at the same time win them unobserved by intrigue to
 his purposes.

Whether this be true of Mr Van Buren my intimacy with him will not warrent my in saying--But as his career of life has been one full of difficulties, labouring against poverty on the one side and the power of aristocracy on the other, until he has found himself in the Second Post of the Gov^t of the United States, I am disposed to award to him, merit, character and patriotism, [7] sufficient in the eyes of an intelligent people to elevate him to the highest gift of a free people--That he is destined to be President every thing indicates, and I cannot thing [sic.] that intrigue without merit can produce such an event; if so the American people are indeed walking blindfold in their wisdom---

I have said this much of Mr Van Buren, as perhaps this may live after me, sensible [sic.] I am tho' that so humble a person as myself can neither detract nor add anything to the man destined to fill so large a space in the history of his country.

For the first time in my life I had an opportunity to observe the precedence or formality of etiquette among those holding office or appointment--I observed Mr Van Buren as Vice President took precedence of all and lead [sic.] in Mrs Forsyth, Sir Charles Vaughan the daughter, Tacon followed, Mr Bille [8] and the minor Fry at an humble distance--The Congress at Viena have now so completely

settled the rights of partys in their intercourse as diplomatic agents, that no circumstance but a change of Gov^{ts} throughout the world will ever be enabled to unfix them, at least so long as one Republic is acknowledged and her agents admitted at Foreign Courts--Ministers according to age take precedence (age of residence or acknowledgment) Charges the same-- all equal grades the oldest resident takes precedence, and so of their wives--before much perplexity and not infrequently unpleasant occurrences took place between diplomatic agents--Emperors & Kings agents taking precedence of Republics or other govern^{ts}; It is all however now amicably settled and the rights of each are well defined and acknowledged--

In passing to the dinner room I did not know where was my place or how I should enter--it cost me but a moment I followed after the dutchman and found myself in the dinner room; [9] My new honors set so badly on me at first I must confess I was much out to it--

Having been introduced as Charge I had to assume something in character, as there appeared great deference after Tacon followed, I bowed and found myself without much exertion in the dinner room--Mr Van Buren who took precedence had seated himself on the right on Mrs Forsyth, Sir Charles Vaughan on her left with Miss Forsyth on his

left and Tacon on her left, the dutchman on his left and so on with the French Charge attache & &--Mr Van Buren called to me to seat myself on his right, and immediately followed Mr Dickens the principal Secretary of the Secretary of State and seated himself to my right, the rest great & small found their level--Mr Forsyth sat at the foot of the Table--One word of Mr Dickens in passing, ¹² he is a North Carolinian by birth, was once a partner & co-Editor with [10] Dennie ¹³ of the Portfolio published many years since in Phil^a, has resided some time in London, and for the last 15 years in Washington--He is man of dark complexion, bilious habit, common size with dark or black eyes, very reserved, reticent, and of very common manners, expresses himself with no ease, but writes well, is a man of considerable literary acquirements & fine taste, has no doubt seen much good company; As a friend ardent, as an enemy implacable, and in his ordinary intercourse with mankind very political--He no doubt makes an able Secretary--

The dinner on the present occasion was elegant and well served, in good style and Taste, and instead of being put upon the Table a few dishes were only there interspersed with the desert, and the rest upon side tables, and carried by the servants and handed round without being asked to take any thing, you could therefore

eat what you pleased or employ your time with your neighbour [11] in conversation or drinking wine. A mode I am extremely well pleased with, being in every respect less ceremonious, less inconvenient, and in every respect better adapted for comfort and satisfaction.

I was asked to drink wine with several, pretty good wine--the desert was elegant--dinner closed without sitting long at table, so soon as eating closed and the most of the things removed, Mr Forsyth re^d the cue from madam, and we all rose and retired to the sitting or withdrawing room, taking our hats standing a few moments, talking indifferently with any and every person, one by one paid their respects to Mrs Forsyth and left the house in pairs & singly sans ceremonie--

Thus closed my first diplomatic dinner, and I frankly confess much of that fear of great men passed off as did the dinner without an increased opinion of Titles and great men---

[12] Called the Second day afterwards on the Secretary, found him as usual employed, had some conversation about Venezuela, informed me my instructions were preparing and would be ready in a day or two-- Called the next day on the President, and found him quite
14
unwell with a swelled nose, but able to receive me,

had a good deal of chat, asked me to dinner, told him, tomorrow expected to be despatched by the Secretary and that I wanted to see Mrs W. so bad that I should be off instantly, he frankly told me it was a good feeling, he knew it and of course forgave me.

Having rec^d my instructions, books & departed for Phil^a where I arrived, and commenced immediately buying things, furniture et cetera for house keeping in Caracas the Capital of Venezuela; Previous to my departure from Washington my outfit of four thousand five Hundred Dollars was paid me ¹⁵ --One word en passon, [sic.] a certain gentleman by the name of Hopeful Toler, ¹⁶ who had advised me [13] of my appointment to [at?] Phil^a and to get which he had been labouring with great assiduity in Washington for near a year, and who now asked for a loan of five hundred dollars, to get out of his debts in Washington, pounced upon me after discovering I had rec^d my outfit like a famished vulture upon a poor innocent lamb for this am^t which he thought I ought to loan him---

I shook him off at once, but it was done by loaning him two hundred & fifty Dollars, and god knows when I shall ever get the same again--- In this manner I got clear of his importunities, he has hung to me like a mill stone, the personal difficulties I encountered more than 8 years ago in Caracas arose from business of

his, I trust now to play quits with him for ever.

There being no immediate opportunity that I considered safe or convenient to embark for La Guayra, my time was passed entirely in preparation for the Brig Stag expected every day at N York- [14] in preparation between the 16^t of April & 26^t May the day I left with my family for New York to embark, having rec^d notice of the arrival and intended departure of the Brig Stag--

Arrived in New York the same day and stoped at the American Hotel opposite the Park and seperated by a cross street from the great Astor House¹⁷ just building for a public House--in Broadway--the last story of which was just finishing previous to covering in the whole roof-- On the 28^t May was called on by Thadius Philps, Mr Kneeland of the house of Bogert and Kneeland and Mr Swan, interested in (a Law suit) a claim of Jacob Idlers¹⁸ placed in my hands by the Government.

I do not know whether they were satisfied or not with a personal knowledge of me, but on my part I do not think I am or can be deceived in either of them-- Phelps is a cunning man considerable energy, some tallents and no doubt considerable merchantile [15] knowledge. Kneeland is more cunning great shrewdness considerable tallents as a merchant, an extremely plausible man, as a merchant superior to Phelps, as a politician not--Mr Swan is the

counterpart of both, more of a gentleman, without any of those entangling intriguing ideas of his associates, he is a plain common man---- On the 29^t left the Hotel & proceeded with my family to the wharf opposite the store in South Street of Mesa^s Howland & Aspinwall¹⁹ where a boat was in readiness, and to the number of five to Wit myself Mrs W. --Mr Felix Merino my private Secretary & two servants, embarked in a boat and were landed on board the Brig Stag laying in the stream-- Capt. Anderson rec^d us kindly--Weather looked squally, pilot on board, after some delay, two other passengers came on board, the anchor already a peak, [pique] sails unfurled, the Pilot took command, and we bid adieu, to our dear, dear native land--

[16] Without any thing occurring of a particular nature, except the mere ordinary incidents of a sea voyage, and the meeting of a Brig from Buenns Ayres bound to Boston, the weather being fair, put letters on board of her for our friends, and in making the Islands, got greatly to windward or Eastward of our calculations; in very squally & unsafe weather when we expected to get into or through Sombrero passage,²⁰ could not discover it, weather squally & heavy, and the next morning found ourselves at day light in the narrow passage between S^t Christopher & S^t Martins--A fortunate escape, without

any thing further except heavy squally & wind, and nearly out of every thing fit to eat, our salt Beef having proved unsound and unfit to eat, we at length when our last Turkey was cooked, the chickens having disappeared several days before we made the high mountains back of La Guayra on the Spanish Main or Tierra Firme and the next day [17] the 19^t June & 21 of our voyage landed at La Guayra.

I would here remark, that tho' Cap^t Anderson is an intelligent mariner and perhaps a good navigator, and did every thing he could to render our passage safe & pleasant, there was a great want of many little necessaries not to say delicacies on board the Brig Stag, but I must commend him for his good discipline and his gentlemanly deportment, not having heard scarcely a hasty word spoken on board and our intercourse with him polite, much above the ordinary conduct of Cap^t commanding such a class of vessels as the Stag-- It is true we missed our passage near 30 miles and might have been cast away by such a mistake, the error I never attempted to discover as I took the Capt. & mates calculations as agreeing to be correct, but frankly confess when I did not discover land at the time designated I felt uneasy, and its coming on to blow with great violence increased my fears-- When morning broke and [18] we discovered by the eye where we

were, I felt really more alarm, tho the real danger had passed, for we certainly escaped most providentially a shipwreck---

Our Cap^t had been a privateersman, a cap^t in the Buenos Ayrian & Colombian service--and enjoys much reputation as a mariner, as a navigator, but certainly in this voyage he got greatly out of his reckoning, and in a most unfortunate situation--Sailors are many times like successful men ashore, more indebted to good luck than to Capacity, and many by short cuts arrive at the desired point, while the best look out and the best management in the world cannot bring another to the same desirable conclusion.

I am willing to allow Cap^t Anderson every thing; but he certainly failed in a knowledge of his true situation by marine calculations in this voyage.

On our landing at La Guayra Mr Foster²¹ rec^d us very kindly at the mole, and offered us his house, servants and all placing them under our command [19] which we accepted, but did not expect that he would have gone so far, as we certainly anticipated his eating at his own table, tho' it would have been with us-- It was an unlooked for kindness and politeness, and I certainly with my wife acknowledge it with great pleasure, and shall let no opportunity escape in my returning the same compliment

to Mr John M Foster---

We remained until the morning of the 24^t June, having dispatched Mr Merino up previously to take possession of our house, but found on our arrival that no house had been taken for us, but that Mr Adolf Wolff²² had procured temporarily the upper part of a pretty good house, which we took possession of.

On leaving La Guayra I expected my wife would be much alarmed at her passage over the mountains, our horses and mules were ready at two o'clock in the morning, the gate by order of Commandante²³ Jurado was opened for us at that hour, and [20] we sallied forth my wife on a small mule with a sillion which is a native female saddle, the lady sits with both legs on one side, and rides in this manner the opposite side to that which is used in all other countries, the seat of the saddle is well stuffed, with a rim reaching entirely round the saddle fitting close to the back of the person, beneath the feet is suspended by two equal straps a narrow piece of plank upon which rests the feet--At first it seemed very inconvenient but soon becomes in a mountainous country an easy and comfortable seat and much safer for an indifferent rider than our common side saddles.

I was mounted on a horse and John my man servant on another and Mary Clagston an Irish girl maid servant

to my wife on a horse with my wifes side saddle. The night was dark, the man servant I hired for the purpose of attending to my wifes mule and saddl had previously prepared himself with a langern & candles, [21] I found he could not carry it and attend to her as she was much frightened, and John being loaded every way with bundles, umbrellas & &, I took the lantern and marched on a head and directing the way;

It was a most picturesque sight and our whole equipment so outré, and so novoul in appearance to my wife, that for some distance she was exclaiming continually at the singularity of the appearance of every thing, and every thing seen through the dim and sombre light of a farthing candle--- Our direction on leaving the Caracas gate was a little South of West following the margin of the sea to the village of Maquitia²⁴ where the road makes a slight inclension²⁵ South and after nearly passing through the village it then abruptly turns off due South to the foot of the mountain.

La Guayra is situated in 10^{de}--20^m North latitude and directly at the base of the Sierra de Abila [22] that part of the Andies which skirt the coast of Tierra Firma from the province of Maturin (Cumana and Barcelona) to the windward;²⁶ to Coro to Leaward, rising and falling in that distance to various heights & depressions forming

beautiful valleys, high above ocean, with a climate pure & salubrious beyond expectation--The highest point of this range of the Cordillera of the Andies is near 9 thousand English feet, and overlooks the ocean about five to six miles above La Guayra, and is called the Sillia [sic.] from its shape bearing to the eye that of a saddle with its pommel east & the cradle west--It presents a perpendicular side towards the ocean of near 3 thousand feet-- It is approachable and the top has been visited several times by foreigners & natives-- The Climate approximates to frost, and the air is so highly rarefied that it produces great oppression in breathing; and difficulty of respiration.

[23] La Guayra from sea presents rather a handsome appearance, the houses white with red tiled roofs and mostly one story high, the soil red and baked like a brick bat, until you reach the height of about 1000 feet when the whole is changed to verdure and becomes heavier, deeper and greener, as you ascend except in some places where from positive sterility of soil or the bleak wind it produces nothing but grass of a wiry texture---

On arrival you are visited by the Capt of the Port & the Guarda Mayor or principle guard and interpreter in a large boat belong to the Custom House establishment--

The papers are examined, the manifest and ships papers are delivered, number of passengers inquired into, crew, health & &--- When as soon thereafter as may be the wishes of the passengers they are landed, by act of Courtesy it is expected they will present themselves to Mayor or chief Magistrate [24] and to the Gov^r or Commandant of the City without any civil authority whatever;

The place of landing is a large mole extending 350 feet into the ocean made of wood and framed upon piles driven in the sand and covered with heavy well sawed timber or planks of 2 inches in thickness-- you then pass up through a large gate at which lounge many of the lower grade of Custom house officers or tide waiters, and enter the City of La Guayra; There are but two streets running parallel with the ocean at the base of the mountain, intersected with several cross streets-- the two main streets in which reside the principle merchants both native & foreign, they are about 18 feet wide, well paved and without side walks, many of the houses extend from the uper to the lower street, presenting two stories on the town and only one in the uper street; the South side of the uper street is built with houses [25] directly at the base of the mountain the back extending against it, in many instances the mountain is cut down

upon a level to make the floor equal for the house.

Through the center and most populous part of the town runs a small stream of water called the Guayra, it forms a considerable ravine, on each side of which a wall of stone for 3 or 4 hundred yards has been raised to keep it in its current and sustain the walls of houses built in many places directly over it.

From this stream the town is supplied with water, by turning its course at the hight of near 2 thousand feet into a canal under ground it is brought on the side of the mountain and the side of the stream and rises at various points in stone reservoirs spouting out from pillars of brick work & lime (mompatoria)--- [26] The buildings in this part of the city which is entirely creole present quite a picturesque view particularly from sea, rising in gradual elevations, until many of them are 7 or 8 hundred feet above the level of the ocean, without much order, tho unlimited by streets, and being white and often with a green tree near or before them, give them in the tout en samble a very extraordinary appearance to a foreigner.

27

La Guayra is a walled city, fronting the sea it presents an unbroken line of wall its full length, say 1/4 of mile, built upon scientific principle, about 18²⁸ to 24 feet high & 7 to 10 feet in thickness, to the windward where the mountain does not come down so abrupt,

at the Acuta gate, a regular line of fortifications rises to the height from hill to mountain in continuous ascent to near 2 thousand feet, providing embrasures for cannon, redoubts with centry boxes, and almost loose themselves as you stand upon the shore below, [27] in the clouds (the mist of the mountains).

The most of these forts are now in a ruinous state--scarcely a point overhanging La Guayra, that can in any way be reached or is accessable, but presents peering through foliage or coping a bearen hill, a fortification.

Long before the making of the present road to Caracas, the road traveled lead up directly the ravine in which flows the Guayra above the limits of the town to the magazine of the Gov^t and then turns directly up the mountain, winding with a thousand sinious ways a small path, heading all the ravines that front the ocean over La Guayra, passing the two small streams that form the river (Alias branch) that runs through the village of Maquitia until it crosses the mountain at a point below which it enters the present road & and this point of the Present road is called Tabical--- This road is called the dos aguardas or two waters from the two streams [which] as stated before, it crosses. [28] After ascending at the powder magazine you pass in a distance by the road

of near a mile the tremendous fort of San Carlos built to protect this road-- It is a regular built land fortification with ditches, moats, angles, curtains, and draw bridges; as you ascend to it you cross an old draw bridge now permanent, with a deep cut over which it is thrown - In front of the gate of entry is another drawbridge, over which is inserted a piece of marble or Tablet with the following inscription

29

The earthquake of 1812 which rendered La Guayra a heap of ruins and out of a population of not more than 5 or 6 thousand killed near 3 thousand persons, likewise destroyed the houses built upon the top of this fortification, but left it standing a solid and everlasting ruin---

Nothing strikes the new comer so much as the ruins and general deploration which he witnesses on entering La Guayra [29] or passing through its streets. The revival of its commerce has not restored it, but only as necessity required it, or the investment of money might yield a large interest. Near one third is yet in ruins-- the houses have no glass in their windows, and are protected with iron bars running paralel and transversely--of not sufficient width to admit the head of a person. the floors are of brick, and in the poorer classes houses dirt floors. the walls are built of dirt or pita ramed down and covered with a coat of lime and sand and

30

whitewashed; and many of them are painted entirely with some display of taste and neatness, all the streets are paved, and the bridges thrown over the Guayra at their several places are handsome stone and brick masonry, in good taste and very durable. One arch spans the same, & through which the water is conducted that supplies [30] the town or commercial part of the town.

Immediately at the mole has been erected a handsome fountain supplied as all the rest are and from the same source, which is of great utility and particularly to vessels.

The foundation of the city of La Guayra was caused by the first perhaps impulse of liberty ever excited in Spanish America.

The first sea port for the city of Caracas, was the now dilapidated and ruined village of Caravallada about 8 miles or two leagues above La Guayra--La Guayra during the prosperity of this place was a resort only of fishermen-- In consequence of the attempt of the Spanish Alcalde at Caravallada to force upon the citizens authority not warranted by their charter or legal rights they rose in a body and abandoned the town, their property, and

every thing, and settled upon the spot upon which is now built the city or Town of La Guayra-- [31] This occurred
 31
 in the year

In a very short time afterward the prosperity of Caravallada followed them and with it the depot for the entire trade of the Vally of Caracas and the surrounding Country.

The Climate of La Guayra is intensely warm the thermometer of Ferenheight seldom falling below 82 and rises often to 96, this great heat is aded to from its locality and was it not refreshed by the regular east or sea breeze commencing at 8 to 9 oclock in the morning and ending about 5 or 6 in the evening-- A moderate land breeze is felt at night, and from the ravine or vally through which flows the Guayra, it comes down with much freshness----

32

With all the intense heat of this place, it is very healthy, my residence there for five years, produced no very great change in my constitution, and I returned to the States in 1831 without any aparent debility-- It is true in the Spring, summer, & autum of [32] the following year I was attacked by a severe congestive fever followed by intermittent which may have been laid the foundation of it by a residence at La Guayra-- I have no doubt it predisposes to affections of the

liver, but the continual flow of perspiration, the lightness and dryness of the air, together with the fact that little or no rain falls for 8 months in the year, no absolute cause exists but heat alone to produce disease, which I have always been led to believe was of itself not the proximate cause of disease, tho, combined with other causes invariably in such a latitude, produces fevers of the most fearful mortality---

The society of La Guayra is very limited and from the great mixture of colour and those distinctions thus created particularly by foreigners, the visited part is very small, except in the ordinary intercourse of business-- The proportion of white to mixt blood is as one to 100, I mean clearly and unequivocally white, I do [33] not know but I might safely say as one to 200.-- There is scarcely a family that are not nearly or remotely connected with the Indian or negro blood and the various shades & blood of white, red, & black-- The few white families in La Guayra that I know have in several instances become connected with mulattoes and persons of Colour, which shews clearly the day is not far distant, or in one or two more generations there will not be found a pure white person in the country---

There are no public houses of note in La Guayra save the Custom House, which is a large fine building

presenting to the ocean a front of near 150 feet and three stories high, on the upper side it has only one story but built on the inclined plain of the mountain it forms this shape. It has six public stores on the basement floor cut into the mountain, the second & third floor is the offices & private apartments of the officers-- It is built of stone [34] and coloured or tinged with water colours a light red-- It remained permanent in the great earthquake of 1812, without I believe so much as a crack in its walls, an incontestable proof that strong & well built houses are capable of standing a horizontal earthquake of the most fearful motion---

The Church of St. Juan de Dios crumbled into complete ruins, and the facade of the remaining church in the upper part of the town is almost the only part that remained entire, some of the interior arches and walls are yet standing & covered in sufficient to protect the altar and the relics of the Church, sufficient for the ordinary ceremonies of worship, which is still held in it-- A small house near the plaza or Market attached to the fortifications has been used as a Church since the destruction in 1812 of that which stood upon the corner of the plaza, the ruins of which has been removed in the last 7 years, which [35] opened much a small square now in front of the center guard house and opening upon

the usual plaza or market place----

There is a good deal of style in all their buildings when they pretend to anything like a good house, their arches are elegantly turned, their fronts are plain and in many instances of good and regular order-- But the whole appearance is Moorish-- many have flat terraced roofs (asortejas) [azoteas].

Directly over the city is the Gov^t barracks & joining the Greole or native burying ground well inclosed with a wall, ascending still above this you come to the Vekija or look out post, it is a fortification well built-- It has a flag staff upon which are signalled the entry or in sight of any vessel, it has a radi[ula] of at least 35 miles up and down the Coast-- It is paid [36] for conjointly by the merchants and the Gov^t, and is a very useful establishment-- It can be known below what class and kind of vessel is passing or entering [by means of] the various signals which keeper uses, in a printed plain [plan?] which every merchant below has in his house.

The two gates opening to the east and the West have drawbridges, but are not not used, they are thrown over a very deep mote [sic.] that is utterly impassible when the bridge is up, and defended by the fortifications that encircle the city, besides a fort overlooking immediately the gate.

It is said that 20 millions of Dollars could not build the fortifications of La Guayra, and that in their construction more was considered by the Cap^t General how and in what manner he might the sooner make his fortune than he might return again to Spain, than the interest of his King, and these fortifications was always one place in his estimates for that purpose.

[37] They are all now gradually sinking to decay, and are destined in a few years more to become a heap of ruins-- The energy of the present race are incapable of ever repairing them and their general want of means is offered as a sufficient excuse that they cannot undertake repairs, scarcely to protect themselves.

La Guayra during the revolution was made the jail for a great part of the old Spaniards who were taken up at various times, either for treason or as reprisal,

And at one time there were imprisoned near 1300 men in the bovodes [bovedas] or dungeons beneath the fortifications, who were all ordered to execution by 30 at a time as an act of retaliation against the Spanish General Morales who had basely sacrificed his prisoners and hung up the bearers of a flag of truce-- They all suffered near the Macuta gate and their bodies & bones consigned to the flames---

The road leading out of the Caracas gate is the

common traveled [38] road to Caracas, it winds in the sinuosities of the ocean to Maquitia, runing directly on its margin and directly at the base of the mountain, beneath which and upon or against its sides are built various huts by fishermen on the entire road to Maquitia-- As I have before said the road inclines a little South of West to the Extreme side of the village and then turns (directly) due South over the mountain to the vally & city of Caracas.

The commencement of the ascent is at first gradual, and at every point or part of the road liable to wash is paved, and when the road is cut deep in the mountain an aqueduct or tunnel is cut on one side or the other to discharge the water, otherwise in a heavy fall of rain which often takes place in the rainy season, and that almost without a moments warning would render the road hazrdous and dnagerous, all these aqueducts are paved on an inclined plain directing the waters to this drain. For the first league or three miles the road is mostly [39] a cut in the mountain, presenting on either hand a wall of ferriginous looking dirt, as tho' baked by fire, but which is produced by the continual action of the rays of the sun-- It now and then emerges from this cut to edge of a precipice on which it winds until again sunk into the earth---

On your left in the first leagues ascent you frequently reach a point from which the whole valley or ravine through which the small stream that waters Maquitia runs, and at every accessible or convertible spot is observed small cultivated spots or Conucas, green and beautiful to the sight and at a distance of 1 to 2 thousand feet below-- some of these properties swell into the importance of Haciendas of Coffee or Sugar cane, but none³⁴ of them to a large extent.

When you arrive at Curucuti, a considerable change in the atmosphere is observed and felt, and vegetation partakes of the same improvement. [40] The heated and acrid region of La Guayra is passed, and you now meet a soft and bland atmosphere, with a general resuscitation of nature-- This is a small place of three or four houses, erected more for the purpose of a stopping place for the muleteers, and the slopes of the Hills or mountain cultivated with corn to supply their animals with food; this production of corn or maize is called Holojo, and is the common article of food for mules, Jacks, & Horses throughout Venezuela--

It is sown broad cast and if the land is rich & the rain in abundance it grows to the height of 6 to 8 feet or more, but seldom produces a ear of corn, and yet it is an excellent food [of] the Horse Kind, and does not produce in this Country those frequent & distressing

35
diseases incident to its use in this state in the
United States.

To the right of Curucuti in an inclined vally, falling from a lofty height of the mountain through which runs a stream of water, is situated the [41] second coffee estate visable from the road. It did belong to Pedro Edwardo and I believes it does yet, it exhibits a beautiful, paradistical appearance from the elevation from whence you view it-- Its extent is not large, not perhaps having more than 20 or 30 thousand coffee trees.

On leaving Curucuti the ascent becomes abrupt, but more directly on the mountain because the road is not cut into it so much as below-- At various points in its serpentine and zigzag course to the east & West the most beautiful and picturesque views are had of mountain scenery in the world, at an elevation of two thousand five hundred to three thousand feet, you look down in wonder and amase at the gigantic works of nature;

The vegetable creation is entirely changed, those kindred productions of an arid, hot, and dry soil have passed away, and nature is robed in her imperial mantle of Green and purple.

The next point of note you [42] reach is the Salto or leap-- This place was originally a fortification and is yet capable of being made a place of great strength commanding entirely the road-- you pass to it over a

draw bridge thrown directly across a ridge of the mountain cut transversely across from one ravine on the left to one on the right (& walled up) th[r]ough the ridge and to the depth of 20 or thirty feet is cleaned out, and the ravines falling on each side from the ends of this ditch or cut almost perpendicular and to a depth of at least 300 three hundred to five hundred feet, renders this place [if] well guarded almost impassible at this point-- After passing the drawbridge you enter an esplanade surround[ed] with a wall a paved court and a small house in front. The road winding round one side of the house diverges through an embrazur[e] walled up on each side 10 feet with a gate, which is now unhung. The road here changes a little east of Sough, and continues more or less so until you reach the summit.

[43] After considerable fatigue and most precipitous travelling the next spot worthy of notice is the Venta or La Venta or inn. It is on the left of the road and presents a white washed walled front, to which you enter through a gate and are then in front of the building which is opposite to the ocean-- It has a corridor or Piazza in front projecting from the roof (the house one story) resting on white plastered collums or pillars, the gable to the road-- here almost anything the country affords can be had, refreshments such as coffee, Tea, Chocolate,

Chicken, even ham, eggs, but all served up in Spanish style, tolerably neat & clean, but none of that tidy neatness and comfort we look for in our own country.

The situation of La Venta is the most romantic in the world, above the clouds at many hours in the day, it has a coolness and raciness of atmosphere, that to the fevered Caracas [Caraqueno?] from the oven of La Guayra, seems to [44] brace and restore all that strength and cheerfulness which that great crucible & retort La Guayra, in so short a time extracts to enervation from its residents---

The ground in front of the house falls off gradually for more than an hundred yards overlooking as from a terrace the ocean below and one part of the roadstead of La Guayra; the vessels at anchor look like cockboats, no part of the town of La Guayra is visible, occasioned by a projecting point of the mountain that almost immediately overhangs the place---

From the brow of the descent from this spot to the deep green valley below, you have a most picturesque view of the west side of the mountain projecting & draining itself by its shelving slant this way, of little green, terrestrial looking spots of cultivation and habitation growing as you view them almost to a point in the distance, clinging to the side of the mountain

as a picture hung against the wall of this huge natural habitation.

The dog aguardas road is [45] seen in its sinous winding path way for it is but a path, on the mountain side cutting it a[t] various angles, now curving, now straight, now unseen, then just emerging & visible through the deep green foliage, now seen winding through a cultivated spot, till beyond some projecting point of the mountain it is seen no more.

In this climate and location to a stranger the whole order of nature is changed-- not a tree or shrub that we can claim a friendly alliance to, yet the air redolent with odours of the most delicious fragrance--- 'tis true the lime & the orange blossom around you and send forth their tribute to indulge mankind, the rose & the pink, wild thyme & various garden plants are found in an incipient state of cultivation, but in the wilds of nature, upon the mountain or in the valley, there is no growth no production that can remind you of home, no oak, no pine, no ash, no sycamore, no hickory, [46] no walnut, yet there is no want of timber and that of great variety.

Mountains here seemed piled on mountain and to the east the Sylla seems lost in the clouds, and the various shades, lights, & hues which from distant

declension or rising of the sun, or passing of clouds presents a multiplicity of pictures, some softer than ³⁶ ever employed the pencil of Claude Lorain, or ever engaged the opposite talents of other masters for their grandeur and terrific magnificence.

At this height which is near forty five hundred feet, mist continually prevails, and scarcely a day without rain-- How often have I sat enjoying a cup of chocolate at this spot and witnessed a complete twilight obscurity by the dense fog and mist, and again enjoying the delightful sunshine while at my feet all seemed an ocean of white fleecy cloud, an ocean of fearful uncertainty.

The road from this place continues to wind round the mountain [47] approaching by gradual step its top, and finding more of a level from its capacity for location to be made so, you approach the Combre [Cumbrel] or summit without any further great difficulty.

The mountain on the right presenting an easy and regular sweep, lean of all vegetation but a wirey grass and a few stunted trees about 3 or 4 feet high and rising almost abrupt from the road, which has been cut upon its side-- To the left a deep and precipitous descent of at least one thousand feet to a vally in whose windings are seen a few small conucas with their coquisas [tiles] covered tops or roofs of houses resting on

stake[s], driven into the ground, with here and there on the gradual rise from the vally east, to the Sylla, white walled cottages; these conucas are small estates where corn, peas, beans, potatoes, cabages & are raised for the market at La Guayra and Caracas.

The Cumbre or summit is before you opening a little west of South like a tunnel through the mountain, the [48] last ascent is easy and gradual and you with the mountain on the left sloped or cut down to the road, and directly above on this projecting point, stands a considerable fortification, with a curtain and wall beneath the fort sweeping the segment of a circle around its brow---

The projecting point that comes in to this place from the west, is of great height and from its top you have a command of the last sweep of the road as it ascends to the Cumbre around it--- and for a considerable distance after it passes through, on this point likewise is a small fort, presenting naked walls and a paved area with port holes--Cannon I presume were never mounted on either of these forts and their great use was in old Spanish times more as places of observation and lookout than defence-- It would be utterly impossible ever to have placed cannon of any size in this fort, at least above the size of a six pounder.

On the continuous point [49] from the east, as around the side of this mountain the road to Caracas winds for near two miles nearly due east, is built likewise about half way another fort with more walls and embrasures, and a gate, from which you have a view of the road and all travellers until it winds round a projecting point at the commencement of the descent to the city of Caracas-- The view from this point of a cloudless day is magnificent beyond description, resting on a smooth shaven turf, with an atmosphere soft and delicious, on one side of you a view of the ocean, on the other, the vally and city of Caracas, surrounded with her eternal and immovable mountains of every shape and colour, which shade and light can give, rolling and tumbling into every form, now sharp, now smooth, now deep, now shooting up into all the fantastic shapes which delight to dwell in the imagination, now barren and then covered with grass, which in the distance look like velvet, [50] then again covered with wood, whose colours vary with every sun light that lights upon them--

Indeed the variety, softness, grandur & magnificent [sic.] which at every point presents itself, and surrounds you, so fills the mind, that we often reel from the intoxication provided from drinking so deep from the cup of nature and the glory of our god. His works ly before you, and above

you, heaped and formed with so powerful and masterly
 a hand that he must be more than infidel that cannot
 cry out

Father of all in every age
 In every clime adored
 By saint by savage & by sage
 Jehovah, Jove our lord.

At the Cumbre on the right is a small rancho or house in
 which resides a tiller of the neighboring hill sides,
 for at this elevation every species of esculent [plant]
 grows and thrives well-- The road from this pass winds
 round east nearly on a level upon the side of the mountain
 that shelves off toward the vally of Caracas & Topo-- [51]
 It is from this road the Traveller gets the first view
 of Caracas, at a point of the road about 3 hundred yards
 from the Cumbre, of a clear day, you see the city just
 over a projecting corner of the mountain coming from
 the east around which the road winds and is then upon
 the descent to Caracas; but it is a little further on
 you have the most complete view embracing the entire city,
 vally, river and the general locality and scenery around:

It is a noble and beautiful picture, a country
 of evergreen, and of shades and lights, that combines
 the most wonderful harmony and beauty of nature spread
 before you, in the wild, grand, soft sylvan, waving and
 undulating hills, rude ascents and descents, combining
 as much in one view of natures efforts as is to be found

any where---

Often early in the morning in my various crossings of the mountain have I seen the city below from these points covered in a fleecy cloud, with [52] here and there a projecting spire or belfry of a church, or one side or end of the city with this mantle of air lifted from it exposing it to my view, while on the rest was wrapped in their fleecy vapour that hung like a mantle of light over the city-- At other times, covered with impenetrable darkness, some indication of rain, while all around me was sunshine-- The first spot of any note and the first house after leaving the Cumbre is a place called the Tabical celebrated for its fine production of flowers pinks and roses, which grow here to great perfection the year round, and generally prepared in posseys to sell.

A few steps below this house is the first descent at the head of a ravine that breaks off to the South West, around and down which you procede beneath a very lofty peak of the mountain, almost perpendicular over your head, nearly at this point comes down a delightful refreshing, cool stream of water and emptys itself into a trough or tray [53] of wood formed from the body of a single tree, fills it and then runs over crossing the road falling into the ravine on the right-- In the morning it is a cool and delightful spot overhung

by the mountain the sun does not reach it until late in the day, and offering to the traveller the best water and of a delightful coolness.

The road here taking a more southerly direction, ascends for the distance of three or four hundred yards in an easy and gradual manner to the next house, which is a pulperia called San Chanki a retail grocery & tavern, where eating according to the Country fashion is offered, as well as the various caratos or drinks from fomented sugar cane or brown sugar or the fruits of the Country, many of them are very pleasant;

Carato is a general name here for those undistilled drinks which are used, in what ever manner they may be made otherwise than by distillation.

The road then for 3 or 4 hundred [54] yards is near upon a level, with the ravine upon the right, with a beautiful view of the Topo road, and the waving undulating velvet hills in the distance as far as the eye can reach.

I would remark here that directly over the stream of water mentioned as falling into a trough and crossing the road, the mountain rises to a great height and nearly to a peak, that directly at nearly or the highest point a small cut is observed like a port hole, which from its position commands (a view at least) the road to Caracas and its windings to the Cumbre on its side-- It is said

this cut was made by the old Spaniards for the purpose of placing a small fieldpiece-- From this place a view is had of the ocean and of the road leading to or from La Guayra after doubling the point at the Cumbre which point is the same ridge or range of the high point here described running like a back bone, throwing the waters on the one side directly into the ocean and on the other into the Vally of Caracas & Topo. [55] Then commences its descent after turning the first projecting elvow of the mountain to the left, gradually at first, falling to several levels of red and ferriginous looking earth,³⁷ then following the ridge which it has struck in a zigzag manner and nearly due South sinks rapidly to the Vally of Caracas-- at about the height of fifteen hundred feet above the city you pass the Cross, a place erected by Catholic superstition as a place of temporary worship or chapel with a wall presenting itself to the road on one side, with brick steps ascending to it, on the left of which you ascend a cross is erected on which is a crown of coper thorns pined to it & fastened.

This like all other places that have been destroyed by the earth quake, remains unrebuilt and nothing but it's foundation is to be seen or remains; the road here descends precipitately and in very many places like a channel or cannal cut into the earth,

emerging now and then upon one side or the other in its serpentine descent.---- At about half way [56] in the descent from the cross; the vally of Caracas extending to Petare to the east and to the Vega to the west, with the mountains dividing it from el Valle del rincon and El Valle---are spread before you as a map, which from the elevation at this point are all taken in at a view, and presents a most lovely and enchanting picture of diversified beauty seldom to be met with anywhere. Petare & the Vega are two small villages or towns, the first situated at the end of the vally east co[n]tains a population of one thousand or fifteen hundred souls, the latter is an Indian village of some two or three Hundred and is located in one of the small valleys or gorges or ravines of the Mountain falling to the river Guayra that bounds the entire side of the city of Caracas South, and is of very little importance its population being very poor and composed principally of labourers-- The City of Caracas is seen too to great advantage from this place the houses and streets are distinctly marked and the belfrys and spires of the Cathedrals, [57] La Pastora, San Pablo and the ruined Belfry of La Merced, ³⁸ are seen rising from the tiled roofs of the rest of the City.

But nothing can excede the rural and verdant landscape spread at your feet, the Guayra winding its

silver thread through ever green lawns and verdu[r]e, the estates of the various proprietors divided by a hedge row of trees looking like a line chased upon canvass, and almost all of them having a neat looking house with a projecting piazza or corridor of white pillars in front situated at the base of the mountains projecting from the South throwing its waters into the Guayra, and tho' under a almost perpendicular sun, looks cool and pleasant and are really so in any part of this elevated and beautiful vally-- In a short an[d] abrupt descent from this you find yourself at the Pastora gate so called from the Church before mentioned in this quarter.

You pass in through a wall on each side to the gate and on passing [58] it, are in the suburbs of Caracas still elevated three or four hundred feet above the plaza or market place of Caracas-- the ravines commencing so immediately at the disembouging of the road at the gate and so rugged on either hand it would be a difficult matter to enter the city on horseback, without passing Pastora-- To the right through a dilapidated gate and wall you pass to the powder magazine now in a state of dilapidation, situated directly beneath or at the base of the mountain, before you enter the gate--

As grand and as imposing as the first view from



the mountain of Caracas may have been, it sinks in its appearance on entry far below what you could have believed its reality.

Many of the objects seen from above, walls and ruins looked like houses, and spires and Belfrys swelled in the distance to splendid buildings-- but it all vanishes and we are left to gaze [59] at undistinguished heaps of ruins, a quiet and lifeless city, and scarcely a noise is heard except the dull tread of the unshod mule or buro, or the ringing of bells---

I would here remark that the road from LaGuayra to Caracas, is almost correctly speaking the only road³⁹ in the Country it is built well and with some regard to science and engineering, from twelve to twenty four feet wide, and for the most part paved-- It is called Camino real or the kings high way, was cut by the orders of the King of Spain, and the great body of labourers were composed of the natives of the Country, and from the best record left of this event, near One hundred thousand died under the task or by famine from the severity of their task masters--⁴⁰ This looks almost incredible, but it is only necessary to view the road, the Country, and then the indigines themselves, to satisfy almost any person, that hard labour and slight food and cruel task masters, one of whose principles it was [60]

from the order of their king or emanating from their own relentless dispositions, to lessen by all means in their power the number of native inhabitants-- The very Stones upon which you tread and over which you pass, or may compose the ruined forts I have mentioned situated at almost inaccessible heights, have been carried one by one at all [h]ours of the day upon the heads and backs of the miserable race of native Indians under the goad & lash of cruel invaders, miserably feed, and perhaps without a drop of water for hours to cool their tongues, under a vertical sun, and as to their dress, in a perfect state of nature--Labouring in this manner to any constitution, in an atmosphere so highly rarified, with a continual change of wind, at one time cold in the extreme, at another hot, requiring a blanket at one moment and at another to take it off, and driven by task masters, up the sides of the mountains almost perpendicular, and every thing at the time in a complete state of nature, heavily loaded,[61] fed upon plantains & Bananas, is but a feeble representation of the reality of the sufferings and hardships of those unfortunate natives that were driven in like herds at the point of the bayonet time after time and drove after drove to supply the places of their more fortunate companions whom death had relived, to cut, pave and labour in the

formation of this certainly great work, fed cloathed and driven in this manner in such a climate would sink and destroy the hardest race of men that the world boasts of----

On the 24 @ June 1835 at about half past seven without any accident or much fatigue to the female part of my family whom I expected to suffer much from such a journey tho' a short one, not more in a straight line from LaGuayra to Caracas than five miles or two leagues, but by the meanders of the road from thirteen to fifteen,⁴¹ we passed the barrier, at Pastora and threaded our way [62] through narrow and crooked streets through Pastora quarter, and a long line of continuous ruins of red mud wall ruins, divergering to the left struck the head of the street called Calle del comercio, running directly across the city from mountain to mountain, down which we passed, and here met with Mr Merino my private Secretary who conducted us to the paralel street Calle de las leys [leyes] patrias in which was situated the house procured by Mr Wolf as a temporary residence, or until we could find one to suit us---25^t found us busily engaged in geting together a sufficient quantity of furniture for the house, and arranging with a person keeping a public house next to ours to send us our dinner and breakfast, as we have no kitchen to the house we occupy, it being

in ruins or so out of repair could not use it, tho we had brought a cook with us from LaGuayra--found the empty rooms sufficient for our temporary accomodation [63] and the house partly supplied with necessary furniture such as chairs a table or two & beadsteeds--The fleas the great pest of the Country we found very troublesome, finding we were new comers and richer blood than the natives they almost flayed us alive--

It is certainly very remarkable, shut up a house and keep it dark for a few days, and where by cleanliness there was not a flea before, thousands yes I might almost say millions will be generated in that time----

26

Find ourselves better satisfied and situated, having had the uper part of the house we occupy well cleaned and aired--- examined some of my furniture, found it in pretty good order-- Our front hall opens upon the street with three doors and iron balconys, extending to the floor, which gives the same an air of much comfort and renders it cool light & pleasant---

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER I

- 1 Williamson was nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate on the same day, March 3, 1835. Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate, 4 vols., (Washington 1887), IV, 480.
- 2 The Demerara is one of the four great rivers of British Guiana. For detailed description see Robert H. Schomburgk, A Description of British Guiana, Geographical and Statistical: Exhibiting Its Resources and Capabilities. Together with the Present and Future Condition and Prospects of the Colony (London, 1840), 14-15.
- 3 suaviter in modo, fortiter in re--gently in manner, strongly in deed. John Forsyth (1780-1841) was educated at Princeton and admitted to the bar in 1802. His long political career of more than thirty years began when he became Attorney General of Georgia in 1808. He was a United States senator when President Monroe appointed him minister to Spain (February, 1819). Impatient with the Spaniards, whom he disliked, he was "rebuked by the Spanish foreign office for his bad manners" while securing the ratification of the treaty ceding Florida to the United States. "He had not yet developed that suavity

and tact for which he later was known." Forsyth served as Secretary of State from July 1, 1834 to March 3, 1841. Allen Johnson (editor), Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1928--), VI, 533-535.

- 4 Roxboro, the county seat of Person County, North Carolina. Clarke F. Ansley (editor), The Columbia Encyclopedia (New York, 1940), 1536.
- 5 In his early life Forsyth married Clara, the daughter of Josiah Meigs, the first president of Franklin College (later the University of Georgia). Of his children the best-known were John, minister to Mexico in 1856; and Julia, wife of Alfred Iverson, United States Senator from Georgia. Dictionary of American Biography, VI, 535.
- 6 Sir Charles Richard Vaughan (1774-1842) was envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States from 1825 to 1835. After leaving Washington he travelled a great deal on the Continent and left detailed descriptions of his tours. He never married. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (editors), Dictionary of National Biography, 63 vols., (London, 1885-1901), LVIII, 161.

- 7 Francisco Tacon, minister resident of Spain in the United States; presented credentials as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, November 11, 1833. He died in Philadelphia, June 22, 1835. William R. Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations, 3 vols., (New York, 1925--), I, 289.

- 8 Alphonse Pageot was charge from the withdrawal of Serurier (February 23, 1835) until he himself withdrew under instructions from his government, January 2, 1836. He married Mary Lewis, daughter of Major William B. Lewis. John Spencer Bassett, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, 7 vols., (Washington, 1926-1933), V, 289, 436. When Pageot returned to France he had with him his infant son named Andrew Jackson Pageot. Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People (New York, 1942), 202.

- 9 Jackson advised Polk in 1844: "Keep Blair's Globe the administration paper, and William B. Lewis to ferret out and make known to you all the plots and intrigues hatching against your administration and you are safe." John Spencer Bassett, The Life of Andrew Jackson (New York, 1925), 400. During

Jackson's administration Lewis became second auditor of the treasury, a resident of the White House, and a member of the "Kitchen Cabinet." Dictionary of American Biography, XI, 226.

- 10 Baron Krudener succeeded de Tuij in 1827 and served until 1837. According to Henry Middleton, our minister to Russia, he was a man of wit and understanding, just and liberal, and possessed of high standing and influence in court circles in Russia. Benjamin Platt Thomas, Russo-American Relations 1815-1867 (Baltimore, 1930), 69, 95.
- 11 Known also as "Flying Dutchman" and "Red Fox of Kinderhook." Van Buren was only five feet six and slender. He dressed immaculately. By 1800 this "yellow-haired law clerk had won a local reputation for his clear thinking, clever presentation and summaries of his petty cases, extemporaneous debating, and staunch Republicanism." Dictionary of American Biography, XIX, 152-156.
- 12 Asbury Dickens was Chief Clerk in the Treasury Department for several years, and Secretary of the Treasury ad interim, June 21, 1831, to August 8, 1831. Reginald C. McGrane (editor), The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle dealing with National Affairs

1807-1884 (Boston, 1919), 53. Dickens was Acting Secretary of State in 1836. Bassett, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, V, 421.

- 13 Joseph Dennie, editor of the Portfolio. John Quincy Adams made this entry in his Diary on May 28, 1835, while at Philadelphia: "Mr. Biddle went with me also to the grave-yard of St. Peter's Church, where I saw the monument erected by the friends of Joseph Dennie to his memory, in 1819; the obituary inscription upon which was written by me." Charles Francis Adams (editor), Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, comprising portions of his Diary from 1795 to 1848, 12 vols., (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), IX, 239. See also I, 240.
- 14 Jackson wrote to Andrew Jackson, Jr., from Washington, April 14, 1835: "I have been quite unwell, and am now suffering with a very sore nose, which effects, and deranges my head, in what it may result, I cannot say, it is now very sore and painfull." Bassett, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, V, 335.
- 15 Williamson' salary was forty-five hundred dollars a year with an outfit equal to one year's salary. National Archives, Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Instructions From the Department of State, to John

G. A. Williamson et al, March 18, 1835 - October 14, 1853, (Washington, 1944), No. 5.

- 16 During Williamson's second year as Consul at La Guayra (1827) he had an unfortunate experience with Edward W. Robinson of Philadelphia because of a Vale (bond, promissory note) which Toler had received from Robinson and passed on to Williamson. When this Vale was embargoed as his property. Robinson wrote Williamson that if the Vale which he gave "last May to Toler has since been embargoed, 'tis owing to neglect which the parties interested will be able to place to its proper source." The next day Williamson knocked Robinson down when he met him in the street. Robinson retaliated by spreading reports of Williamson's neglect of duty. National Archives, Records of the Department of State, Consular Despatches, La Guaira, (hereafter referred to as File Microcopy No. 84), vol. I, letters of John G. A. Williamson, September 10, 12, 13, and 19, 1827; vol. II, January 1 and 15, 1828; June 17, 1828; and June 12, 1829.
- 17 The Astor House on Broadway between Vesey and Barclay Streets was started in 1834. See entries from the diary of Philip Hone for description of the area and progress in construction of the building.

in Arthur D. Howden Smith, John Jacob Astor Landlord of New York (Philadelphia, 1929), 272, 274-278.

18 Cf. infra, [369-372].

19 William Henry Aspinwall was one of the group of New York bankers who obtained the transisthmian railroad concession from New Granada in 1848. Their railroad, the first across the isthmus, was completed in 1855. The Atlantic terminus was known as Aspinwall or Aspinwall-Colon until 1890. Since then the town has been known as Colon. Grestie Mack, The Land Divided A History of the Panama Canal and Other Isthmian Canal Projects (New York, 1944), 149-155.

20 Sombrero passage is east of the Virgin Islands. The islands of Anguilla and St. Martin are southeast of this passage and between Sombrero and the passage by St. Christopher. This last island is south of St. Martin.

21 John M. Foster, a business man of La Guayra, served three times as Acting Consul: from May 15, 1826, until Williamson's arrival in the fall of that year; during Williamson's first absence from c. September, 1832--c. December 1833; and during Williamson's second absence, 1834-June 15, 1835. National Archives,

File Microcopy No. 84, Roll I, Letter of Enoch M. Lowrey, February 1, 1826; Letters of John M. Foster, May 15--August 2, 1826; File Microcopy No. 84, Roll III, Letters of John M. Foster, September 1, 1832--February 1, 1833; December 31, 1834. Description of Foster, infra, II, [50-51]; his business associate, John S. Manson, infra, II, [75, 81].

- 22 Infra, II, [108].
- 23 Every official in Venezuela is given the title Commander or Colonel, which is similar to our "Kentucky Colonel." Conversation with Gustavo Mibeli, student from Caracas.
- 24 Duane reported Maquitia as being "a handsome village about half a mile west of Lagwayra." Col. Wm. Duane, A Visit to Colombia, in the Years 1822 & 1823 (Philadelphia, 1826), 17.
- 25 Cf., I, 19. Duane described the forty foot causeway which lead from La Guayra to Maquitia. At Maquitia it was fifty-six feet higher than the main street of La Guayra. Ibid., 38.
- 26 Williamson uses the term "windward" to mean East. Supra, I, (16). The Windward Islands are the Lesser

Antilles south from St. Lucia to and including Trinidad. The Leeward Islands include not only the Northern chain of the Lesser Antilles but also the islands that parallel the coast of Venezuela from Margarita west to Coro. H. W. Bates (editor), Central America, The West Indies and South America (London, 1878), 141-142.

- 27 In writing about La Guayra near the end of the nineteenth century, William Eleroy Curtis said that then the city was almost as it was during the time of Queen Elizabeth as described by Charles Kingsley in Westward Ho! Venezuela A Land Where It's Always Summer (New York, 1902), 16. Curtis quotes a poem written by a former American Consul:

"Adios to thee, La Guayra, city of the dark-eyed
gente,
And of tropic muchness and dolce far niente,
Home of the wailing donkey, and the all-abounding
flies,
Manana, gracias a Dios, I bid adios to thee.

"Farwell, ye gloomy casae, mejor dicho prison
cells,
Ye narrow, crooked calles, reeking with atrocious
smells,
Ye dirty coffee-shops, and filthy pulperias,
Stinking stables, dingy patios, and fetid
carnerias [carnecerias].

"Where beggars ride on horseback like Spanish
Cavaliers,
And vagabonds perambulate like jolly gamboliers,
Where lavenderas wash your ropa when they are so
inclined,
And hotel waiters strut around with shirt-tails
out behind.

"Good-bye, ye Latin greasers; Su atento servidor,
Que vaya bien, pues adios, my boat is on the
shore.

Oh, dirty people! dirty homes! oh despicable
spot!

Departing I will bless you in your dirtiness and
rot." Ibid., 18-19.

Curtis spoke of La Guayra as being a hot and
"quaint" old city. The above poet drew a
distinction between quaintness and dirt.

28 Cf., Curtis, op. cit., 20. Also, Americo Briceño
Valero, Historia de La Guayra (Caracas, 1937),
32-33.

29 Inscription not given.

30 Venezuelans were prejudiced against the use of
stones for buildings. They feared being buried
under them during an earthquake. Earth, mixed
with a little water and slacked lime, was
preferred for buildings because they believed it to
be adhesive. However, in the Earthquake of 1812,
houses of pita as well as of stone became the
graves of many victims. Duane, Ibid., 67-68.

31 The year (which Williamson omitted) was 1586. In
that year Governor Rojas tried to deprive the
inhabitants of their right to elect their own
alcaldes, a right which they had exercised since

the founding of the town in 1560. D. José Oviedo y Baños, Historia de La Conquista Y Poblacion de la Provincia de Venezuela, 2 vols., (Madrid, 1885), II, 191-194.

- 32 Cf., John Hawkshaw, Reminiscences of South America: From Two and a Half Years' Residence in Venezuela (London, 1838), 29; James Mudie Spence, The Land of Boliver or War, Peace, and Adventure in the Republic of Venezuela, 2 vols., (London, 1878), I, 20.
- 33 A study of population statistics as presented by Codazzi shows that Williamson did not need to fear the immediate submergence of the white race. In 1800, 25 % of the population was white; about 8 %, slaves; and the rest or 67 %, mixed races and Indians. In 1839 the white element was 27 1/2 %; slave, less than 5 1/2 %; and the rest or 67 %, mixed races and Indians. The total increase in thirty-nine years was about 145,000; and of this, 60,000 or more than 40 % was white.

| 1800-----800,000 | | 1839-----945,348 | |
|-------------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| Blancos | 200,000 | Blancos | 260,000 |
| Razas mistas incluyendo | | Razas mistas | 414,151 |
| los indios civilizados | 406,000 | Esclavos | 49,782 |
| Esclavos | 62,000 | Indios civilizados | 155,000 |
| Indios catequizados | 37,000 | Indios | |
| Indios independientes | 83,000 | catequizados | 14,000 |
| | 800,000 | Indios | |
| | | independientes | 52,415 |
| | | | 945,348 |

Augustin Codazzi, Resumen de la Geografía de Venezuela (Paris, 1841), 7. Von Humboldt's figures for 1800 are similar although he places the total population at 900,000. Alexander von Humboldt, Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America During the Years 1799-1804, 3 vols., (London, 1852), I, 393. An English engineer complained about the thinness of the population in the 1830's (due to the Wars of Independence and earthquakes) and the difficulty of getting laborers. John Hawkshaw, Reminiscences of South America: From Two and a Half Years' Residence in Venezuela (London, 1838), 205-206.

- 34 Cf., Duane, Visit to Colombia, 37-39.
- 35 Colic and Diarrhaea Scouring. James Law, Text Book of Veterinary Medicine, 5 vols., (Ithaca, 1905), II, 311-312, 316-317.
- 36 Claude Lorrain (1600-1682). French landscape painter. His real name was Claude Gellée. Berthelot, Hartwig, Derenbourg, etc. (editors), La Grande Encyclopedee, 31 vols., (Paris, 1885-1905), XXII, 535-536.

- 37 There are indications of iron ore in the mountains along the coast from Coro to Cumana. Codazzi, Resumen de la Geografía de Venezuela, 153. Because of lack of transportation, knowledge of the valuable iron deposits have meant little to Venezuelans. They are now under lease to the Bethlehem Steel Company. Henry J. Allen, Venezuela a Democracy (New York, 1941), 78, 128.
- 38 San Pablo, built in 1580, is the oldest of the churches mentioned. The Cathedral of Venezuela was changed from Coro to Caracas in 1637. About the same time the Convent of La Merced was built. These three buildings were ruined by earthquake in 1641 and rebuilt only to be damaged again by earthquake in 1766 and 1812. La Pastora was built during the years 1742-1745. José Felix Blanco and Ramón Aspurúa, (editors), Documentos para la historia de la vida publica del Libertador de Colombia, Peru, y Bolivia, 14 vols., (Caracas, 1875-1877), I, 41, 43-45, 58.
- 39 There was a mountain path used for centuries by the Indians before the coming of the Spaniards. Sir Francis Drake used this path when he sacked Caracas in 1595. Governor Osoria had called out

all the able-bodied men to defend the camino real, so Drake encountered no opposition. Rafael María Baralt and Ramón Díaz, Resumen de la Historia de Venezuela, 3 vols., (Paris, 1841), I, 237-238. Col. Duane was disturbed by the absence of "wheel-carriages" until he perceived that roads must precede carriages. Duane, Visit to Colombia, 28-29.

- 40 Tradition says that this "old road of Governor Osorio" cost the lives of a hundred thousand Indians. Briceño Valero, Historia de La Guaira, 41. It may be that the cruelty of the Germans in Venezuela has been confused with that of the Spanish. The policy of Spain was to protect the Indians. Enslavement of Indians was prohibited in 1530 and in 1590 Procurador Simón Bolívar went to Spain for permission to introduce Negro slaves in order to alleviate the condition of the Indians. Blanco y Azpurúa, Documentos, I, 36, 42. Venezuela was controlled by the Welseres, rich bankers of Augsburg, from 1528 to 1546. The cruelties of their agents surpassed anything of which the Spanish were guilty. Curtis, Venezuela, 4; Baralt y Díaz, Resumen de la Historia de Venezuela, I, 147-170.

- 41 From Caracas to La Guayra in a straight line the distance is one and two-thirds leagues (about six miles); and by road, three and one-half leagues (about thirteen miles). Codazzi, Resumen de la Geografía, 371.

[CHAPTER II]

[JUNE 27 TO JULY 8, 1835]

//
27.

To day Sir Robert Ker Porter¹ the [64] British resident Consul called on us, I have known Sir Robert for 9 years, he is brother to the Authoresses Miss Jane² and Maria Porter-- is a painter by profession and following after his adventures as an officer in the British Army in Spain in 1806, 7-8,³ as an attache to the British Legation to Russia, there painted himself into favor, married a Russian Princess, by whom he had a daughter, travelled over some part of Russia & Georgia painted the same, left the Country, wife daughter & all returned to England was knighted by George the fourth and then sent as Consul to Caracas--

As to his travels I refer any person who has curiosity enough to the Reviews of his travels for his literary standing,⁴ and to the Mayor and Alderman of the city of London to whom he presented a painting for his standing as an artist--

Sir Robert is now at least sixty years old, but carries his age well, has quite an English face, of good person, about 5 feet 10 1/2 inches, rather slender [65] with a very peculiar formation of the

forehead, it running up to a point from the eye brows, forming a very obtuse head; He is rather gentlemanly in his manners and deportment, has been residing here near ten years and hardly speaks enough Spanish to ask for a glass of water-- mixes with no native society and with not more than one foreign family, he is therefore tho' a long resident almost a stranger in the land, and a stranger he certainly is to the manners and habits of the people only so much as he may know of them as he may have imbibed from others, of their likes or dislikes to the people or the Country--- Like all Englishman he likes only English, eating, drinking, sleeping and manners-- His politeness to me has been at times agreeable, at others did not know me, that is when I was Consul, but they have a little changed just now, as I have been advanced a distinct grade above him by my Gov^t, he is much more [66] my humble servant than formerly--the homage or respect I take to the office and not to me, because if ever I deserved his attention as my plain self or as Consul possessing no privileges, I certainly deserved it as much then as now-- Straws shew which way the wind blows, and he who is rising is never in want of friends or sycophants-- Man, I am clearly satisfied, is not esteemed because he is humanity, but only in proportion as circumstance

or accident may elevate him above the rest of mankind, so he finds worshipers or friends or attention-- As an humble worm with all the virtues that have ordained human nature, while living he is unnoticed if misfortune cloud his sun, and tho in death he may be canonised, his living testimony is against the benevolence, humanity or virtue of our nature.

Sir Robert sat a considerable time in expectation I suppose of seeing Mrs. W., but fatigue, change of climate &, keep her in her own room, he therefore had to depart without this gratification.

27[#]

[67] Wrote a note to day to the Secretary of State⁵ and secretary of Hacienda or Treasury, informing him of my arrival, and appointment as chargé d' affairs by the President of the United States to the Republic of Venezuela, and asking when and at what time I might have the honor of presenting to him my credentials or letter of credence as such;

He answered me immediately and appointing the[#]
30 inst. for that purpose that the president would receive me at that time--Finding by the tenor of his note he had misunderstood mine, by saying in reply the[#]
President would receive me on the 30 --I sent

immediately my card by my Secretary Mr F. Merino requesting an interview to settle preliminaries and form of introduction-- he appointed the 29[#] for that purpose---

This day passed off like the rest with the exception of a visit from the Hamburg Consul general Mr George Grambich; ⁶ a gentleman of light hair and eyes, speaks and writes French Spanish and English pretty well [68] with an unusual share of (German) Confidence and great pretensions to the man of universal information, but as he has been long known to me, nothing in his deportment manners or importance was new to me-- our conversation general, in a short time took his leave--

[#]
28

This day still found us engaged in making ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit, called on Francisco Rivas ⁷ to look at his house which he had offered to Mr Wolf, found it might answer, and which he at one time offered for \$40 per month, after satisfying myself about it and feeling great anxiety to get into my own house offered him \$50 for it, he refused or rather required some time to answer, and I left him to make up his mind in the meantime looked around for others--no calls to day

29

To day being sunday is a visiting day here as it is in the goodly city of brotherly love Phil^a. Had several [69] calls but from no person whom I could care to record in my book, a dull day except so far as looking from our balconys at the pious citizens going to church or returning, dressed in their suit of black and mantillias [sic.] a sort of half lace & silk long shawl carelessly thrown over the head and resting up a very large (and beautiful as a piece of manufactory) comb of Tortoise shell reaching the middle behind and falling over the shoulders and folded carelessly over the arms & then falling in front with a piece of lace reaching from the Comb in front to the breast below, the whole giving to the person a singular and unique appearance but rather elegant and graceful;

This church dress constitutes an article of as much necessity to a woman in this country as her daily food, and they will forego any thing to make this shew at church of black silk and lace-- [70]

By appointment this day the 29[#] Mr. Michelana Secretary of Exterior Relations called on me upon the subject of the necessary form to be observed in my reception tomorrow as Chargé d'affairs near Venezuela, from the tenor of his note the President having fixt

the [#]30. I stated to him, my impression was that as charge he should credit me and from the fact of my letter from the Secretary of State of the United States being directed to him that is to the Secretary of State for the Republic of Venezuela, that therefore the usual form was to be received first by him and then by him introduced to the President and his secretaries, and in referring to Elliotts ⁸ diplomatic guide which I have found a very useful book it agreed with the usages and customs there laid down; This being a very simple and easy way of doing things and sustained by Precedent Mr Michelana agreed to it. After a few minutes of general conversation he left the room---- [71]

[#]
30 June

By yesterday's arrangement I commenced to prepare myself for the ceremony of introduction to day as Charge to the Secretary of State and President of the Republic of Venezuela Doct⁹ José María Vargas--

The dress on this occasion by instructions is left pretty much at the discretion of the officer, still by the same it is necessary to put on some distinction, The simplest recommended I adopted which was an entire suit of Black with gold stars on end of each side of the collar, small sword with steel mounting, white scabbard and white belt, and a three cornered chapeau

with cockade and eagle completed my official dress--
 As the introduction by appointment was at 12 oclock by half after 11 I was dressed and in a few minutes thereafter an officer from the department called for me, and in a few [minutes] thereafter with Mr Felix Merino my private secretary, we left for the Gov^t [72] house where we arrived situated only one square from my residence in & about the appointed time, the Secretary rec^d me in his office to whom I presented my letter of credence from the Secretary of State, after a few minutes conversation he rose and conducted me into the hall of the Gov^t where was assembled the four Secretaries combined in two officers Michelana Secretary of Exterior & Treasury, and Interior interino, & Gen Conde Secretary of War and Marine-- Having known Doct^r Vargas for many years, some little form was done away with in introducing at least so much as concerned us privately, reserving every thing necessary as a public and ministerial matter--

He received me very kindly and conducted me to a seat on his right after exchanging a few words of mere civility, my character having been announced to him as follows----

Mr President

"Having been appointed the first representative

"of the United [73] States to this Government, I am
 "extremely happy on the present occasion to congratulate
 "your Excellency on your elevation to the chief Magistracy
 "of the Republic of Venezuela, and of that Peace and
 "prosperity which pervades the land.

"I can assure your Excellency that the friendly
 "sentiments of the people and Government of the United
 "States which have been felt and manifested on all
 "occasions for the People and Republic of Colombia are
 "alike and equally felt for the citizens and Republic
 "of Venezuela, and that it is the sincere desire of
 "the President of the United States, that those sentiments
 "should be strengthened and perpetuated, and so far as
 "it may depend on him, that nothing will be left undone
 "on his part to forward so desirable an object.

"I therefore as the representative of the
 "United States near this Government could not in any
 "way manifest those feelings of friendship or render
 "myself acceptable to the Government of the [74]
 "United States or the President, than by such deportment
 "on my part, as may tend to gain the esteem of your
 "Excellency and maintain and strengthen the bonds of
 "friendship which exist between the two Countrys.

To which He replied

"It is extremely pleasing to the people and

"Gov^t of Venezuela to hear you manifest such benevolent
 "and friendly feelings as you have this moment expressed
 "toward them from the people and Gov^t and the
 "Venezuelans towards the Gov^t and people of the United
 "States

"In the course of events it has fallen to the
 "lot of the people whom you represent to be the first
 "to undertake the glorious career of Independance and
 "Liberty, and the other nations of America after having
 "followed your glorious example have consequently
 "considered her the best model in the difficult under-
 "taking [75] of establishing their Governments.

" Thus as Americans and united by a similarity
 "of Governments and by situation and as contemporaries
 "so are we also by analagous institutions, established
 "upon the basis of Justice and reason.

" These sympathies, these natural relations,
 "united and strengthened by mutual intent and the best
 "guarantees of a faithful and lasting friendship
 "between all the nations of America

" Venezuela also from the circumstances of her
 "locality and her being one of the countries most
 "connected by intercourse with the Gov^t and people
 "of the United States, will consider it her duty to
 "appreciate these important relations as they deserve,

"and cultivate them with the greatest care and
"attention.

" It is likewise highly satisfactory to this
"Gov^t that the choice of the Gov^t at Washington for the
"discharge of her affairs here, has devolved on you
"whose attainments, previous friendly [76] intercourse
"with and well merited esteem of the people of this
"Country, will form one of the most pleasing ties in
"life, and be conducive to carry into effect the
"afforesaid international relations."

This having ended my introduction after a few
words of ordinary conversation and civility [I] rose
and after exchanging a few words shook hands bowed and
took my leave-- It would perhaps be as well in this
place to say a few words of the Secretary at War
and Marine Gen^l Condé is a native of [blank] in
Venezuela and has risen to his present elevation
during the wars of the revolution and the establishment
of the Republic of Venezuela-- he is a man of about
five feet 8 or 9 inches in height, slender, with a
very ruff skin or marks of the Small pox, and of a
colour between a bronze and a white, but with nothing
striking either in manners or appearance [77] and I
do not think has sufficient Talents for the Station
he holds--he may be shrewd and cunning, but there is

nothing manly or intelectual in his deportment or appearance. The subsequent Conduct of this Gen^l will go somewhat to prove that my opinion of him is not far out of the way, and which will be detailed under the proper date.

Mr Santos Michelana the Secretary of State & Treasury, is a Gen^l of fine appearance, good manners and address, with good pretensions to the appointments he holds; I believe clearly a white man, with good complexion--he is laborious in discharge of his duties, but I am affraid has selected too much from the history, policy and general Character of the Gov^t of the United States with a view to sustain the same views here, when scarce a thought or an action of the inhabitants here corresponds, or would aid him in his liberal and patriotic ideas-- It may however turn out well for those who come after him, and can he succede in putting down one single [78] custom or habit, that may oppose his views and bring it ultimately into use, he will have deserved much in the memory and esteem of his Country and Gov^t---

A very extensive field is opened to the utmost philanthropy of humanity in this Country, in politics as well in a general moral regeneration of these people, but it is not the work of a day nor a year, it belongs

to another generation, the seed may be sown now, and by a new system of education producing new ideas, the crop may be reaped by the grandchildren of the present population.

And I am induced to believe that no one man in the Country is working harder to implant improvements in the Moral and social condition of Venezuela than Santos Michelana-- It may be a mistaken zeal, the present day may think so, but if he makes one radical reform he deserves well of his country, and those who come after him can alone appreciate his merits and do his memory justice. [79]

1 July 1835

This day round me still in the same house, but feeling great anxiety to get out, that I might honor the 4[#] July by asking a few friends to dine with me on that day-- but find it impossible. Visited to day by the Editor of a small paper called "El Nacional" Mr Briceño and because there are many of the same name and he being about the colour of a well baked ginger cake, is called negro Briceño-- he is certainly a coloured man, his hair nearly white and about 50 to 55 years old-- He is a man of good manners and address (I might here say he has visited France) and converses well upon almost any subject, in public declamation he

is quick and delivers himself with considerable ease--
 At the time of the meeting of the Citizens in the
 Convent of San Francisco when they declared Venezuela
 free from the Gov^t of Colombia, on that occasion he
 took rather middle ground, some what neuter, and
 acquitted himself with some credit, but finally
 accorded with the act entirely. [80]

On this occasion he was accomp^d by his son, who
 speaks a little English, darker if possible than
 himself, they brought in Mrs. Renshaw the wife of
 the Consul of the U States at LaGuayra ¹⁰ whom they
 overtook on their way-- after a few words of general
 complimentary conversation they departed;

¹¹ Mr Leandro Palacios ¹² and Andres Ibarra
 called, they both speak a little English, Palacios
 was for several years Consul General of Colombia in
 the United States, cut quite a figure there, rendered
 himself notorious, and finally left and went to Paris,
 where he whiled away a giddy existence of several
 years, spent all his means and has returned again to
 this City of his birth to wear out the old remnants
 of decency which means once gave him in Europe, and
 play the half savage Venezuelan Parisian before his
 wondering countrymen.

He is a man of extreme polite address good

manners and good appearance, but he has not sufficient ballast for his sails--

His companion and relation Andrias Ibarra, has some notoriety, as being a relation [81] of Gen^l Bolivar, and was one of his aids at the time of the attempt at assassination of him in 1828 at Bogota--¹³ in which affair he rec^d a wound from the assassin Carrejo who had just shot Col^l Ferguson the other aid of Bolivar, in his sword arm which has disabled him forever in the powerful use of the right arm-- He is small thin dark cunning malicious looking half man boy--dark complexion heavy thick hair, sharp censorious countenance, much assumption and I cannot believe is overstocked with brains--was partly Educated in Phil^a Speaks English--a very diminutive man in every way--I shall have to speak of him again.

After various inquiries of [by] Mr Palacios of Phil^a the U States & & they made their bow and departed

2 July 1835

This day passed without any thing particular except an invitation from the President of Venezuela Doct Jose Vargas to dine at his house on the [82] on the 5[#] . the day of the declaration of Independance in Venezuela 1811-- which I accepted--had several visitors but none

worth noting in this diary.

r
3 July

Find it impossible to get out of the house we are in, rec^d a very singular note from Pancho or Francisco Rivas, the Gen^t whose house I suppose I had bargained for before I left LaGuayra--his note offered me his house at \$60 p month but I must take for 4 years and pay yearly rent in advance, or 70? p month and keep it as long as I please: This was exceedingly kind in Mr Rivas an attempt to take advantage of me by kindness-- I answered him saying I was extremely sorry he had not assured me on this subject before this time, that I had now partially treated for a house and therefore could not take his house.

This said Rivas is a very cunning fellow has lived in Lima, Chili and Buenos Ayres, and lastly a representative of some kind to England from some one [83] of these countrys, has been engaged in all their revolutions first one side and then on the other, finally returned to this city his native place, married¹⁴ the daughter of an Old Patriot Martin Tovar and has remained stationary ever since about 8 or 9 years-- He spent some time in the U States in New York as a merchant, or engaged in some kind of Traffic----

He is of common stature dark complexion, very

black hair & eyes rather repulsive at times, but generally with a smirk upon his face-- eyes every body suspiciously, casts rapid and hasty glances, and is very fond of a sly way of entering houses or visiting people--nothing open & manly about him--He is nevertheless a man of Talents and will write but I believe will not [take?] all parts, for any party, and holds a bold insinuating quill--

I met him however upon his own ground and upon his own system of intercourse in my answer, and [84] thus we parted, he to keep his house and [I?] to look for another, for indeed after this political manuver of his I would not have taken his house at any price--

t
4 July 1835

This day fifty nine years ago, the chains of bondage political I mean were broken that bound the colonies of North America to their unnatural mother, and that document was published which has thrown its light, its heat & motion to the remotest corner of the earth.

The sleep of nations in chains were broken, and man stood erect & redeemed by the power of his virtue intelligence and patriotism--The divine right of Kings ceased to become a watchword among freeman, and slaves were told their rights were equal with the rest of mankind, their chains fell off and oppressed man stood

erect as the arbiter of his own political & moral destiny-- I was in hopes this day to have some of my friends to dine with [85] me, in commemoration of the day, but not having got a house had to content myself, by dining alone with my family--Had several visits but from persons none worth noting here.

t
5 July

An important day in Venezuela, the day rendered sacred by a declaration very similar in all its parts to that of the UStates, declaring she owed no further allegiance to the Crown of Spain. This declaration was made on the 5th July 1811¹⁵ --But there was an immense difference between the principles that activated the two people, such as would scarcely admit of a comparison-- In North America we contended for right and Justice and our impulse was patriotism, resistance to oppression-- In Venezuela, the great body of the people felt no interest, had really no interest in a change of things, and many of the principle movers of those that subsequently took an active part in the events of the times [86] were governed by motives, as their subsequent history proves, of personal and interested ambition-- Those sacred rights which belong to man as a free agent morally & politically, were unknown, or if known were only put in requisition to further their own views of

interest or ambition.

Intelligence in this Country is confined to a very small part of the population, and there having only existed two classes of people the master & slave or rich man & poor man, and under such a despotic government as Spain, they maintained here all that oppression and ignorance that could only sustain their views and hold the Country as a part of the Spanish monarchy, forgetting that justice retributive justice must in the course of human events at last come & come when it would must fall with great and heavy violence on the oppressors--Such has marked the results in South America generally, the King of Spain the holy Jesuit [37] Ferdinand 7th¹⁶ has lost the brightest jewels of his crown, and his minions and the oppressors of the poor have met their reward in the losses of property & lives in the unnatural war which has been carried on until they have King & all been disowned & expelled [from] the Country--But alas what have they left, ignorance, superstition bigotry & pride, and a general lack of all the moral & social virtues that adorn mankind or render governments or nations powerful and respected--

There is an intelligence simply in reading & bad writing, but of the world, its geography, customs habits and manners Laws or Governments they have but an

imperfect knowledge and of the latter the most superficial-- They have not keep pace with the advance state of improvements neither in arts, sciences or Government, and their general cosmographic intelligence is confined alone to Roman & Grecian times-- It [89] is true they talk and not infrequently write of modern man and things, and are conversant with the characters of some great names in ethics, morals, philosophy, science and Literature, but it is a mere gaze through a mist of undistinguished light, without a foundation sufficient in education of modern lights to understand or appreciate the intelligence they speak of--This is a wide subject and admits of many shades & lights which I will reserve for some other part of my personal narrative--

The President Don^t Jose Vargas had invited me to dinner on this day several days previous at 5 oclock.

At the appointed hour dressed myself in full dress save sword & chapeau, and went when I found a great proportion of his guests arrived, and as it may be of some importance to me or some other person I will record their names in this running narrative of mine--to Wit José M. Vargas President, Andrias Navarté [89] vice President, Santos Michelana Secretary of Exterior Relations & Treasury or Hacienda, Marquis del

¹⁷
 Toro (par excellence for now there is no title) Antonio
¹⁸
 L Guzman, Gen^l Carabaño, Col^l Cruz Paredes, Col
 Avindano, Manuel Echandia, Gen^l Alvarez, Juan Pablo
¹⁹
 Huize, Padre Prior in place of the Bishop who was
²⁰
 absent, Vicente Lecuna, Gen^l Peñaño, Sir Robert
 Ker Porter British Consul, George Grambich Hamburg
 Consul, Auguste Mehelin French Consul.

The President placed himself in the center of
 the right as we entered of the Table, myself on his
 right, the British & Hamburg Consuls on his left, and
 for what reason I cannot say the French Consul sat
 directly in front of Sir Robert Ker Porter and to the
 Right of the Vice President who sat in front of the
 President; the dinner was very pretty well served up,
 we were much incomoded for room, the space aloted
 [90] for each being very small— It passed off very
 well, without Toasts which is a most uncommon thing at
 a dinner party in Venezuela--and we retired about 8
 oclock, taking personally my leave of the President
 & french leave of the rest--Ere my arrival at my house
 the President had sent my wife a large bowl of the
 crystalized dry sweetmeats which they certainly make
 very well in Caracas--they were immediately forwarded
 to the States [to] a little niece of hers--

t
6 July 1835.

The entertainment of yesterday had not a very serious effect upon me, as I drank but little wine, and eat very little of anything--This day read^d a very singular note from Mr Rivas whose house I had first looked at on my arrival at Caracas, offering his at 60\$ per month for 4 years and to be paid in advance, or 70\$ p month paid in advance for 6 months-- with all his cunning he could not overmatch me, I ans^d him very politely, & I have not [91] seen him since----

t
7 July

Employed in looking out for a house suitable for my family, practically agreed to take the house of Francisco Montilla situated at the corner of Margarita & Lindo streets, called Esquina de llaguno--It is a very large roomy and convenient house with a most superb fountain of water pouring out of a column adjoining the kitchen and convenient for all purposes, has two Corals or back inclosures two excellent stables, and all in excellent repair, the house contains two halls, with a front on Margarita Street of near sixty feet, as you enter a suit of rooms composed of a small front hall with two very large windows and four bead rooms falling off on the right side to the extremity of the

back of the house--on your left beneath a corridorr which extends entirely around the whole interior area of the entry & sides, you fall [92] into the large hall about 45 feet long by 18 to 20 broad, neatly white washed & painted as high as the chairboarding-- a bead room at the extreme end and corner, this side fall off with a double suit of beadrooms & dressing rooms-- and the end of which in a small opening uncovered rises a flight of steps to a second floor, composed of handsome room with balconys opening upon Calle del Lindo with a small side room attached. beneath this are two large store rooms & a passage leading to a door opening into this street--In front as you enter are the servants & ironing rooms--the whole house composing 20 rooms--the corridoor as you enter forms a square which is flaged and is called a patio, the projections of which with the eaves of the house throw all the water by spouts directly into the Patio which is paved upon an inclined palin to the centre, the water runing through a perforated stone [93] in the centre into a drain and is carried of, the Corridor is supported by twelve massive round & square pillars white washed and built of mompoteria or brick & stone & lime and sand, which gives the entrance an elegant and airy appearance--The breadth of the Corridor is

on 3 sides is near twelve feet the other about 9--
affording a beautiful promenade in bad weather--all the
rooms have brick floors-- It pleased my wife very much
and after our visit came to a determination of taking
out, tho' we could not come to an entire understanding
about the matter--Montilla acting somewhat the character
of a speculator in the matter upon my necessities.

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER II

- 1 Sir Robert Ker Porter (1775-1842) early gained a reputation as a painter of altar-pieces and battle scenes. He went to Russia in 1804 as historical painter to the czar, then travelled in Finland and Sweden where Gustavus IV knighted him in 1806. He was in Spain with Sir John Moore in 1808. Returning to Russia he married Mary, daughter of Prince Theodor von Scherbatoff (1812). There was one child by this marriage, a daughter, who became the wife of M. Kikine, a Russian army officer (1837). Sir Robert's wife died of typhus fever in St. Petersburg, September, 1826. Sir Robert was in England in 1813 when he was knighted by the Prince Regent. Four years later he went to Persia. In 1826 he was appointed British Consul to Venezuela and was rewarded for his services there with a knight commandership of the Order of Hanover. He left Venezuela in 1841, returned to St. Petersburg, and died there, May 4, 1842. Dictionary of National Biography, XLVI, 190-192.
- 2 Jane Porter (1776-1850) and Anna Maria Porter (1780-1832) wrote many books. The younger sister developed her powers of expression earlier than Jane. Maria's first book Artless Tales was

published in 1795, while Jane did not publish Thaddeus of Warsaw until 1803. This book was translated into several languages. Scottish Chiefs and The Pastor's Fireside are among her best known books. The sisters published together Tales Round a Winter Hearth (1826). Ibid., XLVI, 182-184.

- 3 This is an error because Sir John Moore was not sent to Spain until 1808. F. P. Napier, History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France from A. D. 1807 to A. D. 1814, 5 vols., (New York, no date), I, 131. He died there in 1809. R. W. Seton-Watson, Britain in Europe 1789-1914 A Survey of Foreign Policy (Cambridge, 1938), 25.
- 4 Accounts of Sir Robert's wanderings are found in his Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden (1808); Letters from Portugal and Spain (1809); Narrative of the Late Campaign in Russia (1813); and Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc. during the years 1817-1820 (1821-22). Dictionary of National Biography, XLVI, 191-192.
- 5 Santos Michelena was Consul to England in 1826. He was Venezuela's only representative at Bogota in 1833 when Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador agreed upon the settlement of the debt contracted

by Great Colombia. Lecuna, Cartas del Libertador, X, 442; Jesús María Henao and Gerardo Arrubla (J. Fred Rippy, editor), History of Colombia (Chapel Hill, 1938), 437-438.

- 6 Description and unfortunate complications in Caracas, infra, II, (42-43); refuses permission to Williamson to import goods free of duty, II, [60].
- 7 Brief biography, infra, [82]. Rivas is frequently mentioned in Bolivar's correspondence, usually as an adviser. He was one of those who suggested (1826) that Bolivar destroy the Republic, assume a crown, and make himself the sovereign king. Lecuna, Cartas del Libertador, II, 384, 97; VI, 118; VII, 348.
- 8 Jonathan Elliot, Junior, American Diplomatic Code: Embracing a Collection of Treaties and Conventions between the United States and Foreign Powers, From 1778 to 1834; with an Abstract of Important Judicial Decisions on Points connected with our Foreign Relations; Also a Concise Diplomatic Manual, containing a Summary of the Law of Nations, and other Diplomatic Writings on Questions of International Law, 2 vols., (Washington, 1834).

- 9 The "modest" Dr. José María Vargas defeated General Santiago Mariño, General Carlos Soublette, and Dr. Diego Bautista Urbaneja in the presidential election early in 1835. Vargas accepted the office because of his sense of public duty, but before three months were up he sent in his resignation which Congress refused to accept. M. Páez Pumar (editor), Compendio de la Historia de Venezuela (Caracas, 1916), 113; Baralt y Díaz, Resumen de la Historia de Venezuela, 366-370. Vargas, a civilian, had been supported by rich landowners and merchants who wanted to decrease the power of the military caste. However, the defeated military candidates soon took part in a revolution which demanded "reform." Infra, [94] et seq. For description of Vargas, Infra, II, [46].
- 10 Benjamin Renshaw was nominated Consul for La Guayra by Andrew Jackson on December 28, 1835; and the appointment was approved by the Senate, January 26, 1836. Executive Proceedings of Senate, IV, 498, 508. Renshaw actually received his commission in April, 1835. Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Letter of John Forsyth to John G. A. Williamson, April 16, 1835.

- 11 José Leandro Palacios was one of Bolívar's generals who took an active part in the revolutionary army until sent as agent to the United States (1823) and then to France. Palacio's instructions were to approach the French Minister of Foreign Affairs with respect to the monarchical project, and to suggest that upon the death of Bolívar a prince of a European dynasty might be selected to rule as king of Colombia. William Spence Robertson, France and Latin-American Independence (Baltimore, 1939), 500; Charles Francis Adams (editor), Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, 12 vols., (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), VI, 142, 144. While in France Palacios visited for Bolívar such people as Benjamin Constant, De Pradt, and Lafayette. Lacuna, Cartas del Libertador, IX, 31, 41-44, 282.
- 12 Andrés Ibarra (1807-1875) was one of Bolívar's favorite aides. He was educated in the United States, then went to Europe, and returned to Colombia in 1826 when he enlisted in the revolutionary army. Espasa-Calpe, Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana, 70 vols., (Madrid, 1905-1930), XXVIII, 811-812. The distinguished American journalist and author, T. R. Ybarra, describes this member of his family in his Young Man of Caracas (New York,

1941), 213-215.

- 13 One of the last attempts to assassinate Bolívar occurred on the night of September 25, 1828. He was asleep in the Government Palace in Bogotá when it was attacked by a platoon of artillerymen led by Pedro Carujo. Bolívar, with the aid of his mistress Manuela Sáenz, escaped through a window of his bedroom and hid under a bridge until it was safe to make himself known. Carujo and his men killed several of the palace guard. In the passage outside Bolívar's room, Carujo killed William Ferguson, an Irish aide-de-camp. Young Ibarra, whom Bolívar affectionately called "Ibarrita," tried to stop the attack but was wounded by Lt. López of the artillery (not by Carujo). Lemly, Bolívar, 346-348; Francisco González Guinán, Historia Contemporánea de Venezuela, 15 vols., (Caracas, 1909-1925), I, 247; Felipe Larrazábal, Vida y Correspondencia General del Libertador, 2 vols., (New York, 1887), II, 448-450.
- 14 The "venerable patriot" Martín Tovar (one of the signers of Venezuela's Declaration of Independence) took part in the Battle of Carabobo (Venezuela, June 24, 1821); the battle of Junín (Peru, August 6,

1824); and Ayacucho (Peru, December 9, 1824). The battle of Ayacucho ended on the American continent the Wars for Independence which had begun April 18, 1776 at Lexington. Lecuna, op. cit., II, 356-359; IV, 176-177; 224-225.

- 15 The Declaration of Independence of the United States and that of Venezuela are very similar. They are about equal in length; the phrasing of ideas in many cases is the same; grievances are listed; and the declarations are dignified and in accord with "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." There is one striking difference. In the 4th of July declaration there is no suggestion that past injuries will ever be forgotten. The Venezuelan declaration says: "we generously forget the long series of ills, injuries, and privations, which the sad right of conquest has indistinctly caused. . . .; and drawing a veil over the 300 years of Spanish dominion in America, we will now only present to view the authentic and well-known facts," Interesting Official Documents Relating to The Limited Provinces of Venezuela (London, 1812), 5.
- 16 Pope Pius VII restored the Jesuit Order in 1814. They were not re-instated in Spain until after the

1820 Revolution. By 1823 they had opened many schools. Since this happened during the reign of Ferdinand, it is probably the reason for calling him "the holy Jesuit." Espasa, op. cit., XXVIII, 2735-2736.

- 17 Francisco Rodríguez del Toro (the Marqués), uncle of Teresa, Bolívar's wife, was an amiable, luxury-loving man. Thomas Rourke, Man of Glory Simón Bolívar (New York, 1939), 24. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and took an active part in the revolutionary campaigns from 1810 until independence was won. Lecuna, op. cit., X, 363.
- 18 Antonio Leocadio Guzmán was sent by the partisans of monarchy near the end of 1825 to Peru to propose to Bolívar a plan such as Caesar or Napoleon had adopted. Henao and Arrubla, History of Colombia, 383; Lecuna, op. cit., X, 179. He organized the liberal party in 1840. Guzmán Blanco, dictator of Venezuela for eighteen years (1870-1898), was the son of Antonio Leocadio. Dana Gardner Munro, The Latin American Republics, A History (New York, 1942), 397, 400. A. L. Guzmán was Secretary of Interior in 1835. Documentos Anales de Venezuela, I, 408-409.

- 19 Juan Pablo Huizi was a member of the House of Representatives and one of the committee sent to bring President Vargas from Saint Thomas where he had been exiled during the Revolution of July 8, 1835. La Academia Nacional de la Historia, Documentos Para Los Anales de Venezuela, 4 vols., (Caracas, 1891), I, 418.
- 20 Vicente Lecuna (1790-1862) was a military and political figure in Venezuela. He had been in the campaigns of 1819 in New Granada, and those of 1820-21 in Venezuela. After the second battle of Carabobo (June 24, 1821) he remained in Valencia as quartermaster-general. He was a senator during Páez' first term as president. Espasa, op. cit., XXIX, 1296.

[CHAPTER III]

[JULY 8 TO OCTOBER 19, 1835]

8 July

A day long to be remembered in Caracas, arose at about half past six oclock, and after some moments of delay, opened my door on a balcony which was then about 7, heard the [94] unusual sound of a drum at that hour which in a few minutes passed down my street to the corner below called Esquina del Palma, which I immediately discov^d was a Bando, which consists of about 20 military at the head of whom at various corners of the Streets are read the decrees or orders of the Gov^t --The doors of almost every house I observed were closed a very unusual circumstance, but could not for the moment imagine what had taken place--Some person passing at the moment whom I [k]new informed [me] a revolution had taken place, which he recounted in a few moments-- It came like a thunderbolt on me never suspecting such a thing, not dreaming of disaffection of any kind, it can well be imagined what were my sensations but would have been difficult to describe my feelings-- In a few minutes I was informed that a body of men were at the house of the President and no person

permitted to visit him [95] that he was in fact a prisoner in his own house with a guard of only about 20 men under the command of Col Carujo--I immediately sallied out for the news & found great confusion every where, wondering citizens, peaceably congregated together at the various corners of the streets in the vicinity of the Presidents and the Gov^t house, looking on with as much astonishment as myself, without one effort made or seem to be making to resist the military usurpation which had just succeeded in making captive the President and Vice President and subverting the Constitution, Laws & Government of Venezuela. It appears the conspirators had held their meetings at the Marquis de Toros under the semblance of partaking of his liberal & cheerful table, and the night of the 7th had met at the house of Gen^l Diego Ibarra¹ in Calle Carabobo one square above the Gov^t House, & from it at about two o'clock they had sallied out [96] to the number of 13 to their various posts, the soldiers I suppose at least a part of the most confidential had been informed, in a few hours afterwards they marched to the various points taking prisoner such as they wished possession of the Gov^t house & officers & imprisoning the President & Vice President in their own house.

The principle leaders in this affair were Gen¹ Diego Ibarra & Pedro Briceño² Mendez, nephews of Gen¹ Bolivar, those of inferior pretensions were Justo Briceño,³ Andrés Ibarra, Pedro Carujo, J. M. Melo, Gen¹ Silva,⁴ Pelegron [sic.], Manuel Quintero, Rufino Gonzales, Rendon Sarmiento, Manuel Landa, Co¹ Figurera, and many others of little or no importance only so far as animal matter is required.

The character of these various individuals are as various as their names, and scarcely one of them have ever been actuated by any other motive than personel aggrandizement, their country but a secondary object, [97] unless their power and the Gov^t constituted the interest or prosperity of the Country.

They never had any motive of country separate from this rule, as they had at least some of them fought through the revolution, they looked upon Venezuela, as the followers of General Bolivar as their right by conquest to Govern, that it belonged to them by inheritance--and tho permitted to come back again after various attempts to revolutionize New Granada, to reside in Venezuela and enjoy their [one] third pay monthly, they could not rest satisfied, with their situation, but must attempt this cruel unjust, & unfeeling military attempt against the best interests

and happiness of the country.

8 July 1835

As a corroboration of all material facts and which may point to the history of Venezuela the following succinct account is here recorded that it may be referred to as true [98] of the events of the morning of the 8⁵ July 1835.

We learn that this morning at day break the veteran troops and the police guard with several officers and Military Chiefs out of service met in the Public square and proclaimed General Santiago Marín⁶ superior Chief, disavowing the Government of the Republic under his Excellency President Jose Vargas, Gen¹ Justo Briceño Comandant of arms, Comandant P. Carujo Comandant of Batalion and Gen¹ P. B. Mendez Governor of the Province. At half past four A. M. his Excellency the President was ordered by the armed force in the public square through an officer Navarro to leave the Country within 24 hours. His Excellency was waiting until the Council which he had ordered to be convoked should meet, which order he had issued as soon as Comandant of arms Cruz Peredez, Comandant of Batallion N. Gonell and the Governor of the Province [99] Juan de la Madriz had informed him that the troops and the guard of the city were in open insurrection. In

answer to the first intimation His Excell^y replied "that he understood that a revolution had taken place in the square, but that the Chief of the Government would not abandon his post nor yeild except to the Physical force that they might be used against his person" the Council and Cabinet Secretarys at length met (at the residence of the President and not at the Government House, this being in possession of the revolutionary force, and by unanimous consent his Excellency was empowered to raise ten thousand troops an appoint His Excell^y Gen^l Jose Antonio Paez⁷ Chief of operations with all the authority necessary to maintain Constitutional order and bring back the insurrectionists to obedience.

Before the dissolution of the Council at half past six A. M. many Citizens inclined to the Govern^t [100] came to offer their services--At this moment Comandant Carujo presented himself in the apartment asking for Doc^t Vargas (who happened to be in his dressing room with some of the gentlemen) who came forward to [offer] him the salutation of Mr Carujo, who being much agitated took a chair and begged permission to seat himself, the President took another seating himself opposite Carujo, who placed meanwhile in his pocket a pistol which he had intentionally removed, and after

composing himself, said in a lengthy speech, the substance of which was, "that all Governments have their origin, and that the Gov^t which was established by the revolution of the 26[#] November had come to an end, that the armed force had this day recovered their glory, saving the Country and giving liberty for the establishment of reforms, in this understanding, he and his companions entreated the Doc^t to do all in his power to avoid the shedding of blood, that they all [101] esteemed and respected his power, but since the fate of Venezuela depended on the armed force was determined on carrying reforms into effect, that he ought to resign the office he held."⁸

His Excellency with great serenity replied that it was unbecoming the dignity of the nation that had placed him at its head, to yield voluntarily to a revolution in possession of the armed force of the Capital, that if reforms were desired his Excellency would in a Constitutional manner attend to the same & &, whilst this answer was being written, the doors of the house were occupied by an armed party of Troops, the Citizens within cried out "long live the Republic," "long live the President" the Piquet enter the house, the citizens wish to make them fall back without arms, they present their breasts to the bayonets,

they reprove the soldiers with the duties of patriotism and the officers with that of honor, that they ought not [102] to use arms against a multitude unarmed. Gen^l Justo Briceño, Silva & promise that no body shall be injured. Peace is restored in the Presidents house, but all persons are prohibited entering and all wishing to leave it are allowed to do so, this momentary explosion of sentiments produced a desire of entering into propositions, Mr Justo Briceño intimated that Messr^s José Prudencio Lamez, Diego Merida & Manuel Quintero might have some influence with the armed force (already quartered in St Jancinto) to come to a rational agreement and avoid the effusion of blood. Gen^l Pedro Briceño Mendez who offered to be mediator answered shortly afterwards, that Mesa^s Diego Ibarra and P. Carujo did not agree to the offers of the Gov^t of guaranteeing their persons, reestablishing public order and obedience to the Constitutional authority--Mesa^s Lanz, [sic.] Quintero & Pelgron [sic.] who had joined the Military Chiefs, addressed a [103] paper signed by 13⁹ chiefs & officers making nine propositions tending to this effect, viz, that the President remain in his office, the Council dissolved, a convention convoked, and the arms [to remain] in possession of the Chiefs of the revolution. The President in answer

addressed the citizens in a speech in which he related the events of the day, informing them he did not submit to the revolution, that he yields his person to force in order to save from indignity the station which had been intrusted to him---¹⁰

At 8 o'clock at night whilst this document was being drawn out, orders were given to the officer in command of the piquet which had been stationed there all day to allow no one to leave the house.

The Vice President Navarte, Counsellors, Yanez,¹¹ Pinango & Carreño Secretary of the Treasury Santos Michelana, Mr Hernaiz first officer of the Navy department, and Mess^s Francisco [104] Dias and D. B. Briceño and the citizens who remained in company with the President until 12 o'clock at night, when Mr. Castro officer of the Guard ordered them to march with the Piquet to San Jacinto;

Before arriving there they were met by Carujo, who ordered Mesa^s Vargas and Navarte to follow him, and the rest of the gentlemen to return to their homes--

On the 9[#] the President and Vice President of the Republic were confined in a small room under the Gov^t house.

Mesa^s Conde Secretary at War Gonell and¹² Gelambi officers of the Anzoátegui regiment were

revolution of a day-- The want of one man to lead and
 stand the first assault, from the Military only composed
 on the morning of the 8th of about 250 Soldiers, decided
 the fact of Caracas & her citizens in amaze and wonder,
 stood and gazed and talked & passed their necks &
 even their property under the yoke of such a contemptable
 number of Chiefs & military-- They did not deserve a
 better fate, with the stones in the Streets or tiles
 from the houses they could have attacked and routed the
 whole force-- but that great character & virtue of
 Caracanians passive obedience, is so constitutional,
 that they never have dreamt that forcible opposition
 to oppression, is one of the virtues of moral character
 and obligation-- No man could be found who would peril
 his life, not fifty, or on that day at 8 oclock in the
 morning the whole farce of making & destroying
 Governments would have been put down in an instant--
 People in this Country have a most extraordinary idea
 of Government its sacredness & rights, they consequently
 play with it as a child does his top, or as a game at
 chess--what is of a most sacred character in the eyes
 of any other people is here but the passtime of Chiefs,
 and in this age of revolutions, they imagin that nothing
 can be gained nor nothing maintained but in or by
 revolution--if amendments are wanted in a constitution

having at stake the happiness or misery of millions, it can only be done by revolution, and that only such [108] and such a man is able or capable of carrying out the improvements.

All those men who have been nursed by Bolivar, believe since his death that his mantle has fallen on him and that unless his plans are carried out the Country can never flourish, never be happy.

The whole secret is simply that they believe no person ought to govern unless he is some limb, nursing, or Bastard of Bolivars, and the Military believe as they fought for the Country without regard to the men who equally perilled their lives for the same, have an equal right to rule or govern-- And it is not uncommon to hear some of them say it is a disgrace to be under the Presidency of a Don^t, he ought to be one of us a (gefe) [sic.] chief---

And that in the establishment of the Present Gov^t the Military have lost all their power as Military their peculiar rights theretofore [109] existing, is taken away from them, that the clergy & their sacred religion is sacrificed-- If this be the feelings of the Country or such be the principles which these or any other power might wish to establish in this Country, much better had they have remained under the

Gov^t of Old Spain & remained colonies & true to the Mother Country;

Under such a system they would only gain a change of masters--

However much there may be a want of the great object of action in this Country, or a point to try and gain either in morals or politics--they never will have any other Gov^t but a Republic be it a civil or Military one, they will never have any other--Titles, and Aristocratic distinctions has been swept away by the revolution and it never can be revived but by force, and to obtain that force a different man must arise in this [110] Country than has ever yet been seen in it-- It will require a master spirit, a man following at an humble distance Napoleon Bonapart.

But the materials are so different from what
 13
 Napoleon had to work with--The Vanity of Frenchmen is the true point in their character, fame, glory, great nation, were the ensigns of advance & conquest, not only conquests of nations, but truly at home a conquest of Frenchman--Under their banners they were invulnerable and invincible and he that did not believe in them was not a frenchman or a soldier capable of following the fortunes of Napoleon and aiding in that great structure of national vanity and egotism, so

peculiar in the Character of the nation--Mercurial in private life, it imparted an impression to their military character that had them as conquerors over 3/4 Europe, and had Napoleons ambition been satisfied [111] and the sensative feelings of the great nation [been] situated¹⁴ upon the ground of moral greatness, Bounaparte might have lived and died Emperor of the French, and France have gove^d the greater part of Europe-- But his cup was not ful, and heated by ambition he finally at Moscow was compelled to drink it to its dregs, and he feel [fell] regretted only by his officers, and half of France, when he might have been the idol of both, and the wonder of the world.

The people of this Country are composed of such varieties of the human species, that it has really produced as great a variety of charecter, and it will in the course of events come to be tested how far a government bazised [based] upon entire equality of rights and priviledges moral and political, with their great mixture of colour existing among forty nine fiftieths of the people or citizens, enjoy in pease the blessings [112] of a Republican Gov^t--How far white man, black man and red man and all the varieties which they can form and then these casts mould into a thousand other colours, can mingle together without

prejudice to erect a Government and sustain it, without a preponderance in its administration of any colour and no prejudice.

Their success will solve a great political as well as moral question and either discredit or confirm the causists of the present day who are pouring out their bile pro & con upon the subject of negro emancipation or Slavery.

To produce this government there can be but one result among the people a general amalagation, otherwise it cannot be carried out, the white man must sink his prejudices upon the legal and constitutional elevation of the black man, and a family interest must be produced by intermarriage, than interests must be united likewise [113] with their prejudices, and of course its abandonment--Things are fast tending to this now, but in a slower degree than would have existed had Gen^l Bolivar lived and succeeded in his plan or form of Gov^t---

Already had he set an example on this head, that as interest might dictate would have been eagerly embraced by many. His own niece ¹⁵ a daughter of his brother (who on his return from the United States in 1817 was lost at sea) was by his command married to Gen^l Jose Silva a Mulattoe, daughter of or his sister

married one Gabriel Camacho a muste[s] [octeroon], it is difficult to say what colour, but that he is coloured and close akin to a negro their can be no doubt---

The hankering that Bolivar had after Colour may not be inaptly traced to his own descent, as from the best statement of fact his great, great grandmother was a negro slave of his parents--¹⁶ That it was [his] [114] intention to attach the coloured people to him by every mark of Kindness and civility no doubt perhaps under the impression by one generation of amalgamation, white entirely white would be an unknown colour in the Country--and every moral symptom was leading to this consumation, he concluded to aid by political power and influence--His private Secretary for many years was José Rafael Revenga¹⁷ a coloured man and who by Bolivars influence married a daughter of Gen^l Lino de Clementi¹⁸ a remote connection of Bolivars on the white side--And to ad[d] further to the views of Gen^l Bolivar and his policy, Gen^l Piñango married in Bogota a lady and perfectly white, he himself a mixture of white, Indian and negro. These with many other such circumstances in more humble life, cannot leave us in doubt as to the policy of Gen^l Bolivar¹⁹ in this moral character of his people---

This state of things leaves us [115] to enjoy just such society as we may choose, for even among the best a great variety of colour exists and it is not uncommon to meet in the same family as many almost as there are children from what cause I will not even ask their mother or their father, but [it] is the fact-- At the same time there are many families who are white and distinctly so, and many united with the aborigines of the Country, scarcely having any of their ancestry in col^l marked upon them.

A great antipathy exists between white and black here, at the same time there is more familiarity between them than any people similarly situated in the world-- It not unfrequently happens in families that some male part of them or some branch straggles off from the parent root and form connections which either end in marriage or living together for years and rearing up a family,
20
with coloured people.

And it sometimes happens [116] that these connections exists between female white & coloured, connected without licence in the first instance and ultimately winked at by the family, who of course can neither avert the course or the circumstance, and submit to it in a clandestine manner, but more commonly they retire & live the ballance of their lives retired and

scarcely known by any persons---

The general morals of the Community lead to these events here, and the religion of the Country rather encourages than prevents the social condition of society, founded on higher principles than convenience & indulgence;

The principles of the Catholic religion considering marriage the only attribute of duty, that it is sacred and consecrated only in the eyes of heaven, and dissoluble only by Papal dispensation, compels a man or woman united in such bonds under such inculcated feelings of religion, when circumstances may render demonstration unnecessary to [117] prove, the infidelity of the one or the other, or the open commission of offenses of the most aggravated kind, to submit to their lot, or leave each other, and pursuing the bent of inclination, prostitute all character by raising up strangers in their house hold, the ill begoten children of other persons, without a name--Bastards among Spaniards at least by the Laws of this Country have rights and such as their parents and no one can take away from them, which is to a certain part of the property of their ancestor-- They are as in English Law
²¹
filius nullius and no rights but such as they may gain-- The consequence resulting and is visible in

every corner of the city of Caracas and among many families, and many of the most respectable class, is that the debased of the man or woman married, not being able to separate for causes of the deepest turpitude on one side or the other, they resort to those indulgences [118] which nature calls for, in forming connections which instead of one family forms three, and the practice has become so common, that many prefer the obligation which their marriage imposes, as it permits them to pursue a career of licentiousness under the plea of the impossibility of disuniting themselves from the marriage bond:

The obligation with us, is that of a legal contract, and through the wisdom and judgment of our neighbours a separation can be had, for causes that may either be pointed out by Law or seem sufficient in their eyes to separate the parties-- And it does not always result in discredit to the parties--Causes may exist that may be sufficient to legally separate persons, which may not be of a moral character--

How far our plan may be better or worse than the one here I think the moral Condition of the [119] people ought to be proof--and I feel great confidence by comparison we should not loose any thing, but rather elevate our character & standing.

Hundreds of individuals are living in open concubinage here married men as well as single, and lessens in no way their standing in Society, for unfortunately for Society there is no Standard--not the priests, the rich men nor the great men--but each apparently considers all things thrown in his way as blessings, and adds to his power and facility of enjoyment be it to the perdition of his soul or the base indulgence of all the sensual & beastly appetites of his nature.

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Religion or morality in the scale has no weight with him, his own indulgence constitutes the ideas of his happiness, and he lives and acts and does things upon the principle that as "man is pleased so god is obeyed"--At the sametime he is a great devotee, a fanatic and a [120] madman in his religion, but he uses it more as old cloak to his body, than as a balm to his wounded heart--he puts it on as he enters the church and there he is truly pious and devout so long as he is within the Church but no longer--he kneels at the alter says his ave marias and thumps his breast and truly all "is devotion but the heart," gets through rises up, makes the sign as he departs, crosses himself & sprinkles his body with the holy water, leaves the church, and he is then free of all his sins

having perhaps confessed, and is ready again to fill up that catalogue of crime, immorality which the virtue of his religion teaches him to believe he can again as he has already wipe it off, and stand forward a redeemed & regenerated man:

This is indeed a strange compound of moral, and treason against morality--not admitting the mere light of reason, all the faculties are benighted, excluding the exercise of the higher [121] faculties of nature, sinks in to the lowest depths of ignorance, and make us depend alone upon superstition for our moral and religious code.

How terrible indeed must be such darkness to the thinking reflecting human mind; That the mysteries of that holy communion between the heart and its god can only be held by others in trust for our use, that they are alone the medium through whom we can be taught, their philosophy and their logic, clouded, tinged, taken the very hue and colour and bias of their own minds, character & conduct, is to me the darkest superstition, the very midnight gloom of ignorance bigotry and barbarism--

The women of this country as I believe they are in all the most fanatic, they are here forever, morning noon and night going to or coming from church,

and the kneeling devotees to be seen in all, are without an exception women--Still I find [122] them as they are in all countries; be country Christian or heathen, warm hearted, charitable and kind, no appeal to them is in vain, they easily soften and with much more of the milk of human kindness will they protect, cherish, and defend the unfortunate--instances are not wanting here to multiply & prove this opinion, Revolution, earth quake, and the exterminating war of [to the] death, and the many treasons hatched by men against the Gov^t both that of Spain & the Republic [?], not being successful have owed their lives and escape to women. They are thus here the same person, they are women still, with all their virtues and vices, their crimes and immoralities, they still are blessed with more of the milk of human kindness than I believe belongs to man.

It will not be amiss to say a few words about these leading men who on this day had the boldness and the crime to subvert the Gov^t of Venezuela and take possession [123] of the same and the city of Caracas with its population of thirty thousand inhabitants with only about two hundred & fifty soldiers and some fifty citizens.

Since the seperation from the other parts of

Colombia, New Granada and the Equador--in 1829 and followed up by the erection of a constitutional Gov^t in 1830, a great disposition has been manifested to reduce the standing army of the Country-- But from a fear of a reaction by the partizans of Gen^l Bolivar who it was thought was making every effort to bring again Venezuela to unite with Bogota, the Gov^t of Venezuela was compelled to sustain as large a standing army as her resources could pay.

The death of Gen^l Bolivar in Santa Martha or at a Hacienda in its neighborhood in 1831,²³ quieted for the moment all suspicions of any acts of his partizans, to revolutionize Venezuela-- They [124] were therefore allowed to return after their complete failure to establish a military Gov^t in New Granada, and reside and enjoy from the public purse their one third pay as retired military. and which was conceded to all by Law who wished to retire--

This policy to the discernment of almost any person was suicidal to the interest and peace of Venezuela.

Men who had been nurtured up and bred in the army, who had followed the fortunes of Bolivar from the Atlantic to the Pacific, many of them his family connections, and who could think of no Gov^t but such

as might be the conception of him, and which was
 produced in his Bolivian Constitution,²⁴ could not
 tho the head had fallen rest satisfied, but that
 Venezuela was his and of course at the death of
 Bolivar their inheritance--Conquered by their arms and
 their bravery, they could see no other right, but
 theirs [125] in the enjoyments of all emoluments
 honors and profits. Returning with these views secreted
 in their bosoms, warmed by their almost neglect by the
 Gov^t and unable before the people in elections to
 obtain public favour or public sympathy, they ultimately
 succeeded in wining over to their views the very assassin
 who attempted the life of Bolivar in 1828 in Bogota
 killing his first²⁵ aid and disabling in the right arm
 the second without effecting his purpose, and who fled
 from New Granada to Caracas where he was ultimately
 commissioned in service of the Republic.

The names of the most conspicuous in the affair
 of the 8[#] was Pedro Briceño Mendez Cousin and married
 to the niece of Bolivar, who had been for many years
 his private Secretary, A man of good family from
 Barinas one of the most interior provinces, about 48
 years old perhaps a few years younger, Small person
 or about the common size [126] a white man, bald head,
 small half grey half brown eyes, a most significant

smirking mouth, prominent nose, with a continual half loud laugh or sniggle while conversing upon important business, little personal energy and much less talents, is the man who planed (in my opinion the whole operation of the 8[#]), but the executive part was left to the assassin Pedro Carujo his now bosom and confidential friend, and Diego Ibarra another family relation of Bolivers, a small dark faced man about 5 feet 6 inches high, a bad expression of face no teeth, assumes great self possession without a particle of bravery, and much more consequence, than either his talents or general reputation entitles him--and who on this ocasion assumed the military command and civil power by the revolution proclaiming by his Bandos, Gen^l Santiago Mariño as Superior Civil & Military Chiefs of this province of Caracas, the only spot the Capital where they had yet carried their project, but who finding no [127] aid from the public or people, alone governing by the force of Military power, Changed his note and proclaimed Gen^l Paez Gefé [sic.] superior civil and Military-- Gen^l Mariño comonly resides at a small Town near Valencia and on or near the Lake of Valencia or Taquirique, containing a population of two or three thousand.

He was not in Caracas on the day of the

revolution, but so soon as news reached him of the change made and the Military had declared him Gefe Superior, he forthwith prepared himself to accept and on the [blank]²⁶ day of July arrived in Caracas, and commenced his Govern^t first by issuing a Bando²⁷ preventing the people under high pain & penalties from meeting or talking about the Military usurpation, again requiring a registry of all arms in their various parishes, and in every way preventing the Liberty of Speech--a perfect gag Law--[128] Mariño is a man of about 5 feet 9 Inches in height Stout and well made with a very rudy & healthy countenance, rather light hair and eyes, but not a feature indicative of character, or tallent, looking at times like a bloated disipated man, and his general reputation as a man, of the most disipated and immoral habits, carying the Vice of Gambling to a great extent, with an income of near twenty thousand Dollars, he is seldom or ever found with a doubloon in his pocket--is said to be quite a companionable man and jolly and lively disposition, but without searcely a redeeming moral virtue--His wife he left to perish for almost the common necessities of life, neglected and broken hearted, died a miserable and forgotten being.

His conduct during the revolution is spoken

well of as a brave man, but for nothing else. [129]
 This man without Talents and without one moral virtue
 was the man selected to govern Caracas, and if successful
 Venezuela.

It was soon discovered that Gen^l Jose Antonio
 Paez was not with them, the third or fourth day after
 the 8[#] he was informed of the movements in Caracas,
 and rec^d the constitutional power under the Executive
 and Council of Gov^t to raise ten thousand Troops &
 put himself at the head of them to protect the Gov^t
 & Constitution of Venezuela-- He immediately spread
 his proclamation, to defend the Gov^t, which was the
 first shock the faction rec^d, they immediately lost
 all confidence, and all their management of affairs
 became confused and disordered, There was no system
 afterwards-- They had fondly believed that Genl Paez
 would join them, that he would become suicidal to
 his Character honor--and take part against the very
 [130] Govern^t which he himself had been mainly
 [instrumental ?] in establishing--and so soon as they
 found no allurements of ambition could turn him from
 the obligations which he owed himself, his country and
 her citizens, They not infrequently remarked they had
 lost the game with the Cards in their hand, and their
 policy should have been to have dispatched Gen^l Paez

by poison or assassination--Tho they had become reckless of political events, they committed no excesses upon the community only in taking a few horses & baggage mules--fortunately for the Citizens of Caracas there was enough money in the Treasury to still their Cupidity and prevent Compulsion upon the public--otherwise the scene would have been Cruel--however had they have attempted executions I am clearly of an opinion the docile servile people of Caracas when they [their] purses had been touched, would have risen against them. and with the least [131] energy of character have effectively put down the faction without the aid of any military power.

Gen^l Marínõ had no popularity tho he made a good run for President against Doa^t Vargas, but I believe only for the reason, that it was better policy to keep in as President a Military man for a few turns more.

And which would have silenced public opinion as regards a general wish to put the military entirely down throughout the Country--The due administration of the Constitution has effectually laid the ax at the root of the tree of Military power, by placing every man equal before the Laws of the Country effectually taking away the entire Military priviledges

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or fuero-- This was a severe blow to their consequence and importance, disuniting them as a body only amenable to Military Law, rankled in their bosoms to become and humbled to the dignity of citizens [132] tho, they submitted to it for some years, they could ill brook its effects---

Another actor in this scene the most daring perhaps of the whole of them is Pedro Carujo-- a man of common Stature dark hair & eyes a forbidding but rather intelligent face, his head & face always bending to the ground, became the principle executive actor in seizing the authorities and Gov^t an officer he engaged his pay and suborned the soldiers to take part against their country, under I have no doubt the promises of unconditional plunder of Caracas if any opposition was made by the citizens to their movements.

He it was who was pitched upon to make the first move in imprisoning the President, Vice President and Council of Gov^t at the house of the President in the morning of the 8[#] and who wished to instruct the President in his duty of Governing, by a lengthy discourse upon Government. [133] and kindly asking him to resign his post of honor, responsibility & character to the safe keeping of his Carujos wisdom and the integrity of his friends--

He is a man of some natural talents, a little improved, but not sufficient to see any thing through a clear medium, just enough to mistify every thing, and render his intellect confused and his vision cloudy-- Upon this man every thing depended being in command of the Troops as Colonel, and who had raised for himself a character of desperation in his attack upon Bolivar, many believing him actuated by Patriotism, but I have no doubt it was done through an insane passion of connecting his name with that of the Liberator, and not with a single view towards the prosperity or happiness or Independence or liberty of his Country--About this time many persons and among them many of the best friends of Bolivar believed his views were, to render himself supreme [134] in the Land, either President for life, King, or some other name analagous, assuming the whole power both Executive and legislative in his own hands-- The policy which he had observed which in this city aided by the British Minister said to be delegated to Colombia, but there can be no doubt he was sent to Gen^l Bolivar, his name Cockburn brother to the celebrated and notorious Admiral ³¹ of that name, who behaved so recklessly so cruelly & so cowardly on the Coast of Virginia and else where during the war of 1812 between the U States & Great Britain.

Bolivar left LaGuayra in the British frigate with this minister for Cartheginia [sic.] after putting in office under his extraordinary powers as President of Colombia his most devoted friends & relations.

On his return to Bogota [Bolivar] called a convention under a provision of the Cucuta Constitution, to ascertain the views of the people what Kind of Gov^t they wanted, having sent his private orders to Caracas with a list of members [136] he wanted returned from Caracas & from Venezuela generally--most of them were elected and returned to meet at Ocaña--stationing himself at a place called Buraramanga with a military force sufficient to awe them to his own obedience, but they were not composed of such men as he expected, they resisted his wishes, he dissolved them and banished about or between 50 & 60 of the members--Martin Tovar an old and amongst the first patriots of the Country, the best family connections, on arriving at Maracaybo was put on board of a schooner for St^t Thomas, touched at LaGuayra as [and] was absolutely prohibited from visiting his wife and children previous to his leaving the Country--

Bolivar marched to Bogota & declared war against Peru, attacked the Peruvian army gained no advantages, desisted and commenced intriguing got the

Le Mar [La Mar] the commanding officer [136] removed, patched up a peace and hastened back again to Bogota in the meantime his own Military bantling Gen^l Sucre whom he had left in Command in Uper Peru--or Bolivia, by his exaction or political opposition to him was wounded by the soldiers, in a review and in a short time there after considering his situation a very doubtful one, came to a determination to leave the Country and throw himself under the wings of Gen^l Bolivar at Bogota, but was assassinated on the road---³⁴

The country on Gen^l Bolivars return to Bogota was looking with anxious care as to the cou[r]se he would persue, suspicions from many causes inducing many persons to believe that his object was absolute power by the conivance of a convention of his own creation and making--Suspicion had been very strong about this period that Europe would interfere and place Bolivar on the throne of Colombia uniting with it Uper [137] and Lower Peru, garanted by a standing³⁵ army of foreign mercenaries.

A mission in the meantime had arrived at LaGuayra³⁶ from France composed of Mr Breson [sic.] & the young³⁷ duke de Montebello-- they arrived at LaGuayra came to Caracas found Bolivar gone to Bogota, and persued him thither.

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I called on these gentlemen respectively, and I have good reasons to believe they had come on different errands, each of them deceiving the other. and what will be very strange to state, Mr Brison charged from Charles the 10th to propose schemes of power & alliance and the Duke de Montebello, to thwart it, or report his movements to the liberal party in France--However they done nothing they could do nothing, they went to Bogota & then returned again and nothing as yet has ever transpired of the nature or views of their visit to the Country.

So soon as Gen^l Bolivar after fixing up his friends & supporters in office he issued his decree requiring the sentiments [138] of the People upon the nature of gov^t they wished; So soon as it reached Caracas a meeting was called at San Francisco (church) where after several days discussion it was solemnly decreed that Venezuela should separate herself from Bogota & the authority and power of Gen^l Bolivar, from this time Nov 1829 the Gov^t of Venezuela has been Established and her constitution formed in 1830----

The great cause in my opinion of Bolivars movements arose from the intefearance, persuasion and intrigue of the Minister Mr Cockburn, ministering to his vanity, for indeed he [Bolivar] had returned

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[from Peru to Venezuela] in 1826-27- absolutely intoxicated with his exalted situation, a poor miserable exhausted and worn out man, with ideas of perfect ubiquity in himself, that he was a second Napoleon, and to govern America, was the idea most cherished in his heart, how or by what means was but a secondary question to this wish-- [139] At a dinner given him at Maracaybo on his visit to Caracas being toasted as the second Washington, he rose in speech and repelled the comparison, that the only man to whom he could or should be likened to was Napoleon; of this fact there can be no doubt, as I was told it a short time after by Mr David Lanman who resided there and was present at the dinner--And not much akin to the same ideas were his expressions at a dinner in LaGuayra afterwards at which I was present, after being toasted by Frederick Chamier⁴⁰ Capt in the British Navy, in a speech which he made on the occasion, the mere ideas I now recollect which were that the army of England & Colombia could or should, (I forget which) plant liberty upon the fortress of Viena-- It was considered a great failure, and led [led] to no very enviable recollection of Bolivar [140] upon the minds of any one, but much of his egotism and Vanity.⁴¹ He certainly had passed the grand climactic [sic.] of his age, and was then sinking under

the infirmities of mind as he was evidently of body.

The British minister had managed to find food for his [Bolivar's] Vanity, gewgaws for his ambition, and promises for its maintenance, and had liberally presented & supplied him with these things, until he induced him to turn traitor to the whole course of his life and give the lie to every promise he had ever made throughout the revolution to his Country--

And he left Caracas with the Minister who proceeded with him to Carthegenia, there left him, Bolivar proceeded to Bogota & he to England--The first to the consumation of his moral treason and the second to that positive obscurity from which no circumstance since has been able to drag him--he died a political death as his patron did a natural [141] one, leaving an impression that [would] never be forgotten by the people of Colombia and which the future historian should trace out as a lesson and hand it down to posterity, that Ambition is too often the rock upon [which] mankind Split, and dash to the ground their hopes as it has Bolivars fame in the eyes of all honest men.

It has always been the policy of Great Britain and her sons wherever found to increase the necessity of an aristocratic Gov^t and depreciate the blessings of liberal ideas and liberal institutions, and whenever

she can intrigue, wherever money can have an undue weight as it can here, her endeavors are to create ideas of her greatness and importance and to cloud the imagination of the people by self interest, and the expenditure of money to further their views of self aggrandizement, and gain that influence over weak minds that she cannot controul by sound reason and argument. [142] In this little Republic her hands are seen in all things and her intrigues not alone by her public agents but by every Englishman, is constantly at work to sway in the influence of the Councils of the nation, by every species of sevility that circumstances or things may present to their cupidity or natural egotism. And perhaps among no people can the same kind of influence or the same ways of influencing, be used so successfully as here--just emerging into a nation with a scarcely a clear distinction of what is Gov^t or what belongs to it, with scarcely an idea of liberty, but embracing it as a duty, they submit their vanity to the safe keeping of those whose influence and character depend entirely upon money, and the complicated machinery of Gov^t to the whim of a moment or the caprice of an individual, whose only system is that of old exploded customs & forms incident to Spanish Colonial misrule of one Hundred years [143] ago--they do not keep pace

with the advanced state of improvement of the world in any thing--their manners are as ancient as Charles the 5th time, their customs in almost every thing still more so--their learning confined to the old exploded system that the advanced state of science has long consigned to neglect-- and almost all their ideas about Government are based upon Greece and Rome--the Consequences are visible in every thing, the Gov^t instead of dividing and consigning the greater part of its duties to the proper hands and proper officers, superintend every thing connected with it, the President examines this, & his ministers that, all objects of minor importance, and which creates a visible dependence of [on] them for every thing, and which ought never to be allowed an intrusion to their notice--Liberty in fact is not understood--they think it consists in doing that and every thing they wish, the liberty of a wild horse, and not the liberty of reason & Laws [144]--This actual state of improvement suggests to every man particularly to a foreigner who may be doing a large commercial business, the very means which he can and may use to render himself popular and influential with the Govt or its officers--Character is lost sight of and he who can administer most largely to their vanities or propensities is sure to have more influence than

another even if he be a foreign officer and a man of character--

A change I think is going on, and a better distinction will in the progress of a few more years be made in men and character--and a better estimate of foreign character than now or has for some years existed-- Many evils and unpleasant circumstances have arisen in private society from this cause, not distinguishing between the foreigner of Character and him of no character, the villanies of the one being equally alike visited upon all, which in a proper estimate of character would have been [145] avoided, and each party have held the estimation he was entitled to--but as (Estrangeros) strangers they have scarcely known as yet there was any distinction. and he who assumes, highliving, much consequence, great liberality is seen without regard to his moral here or abroad, has a higher distinction and more influence, than another of the most estimable worth. In another place I will again touch this character of the moral and social condition of the society of the Capital and the people of Venezuela.

9 # July 1835

The day was ushered in by several Bandos of the faction, none worth recording here, as was done more to occupy the attention of the public to keep them

alarmed than for any system of Gov^t--The Gov^t House taken possession of yesterday was to day crowded with the malcontents a great proportion of whom were the mere offscourings of the City [146] and those in some Shape or way connected with the leaders and the family of Bolivar-- However these are and have been very political in all the various movements & political changes, If there are five brothers two or three enter with the faction, and all their property is transferred to the other brothers or Cousins--sometimes to the sisters, or uncle and in this way they always contrive to save from confiscation their property--In the present instance some have hazarded all, but the most of them who have had any thing, had previously conveyed it away--The scene exhibited in the Streets was singular indeed, at every corner near the Gov^t House or the Presidents, crowds of the Citizens assembled merely to look on, without a sufficient energy to resist the mere bagatelle of two hundred & fifty armed men--every one shrugging up his shoulders reconciling his patriotism & love of [country] to the circumstances of being no combatents. [147]

I called on Santos Michelana at his house, and endeavored to obtain admittance to the President but was denied--Mr M appeared a good deal frightened, found

him with Mr Hernais, first clerk, in the office of Marine, & Briceño y Briceño (alias Negro Briceño) talking over the things of the day--Asked what the Gov^t was going to do, what could they do, but was not satisfactorily answered only in the common Creole way with a significant Shrug of the Shoulders & of what can we do--wished to adress a note to the Secretary of Foreign Relations, would receive it but could not answer it as such nor present it to the President--in a few minutes left the house offering my personal assistance to the Secretary in any way he might require it.--Returned and in this state of things after satisfying myself that nothing could be done with the deposed Gov^t adressed a note [to] Briceño Mendez asking [for] an interview [148] & he appointed one oclock, when I called on him at his own house, and there met Gen^l Silva the Mulato officer married to Gen^l Bolivars niece a white woman, and young Andreas Ibarra dressed out in all the finery of Epauletts laced coat and cocked hat, Gen^l Mendez rec^d me with much courtesy, passed into his drawing room, seated myself on a sofa with him on my right--I then asked him the views of himself and associates, and what power he possessed in the new order of things, as I had been refered to him, when he answered it was entirely a military move and that as

there was no person of the civil character but himself (Gen^l P. B. Mendez) he had consented to serve them in all things connected with the civil department, denying as it were any actual interference in the State of things only a subordinate Gen^l Diego Ibarra, to whom he referred me as possessing all power until the arrival of Gen^l [149] Mariño, who was daily & hourly expected from Maracay--⁴² assuring me at the same time that foreign citizens and property would not be molested when they remained entirely neuter in the revolution-- and that no doubt Gen^l Ibarra would grant every thing necessary to that end. He insinuated at the same time that the black population were much to be feared, and in that case he would give me timely information as he stood as much in fear of such an event as I could or any foreigner.---

At this interview Briceño Mendez [a man of] great littleness of character and no decision, neither possessing the decision or dignity of resolute man or the verve [?] of a well bred man.

July 10[#]

The population exhibiting a great deal of uneasiness and uncertainty, The President & Vice President removed as prisoners to the Gov^t House--

I had asked of Gen¹ Mendez on yesterday [150] to allow the privilege of communicating with the President, he said he could not grant [it] but that Gen¹ Ibarra could, and that he would endeavor to obtain the permission and inform me-- but never heard from him on the subject.

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The president the night of the 9 at eleven oclock was taken with the Vice President from the Gov^t House and sent to La Guayra under an escort of 50 soldiers under Gen¹ Justo Briceño, and two or three friends--

This Justo Briceño is another of those thirteen whose names I now record here, that sent the note through Carujo to the President on the morning of the [#] 8 requesting his resignation.

Diego Ibarra Gen¹ of Brigade
 Justo Briceño Do. Do.
 Pedro Briceño Mendez Do. Do.

 Jose Laurencio Silva Do. Do.
 Pedro Carujo Comandante
 Luis P. de la Croix Do. (a french man)
 J. M. Melo Capitan [151]
 Carlos Maria Ortega Coronel
 P. Mares (no grade from Venezuela but
 held a grade from the faction in
 Bogota as Colonel)
 Bernardo Herrera Comandante
 Andres Ibarra 2. Ditto
 Salvador Flores Do
 Rafael Pecaso [Picoazo] Colonel
 Ramon Soto Capitan 43

4 Generals
 3 Colonels
 4 Commandants
 2 Captains
 1 (Peruviano)

The general character of all these men may be summed up in a few words, they are either disappointed officers,

or bankrupt in character and fortune, ambition on one side moving them to sacrifice every thing to obtain an ascendancy even if but for a moment, and any change could not injure or effect the others from a general want of moral character, Justo Briceño a cowardly, corrupt, and highly immoral man, married some two or three times, having a living or living wives in various parts of the Republic, adopting this plan merely for convenience, and the debasement of his moral Character. Several of the others if possible have still less moral character than this Briceño. [152]

July 11.

The same excitement prevailing, without one act that would indicate resistance, peaceably bowing their head to the yoke of Military despotism, for on this day Gen^l Mariño had issued his gag Law, not permitting conversations upon the state of things in the Streets, or meetings in Public--The greatest humbug in this whole affair at an attempt at Gov^t and to forestall public opinion in aid of their views, was a call upon the citizens to meet at the Theater under the protection of the Patriotic Military, and vote upon the subject of reforms & of course their decision would have been final, that is final in voting because if they had gone for that purpose they certainly would have voted

them all back again to their silent & powerless insignificance;

They soon become sensible of this fact, that the time had gone by when a few military designing men could by an overt act of treason against the Laws & constitution of the Country [153] uproot the same and then carry the head of families to thus publicly sanction such treasonable views against the best interests moral and social of the Country.

Finding this would not do, they soon changed their views upon the people and required them to vote at each magistrates or Alcaldes [office] in their parish or square, ⁴⁴ which resulted in almost as perfect a failure as the former, not receiving more than some two or three Hundred, and the great body of them soldiers, in a city with a population of 25 thousand to thirty thousand--To get public opinion therefore to sanction their acts of the 8[#], they had thus evidently lost public Confidence, and could not succeed in cajoling them to their personal ambition and the necessity of making reforms by subverting the Constitution and Laws; unless it was such reforms as struck at the root of all social Gov^t--They still held out the belief that Gen^l Paez was with them and when there was no possibility of deception to their own treasonable views,

they proclaimed him as Jefe in chief--This did not take, the great body of the people were not to be deceived in this manner, they had dispatched a messenger to Gen^l Paez as well as the Gov^t to inform him of events, and asking him to come to the protection of the Constitution & Laws.

Every thing indicated a want of decision, it was difficult to find out who was head, who chief, in fact who ruled--In fact all had been conceived without brains but executed with promptness--They [155] did not by their conduct seem to think that Gov^t regular systematic Gov^t was necessary, after the Constitutional one was overthrown, or that it was necessary. They seemed not to have thought of the affair, or that it was a consequence of change that some should be established.

However they soon commenced decrees, first from Diego Ibarra, then Pedro Briceño Mendez & finally by Santiago Mariño---

July 12

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This day passed by pretty much as the 11 --
They are catching a number of vagabonds, in permitting them to join the army, by which means [they] had increased their number to near double the original body-- Considerable deal of drumming in the Streets,

and a change of quarters from San Jacinto to San Francisco--very much to the annoyance to H. B. M Consul Sir Robert Ker Porter-- but as he frankly said in a few days afterwards he would hold the candle for the devil [156] that is, that he would sustain any party that might have the ascendancy right or wrong--which expression arose from my asking him if he had answered an official note from Gen^l P. B. Mendez announcing himself as Secretary General and Secretary of Exterior relations--⁴⁵ his reply was, yes, he had done so immediately, when I made a slight remonstrance, he made the above reply. that he would hold & & &---. From this day up to the 27 the party in power were arranging or attempting to do so, every thing to organize a Gov^t, but of what form, they had not by any one act exhibited sufficient light, to know what it should be, every thing was dark, suspicious, and without any actual Gov^t existing, ruling only the Military who adhered to them, tho they had first by one mans decree and then by anothers filled all the vacant offices which they had made in the [157] constitutional Gov^t-- still there was but an uproar "confusion worse confounded" in the Gov^t House, one tangle[d] yarn without an end, all officers and no officers, all Gov^t and no Gov^t this man to apply to and that one to

apply one did not know 'tother had not been informed--
 Briceño Mendez was factotum, and on applying to him it
 was Ibarra applying to Ibarra, it was Gen^l Mariño--
 Such a real hotch potch of Gov^t was never heard of or
 read of, but such I really did see-- the Citizens
 stood with gaping mouths staring eyes, & ears wide open
 to catch & see every thing, but the devil a bit did
 they [care?] or would raise an arm, or a hand to put
 down these plunderers of their nations honor and their
 countrys glory--but in stupid amaze a population of
 able bodied Citizens to carry arms [158] amounting to
 at least two thousand remained with arms foulded, and
 witnessed this farce of Military power take from his
 own house the President & Vice President & send them
 to LaGuayra and then embark them for St. Thomas,
 without so much as the firing of a musket.

Indeed they are only fit for the subjects of
 despotism, to say they are patriots, to say they love
 their Constitution or their Gov^t is and must be
 hereafter a by word of reproach to them as a people.

One effort by two Hundred men would have undid
 the affair, the stones in the streets or the tiles from
 the houses afforded them ample means to crush at a blow
 the 250 men who had thus changed the Gov^t or rather
 seized the power---

The arrival of Gen^l Mariño give no security nor created any more enthusiasm in behalf of their cause, tho he fed his hogs from the balcony [159] of the house with the mishapined silver currency of the country, called by mistake money, it only pleased the beggars and boys who as long as this silver shower lasted breasted the storm and cried out viva Gen^l Mariño, viva Gen^l Mariño;

The night of his arrival what a glorious sight to the patriots that dinner from the Hotel that I stoped at--to see him surrounded with the last fag end even of his own side of the question, parázites, dependents, hangers on, all as worthless in principles as in morals and in morals as in principles; eating and guzling and [at] the public expense, for he had arrived as Superior Chief Civil and Military, but somewhat under the guidance of Pedro Briceño Mendez & Diego Ibarra, who used his name which when tried was not worth a groat, merely [160] to cover their own nefarious plans of Gov^t --a mere cats paw, a mere tool for any man who would bolster up his vanity--a nose of wax---

At length all the schemes if in reality they had any, failed, the moment Gen^l Paex moved they fell
 one after another, first Valencia ⁴⁶ then Victoria, ⁴⁷

and on the night of the 27 was as near as Coquisas to the City of Caracas on the road to Valencia--

Consternation seized them, they found out Gen^l Paez was not with them but against them, and they prepared about or from 7 to 9 oclock at night of the 27 to leave Caracas-- The whole day had been one of confusion and uncertainty---

The Gov^t House was upside down and uncertainty depicted in the Countenance of every mothers son of them that you could meet---

The City looked lonely, deserted doors and windows closed, the [161] very sound of your feet in the Street was solem, dreadful, it echoed to the silence that prevailed around.

By ten oclock after an exchange of a few shots about this hour which woun[d]ed some of their own men fired from their friends, the faction departed for the East, taking the road to the village of Petare⁴⁸ at the end of the vally of Caracas; and without being harrassed or molested escaped to Rio Chico⁴⁹ & from there thence to Barcelona--⁵⁰ Gen^l Paez entered next morning the 28[#] persued after the game was fled as far as Petare--understanding that he had made a halt at Savana Grande about 3 miles from Caracas I rode out at 10 oclock to pay my respects to him, whom I found at

Gen^l Olivarez House surrounded by a few of his friends & officers and some 5 hundred troops, after about fifteen minutes conversation [162] he left me & pursued with his remaining troops to Petaré--

He here remained for 24 hours and returned to Caracas--joined with the Council of Gov^t & issued a request and appointed a commission to go off immediately for the President & Vice President.

[A brief history of the revolution of July 8 can be obtained from Paez' Autobiografía, Williamson's correspondence and Diary, the letters of Franklin Litchfield, Consul at La Guayra, and Documentos Anales de Venezuela.

It is not difficult to discover the causes of revolution in Venezuela in the year 1835. That country had been separated from Great Colombia only five years; and José Antonio Páez, the man most responsible for separation, was no longer president. A civilian was president and battle-scarred veterans of twenty years of warfare, many of whom had opposed separation but respected Páez as a military leader, felt that the

country they had fought for was no longer theirs. They sincerely believed that Venezuela must re-unite with New Granada in order to have prestige and "get out of its narrow circle" of frequent insurrections. Moreover, "public offices of all sorts should be in the hands of the founders of liberty"; that is, the military class should rule the country. Documentos Anales, III, 239-241.

Diego and Andrés Ibarra, Martín Tovar, Pedro Briceño Mendez, and perhaps Santiago Mariño and others (men who had long been associated with Bolívar) planned the revolution; but the chief executor was Pedro Carujo. He it was who led the batallion Anzoátegui, after it had been seduced by being made to believe that Páez would lead the revolt, to take possession of the Government House and imprison Vargas in his own home. This was early on the morning of July 8 and, although the revolution lasted until the following March, it is known as the revolution of July 8.

On that day three important characters were absent from the scene of action. Páez was at his hato, San Pablo, thirty-eight leagues west of Caracas; Mariño was near Valencia; and José Tadeo Monagas was somewhere in the East. Páez claimed that neither he nor Monagas had part in the movement, that "the deed

was already done when it came to our notice." However, he also said that Monagas denied this statement (Autobiografía, II, 332) so we must remember that in August, 1835, Páez was trying to woo Monagas to the side of Constitutional authority. It may be that Páez was aware of the projected action but did nothing to hinder it; then later, at the opportune time, he became the defender of that constitutional government which he had helped establish, and the savior of his country.

The Reformists were busy on July 8: they proclaimed Mariño Supreme Chief and Páez Superior Chief, Diego Ibarra replaced General Cruz Paredes as commander of the capital, and Pedro Briceño Mendez was made governor of the province. Carujo "insolently" demanded that Vargas resign, and Vargas "serenely" replied that such action was not in keeping with the dignity of his position. Later in the day Doctor Vargas made a speech to the people of Caracas in which he related the day's events. That night he called a meeting of the Council of Government at which Páez was, according to constitutional procedure, authorized to raise an army of ten thousand and save the republic.

There was some confusion in Caracas until Mariño arrived (July 12), but one definite act was accomplished: Vargas and the Vice President, Andrés

Navarte, were shipped to St. Thomas on the tenth.

In the meantime, half a dozen men reached San Pablo with letters from prominent citizens of Caracas which told of the scandal perpetrated in that city and begged Páez to accept the position offered him by the Council of Government. Páez hesitated; if he accepted, it would mean that Venezuelans would kill Venezuelans and he had a horror of shedding the blood of his countrymen. However, he had helped to establish the Republic of Venezuela and he had been its first president so he resolved to prevent its destruction. Collecting fifty men who were at his hato he marched toward Caracas. At Maracay he was joined by some of his old soldiers; at Valencia on July 25, Laurencio Silva surrendered and joined forces with Páez; and the next day, at Victoria, Páez achieved a dramatic triumph.

Pedro Alcántara, perceiving the approach of Páez, came out from Victoria and started for Caracas but was headed off by Codazzi and forced to face Páez at a little place called Lagunetas. Páez entreated him to surrender and avoid bloodshed. As he tells us:

That was the first time that I had to take up arms against my brothers and such a thought tormented me horribly. I pleaded fervently with heaven to move the heart of my enemy so that force would not need to be used. . . . The God of Peace heard my prayer. Alcántara acceded to my exhortation. . . . With all the

force of my lungs, and possessed of an inexplicable joy, I shouted from one group to the other that they prostrate themselves to the earth and give thanks to God for having freed us from the terrible danger of spilling the blood of brothers. Autobiografía, II, 298-299.

The Reformists silently evacuated Caracas on the night of July 27, and the next day Páez entered the city without opposition and without any blood having yet been shed in the revolution which was then twenty days old. His first care was to organize the government, so he called a meeting of the Council of Government. It elected José María Carreño President and then named a commission to recall Vargas from St. Thomas. (Vargas was back in Caracas by August 20. Autobiografía, 304).

Páez marched east to Petare in pursuit of the revolutionists, then returned to the capital to consult the Council. He has been criticized for not advancing rapidly on the enemy; but, as he frequently reminds us, the revolutionists had taken all the supplies, they had all the boats, and they had hundreds of veteran soldiers and officers. By comparison, Páez band was small and unorganized, it had practically no equipment or arms, and very few horses. Moreover, he was trying to prevent sanguinary engagements, and for this reason he consulted the Council. It gave him permission to invite the Reformists to lay down their arms and accept

a general amnesty, and to begin a correspondence to that end with the leaders. Páez wrote letters day after day, even when the effort seemed wasted. He pleaded with Monagas to help "in the grand work of re-establishing constitutional order," and in the next letter said: "I wish to divide with you the glory of saving the Republic." Documentos Anales, II, 151-153. In a similar vein he wrote Mariño: "It makes me sad to contemplate such a noble person as yourself following Carujo." Ibid., II, 150. His flattery was a little more exaggerated when he wrote Beluche, the former Louisiana pirate: "I know your noble sentiments could never mix with crime. You are a gentleman and I hope you will not be in the group contrary to where my duty leads. I have always been your best friend in Venezuela." Autobiografía, II, 328-329.

These pacific measures were not immediately successful and there were many bloody battles during August, September and October. Monagas was the first to succumb to Páez' artful propaganda. On November 1, he agreed to disband his troops in return for complete amnesty. This capitulation was a great victory for Páez because Monagas controlled the whole eastern area and the defeat of the Reformists was only a matter of time.

Páez then turned his full attention to Mariño who was somewhere along the coast, and to Carujo in the West. First, however, he sent re-enforcements to protect Caracas. Since the treasury was practically empty and this infantry detachment needed equipment, Páez thought he had sufficient reason for asking a personal loan of 3,000 pesos from señora Luisa Oriach, the wife of General Monagas. Ibid., II, 349.

The American Brig Stag was bought by the government, armed, and sent to capture boats of the faction along the coast. Carujo's forces at Valencia had been defeated by Montilla and Codazzi (October 28-29) and Carujo had withdrawn to Puerto Cabello. Captain Dallas of the United States Navy arrived there early in December and warned the faction that a sloop had been sent in search of Captain Beluche. On Christmas eve the government forces defeated the faction near Puerto Cabello and Carujo was mortally wounded in the battle. Mariño, the two Ibarras, and other officers escaped by boat from Puerto Cabello early in January. The next month Beluche's schooner was seized near St. Thomas and sent under a Danish man-of-war to the Venezuelan government. Puerto Cabello was now anxious to end hostilities and its surrender on March 1, 1836, marked the end of the revolution.]

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER III

- 1 Diego Ibarra (1798-1852), like his brother Andrés, was a favorite aide-de-camp of Bolívar. Diego was with him in his campaigns in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. T. R. Ybarra, op. cit., 213; Lecuna, op. cit., X, 197-199.
- 2 Pedro Briceño Mendez was Bolívar's secretary during the early years of the revolution. At the Congress of Angostura, 1819, Briceño Mendez was made Minister of War. He was one of the leaders of Bolívar's party at the Congress of Ocaña, 1828; and in 1829 was one of those who wanted Bolívar to assume a crown. Lemly, op. cit., 43, 119, 177, 339, 361.
- 3 General Justo Briceño saw a great deal of action in the Wars of Independence and seemed to be one in whom Bolívar had great confidence. Much of Bolívar's correspondence during the last few months of his life was to Justo. His last act before he died was to dictate a letter to Justo in which he begged him to effect a reconciliation with General Rafael Urdaneta. Lecuna, op. cit., IX, 410-411.
- 4 General Laurencio Silva was one of the victorious generals under Sucre at Ayacucho. Silva, a

mulatto, married Bolívar's niece Felicia. The girl was proud of her blood and resisted the marriage for a long time, but finally Bolívar forced her into the marriage. The story is told that years later, after Felicia had borne Silva many children, her grandson said to her, "Where is my Uncle Simón--in Heaven?" The old woman replied, "No, child, he is in hell, for having made me marry this negro." Thomas Rourke, Man of Glory Simon Bolivar (New York, 1939), 328-329.

- 5 The following paragraph is an almost exact translation of an article from El Nacional, July 13, 1935. Documentos Anales de Venezuela, I, 404-405.

- 6 When the Royalist army defeated the revolutionists in 1812, Santiago Mariño, a rich young patriot, fled to Trinidad. He became the leader of exiles there and in January 1813 they crossed to the nearest point in Venezuela. The eastern provinces soon recognized Mariño as their Supreme Chief. Later, Bolívar had to recognize this authority, a deviation from his fixed idea of centralized control, because he needed the cooperation of Mariño and his following in order to gain the West. José Manuel Restrepo, Historia de la Revolución de la República de

Colombia en la América Meridional, 4 vols., (Besanzon, 1858), II, 171-174. Mariño was one of the defeated presidential candidates in February, 1835.

- 7 José Antonio Páez, one of the most important figures in Venezuelan history, was born near the little village of Acaigua in the province of Barinas on June 13, 1790. He was about seventeen when he killed a highwayman and fled to the llanos or plains of the upper Orinoco. There he became the leader of the wild llaneros (slaves of the absentee owners of land and cattle). Bolívar sought his help in 1819 and from then on he fought with the revolutionists. When Bolívar left Great Colombia for Peru, Páez was left in charge of the central part of Venezuela. He staged a little rebellion against Bolívar--since called the Cosiata--in 1826, but Bolívar won back his allegiance in 1827. Páez (unable to read and write when he first met Bolívar) educated himself, became president of the republic, was virtually dictator for sixteen years; then, when exiled, made New York his headquarters for the rest of his life. José Antonio Páez, Autobiografía, 2 vols., (Caracas, 1888), I, 5-18; Thomas Hourke, op. cit., 119-120; 169-172. At seventy Páez wrote (or dictated) his

very creditable autobiography. He died in New York at the age of eighty-three. William Eleroy Curtis, Venezuela, 96.

- 8 This paragraph and the next seven are translations of the previously cited article in El Nacional, July 13, 1835. Documentos Anales de Venezuela, I, 404-407.
- 9 The article in El Nacional reads "signed by thirteen (fourteen) chiefs and officials." Ibid., I, 406.
- 10 For Vargas' speech see Ibid., I, 392-395.
- 11 General José María Carréño. Ibid., I, 407.
- 12 The battalion Anzoátegui was named for General José Antonio Anzoátegui who was always loyal to Bolívar and believed that only through his leadership could independence be won. Bolívar gave most of the credit for the Battle of Boyacá (New Granada, 1819) to this general. Not long after Boyacá, Anzoátegui died in Pamplona from sickness contracted in crossing the Andes. Lecuna, Cartas del Libertador, II, 119, 158, 218; Lemly, Bolívar, 185-188, 190; Rourke, Man of Glory, 228. Anzoátegui was the battalion Páez used for his revolution of 1826. When Bolívar came to Caracas in 1827 he reprimanded

this force, removed the commanding officer and put Narciso Gonell in his place. Early in July, 1836, Gonell was informed that the battalion might start a revolution. He ordered Captain Gelambi and his company to guard the park. Comandante Pedro Carujo took the battalion from its quarters on the morning of July 8, and the revolution developed, as Williamson relates. L. Duarte Level, Historia Patria (Caracas, 1911), 356-362.

- 13 If Williamson had used the word "nationalism" rather than "vanity" his estimate of the French character would have been more accurate historically. Napoleon was heir to the French Revolution. "That change had swept away old encumbrances from France, aroused within her people intense loyalty and national spirit, and given to them an almost unconquerable enthusiasm and ardor." Edward Raymond Turner, Europe 1789-1920 (New York, 1921), 71-72.
- 14 "Situating"- established or based.
- 15 Felicia was one of the illegitimate children of Bolívar's brother Juan Vicente. Cf., supra, note 4, pp. 148-149.
- 16 parents--relatives or ancestors.
Francisco Marín de Narváez, Bolívar's paternal

great-great-grandfather, had but one female heir, a natural daughter, by Josefa María "sin apellidos." The racial background of the nameless Josefa María is not known. There is no proof that she was a negro. Carlos Pereyra, La Juventud Legendaria de Bolívar (Madrid, 1932), 33-34.

- 17 José Rafael Revenga (1781-1852) was sent by the Revolutionary Junta of 1810 to the United States to get help in the war against Spain. Unsuccessful, Revenga returned to be Bolívar's secretary until 1815 when he again went to the United States for help, and again was unsuccessful. Returning to Angostura in 1817, he acted as Bolívar's chief secretary until 1821 when Bolívar sent him to Spain on a peace mission. In London in 1822 Revenga arranged for a new loan and returned to Colombia to become Secretary of State and Exterior Relations. Revenga retired to private life in 1830 because he did not approve of Venezuela's separation from Great Colombia. Later he served as representative in the Venezuelan Congress for the province of Caracas (1844-1848). President Monagas made him Secretary of Interior in 1849; but not approving the policies of that administration, Revenga resigned from the Cabinet. Espasa, op. cit., LI, 44.

- 18 General Lino de Clemente (1767-1834), one of the forty-four signers of the Declaration of Independence, figured in the revolutionary army from its earliest days. He was a deputy at the Congress of Angostura (1819), commanding general of the department of Cartagena until 1825, Secretary of War from 1826 to 1830. Broken in health, he retired in 1830. Espasa, Ibid., XIII, 818.
- 19 When Bolívar went to Haiti early in 1816, President Alexander Pétion gave him substantial aid with the understanding that slaves in his native land were to be freed as soon as he had the power. Later in that year when Bolívar was again in Venezuela, he issued a proclamation which contained this item: "Henceforth in Venezuela there will be only one class of men: all will be citizens." Restrepo, op. cit., II, 334-336; Vicente Lecuna, Proclamas y Discursos, 150-151. Gradual emancipation was decreed in 1821; but in 1854 when a law for the complete abolition of slavery with compensation was passed, there were still 13,000 slaves and 27,000 persons born of slave mothers and bound to serve their masters until the age of twenty-five. D. G. Munro, op. cit., 394, 398.

- 20 Cf., Daunion Lavaysse, Description of Venezuela, Trinidad, Margarita and Tobago (London, 1820), 181-184. Depons reports that "alliances between families of color and distinguished Spanish families have very rarely occurred. Such connexions have been pretty common among the lower classes of the whites, till in the year 1785, a royal ordinance expressly required, for the validity of marriages, that the consent of parents should be obtained, or at least requested, according to the forms prescribed by the laws, and that the difference of colours should constitute a reason sufficient to prevent marriages, conformably to the pragmatic sanction of 1776, which prohibits all marriages between whites and persons of colour." F. Depons, A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra Firma, or the Spanish Main, in South-America, During the Years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804, 3 vols., (New York, 1806), I, 178.
- 21 The rights (of a bastard) are very few, being only such as he can acquire; for he can inherit nothing, being looked upon as the son of nobody; and sometimes called filius nullius, and sometimes filius populi. William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England, 2 vols., (Philadelphia, 1860),

I, 459.

- 22 Williamson is evidently one of those men Lavaysse has in mind when he discusses the morals of the people of Caracas. "By good morals, a certain class of men understand exclusively the abstinence from sensual enjoyments; or, at least, that they should be carefully concealed, The cohabitation of a colonist with his housekeeper, is a kind of left-handed marriage; and even when it happens that he dissolves that connection, he preserves a great regard for his children and makes their happiness one of his chief objects." Dauxion Lavaysse, op. cit., 183.
- 23 Bolívar died on December 17, 1830. Baralt y Díaz, op. cit., III, 343.
- 24 In 1826 when Bolívar was at the height of his fame, recognized as conqueror, he drew up a constitution for Bolivia which built up a central power that could be absolute and rigid. It provided for a life term president with the power to name his successor, an hereditary senate, and a College of censors. This Constitution lasted two years in Bolivia. It was used as evidence by his enemies to prove that he intended to make himself monarch of the countries

he had freed. "The year 1826 marked the decadence of his political thought. . . .It is clear that Bolívar retained all the vigor of his intelligence, but the freshness, the spontaneity, and the absolute disinterestedness of his earlier ideas, were lacking." Víctor Andrés Belaunde, Bolívar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution (Baltimore, 1938), 232-258.

25 Cf., Supra, [81].

26 According to Mariño's proclamation, July 13, 1835, he was not in Caracas on July 8. Documentos Anales de Venezuela, III, 223-224. Williamson's letter to John Forsyth, July 18, 1835, states that Mariño arrived in Caracas on July 12. National Archives, File Microcopy No. 79, Roll 2. Mariño was in Victoria on July 8 and on the evening of July 12 was in Caracas. Feliciano Montenegro y Colon, Geografía General para el Uso de la Juventud de Venezuela (Caracas, 1837), 614.

27 Bando--proclamation, edict. Documentos Anales de Venezuela, III, 222-226.

28 "What the Spaniards call fuero. . . .permits the citizens of each profession to be judged by their

compeers." Depons, op. cit., II, 50-51. This privilege of being tried in their own special courts in both civil and criminal cases was stubbornly defended, especially by the army and the church. Dana Gardner Munro, The Latin American Republics, A History (New York, 1942), 93.

- 29 Páez describes Carujo as being "captain of the revolutionists, always in the ranks of the disorderly, . . .arrogant, . . .insolent." Autobiografía, II, 294-295. Subsequent events show that Carujo undoubtedly was brave, perhaps stubborn. In relating the events of the July 8 revolution, Páez makes himself the great hero, sometimes at the expense of other characters.
- 30 The attempt on Bolívar's life in 1828, at which time Ferguson was killed by Carujo. Supra, [81].
- 31 Admiral Cockburn was among those British naval officers who carried away hundreds of slaves from the United States during the War of 1812. The terms of the Treaty of Ghent obliged these officers to return the slaves. Sir Alexander Cochrane and Admiral Cockburn refused to restore the slaves they had taken. Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, V, 159-160.

- 32 Ocaña is about half-way between Cartagena and Bogotá and Bucaramanga is about ninety miles south of Ocaña. Peru de Lacroix, one of Bolívar's aides, kept a diary of this period in which he recorded Bolívar's habits and conversation. Peru de La Croix, Diario de Bucaramanga (Paris, 1912), 5-8.
- 33 The convention of Ocaña began its sessions on April 9, 1828. The majority of the deputies were hostile to Bolívar's political ideas and opposed to applying the Bolivian Constitution to Colombia. Bolívar would not compromise and the convention was a failure. Henao y Arrubla, op. cit., 398-399. Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, Diego Mendoza Pérez, Jesus M. Henao, Gerardo Arrubla (eds.), Archivo Santander, 23 vols., (Bogotá, 1913-1927), XVII, 348-349; 359-371.
- 34 Antonio José de Sucre, twelve years younger than Bolívar, was unexcelled in his ability to carry out a campaign. He assumed military leadership of the armies in Peru when Bolívar was physically unable to take part in battle. Bolívar considered Sucre as his son, and his last days were saddened by the murder of Sucre on June 4, 1830. Antonio Flores, El Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho (New York,

1883), 102, 211-222.

- 35 Bolívar's correspondence for 1826 shows that the idea of a crown for the Liberator was spreading. Lecuna, op. cit., VI. Now that independence was won, the idea appears of an "Empire of the Andes," with Bolívar occupying the throne. Belaunde thinks that in 1826 South America was ready for autocratic rule: psychological influences, social factors, intellectual forces, all tended to build up a popular desire for a strong dictatorship. Bolívar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution, 233-235, 300-302.
- 36 Charles de Bresson's mission (1828-29) was to survey the new American Republics for the French government so it could decide whether or not to initiate commercial and diplomatic negotiations. Restrepo, Historia de la Revolución, IV, 140. Lecuna states that at this time the Council of Government, partly influenced by the presence of Bresson, made the "grave error" of formulating the monarchy project. Lecuna, op. cit., IX, 9-10. Bresson's "appearance was the signal for a concentration of the monarchical sympathizers, of which movement M. Bresson was not slow to take advantage."

Lemly, Bolívar, 362.

- 37 This Duke of Montebello is probably Napoleon Auguste Lannes, (1801-1874), the oldest son of Jean Lannes, Marshal of France. La Grande Encyclopédie, XXI, 923-924.
- 38 As consul at La Guayra, Williamson reported to Martin Van Buren: "Much speculation is in circulation here about the views and policy of European Nations in regard to the new South American states; and much excitement, from reports of the interference of England and France in the affairs of this nation, exists among the people. . . .and the arrival of Mr. Bresson as French agent or charge at Bogota and the recent visit and residence here of Adm. Fleming of the British Windward & Havana West India stations, tend in some measure to confirm among these people. . . .belief in such an arrangement." National Archives, File Microcopy No. 84, Roll 2, letter dated December 12, 1829.
- 39 Some evidence of British intrigue is found in Bolívar's correspondence. For instance, in a letter dated April 21, 1827, he wrote: "Yesterday I received a private visit from Ambassador Cockburn who has just arrived; he urged me much

in the name of his government to go to the capital (Bogotá) to take the reins of government and he told me a thousand agreeable and flattering things." Lecuna, op. cit., VI, 277.

- 40 Frederick Chamier (1796-1870) entered the navy in 1809 and served until 1833. On retirement he wrote several nautical novels which had considerable success. One of these, The Life of a Sailor, is his own autobiography. Dictionary National Biography, X, 32-33.
- 41 Chamier describes this banquet at La Guayra and gives us a clue to Williamson's dislike of Bolívar. Carried away by his own eloquence, Bolívar "expressed his wish that from the southern point of Spain to the banks of the Neva, all should be one Great Britain, under one great George." The French and Dutch consuls were displeased but soon forgot the incident. However the Americans felt very bitter, especially Williamson. "The American consul had, a week previous to the banquet, concocted a most luminous and lengthy response to what he considered a certainty--namely the health of John Quincy Adams: but when he found that no allusion was even made to his country, he looked as pale as Mrs.

Elizabeth Woodcock, who was found buried in the snow near Cambridge, in 1799." A few days later, the Americans refused to attend the grand ball, while "The French and Dutch consuls and people behaved more like Christians: they forgave an unintentional insult, and joined the merry dance. This occurrence, trifling as it may appear, raised a very serious clamour against Bolivar, and made him several very powerful enemies." Frederick Chamier, The Life of a Sailor, 2 vols., (New York, 1833), II, 164-165.

- 42 Maracay is west of Caracas, a few miles from the Caribbean port of Choroní. For description see Agustin Codazzi, Resumen de la Geografía de Venezuela, 376.
- 43 This list is the same as given in Documentos Anales de Venezuela, I, 392.
- 44 Cf., Ibid., III, 225-226.
- 45 Mendez's letter to Williamson is included in Williamson's letter No. 3 to the Secretary of State. National Archives, File Microcopy, 79, 2.
- 46 Valencia, west of Lake Valencia, is the capital of Carabobo, the only province named for a great

battle. The location of Valencia is excellent, all the produce from the provinces of Barinas and Barquisimeto pass through this city, down the Valencia valley to Puerto Cabello, eight leagues distant. Codazzi, op. cit., 596-400.

- 47 Victoria is about half way between Valencia and Caracas. Near Victoria is the water-shed which sends the Aragua River west to Lake Valencia and the Tuy east to the Caribbean. Ibid., 575.
- 48 Petare--seven miles east of Caracas. Duane, Visit to Colombia, 28.
- 49 Rio Chico--east of Caracas, one league from the sea where the Rio Chico enters the Caribbean, and southeast of where the River Tuy enters the sea. Codazzi, op. cit., 374.
- 50 Barcelona, capital of the province of the same name, is located about two degrees east of Caracas. It is the entrance to the beautiful plains that spread toward the Orinoco. Codazzi, writing sometime in the 1830's, says that its decadence is due exclusively to the horrors of war: its houses, its streets and its plazas were five times the theatre of the bloodiest scenes of the revolution. Ibid., 550-552.

[CHAPTER IV]

The President returned about the 28[#] August,
the Gov^t is reestablished an army raised & the faction
persued to the East, by marching from various points
an army on them-- nothing but the ordinary movements
in such cases takes place, some few prisoners made
in a private way--up to the

[October 19 to November 4, 1835]

19[#] Oct

When Caracas becomes much alarmed at Gen^l
Paez ordering Col^l Codazi¹ from the vicinity of Rio Chico
to fall back upon Caracas that the faction or a great
part of them had embarked at Espiritu² for the Leeward--
and they arrive [163] at the Gen^l review of the national
militia, [sic.] and are placed in the barracks as all
things are quiet-- but at night great alarm was again
manifested that the intention of those embarking at
Espiritu from the reports from the coast were to land³
& surprise Caracas, either from Cape Cordero or
Catia--but opinion I think more justly settled down^o
that their views are for P Cabello--

20[#] Oct

Nothing new this morning, muskets arriving from
LaGuayra brought out by the Stag from New York, and

some alarm in expectation that the faction to the east had embarked at Piritu for the Leeward, might attempt disembarcation at or near LaGuayra or at Cape Cordero and by a "Coupe de main" enter Caracas--positive news as to any particular movement not known--The Secretary of State left here early this morning for LaGuayra [164] called at his offices yesterday and today without seeing of him--they have near one thousand troops under arms principally militia with a few some one or two companies of regulars--Codazzi arrived this morning with about 400 troops ordered to Cover Caracas by Gen^l Paez, from the East in consequence of the supposed embarkation at Piritu--a general apathy in every thing save the military preparations, all being enrolled in the militia and (guns) muskets in the hands of all--a bad business for they are the most awkward soldiers in the use of fire arms and have less care about them in this matter than any people on earth, never having been accustomed to arms, they use them as children would their minnie pop guns, pointing them at every and any body--the Gov^t in a good deal of tribulation, the faction having the command of some few small vessels can harass and annoy many points [165] on the coast--by which a constant vigilance and movement of troops is necessary to prevent their mutiny or establishing themselves on the

coast or in the interior--the Gov^t ought to let them land, it would destroy them at once--without resources they would then fall an easy prey to the Gov^t forces--
 Invited for tomorrow night to a party at Mr John Aldersons.⁴ "vive la bagatelle"-- expect to go--called this evening on Mr Renshaw Consul for LaGuayra who is up for a few days--his wife resides here & he resides per favor in LaGuayra--He had better take his family to LaGuayra, two establishments are expensive, besides the Gov^t requires him to reside there.

I do not care to inform the Gov^t of this plan, but he certainly will have to be very circumspect. His wife is a great reformist-- she had & ought to be silent, it will not do her or her husband any good, it may get wind, & she talk a great deal [166] calls herself and all her friends & partizans mantuanas,⁵ the rest Canalie, and yet no body I have ever seen "heaves at a nat & swallows a camel" with more self composure than she does-- Some scandal of her & the French Consul, "Honore⁶ sois qui mal eponse" --- ----

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 21

The Secretary returns today from LaGuayra, and we are in possession of news from the East which goes to say, that Gen^l Gomez, who had been compelled to retire from Carupano to Margarita by Carujo, after receiving the

reinforcement of men and arms from LaGuayra returned back again to Carupano and made an attack upon Carujo and gained a complete victory over him killing 12 or 13 officers taking two or three officers prisoners, and killing between two & three Hundred men, and drawing the ballance into Cumana--Gomez loss is likewise said to be near or upwards of Two Hundred--the report may be depended upon of an engagement, a sanguinary & obstinate one--engaged [167] supposed to be near one thousand or a few more--Also another engagement at Maturin of rather an obstinate character, in which the Gov^t forces likewise succeeded, the Commanding officer & second in command of the faction were killed--These two engagements are the first except an attack thend 22 August last at Rio Chico, in which the blood of the citizens against each other have flowed--and it has indeed been a bloody affair--I now look upon the civil war as having Commenced before all was preparation, but in these two affairs the "quo animo," but scarcely the "qui bono" has been exhibited--- It has given a new feeling to persons in Caracas, and all now are anxious to hear of the move of Gen^l Paez, for it is difficult to say what is he about, no official intelligence from him since the 4th and no reports to be relied--

News likewise today from Maracaybo [168] is of

a very favorable oest; the faction being confined to the city alone, the lake being in possession of the Constitutional forces, and almost every point around the Lake or the City--A party of the faction having been driven in from a position they had taken with several killed--To day for news has been a bright one for the Gov^t and I trust they will go on prospering, they ought, their Cause is just and holy--

Went to Mr John Aldersons to a party given by his daughters--Mr A. is an Englishman, lived some time in the States and a much longer time in Venezuela--arr^d at 8 found the most of the Company assembled, Secretary Michelana was there, in tolerable spirits--the younger part danced to the music of the piano, detestable to shake the foot to or Stand upon "the light fantastick toe"--The Rivas Pechecos, & Socoro Rivas y Tovars family were there [169] and some 10 or 15 light impertinent boys--Mr Livesly the Secretary of H. B. M. C. d'affairs was there, with one impertinable [sic] eternal and everlasting grin upon his face, he [e]sconced himself in a corner, and there cornered the whole evening like a guinea pig in a box--The Socoro Rivas y Tovars male and female I never look at but they appear to me to resemble more the face and lineaments of the flying squirrel of North Carolina, than I could

ever suppose any human being could be justly compared to so small an animal as that--but it is a positive truth, the same pug features, full round dark eye, and every feature short & out to one and same size and expression--I hope they will forgive me for thus liking them to such an animal--

The evening was passed by handing round tea & chocolate sweets, cakes et cetera, laughing & talking, and [170] take it all in all it was pleasant enough--The Ladies were well and tastefully dressed--broke up about half past 12.

nd
22

The news of the morning, that Gen^l Paez with his body of troops had crossed the Unare river⁷ on the 12[#] in cooperation with Co^l Zamora, Belesario & Gen^l Mecera, their further movements unknown, and nothing certain of the opposite forces under Gen^l Monagas--⁸ tho' it is reported they have crossed the Unare in the direction to and on the side of Caracas, it has therefore given tongue to many to say, the intention of Monagas is to march on Caracas, a foolish idea, for it would certainly be their destruction to do so unless with a much greater force, and aided by secret & treasonable acts of Citizens, who now wear the semblance of friends of the Gov^t

I cannot doubt but there is more treason than the President & others are disposed to believe in men surrounding [175] them--many who secretly aid the faction if not by action do by deed, merely because it may throw in their way employment, without principle and moral virtue, they know of no rule of action but that which will or may throw money (or power by which they can extort money) into their pockets.

Since the establishment of the Gov^t of Venezuela in 1830 by her Constitution, it has prospered in peace and quietness to an almost unexampled extent--during which time, did there appear any necessity for reforms, all respected the Laws & the Gov^t--why then did there at this moment did it appear so clear that was necessity for reforms, ⁹ and those reforms offered under the guarantee of a military faction who put all laws at defiance, who put down the Gov^t which had produced all the improvements in property, in estates and aided so essentially by its benign character, to establish a Gov^t and a nation & a people-- [172]

The great body of those composing this military move friends & relations of the deceased Gen^l Bolivar, and occupied by seizing the entire power of Gov^t issuing decrees, making Laws, and yet telling the people they were for reforms--And what was the reforms, the

reestablishment of a separate and distinct Military privilege and right over the Community--restoring monopolies, and making the Catholic religion the religion of the state--In fact bringing back every thing to the precise state only with a different masters, to what it was previous to the revolution, with the family of Bolivar and some few of his compatriots at the head in perpetuity of the Gov^t--These were the reforms--a change of masters--nothing to ameliorate the condition of the people or the Country--Changes even not necessary, if every thing prospered the Gov^t moved on well-- But peace, peace, was the bane of this military feeling, and to those men it was [173] a silence and neglect that consigned them forever to insignificance--

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23

In connection with my official situation nothing material occurred this day--Among the people[s] from the various intelligence arriving from LaGuayra, that there was off Cape Blanco from 9 to 10 vessels of different denomination, supposed to be the enemy or the faction, that intelligence had reached here, had embarked at Cumana & Barcelona for the Leaward--It was therefore Confidently believed by many and by the officers of the Gov^t that it was their intention to disembark at Catia, to make an attack upon Caracas-- Consequently

the President & two Secretaries issued a request to be presented to all foreigners to meet at the Gov^t House between the hours of one & two oclock, having something of great importance to communicate to them--I met the [174] request near my house--Tho the call was not made upon me I conceived it my duty to ascertain what it meant therefore went down to the Gov^t house about half past one, where I found nearly all the foreigners of the City assembled (say about 100) I immediately called on the Secretary Michelana, for information as to this matter, who stated it was merely to request foreigners to surrender their rights so far as to aid the Gov^t if necessary with horses in case of a landing at Catia by the faction, and they were only wanted for the vally of Caracas--therefore as it did not concern me directly, I answered, that the citizens of the U States could do as they pleased, but presumed they might accomodate the Gov^t in this matter--In the couse of conversation the Secretary committed himself as to his friendly views with the U States by observing that the U States did not enjoy the same privilidges ¹⁰ as that of Great Britain, that by Treaty [175] the Citizens of the latter were protected from all forced loans or exactions, but that it did not extend to the Citizens of the former--I immediately contested that we enjoyed

the same rights and priviledges, that she could not by treaty grant anything that was not by the act conceded to us--He stoped at this--He remarked he intended to call on me, but from business could not, but I found out he had time to call on Sir R. Ker Porter the British Charge d'Affairs, I presume on this matter, he said he intended to address me officially, but that it could be better done personally without a compromission--and that he directed the man who carried round the summons not to call one [etc.] me, this I do not believe, as I have no doubt he thought when I heard of it I would call on him instead of as he was in duty bound to call on me--It is thus that the policy [176] and fellowship of these people, Gov^t and all can be seen, (trifles shew which way the wind blows, I however will keep my post and oppose cunning to cunning, and duplicity to duplicity if necessary without a compromission of my honesty or integrity--will act a straight forward course, firm and reputable--and if they can feel will make them feel---

The alarm at this time was very great and the Secretary as firmly believed that [the faction] had landed as if he had seen it, or that it was their intention. When I expressed my doubts, he immediately said their families and friends were here, and that

they were such ties as made them desperate, and that certainly they would make the attempt--It astonished me to see the Secretary in such a flutter, & to say their friends were here, if he knew this why not take them up if they were political friends if mere [177] relations, it could not be sufficient reason for a desperate attempt upon the Capital. Every thing to day witnessed a weakness and pusillanimity and weakness I did not expect to see, no firmness no character, nothing to insure or give confidence--

I left the Secretary with no very amiable feelings at his deportment on this occasion, insinuating that American Citizens were not protected equally with British subjects, because our treaty did not expressly give it.

It lead me to believe that he would act up to this belief and if necessary make such exactions as he & the Gov^t might consider urgent and necessary in all cases of necessity to aid the Gov^t by forced exactions from American Citizens, "nous veron"----

On my return to my house I [found] a large body of Military assembled under arms at the Parke and barracks near my house, and between four [178] and five oclock, the line extended in front of my house, composed principally of a body of five Hundred under

the immediate [command] of Col^l Godazi, who at about five oclock filed off to the left for the Catia road and marched in that direction followed by about one Hundred Cavalry, badly mounted armed with Lances to each of which [was] afixed a small swallow tailed flag about 8 inches square----

Every man who had been a military man was on this day dressed out in his holladay suit of uniform either mounted on horse back or parading the streets, I met at the Gov^t house Gen^l Juan Pablo Ayala & his brother Ramon in full military dress for the ocasion-- They are truly friends of Constitutional Gov^t, and I believe disposed to sustain the Gov^t in all Constitutional measures-- On my way to the Gov^t House at the Corner where the Colledge stands oposite the Convent Conception, I observed two judges [179] of the supreme Court, Ubeneja [Urbaneja] & Martinez associated with the Doc^t Lopes de Umeres [Umerez], they appeared somewhat excited and created a belief at once in my mind that what I had heard was true, that they were partizans of the faction, if not by action at least in good wishes, and would whenever the time came that they should consider themselves personally safe would step forward to act a part-- The Gov^t & police are blind to their own protection, treason stalks abroad here in open daylight,

and no means are taken to secure the persons committing secretly acts against the Constitution & Govt---

The positive hostility to the Gov^t has its very existence in Caracas, it is fed, receives its support, its very existence in the limits of the Capital, and yet, these scene shifters these puppet players, are permitted unmolested to live and thus play their parts without molestation--The Gov^t must look out better or the consequences will be fatal to it.

[180]

Saturday
24# Oct. 1835

Called on Mr Secretary Michelana to day to ascertain what news from the coast upon the subject of the faction supposed to be off there yesterday--He informed me that two boats or flecheres were very near in the Sand at Catia Bay or a little below it and that several of vessels were still in sight, but supposed by every person they were bound to the Leeward----

I suggested the possibility of their landing at Choroni¹¹ or Ocumare and pushing direct for Maracay, which at a brisk march is not more than six hours-- If they have any thing like a force I should not doubt that this is their intention, knowing that Carabano still holds out at P. Cabello and who has near four Hundred men of all kind with him, he might with a

part make a move at that point against the troops in front, leaving enough there to garison the fort, and could he force the lines would march [181] direct for Valencia, and unite if possible with the other party in the Valleys of Aragua--The attempt would indeed be desperate, they could not in some time expect any accession to their cause, and they would be opposed, by at least in front of P. Cabello to 700 men and in the Vally or plain at the foot of the mountain descending to Valencia by 1000 troops-- a knowledge of these facts and they canot be without them, then must prove abortive, unless by treason a large party should join them of the immediate troops, which I certainly think they canot calculate upon, and unless such a movement from P. Cabello even should the party land at Cumare & reach Maracay they must fall in any reenocounter they might meet with, and certainly a good preparation now exists through this part of the Country to receive them only as enemies and such a battle must be the consequence of such a move. [182] Our conversation lead us to speak of a Treaty of Commerce, and I was pleased to find that the Secretary, still holds to all his opinions previously advanced to me on that subject; and that such are the views of the Gov^t a perfect and free reciprocity of commerce, being what you please, of

whatever nation the produce and manufacture may be without paying higher or more duties than [than] will be imposed upon the same goods in national vessels-- in fact to place our commerce and the commerce of the two nations upon a precise and equal footing in all things--

Mr Secretary thinks in the cou[r]se of next month the entire Treaty can be arranged, the principles being clearly understood, the mere form is only necessary to its completion when negotiation shall commence--

With this view he expresses a desire that the two Treaties can and may be presented at one and the same time [183] to our respective Congresses--

To day has removed a little of the bile I felt yesterday at the conversation had with the Secretary-- He is tolerably frank, but at times is disposed to incase himself a little under his Spanish Cloak of self importance or pride--operated on I think by the frequent stirring events of this detestable civil war-- the one maintaining the integrity of the Country and the other suicidal to their own interests and the prosperity of the Country, are grasping alone at power, to rule is all "rather rule in Hell than serve in heaven"-----

A part of the troops returned to day from Catia

& from the road to LaGuayra--The enemy no[t] having landed, but it is said they are still off Catia and a little to the Leaward.

 Their movements have depended more on the winds than really any views they may have had on the Coast--
It is folly to talk about landing at Catia.

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER IV

- 1 Augustin Codazzi (1792-1859) was born near Bologna, Italy. His military career began in 1812 in the armies of Napoleon. When the war was ended he became a merchant and went to Turkey. After losing his capital he travelled through Europe and eventually arrived in the United States. He decided to join Bolívar's forces and from about 1820 until his death took an active part in the affairs of Venezuela. The constituent congress of Venezuela of 1830 commissioned him to make a geography of the Republic. This work, Atlas Físico y Político de la República de Venezuela, was completed by 1839 and was published in Paris in 1841. Manuel Landaeta Rosales, Maracay 1697 A 1915 (Caracas, 1916), 114.
- 2 Williamson is referring to Piritu, cf., [163], which is on the coast between Barcelona and Rio Chico.
- 3 Cape Cordero is between Rio Chico and La Guayra, while Catia is a short distance west of La Guayra.
- 4 John Alderson, an Englishman, bought a plantation at Petare shortly after Venezuela became independent from Spain. Bolívar thought highly of him and Alderson had great respect and affection for Bolívar.

T. R. Ybarra, Young Man of Caracas, 164. Duane visited Alderson in 1822 and reported that the latter had introduced for his plantation some excellent carts that had been made in Philadelphia. Visit to Colombia, 28-29.

- 5 The term Mantuanos was used in Caracas as a distinctive title for rich families of high birth. They usually belonged to the military group. H. Poudenx and F. Mayer, Mémoire pour servir à L'Histoire de La Révolution de la Capitainerie Générale de Caracas (Paris, 1815), 13; Usler Pietri, Las Lanzas Coloradas (Santiago de Chile, 1940), 181. Canaille (French), Canalla (Spanish), rabble or mob.
- 6 Honi soit qui mal y pense. "Evil be to him who evil thinks."
- 7 The Unare is the principal river of the province of Barcelona and flows into the Caribbean west of Piritu. Codazzi, Geografía de Venezuela, 547.
- 8 José Tadeo Monagas (1784-1868) united with the revolutionists in 1810 and fought in the Venezuelan and Peruvian campaigns. He was one of those who opposed secession from Colombia in 1829 and he led

an unsuccessful revolt against Páez in 1831.

During the revolution of 1835, Monagas was the chief caudillo in the eastern provinces and was again circumvented by Páez; but in 1847 he became president, and although Páez had supported him, his followers soon confiscated Páez' estates and the old llanero began his long period of exile in the United States. Espasa-Calpe, Enciclopedia universal, XXXVI, 19; R. B. Cunningham Graham, José Antonio Páez, 288-292. A surgeon in the patriot army described Monagas in 1822. "He is stout, very well made, and so extremely active that very few men in this country can excel him in hunting or in throwing the wild bull. . . .He prefers being much alone; and he speaks very little in company, because he feels sensible how much his education has been neglected in early life, and he chooses rather to be silent than commit himself. He is a soldier merely from love of his country, and wishes for peace only that he may return to the cultivation of his farm, and the enjoyment of those domestic comforts, of which the revolutionary conditions of his country have long deprived him."

J. H. Robinson, Journal of an Expedition 1400 Miles Up the Orinoco and 300 up the Arauca

(London, 1822), 136-137.

- 9 The meaning seems to be: Why then at this moment did it appear so clear to them that reform was necessary?
- 10 One of the privileges that had irked Williamson ever since he had been consul was the fact that specific duties levied on English importations were about one-fourth as much as those levied on goods from the United States. National Archives, File Microcopy No. 84, Roll 2, Letter of John G. A. Williamson, February 9, 1828, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State.
- 11 Choroni is on the coast between Caracas and Puerto Cabello, and Ocumare is west of Choroni.
- 12 Williamson wanted United States citizens to be placed upon the most-favored-nation basis; that is, that they receive all the privileges extended to citizens of other countries. John Bassett Moore, A Digest of International Law, 8 vols., (Washington, 1906), II, 56-59.

[CHAPTER V]

[OCTOBER 25 TO NOVEMBER 4, 1835]

[184] Sunday #
25 Oct^r 1835

This day is as comonly used as a day of visiting as it is in the goodly City of Phil^a, we had consequently, a large number of visits to day-- Mrs Blohm Miss Linn, Mr Blohm & Mr Grambich came in one batch--Sir Robert Kerr Porter alone-- Mr Benedetti Mrs Benedetti and the two Miss Beneditties, the old man is considered a great scamp, having no character at all, the ladies are very genteel and Ladylike well educated, good manners, and are in my eye as genteel as any persons in the city. They are much neglected here on a/c of the father and my house is really the first after a residence of four years in the City that they have visited, we have called frequently on them in consequence of which several other persons have condescended to receive them and call on them, this neglect is said to be entirely on a/c of the father; I would advise many of the good folks and [185] of the city to be a little cautious in such matters--If Mr Beneditti is not a murderer or open rober or thief, and I do not know that that is laid to his charge, they should be a little careful of

their own reputation for many of them in money matters, running in debt and not paying, failing and making compromises and subsequently have plenty, live high & & &, that will or ought to come in for as much obliquy as others--Christian like they should first remove the beam out of thy own eye first, before they touch mote in the eye of others-- The whole fact is the foreign population in Caracas are a compound of shreds & patches odds and ends of all species of character, either unable or could not from various causes live in their own country and have sought an asylum in this, where they can so easily protect themselves by doing as the natives do---- [186]

You have here Jews and Jewesses, who assume much character, some of them are English and brag of their Country of its people its Gov^t & & &-- and pray what is a Jew in England before the Law, ¹ in his rights or even in his general character, he is neither protected, enjoys the privileges of a citizen tho born on the soil, nor have they any other character, than that of the humblest--and yet call that Country my Country, which by every act that can debase me is made to do it, and every Law that can distinguish between my rights and others are held up before me to disgrace and humble the poor and misguided Israelite--

Tho born on the soil I canot as other citizena call it my own, but am a mere wandering shifting vagabond, and made so by Law; and yet call that country home--perverting of names--Still there are jews here who call it home, and among them a [187] female native of the Island of S^t Cruz,² born under the English flag there, . She calls England home-- her husband married her in S^t Thomas, and I have my doubts whether either of them are white, at least appearances are much against them-- their Names Elias Mocatta, and Judas Mocatta, tho she passes off here for Julia--where did ever a female jew have the name of Julia-- They say they belong or wish to belong to the English Church as converted heathens, but did she not go to the United States to have her children admitted into holy communion with the synagogue by circumcision--How this world is given to lying, cheating, deception, upon the surface beneath it they canot, because our alwise and all seeing god, sees and knows every thing, and must [judge] this world for the evils they do while here--

Mr Secretary Michelana and Brother called on me-- he informed muy [me] the Gov^t had purchased the Brig Stag, for a vessel of War: and [188] intended to equip and arm her immediately against the faction; She is a fine Brig & well armed and maned could take

the whole of them-- The squadron was still below Cape Blanco, had taken a boat loaded with corn and Cacao belonging to Rafael Mazora of LaGuayra--for my part I do not care much about this, as I look upon Mazora as a great scamp, a man regardless of any mans feelings, and old blind, whining sycophant, a bad heart and a dirty dog--I know him well or would not say what I do of it, if I had any doubt about the man.

It was reported the faction had landed, Codazi who was in his march to the Vallies of Aragua, was ordered back, but it turn out nothing, They have no doubt persued their course to P^o Cabello, as it is only there they can expect to meet with friends, their force make them respected only when they land. [189]

Monday #
26 Oct 1835

This day rather a pleasant one--went down street with Mrs Williamson and paid 5 \$ for the repairing my wat[c]h and two dollars to Ajaco for sugar, bought a waiter for 2\$ & a glass for my Lamp at one Dollar--heard no news only learnt that Gen^l Paez had officially informed the Gov^t that he was within a short distance of Barcelona--and that the faction on the coast had entirely disappeared after having attempted an interview with the alcalde at Choroní asking him how he would receive them, in peace or war, who replied he would

resist them to the uttermost.

In the evening had several calls the family of Mr Alderson with him all his daughters³ with Mrs Campbell (but Miss Alice). several Gen^{ts} came in, the evening passed off[f] with music from my wife, and they all left us at about nine oclock--

No political news of importance the most of the troops have left for Maracay. [190]

Tuesday²⁷ #
27 Oct 1835.

Every body looking out for information or news from Gen^l Paez, whose movements to the east have had the appearance of great delay against the faction--He had on the 17 moved on Aragua the village around or in the vicinity of which Gen^l Monagas has his Hato or cattle estate-- He certainly should live upon the enemy-- no news from that quarter to be relied upon. Gen^l Montilla⁴ marched to Valencia as Gen^l in Chief under Paez of the State of Venezuela--to take upon himself the defense of the lines on P^o Cabello-- It is now more correctly stated that the faction have not more than 400 infantry, the rest are private citizens but partizans officers and sailors--they canot therefore make any great effort any where one engagement on the lines at P^o Cabello and one half will desert--Their situation must be any thing else but enviable. [191]

Wednesday 28[#] Oct 1835.

This is the birth day of Gen^l Bolivar and many persons had supposed that a great effort would be made by the faction to do something on this day-- And for my own part I have [no] doubt various plans were adopted by his friends and the faction, but they were abandoned with as much facility as created-- That a conspiracy existed with the faction on the coast to raise the people on this day and attempt an entrance into the Capital I have no doubt, but their experiment on the coast in their passage to P^o Cabello, satisfied Briceno Mendez, Ibarra "cum multis alias" that the day had gone by when the magic of a name could raise armies and revolutionize a whole country-- Everybody has become tired of war, even the hireling soldier as well as the worn out officers and retirement in peace and quietness has become a charm that a few years [ago] they did not think of. [192]

The faction selected a bad time, three years ago and they would have carried their sc(h)emes of power, and the mass of the community might have liked it or not, they would have governed with or without their consent. Many men who five years ago had no interest at stake no interest but what Military power gave them, they now have their little properties, some large and

some small but all of them except the real vagabond soldier are now interested in the peace and tranquility of the Country. Six years of peace has made a wonderful difference in the Country and views of the people, however ignorant and priest ridden--They observe all things quiet, prosperous & industrious--their comforts augmented, their pleasures administered to and their interest vitally concerned in the enjoyment of luxuries that war never gave or offered them-- [193]

The day passed off[f] without any thing new-- It is reported upon pretty good authority that Monagas is absolutely surrounded by the forces of Gen^l Paez, that all his movements which to the people here have been dilatory has been with the views of surrounding this mad cap Chief, and almost as wild and untamable as his own cattle-- That he has separated whether in anger or in peace with his late confederates, is yet a matter of doubt, he has retired upon his own dunghill, where they have embarked with not a Lots wife among them I believe, to try their fortune with their Swiss friend Carabano⁵ at P^o Cabello, to endeavor to raise the wind in that quarter--I must recall the word Swiss used above for Carabano he is a traitor to his country and to his service, tho the Swiss have in many Countries become hireling soldiers I believe they have

always [194] been true to their colors--true to their engagements--But this man, no, with talents and energy, he was first a constitutionalist, then signed the act of movement in P^O Cabello, then resigned it in behalf of Gen^l Paez when he found him on the move against faction of the 8[#] July in Caracas-- Then rose again openly not at the head but secretly the entire [faction] were movers, by his orders marching out of P^O Cabello to join Gen^l Paez by orders, the Military rose against the Citizen militia, fired on them killed several, at this moment a Canon is fired from the fortress, the flag run up as a signal of all being right and next day Gen^l Carab^{ña} is at the head of the faction and master of the movements. He is a great Scoundrel, the Cassius of his Country, he would sell it, he would betray it, he would see it sunk, ruined destroyed to minister to his unhallowed ambition, the ambition of always being [w]rong----- [195]

Thursday 29[#] Oct 1835.

Scarcely left the house to day, engaged in the arraignment of several articles in connection with the proposed Treaty, adopting the greater part of the Brazillian⁶ as suited to the views of my Gov^t and according to those of the Secretary of State for Venezuela.

The no appointment to meet my views on the subject has been made by the President I have a promise it will be done the ensuing month, as we agree upon the fundamental principles do not anticipate any material objection to the articles--I feel great interest in this matter, and am disposed to leave untouched all other matters connected with my mission to first accomplish this--believing that the arraignment of a Treaty will give great and friendly motives and reasons to arrange all other difficulties.

I have not called on the Secretary to day, but have ascertained that the faction arrived and at P^o Cabello have made a movement against [196] the lines of the Gov^t at P^o Cabello, and that the Govt Troops retired to St^t Esteban about two leagues--The object of the Gov^t seems to be to get them to remove nearer Valencia by permitting them to cross the mountain, that they may be entirely cut off; The forces are amply sufficient, opposed to the faction there cannot be much less than 2500 men, 300 of them cavalry, which are entirely useless, unless on level ground or upon a plain--a skirmish only took place; A marine force enough to blockade effectually P^o Cabello would in 30 days starve them out, as they cannot derive any support from the immediate Country, It is only from the coast

above, the interior or the Island of Curacao, They can derive subsistence; The Gov^t has purchased and sent to Curacao the American Brig Stag, to arm her, one more such, as they may effectually protect the Coast & Capture every vessel belonging to the faction-- Mr Fortique called to day---- [197]

Friday #
30 Oct 1835

From the various surmises of the previous day, it was generally supposed this morning or the night previous an engagement must have taken place at Valencia between the Gov^t Troops and the faction-- Consequently much excitement, but that of a serious nature existed in the city, both parties were sanguine for the faction have many friends here, and I un-fortunately know several, but as they know my opinions they have always been discreet in their conversations with me--but scarcely a doubt could really exist as to the state of things or their result-- the Gov^t forces marching on and in Valencia must have exceeded 2000 while that of the faction at the utmost not more than 700--last & latest news today stated Codazi to be within one league of Valencia under orders to march and attack the enemy at once, who were in & around one part of the city of Valencia--- [198]

Saturday #
31 Oct 1835.

Everybody on the tiptoe of expectation, called at 12 oclock on the Secretary of State for news, had none but that of yesterday, merely the army was within a short distance of Valencia--

A perfect Calm in the city, flew moving about-- at about 2 oclock the Secretary sent me word that the traitors had been defeated, Went to the Gov^t House to congratulate the President, did not meet the Secretary found him engaged--no particulars had arr^d but that the faction were routed with considerable lost, and report the Cavalry did not behave well-- It is said about 300 attempted their escape in returning to Puerto--upwards of 100 laid down their arms crying out Vive la Constitution 70 or 80 killed as many wounded and some prisoners--the notorious Carujo is said to be among the wounded and a prisoner--no particulars to be depended upon--- [199]

I had neglected to state that in the excitement I fear that by some hook and by crook Carujo might get to Caracas, Mr John Aldmon solicited that his family entirely of daughters might come to my house upon an emergency, to which I assented at once and should have felt much pleasure if the danger of events had rendered my house a better s(e)curity than private ones to

have offered to them as well as any foreigner for their protection and security----

There appears no doubt from various private letters that the faction have been routed---

Sunday
1 Novemb^r 1835

This is all Saints day, and on yesterday the Bells rung a mery peal after 12 oclock in commemoration of the Sabath coming, as well as the particular day of the Callender-- It is now reduced to a certainty the faction were defeated and well defeated [200] at Valencia--Edward McLong and a Mr Miller a Scotsman and fellow passenger with me in my first voyage to Venezuela in 1826--He is altered much, grown much older, he has been very attentive to business and but [for] some speculations [in] which he never should have embarked [he] would have been much better off--

With my wife went to several Churches among them the Cathedral, into which we walked, a considerable Concou[r]se of people there, arm and arm, and after having advanced to the lower part through the intricate mases of kneeling devotees on small Carpets for the Churches in this good Catholic Country have no seats but here and there a Confessional Chair, we were approached by a vulgar looking puppy, addressing me and teling me I should not come into the church arm & arm

with my wife, I asked the fellow by what right he had to criticise me upon [201] that subject--who are you I demanded to all of which he could not or did not make any reply, but Continued his protestation of this being a christian Church & a holy place & & & to all of which I simply replied via usted con dios"--⁷ after a turn or two left the Church----

This is a liberty which any vagabond in the church can take, but who would not dare do it in the streets or in private houses--I have always profound respect for the religion of any body or people, and as far as politeness and conformity can go without profession I have made it an invariable rule to do-- and in no way to cast a slur or air expressions that would tend to wound the feelings of the greatest fanatic in the world---

It would perhaps be as well to remark here, that the families of the Bolivars, Briceño Mendez and Ibarra, on or about the [202] 26 or 27 of Oct closed their houses in the City of Caracas and retired to the Country--No doubt they had been advised to do so by the faction from P^o Cabello, through the agency as it is suspected of Mr Mehelin the French Consul at this City and who has been the chanel through which their correspondence has been with their friends

politically and relations have been held since their departure from Caracas on 27 July last for the East-- It is fortunately a pleasing circumstance that Mon^r Mehelin departs in a short time for Guatamala as Charge d'affairs or Consul Gen^l and is only waiting for his successor, otherwise he might find his Exequator⁸ recalled---

The faction supposed by reaching Valencia they were on the Straight road to Caracas, and that on the 30[#] - they would assuredly arrive, and that their relations should not witness the horroble excesses and crimes [203] the soldiery might commit in the City, they should retire to the Country.

Caracas by their decrees was doomed to be pillaged, but [by] heaven and the exertions of the Gov^t & her soldiers it has been averted---The very worst scene of the revolution would have been again reacted in Caracas--

Monday
2 Novem^r 1835

This day and night is set apart by good catholic liberality for all the dead, and much ceremony is used in the Campo Santo or burrial ground, it being lighted up as it was the previous night, The devotion which the living pay to the dead is observed by the number and brilliancy of lights, candles, lamps

& surrounding the graves and tombs of the deceased,
 many of which being strewn with roses and flowers--
 It was a grand but gloomy sight, having a much greater
 tendency to render our feelings sad and melancholy
 [204] than brighten our devotion to the duty, or our
 warm feelings of regret and sorrow for the dead-- It is
 inclosed with a mud wall called Tapia about twelve
 feet high, with a small Chapel to the left as you enter,
 which on this occasion was open & lighted up-- It
 certainly permits a more filial respect for the dead
 than [than] it did a few years since, as I had
 frequently seen in planted in Corn or maize, and it
 grew well and rich upon the graves and among the bones
 of the dead-- They have a practice here which I do
 not believe is observed in other Catholic Countries,
 which is raising the bones of the dead after a certain
 time and throwing [them] promiscuously in a large open
 square vault in the center of the ground, raised a
 few feet above the level of the ground, and in the
 same graves bury other persons--⁹ I certainly think
 the dead in any Country are entitled in fee simple
 to the land they occupy and [205] should not be ousted
 by the legal process of the spade---

On my return from the ground with my wife and
 some other ladies we ascertained that news had arri^d

from the east of the entire defeat of Gen^l Monagas without a battle perhaps some skirmishing when his entire force save himself and thirty men came over to Gen^l Paez, he escaped to the mountains near Barcelona asking an interview with Gen^l Paez who sent to him Co^l Pepe Austria--¹⁰ It would be a dangerous adventure for Gen^l Paez to give any or the least opportunity for assassination, as certainly upon his life hangs the destiny of Venezuela.

In that quarter it is now all over with the faction of the 8 July.

To blockade P^o Cabello efficiently not one can escape; Treason may yet bring round a change, but I think the Gov^t have nothing to fear.---- [206]

Tuesday 3rd Novem^r 1835

Positive information has this morning been rendered me by the Secretary of State that the force of the faction who reached Valencia on the 28th Oct^r was composed of three brigades, Commanded by Justo Briceño, Pedro Carujo & Diego Ibarra & Gen^l Pedro Briceño Mendez as Commander in chief, and amounted to Eleven hundred troops (1100)--¹¹ this statement is made by the prisoners--upon their advance the force in front of Puerto Cabello retired upon Valencia and with the

few troops in Valencia fortified themselves in the Plaza or square in that city and in the Casa fuerte-- the consequence was the faction had possession of a great part of the city and fighting was carried on from the 28[#] to the 29-- but so soon as they observed the advance of Codazi and Padrons forces from Caracas, they Commenced their retreat, and by some unfortunate event the Cavalry could not act, or they must have [207] all been taken--after the action and retreat, about 150 were found dead 80 wounded 125 prisoners and some 250 to 300 dispersed entirely the ballance made the beast of their way over the mountain to P^O Cabello, from whom as yet no news have arrived-- called on the Secretary of State, merely for news and to draw him out on the subject of a Treaty--had no conversation on the subject--but he expressed himself as being much satisfied at what had been done at Valencia, and hoped I would continue my good opinions of the Gov^t of Venezuela to my Gov^t and that the people of the U States would still assist them in their opinion as to the views of the Gov^t & citizens of Venezuela.

This evening there was quite a feast and several oxen were eaten on the plain near the river
 12
 Anauco, in Commemoration of the Victory at Valencia,

toasting their country and people as invincible, and [208] that the militia were sufficient to protect the Gov^t & Country without the intervention of regular Troops--The President was there and his Sect^y Michelana dressed in his militia Coat setting a good example--

This is what I ascertained from those who were there, did not go, because these people really know nothing about fire arms, and as I am not always and at a moments warning ready to die I concluded to remain out of their society and out of harms way-- The President made them a good Speech, and in firing off their arms for Joy, several balls were heard by disinterested visitors, but I believe no damage--

The people here it would seem are as civilized as we are, in meeting together to commemorate an event or do honor to an individual, they meet together and actually eat a man into some importance, or render the day glorious by as much debauch as possible-- [209] It is a great misfortune in both a moral and political point of View that no circumstances can occur in the U States, nor no man who has friends when by some act he should lose employment publicly, or render some particular service, but he must be feasted by his friends, and eat into that respect and that importance which he never had--

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER V

- 1 Jews in England were excluded from certain privileges because of the Test Act of 1673 which stated that persons who would not take Communion according to the rites of the Church of England were debarred from holding office either under the Crown or in the municipalities; moreover, universities were closed to Dissenters of every kind. The sacramental test for civil office remained unchanged until the passage of Lord John Russell's Bill in 1828 to repeal the test and corporation acts. However, an office-holder had to declare "upon the true faith of a Christian" that he would do nothing hostile to the Church. This meant that Jews were still excluded from public office. It was only in conjunction with the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the Second Reform Bill of 1867 that the repeal of the Test Act effected the full political emancipation of non-conformists. William Hunt and Reginald L. Poole (editors), The Political History of England, 12 vols., (London, 1906-1907), XI, 235; George Macaulay Trevelyan, History of England (London, 1937), 474, 631.
- 2 Santa Cruz, or Sainte Croix, is a few miles

southeast of Puerto Rico, and is separated from the Virgin group by a channel one thousand feet deep.

H. W. Bates, Central America The West Indies and South America, 178.

- 3 The Alderson sisters (Eleanor, Isabella, Eliza, and Alice) played an unforgettable part in the childhood of Thomas Ybarra. As a little boy, in the 1890's he had a "solemn compact" with the four old English-women. "I was to be free to read their books at all hours of the day, in any part of their parlor, or curled up on a chair in the corridor beside their patio. But, just as soon as visitors put in an appearance, I was to be allowed to crawl silently into that little space behind the sofa, and remain there, unseen and unmolested, until the coast was clear. The old ladies observed faithfully the stipulations of our compact."

"They remained to the end of their long lives completely and uncompromisingly English. . . The last survivor of the sisters, Miss Alice, died when she was well over eighty. She had been a resident of Caracas for something like three-quarters of a century. Yet I can truly say that Miss Alice never left Chester. Neither did any one of her three sisters. . . They were well-liked. Venezuelans

constantly paid calls on them, in that front parlor where I used to lie hidden. The old spinsters were the incarnation of respectability and tradition, two things to which Latin Americans instinctively pay homage." Young Man of Caracas, 162-166.

- 4 Mariano Montilla (1782-1851) was among the first promoters of the revolution against Spain in 1808, and he took an active part in its campaigns. Bolívar thought highly of him as a general. In 1835, Páez made him "second chief" of the constitutional army and gave him charge of the western theater of the revolution. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia universal, XXXVI, 696-697; Lecuna, Cartas del Libertador, X, 239-242; Páez, Autobiografía, 343.
- 5 Francisco Carabáño was born in Cumana in 1783 and was assassinated there in 1848. He was sent to Europe for a military education and it may be that Williamson used the word "Swiss" as meaning professional soldier. Carabáño joined the patriot forces in Venezuela in 1810, was elected delegate to the Cortez in Spain in 1820, and in 1824 was a representative from Caracas in the Colombian congress. Because of ill health he retired from public life in 1830 but five years later joined the Reformists and was exiled for his part in the revolution of

July 8. He returned to Venezuela in 1844, was made commander-of-arms at Cumana', and was killed there by his political enemies. Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., XI, 625-626.

- 6 Instructions to Williamson with regard to making a treaty were: "The principle upon which you will first endeavour to negotiate with the Venezuelan Government is that on which the Act of 1828 was based. You will find it unfolded in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th articles of the Treaty concluded in 1828 with Brazil, which adopts our system in its full extent as to the equalization of duties on tonnage and imports whatever may be the nature and origin of the cargoes or from whence imported." Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Instructions from the Department of State to John G. A. Williamson, April 15, 1835. For a copy of the Brazilian Treaty in English and Portuguese, see Hunter Miller (ed.), Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America (Washington, 1931---), III, 451-484.
- 7 Vaya usted con dios--Go with God, the Lord be with you.
- 8 Exequatur--a written official recognition and

authorization of a consular officer, issued by the government to which he is accredited. John Bassett Moore, Digest of International Law, IV, 671.

- 9 Other Catholic countries did have the same practice. In Mexico, after a five year period, remnants of the dead were thrown on a common pile and burned. Cement was made from the ashes of the dead "for the erection of other clay tenements for the daily dying." Albert M. Gilliam, Travels Over the Table Lands and Cordilleras of Mexico During the Years 1843 and 44 (Philadelphia, 1846), 115-119. In Chile, the poor rented graves for a year. At the end of that period bodies were dug up, the bones were thrown in a deep pit, and the coffins were burned. Mrs. C. B. Merwin, Three Years in Chile (New York, 1863), 50-51.
- 10 Cf., Páez, Autobiografía, II, 345. José de Austria (1791-1863) was twenty years old when he enlisted in the revolutionary army. For his ability and merit he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. He is the author of Memorias ilustrativas and Un Bosquejo de la historia militar de Venezuela en la guerra de su independencia (n.d.) Espasa-Calpe,

op. cit., VI, 1122.

- 11 Cf., Baralt y Díaz, Resumen de la Historia de Venezuela, III, 361-362.
- 12 The Anauco supplied all the eastern part of Caracas with water. Wm. Duane, Visit to Colombia, 61.

[CHAPTER VI]

[NOVEMBER 4 TO NOVEMBER 24, 1835]

Wednesday #
4 Novem^r 1835

It had been agreed some time previous that on Wednesday evenings a soire[e] or tea party should take place, at Mr Aldersons, Mr OCallaghan, and our house, for the purpose of bringing together our friends principally the young--Mrs Mocatta backed out of this affair after being the first to propose it, alledging verious reasons--I think this has grown out of the idea that some persons who would and whom she had [210] met at my house and who were once her particular friends would not visit her soire, and therefore that no exceptions should be taken at her or her house, she has come to a determination to withdraw from them entirely and visit none-- Besides as there is an unfortunate difference between Sir Robert Ker Porter and John Alderson, she could not ask the Aldersons expecting the father and Sir Robert, as they do not meet nor speak---

It is a little doubtful whether Mrs Renshaw will give a party or not, she assumes a great deal, wants a bigger house, (mine is at her disposal) talks about the people is a great reformista and thinks nobody gentlemanly nor of character unless Military or

they are rich, or belonging to the Mantuanas of the Country--the old name for the either titled or people who have some Indian [211] and with a due proportion of old Spanish and a slight touch of Negroe blood in them-- something like herself-- I frequently fancy she is not the entire white thing, her children are nearly olive colour; and she is not herself of the cleanest lily that I have seen--She was born in Teneriff, lived sometime in Cadiz, but longer in Teneriff, and from her connections here on the side of her father, the fact [remains] I think clearly established she is not as white as she might be--she is a great intriguer talks ill or bad of persons as it may suit her views or the schemes she may have in her head--They embrace every thing like under work, and I should not doubt but that of being the wife of a Charge, should not cross her fruitful brain frequently--If she could do us an injury to get me out she would I have no doubt-- I think I understand her just as well as she can me. [212] According therefore to previous understanding about 25 persons male and female met at my house and amused themselves until 11 oclock and went home-- My wife gave them Tea & chocolate, cake, fruits wine & & and it went off[f] in a sort of a hum drum way----

It was reported last night that the faction

had abandoned Puerto Cabello absolutely--It wants confirmation--Gen^l Gomez is certainly on the way to LaGuayra, and it is [the] general impression to the windward that the faction had possession of Caracas-- fortunately it is not so, for the sake of humanity for the sake of holy religion and every Christian Virtue---

Prompt movements now must soon settle this affair, whether they are in P^o Cabello or abandoned it---

The weather quite hot and oppressive. [213]

Thursday 5 Novem^r 1835

It is reported this morning that a party from P^o Cabello had landed about three leagues above say to the windward, but do not say for what purpose-- a large boat passed to the Windward two days since with from 10 to 12 oars aside and hailed some of the slaves on the estate at Camburi about 20 miles above LaGuayra-- Supposed to be deserters.-- A British Brig of War arrived on Monday night last at LaGuayra about six o'clock communicated with the shore and sailed at 9 o'clock for P^o Cabello to relieve the Larre Cap^t Smith or provision her--And on Thursday arrived a French Brig of War--she sails to day for P^o Cabello-- All this is right foreign citizens require protection as well as property at that place, and I am only astonished why we have not had a man of war at or on

this Coast--I have solicited [214] it from the Gov^t,
aided I have no doubt by the indefatigable requests of
Mr Litchfield¹ at P^o Cabello, who in all matters of
this kind, is very importunate because he believes
Atlas like he carries the World upon his Shoulders at
that place, and that it is besides the most important
port in the world--He imagines vessels should fly not
sail, and that the Gov^t of the UStates should move
and order as his house or his property are concerned--
I have no doubt with the exception perhaps of ten or
fifteen thousand Dollars there is no property except
in debts belonging to Americans or American Citizens
in P^o Cabello--because all Cargoes from the States
consists generally in perishable articles and they are
sold as early as possible after arrival, and generally
within 6 or 7 days the a/c is closed so far as regards
the sale of the property--and no armed force nor could
the Gov^t of the UStates itself [215] render debts more
punctual or more secure, in such cases the risque is
certainly belonging to the merchant, and one he freely
takes, and therefore no longer the object of the Gov^t,
nor can it come at all under its Cognizance.²

So long as the property is in Store or on board
of American Vessels it is clearly under the protection
of international Law and if seized or taken by any

body of persons having actually subverted the Gov^t and taken possession of the power and authority which ever may ultimately predominate the Gov^t de facto or de jure are bound for the same to its uttermost.

In LaGuayra which does ten times as much business as P^o Cabello There is and has always been a very small quantity of American property in original or first hands, and when sold seldom or ever goes second hand into an Americans---

Yet Mr Litchfield would move heaven and earth in these matters [216] and the Gov^t of the UStates to exercise power and authority foreign to the Gov^t

Mr Litchfield wrote me sometime since that the authorities at P^o Cabello had refused him permission to ship some ten or twelve boxes of money on board of an American vessel for S^t Thomas, belonging to an American Citizen to whom he had given an official consular receipt for the money-- On receiving this intelligence I communicated it to Cap^t Sidney Smith of the British Ship Larre who happened to be here, he stated that Litchfield had said nothing to him about this matter if he had he would have secured it for him and brought it [to] LaGuayra,

A few evenings after Cap^t Vermont of a French Vessel of War came up from LaGuayra, I immediately

asked him in his visit to P^o Cabello to which port he was going to aid Mr Litchfield in this matter--he offered very politely his services, and did actually bring the money to LaGuayra, as the whole of this was done officially and through [217] Gov^t agents entirely Cap^t Vermont requested, the formality necessary in such Cases in the delivery of money, to wit to the Consul at LaGuayra, but it seems it was differently directed, and he felt a difficulty in delivering the money otherwise--It was however by Mr Renshaw arranged and it was delivered to a private consignee at LaGuayra.

Cap^t Vermont remarked that had have know [that had he known] as much about the money as he then knew he would not have received the money nor have aided in its transmission, as he believed it to be property of the citizens of the Country.

Mr Litchfield has lived so long out of the UStates, and married in this Country that he has lost sight of almost every thing American, both in habits manners and customs.

He imagines that things can and ought to be done in the UStates by the direction of one man, by a direction positive and personal as he has been so long accustomed to such [218] command and authority among the

Govern³ of Island and through the revolution of
Colombia.

It was reported this evening that the reformists
were off LaGuayra, and that Gen^l Montilla had written
from Valencia that they had embarked at P^o Cabello
with six Hundred troops--

I think it all a Ruse De Guerre, to gain time
or to again make a move on Valencia--The City much alarmed
from the reports that they were visable in force of
boats & & to the Leaward of LaGuayra or near Catia,
and at half past five a general alarm was beat calling
all the malitia to take arms.

Friday #
6 Novem^r 1835.

About five Hundred Malitia were ordered to LaGuayra
to day, and nearly all the State prisoners, To Wit
Gen^l Valdez, Col Carlos Maria Ortega, Co^l Andara, Level
de Goda who brought to LaGuayra the pronuncimiento of
Cumana in behalf of the movements here. On the 8[#]
July, he arrived [219] in LaGuayra in and near the time
that Gen^l Paez entered Caracas & fell into the hands
of the Gov^t-- some 20 or 30 prisoners from the regiments
of Junin and Antswartiga [Anzoátegui] taken at Valencia--
Still some alarm existing about the landing of the
faction below LaGuayra--It has been confirmed today

from Gen^l Montilla that Carujo on his return to P^o Cabello was declared commander in chief, and was trying Briceno Mendez, two Ibarra's, and Justo Briceno for cowardice at Valencia.

This may be true, Carujo deserves a better cause, he is the life and soul of the Villians with whom, he greater than any, is associated--

Some little excitement in the city but has no foundation, every thing is quiet--all except the secret plotting reformers--There is treason every day committed under the very nose of the Gov^t, and at its very head is the Bishop, and the entire family and connections of Gen^l Bolivar-- they meet every day plan talk & eat & yet the Gov^t makes no move against them; [220]

Saturday 7[#] Novem^r 1835.

I have invited today Sir Rob^t Ker Porter H. B. M. Charge d'affairs his Secretary Mr Livesly, Elias Mocatta & wife & Sam^l Mocatta to dine with us--expect them at 5 oclock--heard of no news interesting--The French Consul loaned me his cook for to day--did not invite him--our number at Table eight--

Remained in the House all day, observed Considerable movements from my window of the Military and militia--arranging for dinner a great deal more fuss than necessary--suffer in these things from the

want of good servants, my cook is from the Island of St
Kit[s], and as great a scamp as ever miserably stewed
 a piece of creole beef, and dirty beyond endurance,
 but am compelled to keep her, as I cannot find a better--
 shall make a push for the French Consuls Cook, so soon
 as he takes official leave for Guatamala where he is
 bound as charge or Consul General [221]. We set down
 at 5 oclock precisely to dinner--It was well served
 up but put upon the Table by John my servant in very
 bad taste, however the company eat heartily and seemed
 as tho' they enjoyed it.

Left the table about 7 retired to the Sala
 took Coffee and about 8 took tea--a good deal of talk
 and things went on so so--My wife by great persuason
 commenced music first on the Guitar then the Harp,
 after the first one or two songs tho labouring under
 some effects of cold in the head, my wife acquitted
 herself well and the Company were more than well pleased--
 Sir Robe^t is or pretends to be a very regular man at
 nine oclock, but on this ocasion he remained until 11
 oclock, when they departed; I was quite unwell at
 Dinner and acted my part of host badly, and remained
 in this state all the evening and night--did not
 indulge. [222]

Sunday #
8 Novem^r 1835.

The news of this morning and I believe official, by the arrival of an officer from Curagoa, is that an engagement had taken place at Maracaybo between the forces of the Gov^t and the faction in possession of that place which resulted in the defeat of the former and the Capture of the Commanding officer, Col^l Pulgar-- It is said that two companies of Gov^t Troops went over deserting their Colours & their Country and joined the enemy-- is [It] in this way little by little, treason not at one swoop but treason by fiew, that [they] will ultimately subvert the Constitution and I fear establish Military power through out Venezuela-- Dog will not eat dog is and old trite saying but with these people it may be used aptly enough--The Military will not fight the Military, and as they have always been a distinct and seperate body of men under Colonial vasalage [223] the descendents of Spaniards have not and I doubt if ever they will loose that fondness for and importance attached to the military class as a body above all others--Raise the Malitia, raise the Citizens of the Country put arms in their hands, move them at the beat of the drum & dress them in uniform and with military trapings and whatever leaven of old habits that remain will rise spontaneously to put down all

other power or authority and claim exclusive rights above the rest of the community--All other pursuits are ignoble but Military, and with much ease they return again to the Customs of their ancestors.

Particulars state that in this engagement Col Wees and Col¹ Pulgar who lead on the attack in behalf of the Gov^t were in advance of a body of near two hundred of their troops from Coro, who when they were driving all before them, commenced firing on them from behind, so placed them with about 150 men between the fire from [224] the city & the troops behind, by which movement and treason they were nearly all killed and taken prisoners-- There is no question had this not have taken place the City of Maracaybo would now have been in possession of the Constitutional forces, and order Law & Gov^t established in the place.

Monday 9[#]
Novem^r 1835

Paid several visits which we had been owing for a long time, to Mrs OLeary & Mrs Santa Maria sisters of Gen¹ Soublette--⁴ Found Mrs OLeary at Mr Santamarias, pleasant family, with a house of children--these ladies have followed the fortunes of their Brother Carlos through the revolution emigrating with him & returning with him, they are natives of Caracas-- The Gen¹ has never been considered an over brave man, and scandal says

that all his sisters, Mrs de la Costa now dead, Mrs OLeary and Mrs Santa Maria have alternately been his mistresses, of Mrs De la Costa [225] it was not doubted, and through these means the general rose in office and employment, aided by a naturally sprightly Character and of some genius-- We called today on Mrs Santos Michelana in Company with Mrs Mocatta, but she was indisposed at least 8 months or more in the way "that all women should be who love their lords"---

I do not make these remarks of the ladies above to depreciate or underate them, but scandal has made the charge as these things in this good Catholic and Christian Country do not scarcely weigh a feather in the ballance of the Standing of ladies or in talk and not in practice it is notice en passant merely as an on dit of fashionable life.

Various reports about the faction but none to be depended upon and often of no great importance. [226]

Tuesday
10 Novem^r 1835.

Various reports from Valencia the Coast and east--but I transcribe none not believing in any thing--Some suspicion of the deportment of Gen^l Mariano Montilla second in command of the Troops of the Gov^t It is said he is holding secret correspondence with P^o

Cabello and being a military man the only real way he has of getting his living, and therefore feels a great sympathy for these dastardly reformers of the 8[#] July last-- Montilla is a man of the world and I believe his honor in matters that (he) enters into has hardly been questioned--yet I believe there are as many men will say he is a scoundrel as will say he deserves a better name.

For my part I have no confidence in such a man where public opinion weighs nothing, he a bankrupt ruined in constitution and immoral & debauched man, and a professed gambler, what hopes or what prospects has he but [227] a ruined reputation capable of catering to any vice, and immorality or any cause that will but give him the means of sensual enjoyment.

This cause of reform, faction, treason or any other name you choose to give it, combines all the military, in its success they have prospects, out of it the calm of peaceable and industrious life cankers upon their constitution, and they find in submitting to the Laws of their Country all their grades and honor are but bits of paper--The associate at Valencia of Montilla Gen^l Caveño (el manco) because he has but one arm, I have no more confidence in, and had it not have clearly been manifested that the public & people

who are truly and deeply interested and who have stepped forward to aid the Country, sustain the Laws Gov^t & Constitution of Venezuela, there would not have been a military man in the Country but what would [228] have united their fortunes to the first military Chieftain who might have arisen to crush the Gov^t of Venezuela.

To night we had a visit from Mrs OLeary, Mrs Santa Maria Mrs Jove & son and Miss Jane Ocallaghan, They were very pleasant and agreeable. Mrs Jove has lived for a long time in Jamaica speaks English, and is a fat coarse masculine woman, she is certainly intelligent and smart, I understand for some particular services in the case of small pox in Jamaica the Citizens or Council of Kingston presented her with a beautiful silver vase with a suitable inscription-- Sat until 10 oclock presented wine cake & & but Miss Jane OCallaghan reminded me that Mrs Jove would take a glass of Porter--it was of course offered her.

Wednesday #
11 Nov^r 1835.

To day arrived at LaGuayra the long looked for Constitutional squadron [229] from the East, and Col^l Zamora came with about two Hundred Troops and brought the verbal inte[llig]ence of the surrender of Gen^l

Monagas to Gen¹ Paez without particulars.

But at night arr^d Co¹ Austria direct from Gen¹ Paez with the conditions; of the Capitulation, but the facts not being communicated at night the citizens seemed well pleased because it was supposed from what was brought by the fleet, it was an unconditional surrender, but they went to bed to rise in the morning more mortified that disappointed when the conditions came to be generally known, and as a record of an act that must forever unless from extenuating facts which yet have not come to light, dam[n] to eternal fame the reputation and character of Gen¹ Paez as a citizen and as a soldier and patriot--To wit--"Jose Antonio Paez Gen¹ in chief of the Republic of the operations for [230] reestablishing "constitutional order & & Whereas

1st" Gen¹ Jose Tadeo Monagas in a communication

"addressed to me under date of the 29 ult. has
"manifested a desire of terminating the war, and proposing as a necessary measure that I should appoint
"a place in which with full liberty we might come to
"terms.

2 "That in an official letter of the 31 he confirms
"the same desires and commissions Commander Florencio Mclean to make me several propositions which he
"finally did through the Co^{1s} J. G. Lugo and Jose

"Austria whom I selected for that purpose.

3 "That if the people desire reforms in the Constitution,
 "they have the right of applying to Congress, and the
 "latter the sacred duty of hearing their petitions.

4 "That the Gov^t has displayed all its energy and
 "made use of all lawful means to reduce to [231]
 "subjection those who refused obedience, and at the
 "same time has shewn its desire of putting an end to
 "the contest without the effusion of Venezuelan blood,
 "if this could be effected compatibly with the dignity
 "of the Government.

5 "That Patriotism and the welfare of the Republic
 "require that an end be put to this warfare between
 "brothers, and in accordance with the authorization
 "given me by His Excen^{ly} the President of the Republic
 "the 8[#] of July, with the consent of his Council ratified
 "the 29[#] of the same month

I decree

Art 2 "The troops commanded [by] Mr Monagas will
 "retire to the City of Aragua where they will deliver
 "all their arms and ammunition.

3 "Any person concealing arms or munitions will be
 "considered as conspirators and judged according to
 "the Law

Omitted [Art]

"I guarantee to Gen¹ Jose Tadeo [232] Monagas and the
 "chiefs and officers under his command in this province
 "their lives, properties, and the Military rank held
 "by them on the 7 of July last.

4 "That the Gov^t be informed of the same, and that
 "this be communicated to whom it may correspond, Given
 "at the Gen¹ Head quarters at the Laguna del Porosal,
 "[Piritall] Sabana del Roble on the 3 day of Novem^r
 "1835-6 & 25^o

" Signed José Antonio Páez⁵
 Accepted José Tadeo Monagas [sic.]

Proclamation of Gen¹ Monagas.

"Jose Tadeo Monagas Gen¹ of Divissions of the armies
 "of the Republic & & Citizens of Barcelona

 The events of the 8 July in Caracas induced
 "me to believe that the people wished to accelerate
 "the period fixed for reforming the Constitution.
 "Always ready to labour for the happiness of the
 "people, I had no doub[t] of my being able [233] to
 "receive the votes (support) of those who addressed,
 "but having observed that the people are in favor of
 "the Government and are using all their efforts for

"its reestablishment, where it is not obeyed, having
 "seen the army sent by the Gov^t to establish order in
 "these provinces, and not wishing to be responsible
 "for the misfortune which may befall the Republic by
 "a war like the present, I have accepted the decree
 "issued yesterday by his Excellency the chief of the
 "constitutional army and have the pleasing satisfaction
 "of announcing to this province that the war has
 "ceased and that the evils caused by it have ended--

Let us rely on the philanthropy of the Gov^t--
 "I return to my home in the confidence that the Gov^t
 "of my Country will find in me a faithful servant and
 "the people a friend and defender of their rights. At
 "this moment I can only address them these few words
 "offering to publish a full manifest [234] required,
 "by the events that have transpired, the nation will
 "see it and I hope do me justice; Hato del Roble--
 "# #
 "#4 Novem^r 1835 6 & 25 Signed José Tadeo Managas

These two documents above recorded will place in a
 very strong light the Character of Gen^l Paez unless
 he has reasons of which the public cannot be aware of--
 In this affair Gen^l Paez may have acted with finess[e]
 to get Monagas in his power and that of the Gov^t
 Knowing that such a capitulation or such an arrange-
 ment will not be sanctioned by the President nor his

duplicate page

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 to get Monagas in his power and that of the Gov^t
 Knowing that such a capitulation or such an arraigne-
 ment will not be sanctioned by the President nor his

Council. In the meantime he has got personal possession of Gen^l Monagas, all the arms, munitions and amunition and placed them in the possession of his friends and those in favour of the Gov^t and that he will subsequently excuse himself to Gen^l Monagas, that [236] he was acting under the authority of the Gov^t and it choosed afterwards to disown his authority it was not his fault, that on his part he had done it in good faith--

It has left but one opinion here, those who have sustained the Gov^t with money and brasos, believe they have been sacrificed, that the glory of the Constitution & Gov^t of Venezuela has been tarnished.

It cannot raise the reputation of the Gov^t but must eventually ruin its character abroad--Its Criminals are not punished, its traitors to their Country are thus left in the full possession of every thing in the enjoyment of even more than they previously possessed, it is only necessary to attempt a revolution, if you succede all his [is] gained, fortune is made, and if you do not, why you are just where you commenced, only with more importance attached to [236] your name and fame--

The Stores were all closed and a greater gloom pervaded the City on the reception of the news than did on the 8[#] July after the City and Gov^t was taken

possession of by Carajo and his associates.

Yet all are disposed to wait the arrival of Gen^l Paez and hear his vindication, so will I.

Spent this night at Mrs OCallaghans, found some 15 or 16 persons there male and female, amused ourselves in conversation, took tea Chocolate, sweetmeats wine & &, by the by, the old mans sherry was excelent-- Met John Alderson then had a long talk upon planting cotton, & cotton gins, he is an Englishman in Every thing, and tho he does not wish to own it believes that English roller cotton gins are the best article to clean a crop of cotton--The Yanke would have been cute enough to have [237] adopted them long since if it was really so--I tell him the common American saw gin is the only article fit for this Country with all its runing geer or work made of wood--Cast Iron will not do in any Country where there are no furnices to get as you want from accident articles or repairs in all cases of
6
breaking.

He thinks he can cultivate cotton here as we do in the States, the difference to me would be this that difference which would be in the cultivation of a forest tree and a plant that must be put in the ground every season as the cotton is in the Southern part of the UStates.

Here cotton is in truth a tree, perpetual and
not a plant and an annual one as it is with us, I
therefore do not believe the same labour and system
of labour is as applicable to one as the other. They
become quite a different [238] article in their growth
tho' not a very different one in their production only
as to quantity--He said he [has] statements memoirs of
the article from the States--I told him it was all humbug,
he never in this nor any other Country could reduce to
practise the ideas of people on the subject of agriculture
who spin them out of their head, but he says they are
practicable, and as proof the servants of the South pick
out 100 to 190^{lb} of cotton per day, I stated to him
that convinced me that all the theories he had was
[w]rong, that there was not 75^{lb} to the hand picked
out per day through twenty estates in Georgia,
Louisiana or Alabama, nor did the crops yield per acre
as he stated 2000 to 2500^{lb} pound of seed cotton, but
that he might find some lands producing even as much
as 2500^{lb} for some one or two acres but not a crop,
and that 1000 to 1200 [239] was a good yield--I further
stated that the average per acre of the crop of Cotton
of Georgia did not pass over 600^{lb} per acre--All this
astonished him, but I can assure him he will be more
astonished when he comes to see the practicable result

of his theories--That cotton may become an article of great production and advantageously so to the grower
8
I have no doubt, but where every thing is to be weighed particularly the transportation, unless the estates are near water navigation he will find his labour or expectations not compensated as he believed: I have no doubt that he cannot find a hand that will pick more than 60 to 80^{lb} per day, and to pay 37 cents for that labour will burden the article alone with
9
near two cents a pound.

Thursday 12
Novem^r 1835

The people are more dissatisfied to day than yesterday, and it has extended every where, many believe that [240] Gen^l Mariano Montilla might elevate himself higher in the estimation of the people at large by taking a decided stand and disapproving this Capitulation in Toto--He dare not in my opinion, he has no moral or physical force over the Community, his mere shadow of power and authority is given him, he commands none, tho admitted on all hands to be one of the greatest men in the Country--

He is certainly one of the greatest men in Venezuela, but it is not in moral respectability or character a professed debauchee & gambler, his whole life has been one of dissoluteness and deriving his

existence from the public--He under no circumstances can have any thing or any body to support him, but his recklessness of every thing, and it necessary to minister to his appetites would sink his Country to glut his peculiar morbid stomach-- [241] Mrs Campbell being about to leave Caracas for Phil^a spent the evening with us, and we found at 9 oclock we had near twenty persons young and old, it passed off very well--A Mr Cary was introduced by Mr Mocatta who regaled us with his music and song upon the Guitar--he executes well and with his music and song upon the Guitar--he executes well and with some taste, sings badly, and is certainly wraped up, enthusiastic in music, forgets almost that company is in the room, so absorbed is he when he has the guitar in his hand. adjourned at 11 oclock--gave them wine cakes, sweetmeats Champagne &&----

Friday
13th Novem^r 1835

I commence to day to bring up my journal to the 23rd-- Novem^r, and had left it so long entirely from a paucity of interest and nothing new or sufficiently interesting to [242] have anything more than a mere repetition of what I had said in many places before---

The Capitulation of Gen^l Monagas and the terms has been a fruitful theme of conversation and not until the 17th inst^t had any action been taken on it by the

President and his Council of Gov^t on that day I called on the Secretary of State and after a short time he came to me in his office room in a very good humor and communicated personally to me that he would address me upon the subject of my note of August stating my powers and wishes to place our respective Gov^t upon a more reciprocal footing in commerce and a more extended and liberal one-- He answered me accordingly appointing the 19th in the Hall of the Gov^t at 12 oclock to exchange our respective powers on the Subject, as he had [243] been cloathed with full and ample power by the executive for the purpose therein expressed--

On the 19[#] in the morning I rec^d a note from him stating that he was unwell and could not meet me as proposed that day at 12--During this interchange of opinions & the President and his Council of Gov^t had or were convened in discussion upon the subject of the Capitulation of Gen^l Monagas¹⁰ and the powers granted Gen^l Paez by the President on the 8[#] July last and confirmed on the 29 following by the Council of Gov^t while the President & Vice President were absent, or had not returned from St Thomas.--The Council of Govt by the Constitution is composed of one judge of the Supreme Court, Minister of War & Marine, of Hacienda and Exterior Relations, interior relations, the Vice

President & four others elected for that Purpose--But
on this [244] occasion, there were Present only the

Jose M. Vargas--President of Venezuela
Andrias Navarte. Vice President
[Jose Domingo] Duarte from the Supreme Court
F. X. [Francisco Javier] Yanez one of the Gov^t Council
Santos Michelana, Sec^y of Ex^r Rela^s & Treasury
[Francisco] Hernais, Do. Do. Marine & War
[J. S.] Roderiques Do Interior Relations
and absent Gen^l Careño¹¹ & Col^l Francisco Avendano---

The Vice President is President of the Council--
As I had known the opinion of the Secretary of foreign
Relations on the matter of this Capitulation of Gen^l
Monagas had been induced to believe that he would have
carried a majority with him and such certainly was his
belief--He counted upon the support of Hernais,
Rodrigues, & Navarte and the President, as to his
opinions which were that, the Capitulation should not
be admitted, but if admitted should be sent to
Congress but when the question came to trial [245]
he found to his utter astonishment every man of the
Cabinet & Council from the President down, opposed to
his views, and for admitting the Capitulation uncondition-
ally.

He thought then to vary the question, He then
proposed that all be admitted but his grade & the
officers with him and their pay as officers in the
army & pay of the Gov^t in this two [sic.] he was

defeated he then proposed that that point be referred to Congress who had Constitutional faculties over the question, this too was refused all voting against him even on this point--Mr Michelana then sent in his resignation as Secretary of Exterior Relations and Treasury, this Happened on the 18 -- and fully accounts for his sickness in the news of that date but only presented the 19[#] in the morning saying he could not see me according to appointment [246] in the Hall of the Gov^t to exchange our powers upon the subject of a Treaty between the two Countrys--

In all this matter Michelana is certainly the only man that has acted with firmness decision and character, the only one among them who have felt any of the higher scruples of conscientious rectitude--The President and all have submitted virtually to Gen^l Monagas, he is precisely except in some small loss of property in cattle, "status ante Bellum" and is perfectly at liberty without the fear of punishment to get up when ever it may suit his ambition or his pride another revolution as he had done in 1831 pardoned for that, has again done it in 1835 & pardoned for that, and pray what is to prevent his doing the like again, as any one of his hirelings may ask or his own wishes dictate--- [247]

It is admitted in all other countries that the certainty of punishment constitutes the preventative of crime, but in this Country the admission of crime is a protection to the villian & to the demoralization of society, or rather to the elevation following out the principles of no punishment and a submission of Gov^t & people of [to] all those who choose to raise rebellion commit murder rob & pillage--

The end of this matter to the east is just as I have prognosticated, I had never in the exercise of my own opinions thot otherwise, but must confess it was shaken in my intercouse and exchange of sentiments with, Michelana, Hernais, Rodrigues, & the President that some strong and powerful means at least as far as the Gov^t was concerned would be taken against the faction who had subverted the Gov^t banished the same President & Vice President because they would not sign a document of a doubtful character [248] and now, having the same party in their power should exhibit a weekness of moral courage, that must forever in the eyes of their own people and of the world condemn them as pusilanimous chicken hearted race of mankind.

What they would not do under the force of Bayonets, they quietly submit to, more I am afraid from a want character than tallents or even positive

cowardice, to retain their places--Michelana on this occasion has exhibited a degree of moral courage that does honor to him, and will in the history of his Country place him as the first man of his day in Venezuela----¹²

To a foreigner this exhibits a degree of imbecility that cannot increase his opinion of their people;

They were all for punishment after Gen^l

Paez entered Caracas the 28 July, it was necessary, moral justice required it, the character of the [249] country required it, and after the Militia were armed, in my conversations with many & some Englishmen likewise, among them his B. M. Charge d'Affairs [,] A Mr Anderson, and a Mr Ackers, they all stated if the Gov^t did not punish the people would, bah! bah! they had arms in their hands and they would not be laid down until the traitors had suffered--How these good people reasons without their host, they talked like Englishmen on English soil, but they had forgot they were in Venezuela among a set of people that their equal in nothing except in South American are to be found anywhere, and yet these men have been through the revolution & have lived among these very people for 12 to 17 years, and yet they know nothing about

them.

My opinion then and now is that they will make it all up shake hands & begin again-- [250] A policy like this to an American of the North, or to an European, would be consid^d a licence to commit the same act over again--In this Country they play with a Gov^t, with the sanctity of Laws, Constitution & morals as if the one was ruled like a chess board and that the other had nothing to do with the fundamental principles of religion and Good Gov^t---

Liberty they never understood and will not under several generations.

The President amused me a good deal the other day in laying down as a principle that moderation, forgiveness to traitors was an evidence of the growing civilization of the Country, and that every point that is arraigned or admitted was with that view to civilize the people.

That blood should not be shed on such occasions, I have no doubt so far as regards the great body of the people for they are certainly as ignorant and uncivilized in many of their habits & opinions as we could [251] well imagine them to be, and that forgiveness to them for any part they may have taken in this affair, would be nothing but right and might in

some degree enlighten them, but as for the Gen^{ls} Colonels, & who have been educated, been abroad associated with the best of the Land and who under any view of the Case must have clearly known the extent of their crimes, should be forgiven to civilize them, alias to improve them, is but a perversion of justice--six yards of good hemp rope would be just the thing, just the very civilization and justice that should be meted out to them--The moral effect of such capitulation, is destructive to Character, honor or integrity, renders a good man mean, makes him feel as tho his lot was among theirs, and makes a bad man act as if there was neither moral or legal responsibility for any [252] treasonable or illegal act that his Caprice may dictate him to commit.

Its influence is blasting to the prospects of the Country, every good mans hopes fly from security or protection, and every villian rises in renewed health and strength by the legal immor[all] protection which is granted him--He presumes upon his villany and acts accordingly--

The present revolution to a certain extent has been produced by the clemency ¹³ showed to Gen^l Monagas in 1831, for Ibarra, Briceno Méndez & & would never have made the attempt on the 8[#] July, but through

the protection of Monagas to the Windward--The Bolivarian party with them at their head had lost all power and absolutely all influence in the Country, and alone they could not have resisted a moment--Their situation in Caracas proves it, not but reckless gamblers, black-legs [253] broken down officers of no character, and penniless citizens united their fortunes with them--It is true they had the few Military in their hands I cannot say in their favor, poor soldiers who never knew what was right or what was wrong, suborned by the money robbed from the Treasury and other sources--But few others united their moral force or physical with these reformers--

Saying the specious word of reform, bandying it about in every shape and manner to further their views, still it added nothing to their strength--Their garment was not large enough to cover their nakedness, their views were visible, Military rule & Gov^t the establishment of their own power consolidated was their only object, not reforms--Previous to this overt act of treason the Country was in a most healthful and prosperous condition, every part [254] was prosperous, peaceable & happy, and but for the unchastened ambition of some Dozen men this might have been continued.

The present reformers have cost the Gov^t at least five Hundred thousand Dollars, and they are still to be pardoned placed in the same rank they previously held and restored in & to every thing--& who pays for this the poor soldier, the industrious Hacendado, and the commerce of the Country, to persue this question further is sickening, I drop it, to renew when more at ease with my feelings--

Yesterday rec^d notice that we may expect every day at LaGuayra the Constellation frigate, ¹⁴ & sloop St. Louis, ¹⁵ & in a few days afterwards the Sloop Vandallia-- ¹⁶ the first Com^e A. J. Dallas, ¹⁷ the S^t Louis, Capt Rosseau & the Vandallia Capt Webb--I am just geting rooms ready for these gentry, I wish they were here, and wish they were gone---- [255]

Monday 23 Novem^r 1835

A complete lethargy seems spread over the city, every thing is quiet, but a dulness incomprehensible, even the few foreigners are silent, all seem waiting something that it is impossible to tell what; The resignation of Michelana as Secretary of State has caused some of it, because there is great uncertainty who succedes him, and as he has been the principle person with whom contracts and agreements have been made on acc^t of the Gov^t, and all are anxious to place them upon known

grounds, previous to his successors coming into office-- When I look around, and examine every man known in the Country from my personal intercourse or from public notoriety, I am unable to find a man that unites a sufficient talent and intelligence, to occupy the place as Secretary of Exterior Relations and Secretary of the Treasury, these offices for cheapness, being united in one.

Tho I do not conceive Michelana [256] to be a great man, he is nevertheless very well acquainted with the ordinary routine of business, besides having improved himself in many points connected with the discharge of the duties of those two offices-- And moreover he is a man disposed to improve, to learn something and not to believe as many of his Country that they are the best informed people in the world, and that all Spanish systems are monuments of wisdom--

Mr Michelana, is disposed to make reforms on all points, that he conceives will benefit his Country and adopt all systems of all other Countries that can be applied to his where they are evidently better, and their results are known--This Gov^t being basised upon a republican Constitution, and all its operations more or less controuled by it and the legislative enactments that grow out of it, and being

in all its material parts the same as of the U States or many [257] of the States--He is disposed to take their rules of action as a guide to him when applicable, and on all doubtful points to enlighten himself and his Country by illustration from the operations and History of North America.

The management of our offices, discharge of duties, Tariff system, freedom and reciprocal commerce, the responsibility of officers & & in fact every thing connected with the entire machinery & management of the Gov^t of the UStates, Mr Michelana is disposed to make himself familiar with, and adopt whatever may suit in Venezuela--And the argument of positive domonstration & results in the UStates are always convincing to the unprejudiced mind---

In this state of things the Gov^t remains, Michelanas resignation has not been accepted, tho I find many are disposed to accept it among the Creoles--the President and Council of Government [258] were to sit on the question today--the result will be known tomorrow--I am clearly of an opinion the reservation [resignation] of Michelana ought to be accepted, that is to admit all of the Capitulation of Monagas save his & his officers rank and as they differ on this point, send it up to Congress--In the meantime He retains his

situation--I shall call at the foreign office tomorrow--

It is said the 1000 men that came in from the east march to day for Valencia, and that the Gov^t is well pleased with the operations of Gen^l Montilla at Valencia--Having as they believe cut off Carujo from returning to P^oCabello, he having marched to
18
3^t Felipe near the mines of Arca;

One party under Torellas to attack him from 3^t Felipe and if he retreats to be flanked by Codazi-- the disposition is good, but Carjuo is not only desperate and brave, but I expect cunning, and they will be cunning & brave to take him [259]. Rec^d letters at 8 oclock this night from LaGuayra, stating that the reformist squadron of 4 schooners were off the port in sight from the Vigia-- The Maria is in from New York
19
and brings in but one letter, from J. M. Williamson.

Not a word from the Gov^t nor northern friends---

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER VI

- 1 Litchfield was appointed Consul, December 17, 1823. Confirmed by the Senate December 22, 1823. Senate Executive Journal, III, 350. Duane visited Litchfield and said of him: "American visitors to Caracas found in him an invaluable and assiduous friend; his appointment to the consulate at Puerto Cabello, while it does credit to those who appointed him, deprives the American visitors of Caracas of a sure resort whenever aid was necessary." Visit to Colombia, 107.
- 2 At this time, consular duties were thought of as extending only incidentally, if at all, to the protection and extension of our trade with foreign nations. Consuls were usually business men and their official duties were incidental to their commercial interests. Secretary of State Forsyth favored the requirement of reports of a commercial character, but formal yearly reports were not required by law until 1856. Chester Lloyd Jones, The Consular Service of the United States Its History and Activities (Philadelphia, 1906), 60-61.
- 3 Governors of islands who exercised autocratic authority.

4 Carlos Soubllette (c. 1790-1870) was a lieutenant-colonel in the revolutionary army as early as 1812. After the failure of the Ocaña Convention (1828) Bolívar sent Soubllette to Venezuela to see if he could prevent the dissolution of Great Colombia. Soubllette was Minister of War for Venezuela from 1830-1834; Vice President from 1837-1839; and Minister of War during Páez' second term as President. "He died poor," is the greatest eulogy which can be made of a man who had in his hands at various times the treasuries of two republics. Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LVII, 671-672. Wm. Duane was flattered by Soubllette's attention, and wrote: "I had frequent opportunities of seeing him in public and private afterwards; and to form a high opinion of his capacity and talents." Visit to Colombia, 54-56. An English officer who knew Soubllette gave an entirely different account of him. He said: "Gen. Soublett is well known, even by the British, for his timidity and cowardice, on all occasions. He is a native of Caracas; and Bolivar, when he made him a general, did him, as I before mentioned, the additional favor of making his sister his favorite mistress; an honor of which, two of the parties felt proud. . . .General Soublett is a

very handsome figure of a man; about twenty-five years of age; tall, thin, and well proportioned; remarkable neat in his dress and appearance: half-cast by birth and complexion: he is about five feet ten inches in height; rather a handsome and European style of countenance: black hair, and large mustachios; a smile more than prepossessing; a general lover, amongst the female part of the province, by whom he is well received, and has no disappointment in affairs of gallantry to complain of: he has, however, been a martyr to his pleasures, and makes an infamous boast of retaliation in this respect. G. Hipsley, A Narrative of the Expedition to the Rivers Orinoco and Apure, in South America; which sailed from England in November 1817, and joined the Patriotic Forces in Venezuela and Caracas (London, 1819), 233-334, 468.

- 5 Cf., Documentos Anales de Venezuela, II, 212-213.

This pardon is known as the "indulto del Pirital."

- 6 Williamson's ideas about cotton gins suitable for Venezuela agree with those of Depons. In discussing the machines run by water power, the latter said: "The purity of the cotton is greatly affected by the materials of which the small cylinders, adapted

to these machines, are constructed. Wooden rollers cleanse the cotton less expeditiously, but they cleanse it better; those of iron bruise the grains, break the stalk, and singularly alter its quality. At Cumana, Barquisimeto and Narinas, wooden rollers only are used, and the cotton from those parts has a marked superiority to that from the vallies of Aragoa, where they use none but iron cylinders." F. Depons, A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra Firma, or the Spanish Main, in South America, During the Years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804, 3 vols., (New York, 1806), II, 180.

- 7 The cotton plant in Venezuela grows to the dimensions of a large bush, and annual replanting is seldom necessary. One good stand will last for several years, and with the proper attention the fibre can be made equal to that of Georgia or Texas cotton. William L. Scruggs, The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics With Notes on Other Parts of Central and South America (Boston, 1905), 228.
- 8 In 1838 Venezuela exported 27,995 quintales (hundredweight) of cotton. The average yield per fanegada (1.59 acres) was 50 quintales; that is, about 3,145 pounds per acre. A Codazzi, Geografia

de Venezuela, 138. During the Civil War in the United States, cotton culture in Venezuela received quite an impetus. A number of experienced planters from the Gulf States leased large tracts of land for cotton production. However, revolutions in 1869 and 1870 caused them to lose two crops in succession. Many became discouraged and returned to the United States. Since then the industry has fallen into complete decadence, and not a bale of cotton is produced for export. W. L. Scruggs, op. cit., 227-228.

- 9 If a worker picked 60 to 80 pounds per day for 37, the cost of the labor would be about 1/2¢ a pound, and not 2¢.
- 10 Session No. 671 of the Council of Government, November 18, 1835. Documentos Anales de Venezuela, II, 213-214. This session of the Council seems to have been devoted solely to a discussion of the pardon granted to Monagas and his followers.
- 11 José M. Carreno, veteran of the wars of independence, served as President of Venezuela from January until May, 1837. Marcial Hernández, Sinopsis de Historia de Venezuela (Maracaibo, 1914), 100.

12 Páez was well aware of the criticism directed at him because of his leniency in dealing with Monagas. He said: "Not only the press censured my conduct, but other acts of criticism were manifested also; and even a member of the Government as famous for his services, knowledge, and integrity as senor Santos Michelena, renounced his post in consequence of that disapproval." Autobiografía, II, 347-348.

13 Cunningham Graham made a similar observation when he wrote: Clemency was but ill understood in those days, and usually was put down as weakness by those who certainly would not have exercised it, had they been the conquerors. José Antonio Páez, 268.

14 When the United States Navy Department was created in 1798, it already had three frigates afloat. One of these was the Constellation which had been built the year before in Baltimore. During June, 1798, with the Baltimore it safely convoyed sixty merchant vessels from Havana to the United States. February 1, 1800, it vanquished the French boat La Vengeance which had fifty-four guns. The Constellation had thirty-eight. In 1802, it helped blockade the harbor of Tripoli; and it took part in the War of

1812. Edgar Stanton McClay, A History of the United States Navy from 1775-1898, 2 vols., (New York, 1898), I, 159; Benson J. Lossing, The Story of the United States Navy (New York, 1880), 67, 68, 79. Thomas Truxton was captain of the Constellation during its early career. In 1801 he was assigned to command the second squadron against Tripoli; but the new Jefferson administration refused Truxton a captain for his flagship, and construed his consequent withdrawal from the command as resignation from the navy. This was a serious loss to the navy for Truxton was only forty-seven, and very able. In 1806, he was approached by Aaron Burr with offers of a naval command in connection with Burr's projected western state, but he declined on discovering Burr's schemes to be unsanctioned by the President. Dictionary American Biography, XIX, 21-22; Walter F. McCaleb, The Aaron Burr Conspiracy (New York, 1903), 62, 343; Samuel H. Wendell and Meade Winnigerode, Aaron Burr, 2 vols., (New York, 1927), I, 233-234, II, 208.

- 15 St. Louis, Sloop of war, 18 guns. 700 tons. Built at the Washington Navy Yard, 1828. B. S. Osbon, Hand Book of the United States Navy (New York, 1864), 248.

- 16 Vandalia, Sloop of war, 22 guns. 783 tons. Built at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, 1828. Ibid., 260.
- 17 Alexander J. Dallas, Commanding Officer of the West India Squadron, received his commission April 24, 1828. On that same date, Lawrence Rousseau received his commission as Commanding Officer of the Sloop St. Louis. Thomas T. Webb's commission was dated March 3, 1831. Rev. C. S. Stewart (editor), The Naval Magazine, 2 vols., (New York, 1836-1837), I, Appendix, 44-45.
- 18 The city of San Felipe is in the province of Barquisimeto, which is west of Puerto Cabello. San Felipe sends its products to the sea by two rivers: the Aroa and the Yaracui. Copper mines in the San Felipe mountains have produced excellent ore since the sixteenth century. This is shipped down the Aroa, while the agricultural produce of the valleys of San Felipe are shipped down the Yaracui. Codazzi, Geografia, 155, 421.
- 19 James M. Williamson, half-brother of John G. A., lived in Tennessee and represented that state in the Legislature of 1834. John H. Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851 (Philadelphia, 1851), 371.

[CHAPTER VII]

[NOVEMBER 24 TO DECEMBER 21, 1835]

Tuesday #
24 Novem^r 1835

Called to day at the Gov^t House, did not find Michelana in, he still retains the place until his successor can be selected--There appears a great want of action on this point, the nomination of a person to fill Michelanas place.

Gallegos is spoken of, said to be a man of business and system, but cannot be acquainted I should think with finances or foreign Relations.

However it is conceded and Michelana himself says he is better qualified than perhaps any other for the place--if so I hope it is for his liberality of Commerce [260] and that he adopts Michelanas own views on the subject.

Could find out nothing, in the movements of the Gov^t But I am clearly satisfied they have deceived themselves as to their moral or political Courage, and feel the rebuke that circumstance or their own heart gives them, in placing themselves in a situation to accept the Capitulation of Monagas--Public feeling is against them and in any other Country, it would hurl

them from their high places--

They could not retain office but here where man is moulded in a different form & weighed in a different ballance, these little twitchings of conscientious rectitude is not sensibly felt, and they can feel to day that they would do any thing, and tomorrow from fear retract every assertion, by open act of violation to their pledges--

They call this true policy, [261] civilizing the Country & the people, at the expence of their Constitution Laws & morals--It certainly produces no incentive to virtuous actions, no inducement to be firm, constant or moral--but administers to the Vilest and basest of our passions--

Who is it that can respect justice when the ministers themselves are corrupt or imbecile--who is it can respect Gov^t Constitution and Law, when they are all prostrated by those who guide, administer, and direct affairs, will not correct vice, punish Treason, and elevate the moral & political character of the Country.

These people are taught more by example than precept, the latter is paid no attention to, for they are neither a reading or thinking people--How then if their teachers are bad, are they to be civilized, how

taught to do that which is legal, just or honourable--
The example in high places should be [262] good, Those
who administer the Gov^t, should be correct in all their
deportment and intercouse, they should respect justice
and love mercy. Otherwise a poor, idle and vagabondish
race of people made so by habits and customs as ancient
as Spain herself, will never be improved--Here as in
Spain a beggar family entails it as a trade upon his
children--and he that live otherwise than by labour,
will never look upon industry as a source of honor or
proffit.

To labour in this Country with your hands is
a disgrace--the plain Consequence is that there are
but two classes of people, the rich man and slave,
for all must be slaves in a more or less degree when
only two distinctions exist, and there is no honor in
industry and labour.

Civilization requires here a radical Change,
to change the people or make them better--- [263]

Wednesday

25 Novem^r 1835

I have but little to record this day--a long walk upon
the barren plains to the North which surround the city
in that direction, rising ocasionally into hillocks
and covered with a strong co[al]rse wirey grass, and
lying between the road to LaGuayra and that to Catia;

It is cut and divided into many large wide and deep ravines, with here and there standing & the views of fallen mud walls, that seem to have been prepared to heard cattle in, as on these plains they are grazed as they were 150 years ago previous to Slaughter, and we could observe occasionally seated on this savannah amid the grass here and there the heads of those men whose business was to superintend the cattle feeding over them--The air here from the South produces a dry and arid feeling, but delightfully elastic and pleasant, while that from the North or West always brings, clouds and [264] fogs and of an unpleasant cool sensation, producing, colds, affections of the head and Rheumatism upon those who have taken much mercury.

The human system well observed is a good thermometer and Barometer. This Catia wind as it is always called produces a sensation round the head as though it was bound by a cord drawn tightly round it, a state of congestion, which to many produces diseases of many kinds, the aiery the most unpleasant and fatal, is often produced by the great change of the pleasant and elastic [sic.] South wind to this wind from Catia-- It distorts the features by a muscular contraction, often fixes one or both eyes, and accompanied by a paralytic stroke and paralysis--

The mouth under its effects is brought often in contact with the ear and the whole becomes a horrid picture of distortion--Strong and powerful stimulents are applied [265] with opium to reduce the muscles by a positive prostration--Death seldom follows an attack when taken in time.

The ground over which we passed is in many spots cov^d with blossoms-- This part of the city was once called Las Teques from a tribe of Indians that resided in this part of the Vally of Caracas at its Conquests, and previous to the Earthquake of 1812 was covered with houses, of an indiferent architecture, common mud huts, but contained considerable population; it suffered more than any other part of Caracas, the whole of it being demolished, thrown down, it has now a few scattering houses, interspersed in and among the ruined walls, inhabited by a most miserable and destitute population--we procede up and cross the ravine directly below the Pastora Church, which ravine exhibits considerable labour and work being on one side as you [266] ascend from the path walled up with solid masonry to the height of 20 to 30 feet to sustain the ground above in which are the ruins of pretty good buildings, now thatched with the Coquisas leaves and some with tile in which dwell a miserably poor and

ignorant people--god only knows how they live--I have wondered a thousand times and am still in wonder, how a large part of the population of the City of Caracas do make out to get the mere necessities of existence, much less their clothes to hide their nakedness.

The whole Colonial system and policy of Spain was to make one individual dependent upon another, until their population are absolutely wove into a chain and their subsistence, their pleasures, necessities are absolutely dependent one upon the other--- Making of common corn bread here called Arepa employs at [about] [267] a quarter part of the poor female part of the city--when one solitary mill would do all the labour that thousands are now employed to do--But then how to surmount their prejudices, not one of the people would use the corn meal simply as it is in the States--it would be utterly impossible, until the present & rising generation shall have passed away--the process of making Arepa, I will here record--the corn or maize is first steeped in Lye or boiled without this preparation, then boiled until it becomes soft, it is then taken and mashed between two stones one convex & the other concave with the ha[n]d, and as this is done watter is aded to was[h] away all the flowers of the grain leaving nothing but the glue of the corn, which is

then made into round cakes and put upon a griddle of common burnt dirt & browned, it is then put away and used [268] or sold as they may require--

When rewarmed it is very different from our corn bread, it is very good and palatable--it is not infrequently beat up after the first process of boiling by putting it in a barrel and getting in upon it with the feet and worked in this motion by the feet into dough.

Being positively done before the process of forming it into dough, it requires but little heat to prepare it for use, merely to brown it---

Spent this night at John Aldersons, found 8 or 10 ladies some 6 or 8 gentlemen, whiled away the evening until 10 oclock and retired home--Learn that Gallegos is appointed Secretary of Exterior relations & treasury--shall therefore have to treat with him upon the question of a Treaty--I dont like it as well as with Michelena, as with the latter I can hold free and frank intercourse in English--nous veron. [269]

Thursday 26[#] Novem^r 1835

I set down this morning to bring up my Journal to the 3rd Decem^r, without having anything of a very interesting nature to record--Rec^d a note from Jose Eusebio Gallegos informing me of his having been appointed Secretary of

Hacienda (Treasury) and of Exterior relations in place of Santos Michelana resigned--manifesting the same sentiments and feelings of his predecessor--Mr Gallegos has the reputation of being a man of undoubted probity, a rare virtue I must confess among the sons of Venezuela--I shall be better able to Judge of him in the next 30 days and what are his views, I have my doubts whether he is qualified for the station he holds, and more so at this particular time--the office must be in rather a disordered state from the various, loans, sales of Gov^t effects and particular contracts and understandings which the late Secretary had with the public, which must [270] require some time to get into the way of regulating--Michelana had likewise a good deal of credit among foreigners and could do more in the way of raising the wind when necessary than I believe Gallegos or any other Creole could do in Caracas--

However I will let the tree be judged of by its fruits--The Gov^t absolutely since the resignation of Michelana have been absolutely inactive in fact not doing any thing--Gen^l Paez and Montilla are either at Maracay or Valencia perfectly still--now and then Col^l Codazi is marched to or for a point is then counter marched again and who knows for what--

Co^l Carujo the insurgent left P^o Cabello a few days since and marched to Tucacas some two days march below P^o Cabello on the Coast--It is the shipping or loading port for the mines of Aroa, where he safely arrived, attempted [271] some contributions upon the inhabitants but failed in getting what he wanted.

In the meantime it was reported he had gone to Santa Felipe, Gen^l Montilla ordered Codazi with his corps of 500 men to cut him off, and after they had marched and when there can be no doubt he could have cut off Carajo absolutely from P^o Cabello, he was ordered back again upon Valencia--These Generals and others in this Country dressed in little brief authority thus play with people and Gov^t as if they were but the inanimate block of wood upon a chess board--and poor good easy souls, they do not observe that they are (the people) the very losers in all this game of hide & seek--

There is a want of activity indicative of any thing else but patriotism or love of Country--for since the 26 ult^t not one movement that I can learn has taken place and previously my notes will state [272] the facts--Expenditures cannot be stayed and yet they must be produced from actually a want of character in those who have the power--

It will require a great deal of promptness hereafter in this contest and [as] well as positive demonstration to do away [with] the impression of treason among all the old military in this revolutionary movement of the 8[#] July--

The Frigate Constellation and Sloop of War ^s^tLouis arriv^d at LaGuayra, merely sent a boat ashore-- I sent a polite request to Cap^tDallas to visit me at Caracas, he has not answered the note, I requested him to give a passage to Mr J. L. McKaighen to P^oCabello as his interests required his presence at that port and he could not get there except by such an opportunity-- I learn no attention was paid to it--both vessels sailed immediately for the Leeward--The Consul at LaGuayra gave him a detail of [273] the supposed overhauling¹ of the Virginia Trader by Commodore Beluche of the reforming squadron cruising off [f] LaGuayra--but am induced to believe no notice was taken of it--

The whole of this visit has been one of a most singular kind, an American man of war whose duty it is to protect the trade as [of] the Citizens of the United States in foreign Countries; only visits those places where they are hospitably entertained and free of expence, and pays no regard to other spots or ports because the harbour may be bad and the people not as

kind as at other places--My letters had informed Cap^t Dallas that there was a necessity of his appearance on this Coast and particularly so at P^o Cabello, yet I learn he sailed from S^t Thomas on the 14 ul^t for S^t Cruz where he spent with the S^t Louis near or more than a week when in reality there was no necessity for him or his vessel at all, and then sailed for LaGuayra where he arrived on the 24 ul^t [274] was pressed for time so the Consul informed me and sailed the same evening for the Leeward supposed for P^o Cabello--

2

I learn that Edmund Watmough Consul² at Trinidad³ de Cuba and Mr Harrison at Jamaica were on board--and yet when I asked the Secretary of State to give me a passage as Charge to Venezuela was answered there was no vessel going to that part of Tierra firma--

Kissing as the old saying is goes by favour, as no man gets along better than he who has a friend at Court, some body at headquarters to watch after his interest--

This load of Consuls taken out by Cap^t Dallas is directly against the Common usage of our Gov^t and I should not be astonished that Cap^t Dallas had taken the responsibility of neglecting the interest of merchants & others in this Country, that he might gratify his own personal friendship to Watmough &

Harrison, with the first there is a [275] family
connection, his brother George M Dallas ⁴ & Watmough
having married sisters--I should think [think] that
Cap^t Dallas has not discharged his duty in this affair
and unless it is explained, all Americans here will
think the same thing--He certainly could have left the
St^t Louis for several Days if he was compelled from the
cause of the Consuls aboard of his own ship to make
his voyage as soon as possible--⁵

There could not have been at the time of his
visit a place in the West Indies that required his
attention so much as the Coast of Venezuela.

It would seem ships of war was con[s]tructed
for pleasure and not for use, that the Captains might
touch where they pleased, and thereafter to Show off[f]
in report their duties performed merely by asking at a
place where a revolution existed, how are you and
good by --They will get their reward, some how, and in
some way--newspapers are still printed-- [276]

Thursday
3rd Decem^r 1835.

This day like many of the preceding passed very dull--
It is impossible it should be otherwise--There is no
society, scarcely a possibility of mixing in a social
or agreeable way with the Creoles, and there are not
enough foreigners to make it select enough to be always

agreeable or respectable--and unfortunately there is scarcely one here but does not assume such importance as to be criticising the origin, manners, or character, besides in all cases they themselves are of very doubtful origins or life--It is almost impossible to meet them sociably together, one abuses the other because he is a merchant the other because he is a Jew and [an]other because a third one has not behaved well towards him--all these things originates in a foreign Country from interests as very few foreigners change their place of location for any other cause, they therefore meet upon debatable ground at once --Here many find themselves [277] from home not from their own accord, but from the will of others, or from the absolute impossibility of getting a living where they were born, and not unfrequently when abroad adopt the principle that the world owes them a living, and persuading this motto care little for their own character and much less for other people--I have always found an upstart sort of people are the greatest hand to find fault or abuse--those who find themselves in easy circumstances or think themselves so not unfrequently cast round them a glance of contempt upon those whom they have left in the race to fortune, and secure in their calf skin hurl their darts against many a better

gold creature than themselves,

I have an utter contempt for those persons who seem to despise those with whom they once associated with, when accident has removed them at a distance, and it not unfrequently induces [278] me to believe there is but little rational fellowship, a natural kindred man for man in the world--and that all our affections are produced and grow up with us from the associations and connections from which we either derive pleasure or profit and not for mans natural affections for his species--I have shed many a tear at the misfortunes of others, and the mizery and poverty and want that I frequently meet with, and it is rendered more keen still when I find out it has been produced from any other cause than imprudence, real misfortune which god in his wisdom has not permitted man to see, but to guard as much as possible against the adverse contingences of life has endowed him with reason, & sense to distinguish in all things except into futurity.

This evening my wife had a party of Ladies & Gentleman, Composed of some 25--It was rather dull--Some persons were offended [279] at seeing Mrs Renshaw the Consuls wife at my wife['s party] when she has not and does not go to any other foreign home on

occasions of this kind--Miss O. Callaghan seemed to throw herself much upon her dignity on the occasion, and had we have had Mrs Mocatta, it would have [been] pistols and coffee for two I suppose as they do not speak and are just now nursing their anger to keep it warm--She was prevented by the arrival of some English Friends a Mr Illingsworth & Wife from London on his way to Bogota where he has been residing for a long time and has just married in London and proceeds to Carthegena on his way--By the by we are asked there tomorrow to dinner and my wife has accepted, shall have to return the Compliment I suppose--But will get over it if I can--no political news--- [280]

Friday 4 December 1835

To my infinite satisfaction found the Gen^t and Lady we were to meet at Mr Mocattas leave town early in the morning on their return to LaGuayra persuing their voyage to Carthegena and from thence to Bogota--They proved to be rather agreeable sort of folks, very ugly for a new married couple--hair of both of them as white & flaxy hair as my own--The ladies face as red as a cebage, with a very white neck full breast and rather plump but the dummy breed

From my Soul I hate a dummy woman so says my lord Byron & who on earth from the best acc^{ts} we

have of Lady Bryon ever had a more dumpy woman than his Lordship--But if I mistake not, he wrote this after marriage, and in his subsequent life he might have indited it in ridicule of her Lady Ship, from a fixed dislike to her and really perhaps to [her] figure---

Time passed off very well, Mr & Mrs extremely dull & by no means [291] interesting--lead Mrs Illingsworth to Table, and Sir Robert Ker Porter Mrs Mocatta--met at Dinner the discarded Secretary Michelana, and I expect from his conversation he may still be appointed to negotiate with me, if so I hope in a very Short time to arraigne the affair of a Treaty, as I believe we understand each other, it only becomes a matter of reducing to paper.

Sir Robert told me letters from P^o Cabello says that Comodore Dallas gave Mr alias Gen^l Carabaño a good knock over the nuckles saying he should consider any of his craft under the reform flag should he meet them he would Capture them as pirates upon the high seas--Carabaño immediately fitted out a sloop and sent her in search of Belushe to order him to return instantly, as he was in a bad predicament from the declaration of Comodore Dallas--he treated Carabaño with great contempt, [292] The S^t Louis was left at P^oCabello,

This has in some measure removed the feelings manifested toward Cap^t Dallas in his great hurry to leave LaGuayra, by Citizens, Americans & foreigners generally--However these few words in the ear of Carabaño will do more than all the efforts of the English or French with their vessels to make these reformers feel the weight of the Cheap Yanke Gov^t-- Such news always make me stand if possible three inches taller, and swell myself out to my fullest dimensions, proud of Country and Gov^t at home, am still more so when abroad, and find that Gov^t and her citizens respected by a character at once prompt and energetic--It make the Englishmen smile this report of Dallas proceedings with Carabaño, remarking it was just like a prompt yanke fellow, and well became him from a Republican Gov^t-- [283]

Saturday
5 # Decem^r 1835

Saturday is a leisure day and one of preparation generally among the Creoles for spending in eating and drinking and going to church, all the gains of the week, as usual a great noise among the bells, to the annoyance of many good people who stay at home and worship god by good deeds and actions, and a conscientious devotion to the author of all good and perfect gifts---

Here I am sorry to say religion is made more a matter of show than duty, more a matter of observation

to the world than the pure dictates of a sinful heart--
 "All is devotion but the heart" is too true in practice
 here; You pass many houses and hear the inmates deeply
 reciting their pray[er]s, more as it were that the
 passers by might hear their devotion, than that the
 all seeing god who knows all things, should hear the
 sound of their hearts--They should recollect [284]
 that nothing can be disguised from him, whether in
 secret or in public it is equally well known to him,
 and that all our thoughts and our actions are open to
 all powerful and all seeing deity-- It is not uncommon
 to find a similar character in all Countrys,--many look
 more to this worlds goods and opinions than they do
 to the salvation of their own souls-- In the extacy
 of the moment or enjoyment, they loose sight of all
 that ought and should asertain to their state, as gods
 subjects, and too often leave off for tomorrow, that
 which should not be neglected to day----

Invited this evening to spend it with Mr
 Beneditti our neighbour--

Nothing from the Secretary yet on the subject
 of a Treaty--but am disposed to believe Michelana will
 be authorised to treat with me--I hope so,--no political
 news--It is understood Briceno Mendez has been expelled
 P^oCabello & that him & Raymond Landa are both in

Curaçoa. [285]

Sunday #
6 Decem^r 1835.

This day always in a Catholic Country is one of show, and early in the morning, are to be met with as many neat and well dressed ladies (always excepting corsetts) as are to be found in any Country, their Colour is not of the best, and many are very dark the great proportion of the population are col^d mixed with either negro or Indian--With the latter they pride themselves and consider from this connec[t]ion they are white, but with the negro they consider it a disgrace--yet with all this it is quite funny to hear "kettle call pot black"---

We paid several visits to day,--- Took a long walk in evening with my wife, to Mount Calvary, from which we have a magnificent view of Caracas & the entire vally bellow to Petare, catching with one view every rise & hill & every sweep of the mountains, surrounding [286] and inclosing the city of Caracas---

M^tCalvary is situated on an isolated hill between river Guayra & the road to Catia, near due West from the Cathedral, and I should suppose at least 1500 feet above the level of the City, presenting at your feet the entire City, with a view of nearly all the streets runing at right angles--sweeping up the vally

above Caracas some distance to the S^oWest and N^oWest up the Vally runing toward Catia--

The Hill presents a dreary and bearen aspect, the earth and every thing immediately around, seems burnt by the action of fire--On it is situated a small Chapel with its Gable presenting a door fronting the City East with the magnificent Vally before you--It seems entirely closed as the view becomes bounded at the little village of Petare, directly at the back of which rises the Mountains again through which and directly on the [281] South side of the village the river Guayra makes its way bound to the river Rio Chico-- and on the North a road makes for Cape Cordero on the Coast--and nearly in front over the mountains due East is seen the windings of a small road that persues its way to Guatire⁷ and Guayrenas [sic.], two small villages in valleys in the mountain of the same name.

Monday #
7 Decem^r 1835

So little has ocured, and so little generally expected in this dull, dull, very dull City that I return to my journal with but [little] to recor d or of sufficient interest to be mentioned--The last week has closed with but two events of any importance--The oficio of the Secretary of foreign Relations inclosing me the proclamation of President Vargas declaring Puerto Cabello

in a state of [288] Blockade by sea, and Land, and news of two days since direct from Curacao of the death of Gen^l Pedro Briceño Mendez one of the principle movers of the 8[#] July last--for a long time Secretary to Gen^l Bolivar, and who married his niece--He died I have no doubt with a broken heart--disappointed in his own powers & resources, disappointed in public opinion as to the party of the 8[#] July, and ultimately shagrin'd and disappointed and [at] the treatment and contempt with which his party treated him after his arrival at P^o Cabello--It has been said he was then tried for cowardice, and but for the interference of his friends Carujo & Carabaño would have ordered him to be shot--this is the report, how much is true it is impossible to know--that he acted badly and perhaps cowardly his friends believe, [289] Be these reports all true he was the best amongst them--

It is something passing strange the whole history of events shew, that Mendez should have embarked in the cause of the 8[#] July--nothing but the remembrance of Bolivar his dying words to him, and of that inspiring military glory which seemed to carry every one away with it for the time that surrounded Gen^l Bolivar, could have ever driven really so craven a spirit as Mendez into an undertaking of the kind--I mean craven

as to bravery, he possessed neither animal or moral Courage.

His connections, his wife drove [him] to the point, but he failed--in it he hazarded much and really had nothing to gain, and associated himself with a band of desperados & outlaws, who had every thing to gain and nothing to loose--His ultimate situation has proven how he [290] was mistaken, and how little he calculated upon the character of those men with whom he had connected his fortune, and his life--To accomplish a favourite project goaded on by ambition the means to succede is seldom or ever examined--His party Could not have lost a better man--requiescat in pace--

The Gov^t moves on pretty much as usual--Gallegos, is doing his best, but I cannot think him equal to his duties--he dined with me on thursday with Gen^l Macero
8
from the Valys of the Tuy. Does not I think like yankes much--they took him on board of an English packet during our last war with England & he says treated him badly kept 3 & half months on board and made him do sundry hard jobs of work & left him finally on the Gujiro [Guajiro] Coast-- from thence he got to Jamaca & finally to [291] his Country again--He however met with the Cap^t of the Comet afterwards at Ca[r]thegenia who made many apologies to him for the treatment--He is a very

intimate friend of Doct^r S. D. Forsyth--⁹ has but little morality, & no real bravery--he is one of Bolivers Generals merely made for his purposes-- No tallents that can or ever place him above what he is--tho' a member of Congress he knows nothing of its rules or its duties--with all he is quite a companionsable and pleasant & gentlemanly Gen^l in the Venezuelean Service--

The Squadron of Blockade P^oCabello consist of 3 schooners and the Brig Stag--Should not be astonished that Beluse[sic.] who commands the reformists, should beat them off---They are badly maned--Montgomery & olive arr^d from Phil^a no news--only Ritner¹⁰ is elected Gov^r of Pennsylvania-- [292]

Monday 14 Decem^r 1835

For the last four days, so little has occured of any importance either public or orivate, as scarcely to deserve one passing remark--The Gov^t seems in statu quo, and the public scarcely know one single object that agitates the Gov^t-- The faction at Puerto Cabello against whom has been ordered the Gov^t Squadron, nothing is known of it, and I should not be astonished that it has or will be brocken by the commander of the faction Commodore Belushe--In his tallents and seamanship I have more confidence than in the heterojenous compound of French & English on board of the Brig Stag belonging

to the Gov^t--Every thing is so positively quiet, a storm of some kind may be expected--be it of a political of [or] natural kind god only knows--Yet it would look like some movement in the elements--A great Change is working in public opinion [293] be it for good or bad for the Country it is imposible to tell--But I thing [sic.] the issue of the rebellion here of the 8[#] will eventuate in perhaps calling General Paez to the head of the Nation as President, the pill guilded with that gold, but in reality as military Chief--the Constitution amended otherwise put down, and again a military privilege established, insted of the people putting their feet upon the neck of military power, it will ultimately stride over the Land and their power and Authority will effectually make every thing and every person bow to their authority, and seemingly by the consent of the people--I can enjoy but little in contemplating the degredation of human nature in this Country. A want of moral Character, a want of positive amor patriae, will forever place them at an immeasurable distance from my own dear Country--In all the atributes [294] of a nation or a people they are lamentably deficient, in all the refinements of civilization they are greatly behind almost every part of the world--Society is but in name, and unless a person can sink himself in conduct

and conversation to the precise level of their ideas, their civilization, they consider him either as prejudiced against them, or as too proud to associate with them upon equal terms--They will visit you, but seldom oftner than once, and that visit is one of curiosity and not of humani generis---The opposite of every thing polite in other Countries is the extreme of politeness in this--To say you have this morning taken a purge and that it has operated so many times, is all quite right here. Belly and breast and Culo are stright forward words in use here--and to tell a lady that you admire her that she is extremely pretty, that her form figure all & every part [295] is perfect, are but compliments she anticipates and thinks she is entitled to them-- These things however are more the effect of education than any thing else--Their ideas exoressions & can be as much chastened down by education, as I believe any difference may be made between the half civilized and the civilized.

There is a general paucity of information & intelligence of the world from the lowest to the highest, and whatever opinions they may exoress are warped either by their prejudices as a people or their prejudices of religion--At the same time there is no want of natural

talle[n]t--it is more precocious here than in [c]older climates, and seems to depart sooner from them than people of a colder latitude--It is not inapt to say that Boys are men here and when men are children ever afterwards--

For all the finer parts of education music drawing, designing & & [296] they exhibit great quickness and not infrequently much talents and genius-- But it soon ceases either from a want of objects of a higher order to lead it on, or from a natural decay of faculties as they advance in life--

Priestcraft has had a great tendency to awaken & keep alive many prejudices, as it [is] under the cloak alone in this Country that education is directed-- Chaining the mind to the dogmas of popish faith, enlightening it by no other system than that of homilies, ave marias, and lives of the Saints, with a positive injunction that this is the only true religion, and taught by schools and forms without the bible--well may we suppose the minds of these people are benighted, prejudiced and add to this a general want of that civilization that characterizes all intelligent parts of the world, their degradation, bad morals and habits are produced as a necessary Consequence-- [297] There are three nunneries existing in the city yet but public

opinion has so fixed things that it has become an uncommon event to find parents consenting to the immuring their daughters under age (which is here by Law 25 years) in them--After they have arr^d at discretion or in legal words of age 25 years, they then may become one of the sisterhood by paying so much money to the Convent--The most of the inmates have become old, and I often go to hear them sing, which is as coarse and as vulgar in sound as any man picked up in the Street would make--They never come out, and employ themselves in making artificial flowers, sweetmeats & bread of a particular kind, which is sold by their retainers in the streets or made to the orders of their friends--They do not receive a great commiseration from any person now adays--and I think they are destined to fall as the lights of the age penetrate this Country--The visitation of [298] the great Earth quake in March 1812, has left its marks upon the City, in heaps of ruins, in and upon which in many parts of the city Molojo (green corn) is grown, that no regeneration will again rebuild--

It now requires industry to restore ruins, before in Spanish times houses were built purely out of necessity from not having any other way to employ or invest money--Revolution has changed all this but it

has still left the native the real Creole, as destitute of principle as he was previous to it, imbibing all the vices of the old Spaniard without any of his redeeming qualities--

Their ease and comfort or rather idleness is all they consult, maintaining at the same time great pretensions to character--Therefore any thing that molests their cigar or their hammock makes a complete inroad upon their corporeal enjoyments--while their sensual embraces a great part [299] of their existence--manifesting great abstimiousness in all things, they are greatest abusers of the doctrine in the world--

Their pleasures constitute the highest intellectual enjoyment they have, to go to their miserable theatre, to ride a horse and pay half a dozen women, seem to be the summit of their pleasures of life--They are depraved without wishing you to think so, lost to every moral virtue and pretending to great sanctity in religion.--hypo[c]rites to the world they are wo[r]se than infidels to themselves--

This week has passed off without any thing new, we have some political reports--a small schooner and about 80 men at Tucacas have surrendered to the Gov^t We are momentarily expecting important news from P^oCabello-- Gen^l Montilla has sailed for Maracaybo with 300 to put down his own faction--in the American Schooner-- [300]

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER VII

- 1 Renato Beluche, a Creole, was a member of Lafitte's band of pirates who had headquarters at Barataria bay. "In the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, in connection with Captain You, he commanded Battery No. 6 and rendered valuable assistance in repelling Col. Rennie's assault on the right of the American line, for which he received honorable mention in Jackson's report. After the war Capt. Beluche was pardoned by President Madison. He went to Cartagena and became a commodore in the Colombian Navy." Alcée Fortier, Louisiana, Comprising Sketches on Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form, 3 vols., (Atlanta 1909-1914), I, 82. See also Harris Gaylord Warren, The Sword Was Their Passport (Baton Rouge, 1943), 98, 116; Lecuna, op. cit., III, 154; VIII, 79, 81, 150; Stanley Faye, Privateersmen of the Gulf and Their Prizes, Louisiana Historical Quarterly (New Orleans, 1917-), XXII, (October, 1939), 1044, 1076.
- 2 Edmund C. Watmough was appointed consul for Trinidad de Cuba, December 28, 1835. Appointment confirmed by the Senate March 3, 1836. Senate Executive Journal, IV, 499.

- 3 Robert M. Harrison of Virginia, was appointed consul at Jamaica, January 18, 1831; Senate confirmation, January 26, 1831. Ibid., 146-147.
- 4 George M. Dallas (1792-1864) was Vice President of the United States during Polk's administration, 1845-59. Dictionary American Biography, V. 38-39.
- 5 The West India Squadron seems to have been sent to Venezuela because of the revolution of July 8, because the Constellation left Norfolk on the 8th of October. See Report of the Secretary of the Navy, December 5, 1835, in Naval Magazine, I, appendix, 5.
- 6 Ninety-three barrels of flour valued at \$1488 and fourteen kegs of lard worth \$104.50 were taken from Litchfield by the Reformists. He wrote to Williamson, March 24, 1836: "I attribute the misfortune of having the said articles taken from me to the circumstance that Commodore Dallas should not [?] have ordered the Saint Louis to remain here to give us protection on the spot until this Domestic Controversy had been decided." Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Miscellaneous Correspondence Concerning Claims, 1830-1839, No. 70. Evidently the

St. Louis did not remain at Puerto Cabello long enough. It was reported as being at the mouth of the Mississippi, March 15. Naval Magazine, I, 210.

- 7 Guarenas is east of Petare, about one-third of the distance between it and Cape Cordera. Guatire is a short distance southeast of Guarenas. Codazzi, Geografía, 358.
- 8 The Tuy, in the province of Caracas, flows between the costal mountain range and the interior range. It is fifty-five leagues long and begins to be navigable twenty-four leagues from the sea. This river is destined to be the canal which will carry the fruits of all the forests, today uncultivated, that are found in the mountainous region through which the river flows. Codazzi, Geografía, 359.
- 9 Sam D. Forsyth, an American citizen living in Venezuela, was sent by Bolívar to the United States to get arms and munitions. John Quincy Adams received a visit from Dr. Forsyth on March 30, 1820, and recorded in his diary: ". . . Dr. S. D. Forsyth, the ambidexter personage who is a sort of Agent here from Venezuela, and has been winding up-stairs here to get appointed Agent from

the United States to that country." The President directed Adams to write to Bolívar recommending Forsyth because "Forsyth had been useful to Commodore Perry, and, on going back to Venezuela, might be useful again; he [the President] had thought it would be best, therefore, to let him go back with dispositions friendly towards us, and he had the more confidence in Forsyth, because Trimble, the Kentucky member, Clay's particular friend, and a zealot for South America, had spoken of him with the utmost contempt." Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, V, 48, 49-51, 62. From Bolívar's point of view, Forsyth's mission to the United States was a success for on July 4, 1820, Bolívar wrote: "Forsyth has brought sixty thousand pesos worth of arms and munitions, and the last cent in Angostura has been used to pay on this account." Lecuna, Cartas del Libertador, II, 211.

- 10 Joseph Ritner (1780-1869) was elected governor of Pennsylvania in 1835 by the Anti-Masons and the Democrats who disliked Jackson. "Warfare over bank deposits and the antiquated constitution, financial panic, canal and railroad lobbying, anti-abolitionist rioting, and the fanatic genius of Thaddeus Stevens, together taxed Ritner beyond

his ingenuity." He was severely criticized during his administration, and failed to be re-elected in 1838. Dictionary American Biography, XV, 629; Reginald C. McGrane, The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle dealing with National Affairs 1897-1844 (New York, 1919), 247, 261.

[CHAPTER VIII]

[DECEMBER 21, 1835 TO FEBRUARY 13, 1836]

Monday 21[#]
Decem^r 1835.

¹
The Pasqua¹ having commenced, has momentarily put to rest all business, and every individual seems preparing for enjoyment in their own way--some go to the Country, some shut themselves up in their houses, others dress and go to church, and many meet to dance away the time--In all Catholic countries, it is a time of real merriment, religiously and otherwise-- processions from churches, ornamenting them in the most pleasing and in some instances in a very splendid manner, with artificial flowers, and all the paraphanealia of the Church, all their riches are displayed on the occasion-- On Christmass eve I sat up until 12 oclock at night to to to the Cathedral to hear mass from the Bishop, and to my great astonishment did not find the church containing more than 150 persons, I visited several others, and found them alike empty--This is the fifth Christmas I have spent [201] in carusing [sic.] during a residence of nine years, and I frankly confess have never passed so dull a time nor seen so little shew and bustle in the streets or churches, and every thing² was inanimate in the extreme. The (noche buena)

Christmas eve was any thing but pleasant & Christmas morning not celebrated as we do in my Country with potent libations of rich eggnog--here we drank none--the creole never invites to dinner and seldom ever to eat in his house, and yet they are a most expensive people, with incomes in many instances of 6 to 15 thousand Dollars they have not a cent at the end of the year--Yesterday the 28[#] Intelligence was rec^d of the Capture of Carujo in a battle at P^oCabello this I hope will settle the affairs at that Shortly--Gen^l Paez moved on the place the 21 and 22 & the 24 Capt[ure]d Carujo--he is a most fortunate man----- [302]

Wednesday
30 Decem^r 1835

So little occuring in this dullest of all cities, that it becomes a difficult matter to keep a diary, unless it is merely to record day after day the same, the same events or the same circumstances. The Pasqua season has been one of unusually dull and silent--The Streets ocasionaly in the morning thronged with people, but by 11 oclock it is & has been almost as still as death----

The men employ themselves at nothing to improve the mind or create sociability, the gambling room or the Cockpit becomes their resort, and at no time and under

no circumstances are the characters of the people better read or better to be understood than at these two places--Their usual and habitual taciturnity is occasionally relieved by a little excitement when the prospect is gain, and not infrequently at another time [one] pockets his gains with as much [303] indifference as a Turk smokes his pipe and looks out upon the Bosphorus-- no[w] and then the young meet together but their entire conversation is of the most ribald class, vulgar direct, and more vulgar by inuendo, and such as any body can perceive. Their greatest accomplishment is their capacity to smoke an blow it through their nose, it is indeed such an accomplishment, that no one taking a segar from you or your neighbour, but what his first effort would be to shew you he could perform that great[est] of fete [sic.]--all take snuff, all carry boxes, and all are polite enough to ask you to take a pinch--But even this is done I would almost say with a 'quid pro quo', expecting you will do the same, as he is certain that you as a foreigner carry much better than he does--

All intercou[r]se here and con-[304]sequently all politeness is basised upon an expectation of some kind of return, and always expecting two fold, for the little kindness or attention they may shew you,

whenever you return the compliment, & they always expect it.

Spanish habits & customs have left their impress upon every thing, perhaps it is entirely Creole, but as it is to be found from the highest to the lowest, I attribute it to the Spanish rather than indigenous to the Country, and they are so interwoven with life here that it is almost impossible to hire a servant, that you can wean him from some customs, or to follow your directions--If you send him to market he buys of a certain person every article without regard to quality or quantity--and it is not infrequently and [an] understanding between the buyer & the seller that he should give you less of this article or that, that he may at [305] another time receive from the seller the money or article left, this is his speculation, and speculation upon his master, and so it is in almost every instance and for every thing, there is one general system of robbery in a greater or less degree among all classes and in all things--you may hire a cook for 2 ¢ p month if you will let her go to market, and control & buy everything, because she can manage with great ease out of \$2 p day sent to market for a family to save, to rob 25^{cts} --- without the possibility of detection.

A servant is better satisfied to give him his money to buy his breakfast or dinner than to eat in the house--he can go to a pulperia a common grog shop where they sell every thing to eat and for five cents can buy his breakfast of arepa & cheese and a little piece of beef, talk with his equal and pride himself [306] upon having money to spend in this way--in preference to sitting down to a table in a civilized way, and eat a good sound & wholesome breakfast or dinner, taken from the Table of his master--With a few exceptions all are Vagabonds, and prone to go that way however well you may try to teach them better ideas--The higher class are not much better, they never read, and their whole life is one of enjoyment and of the most vulgar and immoral kind--miserable when by themselves, the mind has but little to do in their existence--They doze it away, drowned in Tobacco Smoke or immersed in the most brutal and vulgar amusements--

No news--P^OCabello as it was, nothing from Maracaybo--Mr Gallegos and the President called last Sunday on me--the power to negotiate will be Conferred on Michelana, glad of it. [307]

Monday #
4 Jan^y 1836

I have allowed my diary for the last ten days to absolutely sleep for the want of matter--Nevertheless

having been advised on the 7[#] in a personal interview with Mr Gallegos the Secretary of foreign Relations that Santos Michelana would be again encharged with power to negotiate I re^d on the 7[#] late in the evening a private note from Mr Michelana informing me he had been appointed to negotiate with me and that if no objection occured we would on the following day meet at 12 oclock in the Gov^t House to exchange our powers--

As this first step was one which I considered of great if not pressing importance, I accepted the appointment tho' on the 8[#] Jan^y a day made almost as memoral as any other day in the UStates, by the Victory at New Orleans³ of mere Malitia over the Veteran Troops [308] of Great Britain, the conquerors of the Peninzula, and the very man who commanded on that occasion under the orders of my Gov^t now being actual president of the UStates, and from whom by the advice & consent of the Senate my appointment was made--We met accordingly and exchanged powers which on the part of Mr Michelana were found entirely ample and sufficient. Having a dinner party at my house on that day we adjourned after forming a Protocol until the next day the 9[#] On which day at 12 oclock we again met, and after various suggestion and questions and general conversation, I proposed as the basis of negotia[tio]n, entire, mutual and equal reciprocity in commerce and navigation, and presented these articles embracing my views under the

provisions of our act of Congress of May 1828 and according to instructions--As Mr Michelana [309] had no written instruction he asked permission to confer with [on] the 3 articles with the Secretary of State Mr Gallegos and the President, and to present the 3 articles ⁴--as it contained nothing but what my Gov^t had clearly expressed openly and by Law, I consented, and with this view adjourned over until Tuesday, because on Monday our room of conference is occupied on Monday regularly by the Gov^t the President & his Secretaries in junto-- However Mr Michelana having on Saturday evening and Sunday had the closing interview with the President & Secretary of State, sent me a private note returning the Acts of Congress I had sent him embracing the Law of May 1828. ⁵ and requested a meeting on Monday instead of Tuesday, of cou[r]se it was accepted, and we met accordingly, when he agreed to my three articles presented on Saturday--This therefore opened [310] the door to an immediate arraignment having got the concession of mutual reciprocity in Tonnage & duties, the main point in negotiation had been accomplished.

In returning however the 3 articles nearly word for word with our Brazillian Treaty, he presented one on his part, conceding on the part of the U States

(Article 5-[#]) that Venezuelan vessels should to be such under this Treaty, it was not necessary that they should be built in the Country or maned by her Citizens--I therefore declared for all the purposes of this Treaty to be a Venezuelan vessel it was only necessary, her owner or owners should be citizens of Venezuela, her Captain a citizen--I agreed to it after duly weighing the question upon the following grounds and following reasons--That we had conceded as much to Brazil and nearly as much to the Hansiatic Towns--⁶ that it could not interfere [311] with our navigation to Venezuela, that Venezuelians would have to buy all their bottoms from us, as they can be sold to her cheaper than it would be possible to build them and whatever if any thing we may loose by Concession, we gain by a trade not only in all foreign articles, but in Ships they may require or the enterprize of her citizens may require, and this priviledge only extends to our own Country, with whom she can never stand any Competition--With these views I accepted the article, and with a few immaterial alterations in words the entire Treaty with Brazil (Colombia, being the same) was accepted its duration fixed at 12 years and to be counted from the ratification and exchange of which to take place in Caracas within 8. months--We came to this entire

arrangement on Tuesday and ordered the Treaty to be
 Copied for [312] signing--⁷ I have gained likewise
 in this Treaty a concession on the subject of religion
 by which we are privileged to build Churches and
 worship god unmolested according to the dictates of
⁸
 our conscience--

It is an important event the accomplishment
 of the Views of my Gov^t in this matter, as it must
 carry in its train, almost every other South American
 State, and particularly New Grenada & the Equator the
 States once Confederated with Venezuela as the Gov^t
 of Colombia--

I trust my Gov^t will Sanction it-- News reached
 us last evening of the surrender of Maracaybo to Gen^l
 Montillo, guaranteeing life and property only--From
 Puerto Cabello it is said on the night the 8[#] or 9[#].,
 continual discharges of musquetry & cannon were heard
 within the town & fort and the next morning, it was
 discovered that two Schooners & two feluches were
 missing in the bay belonging [313] to the reformers--
 and the impression that Mariño, the two Ibarras and
 several other of the officers and some troops had made
 their escape.

Others suppose a battle has taken place between
 themselves, but I have no doubt it was all for effect

and design to keep up alarm that the Schooners might actually escape with the various Gen^l Co^{ls} & to escape the blockading squadron--

Carabaño & Belush[e] remain I have no doubt the first only wants two hundred effective men and that he would be glad to get clear of all supernum[era]ry, and many of whom were becoming daily disaffected and escaping and deserting--With two hundred men he will be able from his present stock of provisions to hold out for perhaps a year in possession of the Castle, as at any time the Town might be taken, but could not be held. [314] And I have no doubt if the above statement be true, that Carabaño would not make a Show of resistance in taking possession of the Town--but would like it to keep up the life of his men, and a mark to shoot at, instead of the Tennantless houses,--Carabaño is a desperate fellow and will no doubt do some desperate act before surrendering, unless his own terms are acceded to--Perhaps blow up the Town and the Castle--With the quantity of powder said to be there, alone in the Castle, it would upon ignition no doubt destroy entirely and absolutely the whole inner and outer town--

The Gov.^t seems to be assuming firmness--Congress convenes on the 20 ins^t and some members have already arrived-- [315]

Thursday #
14 Jan^y 1836

Speculation on matters of affairs in this Country, becomes so little the state of things and events, that however much we may adopt a data for our reasoning and conclusions, they never will or can turn out as anticipated or expected-- We cannot reason from like causes producing like events or like effects or that such conclusions follows from such a position; These people are as intricate in their moral and social and political relations as the pong assassinorum of Eculid:⁹ their whole life whether in the duties of an office or the selling of potatoes in the markit, is one of intrigue, want of confidence, and of course on their part a great want of moral honesty--To rent a house or sell an estate, it is necessary to intrigue, they never come right out but always have something in reserve--If you buy of them [316] a thousand quintals of coffee or 40^{1b} sugar they will never make out the Bill--but the purchaser must do it, and if by any accident he cheats himself they will not correct him but if on the other side they will soon discover it--They are as great Cheats in morality as in the ordinary traffic of life--A man will preach up in conversation that there is no religion no moral conduct or deportment in the Country, in the rising generation, and in a half hour afterwards the

same man may be found at a cockpit, gambling Table, or walking about with his whore--They never in their advice from Priest to Layman, remove the beam first out of their own eye, The[y] calculate that the world must do as they bid them and not as they do--They teach by precept and not by example;

I sometimes come to a conclusion that there is no religion in the Country. [317] There is certainly a little more shame here among a certain class on the score of morals than formerly--but at their fiestas in the Country a most unrestrained licence of morals is exhibited, and an intercou[r]se in the way of familiarity and not unfrequently an introduction to other people the whore a man keeps--It is not true as to many families, but it is more or less the broad bases of moral society in this Country-- I attribute the whole social fabrick here to the Spanish Colonial system and the Catholic religion in its most licentious state--The Spanish Gov^t always believed that their Colonies could never be held except by demoralizing the community and turning their thoughts to matters of indulgence and enjoyment instead of to the higher attributes of their nation, the Gov^t of man and his true relative moral associations. Consequently all the effects of such Gov^t and misrule now falls heavily on man here [318] in

his stocial state and is felt to the utermost in this new and independent Gov^t, all the follies and vices of their ancestors have been seduously maintained and retained by their Children without any of their redeeming virtues--Religion likewise in the second case has tended to increase and maintain the demoralization of the political power, marriage insted of being consid^d a civil contract is a religious one and indissulable except by death or the dispensation of the Pope, and no marriages until recently have been permitted with foreigners or others possessing or having other religion than Catholic--Consequently all communication in a carnal and immoral way with the females of the Country has produced a most strange state of Society, bastards are found in many families of the best standing, and scarcely a married man but keeps his mistress and very frequently lives in open concubinage with a woman, from his own moral baseness, or that of [319] his wife--No change can ever be effected by Law in the Country, it must be by a regeneration of the people by moral associations, and which can only be by the rising generation, or the passing away of one or two of the existing--education and the bible judiciously introduced in the country by decent, pious and good men, who are not propagandists except by mild and tolerant views, willing to overlook

many sins, that they may improve some who can look upon the state of Society as it really exists & act accordingly, and not as he would wish it and therefore try and force things to his views--They are the only channels open to an improvement in the co[n]dition social, moral and religious in this Country--Too much zeal will ruin their cause, and raise all the fanaticizm & bigotry of the Country against them--They would if the least violent look upon it as an attack upon their [320] alters and their gods: mild, calm and dignified conduct no interference to their customs or habits but upon slow and gradual encroachment, such a one as they will scarcely feel, is the only way to lead these people, or to change them if possible--Persecution from the pulpit or the press will if attempted for ever allienate or estrange them from your cause and create an eternal distrust--and he who ever under any toleration granted by the Gov^t should attempt such a cow[r]se, will throw a firebrand of disunion & seperation that will forever light the fire of discord in the breast of these people--It therefore requires almost qualities more than man to do good here, and preserve the social order of society--But much may be done by a man eminently and duly qualified.

I have called several times on Mr Gallegos

the Secretary of State, and expect in the course of a few days to sign the Treaty--Rec^d a letter [321] on Saturday last from Mr McAfee at Bogota--Compliments Michelana very highly, perhaps he deserves it--Things move on very well at Bogota. but he has done nothing with a Treaty yet--I trust my success here will give him motion--

No news in the department P^oCabello still in possession of Carrabaño--who is left with a small garison and not more than two hundred & fifty men The Ibarras are still with him all his other generals have gone to Curaçoa----From the arrival of the British packet, learn that the US Charge at Paris had left between 15 & 22 of Novem^r last--Things look a little ¹⁰ lowry in that quarter, should not be astonished to learn by the next vessel that a non intercou[r]se had been laid in the U States against France--It looks stormy, but may blow over--France is rong & she will find it so---- [322]

Tuesday #
19 Jan^y 1836

This day like many has produced scarcely an event worthy of record, My wife still talking of the projected Picnic party for thursday, and has finally agreed to go, to join the same and contribute our share by our presence and eatibles necessary--the party expected to be at

least 13 & perhaps more--went down town to hear the news--
 in this Country different from any other in the world
 except perhaps Spanish collonies originally, and now
 similarly situsted, in old Spain I believe it is the
 same, now [no] news is made public by the authorities
 until it becomes old, and but little known of the movements
 of events in the Country or out of it--The people do
 not read, not more than one or two regular printed
 newspapers, and these of a very small kind, and they
 are never issued until many or several days after the
 printed time mentioned in prospectus. We are therefore
 indebted entirely [323] to the charity of each other
 and our neighbours for inteligence of the most trivial
 kind--at the same time in no Country are there more
triffling in the way of printing than in this Country--
papaluchas has become a matter of devil speculation,
 and unfrequently you find the carriers or venders of
 papers going from house to house or accosting every man
 in the Street to buy the most abominable trash, which
 in a great measure will shew the appetite of the
 Community in matters of reading--but here if it is
 possible, he will borrow and not buy if he can avoid
 it--In a population of at least 25 thousand souls,
 there are not one hundred subscribers to the Gov^t
 Gazette, and perhaps not that number throughout the

entire Republic of Venezuela--The Gov^t has to print the papers at its own expence, save what few subscribers the printer may obtain & advertisements-- [324]

Wednesday #
20 Jan^y 1836

To day the Congress of Venezuela is to convene under the Constitution. Was told on Monday that even a quorum two thirds by the Constitution of the members of the lower house in the City, but not enough of the Senate, to open the Congress that the message of the President and his ministers reports may be rec^d Did not go to the Congress at all --But understand we (Charges) will have privileged seats--obtained no news down the city--rec^d two large officios from Litchfield the U States Consul at P^oCabello--one relative to a claim for excessive duties paid at that port by Nehemiah Foster ¹¹ Boston in the year 1826, which Mr Litchfield has been persuing for the last 9 years-- The other on the subject of merchants Bonds, payable to the Gov^t through the Customs House at Puerto Cabello for duties; which the faction may have gotten possession of and required their payment [325] The question to me appears to be a very plain one--If Mr Litchfield or any other Person should have paid any bond thus given and due to the office before it was due and P^o Cabello should surrender before that time

and come again under the Constitutional Gov^t he or they would certainly be responsible to pay it again-- But whatever they may have paid when due to the faction having possession of P^oCabello at that time, cannot be recoverable again--This is clear Law, reason and justice, and such as I have no doubt will be sanctioned by the Gov^t of Venezuela.

Making preparations for the Picnic--dont want to go, my wife undetermined--looks like a party business, Miss OCallaghan not asked--My wife asked Mrs J. Alderson who refused--expect it will be a dull affair-- plenty to eat provided--sent 8 bottles of red & white wine, cornbeef, cheese, butter, mustard, crackers, over to Mrs Beneditti who [326] was so kind as to pack them up with articles from her house--

Thursday
21st Jan.^y 1836

All in motion for the Picnic Mr Merino with the two Benedittis father & son left at 5 oclock on a shooting expedition and to meet us to breakfast--Mr Hill so good as to loan me a horse for John and Mrs Daly our bakeress [?] her horse saddle and bridle for my wife--She is a great coward to ride, the movement of the horse frightens her--Mr & Mrs Mocatta called at 6 for the Miss Benedittis--I took charge of Mrs Benedittie and her any my wife & self and John left at about 7--my

wife a great coward, made me feel very unpleasant in riding through the Streets, the horse would not get along, afraid to whip and absolutely not guiding or governing the animal with the bridle of course he would go as [327] it pleased him--however we kept it up and finally reached by dint of persuasion and coaxing, to give and inspire Confidence, made out to get a little below the bridge cross the Anauco on the road to Chacao, when Mrs B. saddle turned on her mule and I leaped off just in time to save her from a tremendous fall, had the girth broken she would have fallen out right, but it not being tight enough girthed and the saddle with all a very bad one and made for the wrong side of the horse to ride, the side the people of this Country ride, it turned without breaking, and which I fortunately caught in time and lifted her off the mule and sent John Back for my wife's saddle, asked for chairs from a neighbouring house, set down for about 15 or 20 minutes when John got back, and my wife changed with Mrs B & rode the mule & her the horse--We reached Blandins¹² old place at about 1/2 past 9 o'clock [328] and to our great surprise, found that Sir Robert Ker Porter British Charge d'affairs had not arrived, Mrs Mocatta informed us he had been the night before severely attacked with headache and bilious constipation, and if it was possible to come out to dinner he would--his laughing

Secretary had arrived--waiting until half past ten or eleven for the Miss Benedittis and Mr Merino the Shooting party, they arrived a few moments after we had sat down to breakfast. Our Table was loaded, and our host Mr Melchor Bias, a real Kentucky looking fellow, with our amply supply had added Omlet, fried ham, chicken hash or Stewed made our breakfast a sumptuous affair--Wine, Coffee & Tea, and cakes made of cornmeal similar to our North Carolian batter cakes, were served up warm & with some good butter which I had sent out, made our at least my breakfast an excellent one--all seemed to enjoy it, and [329] appeared in good spirits save Mrs Mocatta, this mystery was subsequently solved--after breakfast walked to near the base of the mountain and nearly directly under that part and the highest point of the Mountain called the Sylla, because in its formation it resembles a saddle--our view from this point was pleasing, grand and picturesque--it extended up the vally above Caracas, embracing the city above & the vally bellow, and the vally of the river going in the Guira coming in nearly due south from the little village El Valle, with all the varieties and shapes of mountains in front piled upon mountain like the ocean in a storm bear [bare] ridges of the sylla on either hand sloping in many picturesque forms and then falling into the

vally of Caracas--with Many woody slopes and ravines through which gushes the little mountain torrent, leaps & falls & rushes to the guira, wattering in its course after reaching the plain, many [330] fine Coffee estates--curing under a fervid sun, but an equal and delightful climate fertility and health & joy to the people--

The Estate of Mr Blandin at which we have lunched, has become perhaps as much or more known than any other perhaps in Venezuela, at least to foreigners and all those who have visited Caracas through either pleasure amusement or science--It was the resting place of Humbolt¹³ and the Historian Depons, and has subsequently been visited by many others not so much known to the World--Co¹ Duane when here in 1824 visited it--Its hospitable owner Mr Blandin, was always ready to pay respect, civility, and extend his hospitality alike to all what ever might have been their motives in visiting him--I had often been here and knew Mr Blandin, he has now been decea^d about one year--and the house tho still containing most of the old antique furniture [331] is undergoing repairs--It is spacious airy, roomy, convenient and prettily situated, with an everlasting stream of delicious mountain watter, runing leaping, bounding through the immediate inclosure on the east side of the

House--conducted by a canal walled in and paved at the bottom, passing through the coffee yard (drying yard) in front of the house into a transverse cannal conducted through the small kitchen and flower garden into a splendid reservoir of an oval form and in circumference of at least one hundred & fifty yards about 40 yards in diameter in one way and at least 50 to 60 the other--the depth of this basin is about 5 feet to 5 feet 6 In a beautiful sheet of limpid pure & healthy water--This tanque is so situated by elevation & locality as to water all that part of the estate lying immediately below the house, composing near 2/3 or it-- The house is built of frames of wood [332] single storied, and the roof resting on the upright supporters of the sides and ends, filled in with lime and dirt to the thickness of four or five inches or more--presenting in the front a handsome plaza and at each end, doors opening into the end rooms of the building--from the plaza you enter the main or center of the building, with rooms falling off at each end--windows glazed and glass, resembling a handsome country appearance and residence of North America--doors are very high & large, many windows & good size which gives a light & airy appearance to the whole--from the Hall opens directly upon the corridor, with two handsome small rooms to the right & left similar

to the front & the kitchen offices & servants rooms joining and runing from the corridor to those places-- East of this part or patio, wooden pailings or frame with small iron bars instead of [333] wood incloses in this side--opened by a large convenient gate, directly upon the water running through the inclosure--with a small lawn covered with a variety of shade trees, all of which are fruit & nuts--

The arraingements and conveniences of the house are excelent--there is attached a bath house where either warm or cold baths can be prepared in a very short time, and the kitchen is of very large dimensions-- on the West of the house seperated now by a wall is situated the coffee establishment, for drying, hulling & cleaning it for markit--with a large range of offices and conveniences--most of which are now of little use-- and shows the great defect & backwardness of all mechanical science in this Country. Mr Blandin founded this estate near 52 years ago--and every thing but his house is antient, rude, and exhibiting but little knowledge of the improved condition of the world--

[334]

We returned from our walk at about half past 12 to one oclock--all a little fatigued, under a warm perpendicular sun--the ladies retired to fix their

heads and we retired to a side room to cards, which occupied us until four oclock, when Sir Robert the long looked for object of Mrs Mocatta vision made his appearance with Jane Mocatta & Mr Jno Boulton of LaGuayra-- she now became more amusing, more gay & lively--what a shame it is that a mans wife should think more of another man, than her husband--it appears so in this case, tho at the same time I may [be] doing her injustice but if I had not ocular demonstration more than once to this point I might consent I was rong, but the converse of the proposition being true, I must believe there is something in the matter, a laisance [sic.] between an old man of 60 and a woman of 33-- & all on her part-- [335]

At 1/4 past four sat down to a sumptuous dinner, nearly all cold dishes garnished by warm soup, and several small additions by our Landlord, we did not expect nor did we wish him to furnish any thing. Sir Rob^t eat nothing, but complained most woefully of his desperate health, when to all appearances he looked as tho' he could have dined off of the hardest piece of beef that ever a labouror eat in England.

There was something more about Sir Rob^t than head ache, he was heart ache, about something, it is likely his master has given him a rap over the knuckles

for something, or he felt that the olive wreaths that cluster so finely round his head with all their powers sat very precariously there. He seems to guard his post mortim reputation with great fear & I fear suicidal care--he hugs it like his aristocracy of Sir Knight with never ending never ceasing care [336] to his deeply stricken breast--for he is of that class of mortals tho not a catholic, believes in all the orders of a Church Gov^t & State, and that Kings like the Pope can canonize sin & virtue and render them safe for eternity if not for this life--Rise up Sir Knight, [there] is nothing but a purgatory to pass through and the kings elevates him above his equals, by these talismanic words--So the masses, and pray[er]s of the high priest or his menials, say the dead are in Purgatory & by mass they escape punishment hereafter and enter thus into the Kingdom of heaven. Poor mortal he is growing old and in that lies the mystery of his godliness in belief and action--He once read the church services every sunday, but he here abandoned that for the Theatre, and instead of Worshipping god, he worships mamon--for what can keep him here but his salary, unless it is money or Mrs Mocatta. [337] We walked after dinner to the Tanque round which we sauntered until half past six when we all mounted our horses and

mules for Caracas.

I had almost for got to say that the sherry wine that Sir Robert was to bring out, came with Mrs Mocatta, and more horritical stuff was never offered to sinners to drink, a villanous compound of anything neither flesh nor fish nor fowl, could I have suspected such a cheat I would have sent my own which is good--Sir Rob^t no doubt tho^t any thing was good enough for the Company--as an unclean thing I neither tasted it nor handled it--I furnished precisely what was required by Mrs Mocatta at whose instance all this fuss was made and all these lines written, and she a little nasty nigerish (and really so) women and native of St^t Cruz--a Jewess, whose name in truth is Judas but she has modernised it into Julia--It makes me laugh to thing of a Jewess [338] called Julia--oh Shade of David, and Samuel, how thy race has fallen, upon what evil times have thou come upon--Thy Meessiah when he comes will weep to find all his Children, Children and sheep of another fold--Oh julia, julia, ha-ha-ha-- We reached, that is Sir Robert Mr & Mrs Mocatta, Jane Mocatta & John Boulden [sic.] & young Beneditti & the two Miss Benedittis some half hour before us, that is Mr & Mrs Beneditti, myself & wife John and our Land lord Melchor Bias--at about 8 clock retired early, somewhat fatigued.

Friday 22nd Jan^y 1836

Passed this entire day in my house somewhat fatigued--
got no news, read & slept--Congress did not convene
from a want of members, lower house has a quorum, the
Senate has not--eat my dinner at four & walked--Had
Miss Renshaw to Tea--The French Consul came a 1/4
before 9 for her.----- [339]

Saturday 23rd Jan.y. 1836

Called today on the President and found him still
complaining of head ache, but in good spirits--Congress
not yet convened for want of members of the Senate,
they are expected every moment--There is not half nor
quarter in fact scarcely any interest felt in reading
or expecting the Presidents message, or in fact any of
the reports of congress, at the same time it is a
document which all should be anxious to read, because
it treats generally of the state of the Country in all
its branches---

Friday 12th Febur.y.

Almost a month has transpired from a reference to my
diary to day--And during this time, what have I done,
how emphatically is Youngs expression--"we take no note
of time but from its loss" [340] and but from a
reference to dates I should have scarcely believed

that a month had passed since I had last touched my diary, but it is so--however the time has not been idled away--The Treaty was signed on the 26[#] Jan.y. tho on its face it says the 20[#] --this arose from the clerks or directions given by Michelana supposing they would have them ready by that day, he told them to make that the date of the same--
14

I dispatched it by Mr Merino to Washington--
on the 4[#] inst^t by the way of New York--two days previous to his departure we had some talk about compensation and I thought he had given up the voyage, for I could not think of taking all risque in the Gov^t paying him his expenses, tho in the first instance I should have to advance the whole am^t and take things upon trust--He did not appear [341] very well satisfied-- however my conditions to him were these if the government paid his expences I would likewise pay him his salary, but should the Gov^t refuse it I could not pay his expences likewise, it is therefore a good bargain on his side he cannot loose any thing but his wages, & if he gains his expences he gains his wages likewise--
15
He is a very proud man--I told him his association in Caracas were among young men who could only lead him into expences, and they were not such as would give him any information as to business--I told Mr M when

he left Phil^a trade was open and free to him, that he might do what he could and that I would even aid him by the loan of credit or cash to the am^t of 2000 \$ --but with all that he has attempted nothing, but has really idled [342] away a great proportion of his time, for in my employment, he is not occupied one hour a day. He will have to get over a little of his ideas of the gentleman, before he ever can get along--he considers convenience & comfort too much--a very awkward man, and really has no manners, his behaviour at table is of the most uncouth kind, and yet he thinks himself the pink of chivlery--

I mean no harm to the young man, he is a pretty good clerk but from the want of steady and regular employment, skips over, is careless and neglectful of his duties--I wish him all success and would do almost any thing to push him forward--We shall see when or if he returns--

The Congress convened on the 4[#], and have been engaged in sundry projects of reforms and Laws--

Gave a dinner to Cap^t [343] Kierulf of the Danish Navy a very agreeable man, this took place on the 3^d---Gallegos the Secretary of State, a Mr Hethorn & son from London & Mr Bennediti & Mr Merino composed our Table it passed of pretty well-- much pleased with

Capt^t Kierulf he left last monday, having waited here
 until the arrival of Mr Ackers¹⁶ an Englishman, whom
 the Danish Gov^t I learn has either made him Consul
 General or clothed him with certain powers to arregulate
 trade form a Treaty or negotiate upon the subject.--
 The Virginia Trader from Phil^a 4 days since, brings many
 rumors of war with France the British packet brings
 inteligence of peaceble views in Europe, and the
 probability that France will pay the 25.000.000 franks.
 The Treaty the whole Treaty and nothing but the Treaty
 is all my Gov^t asks, and she will have it come weal or
 come woe.-- If France is for war [344] then lets have
 at it, sooner commenced sooner ended; I never shall
 believe until it does take place that France will go
 to War, for a mere air drawn fancy of honour being at
 stake--President Jackson intended no insult, he merely
 wished to say to the nation (the UStates) that France
 was humbuging brother Jonathen, he had a right to do
 so, and France nor King Philip had any right to question
 it--It was truth and why should France Chivalrous France
 or the King be afraid of the Truth---

A frenchmans head is but the wig of an
 Englishman, it is as combustable as their powder with
 which they expect to blow we yankes up with--le grand
 nation is still swimming in their heated fancy--all the

dreams of Napoleons successes float before their.
 imagination, and King Philip¹⁷ had better take care
 that some Corsican dont kick him from his throne or
 bring him to the Gullitine--- [345]

His crown does not seem to fit him, [or] the french
 people as [one] would in his success imagine--It requires
 but little to react the scenes against him as King
 Charles the 10[#] of July 1831 [1830]--However it is
 probable he has some tact as he has acquired a great
 deal in the school of adversity. War with France the
 UStates cannot be in the least alarmed at, it must be
 upon the Ocean, and I venture to bet, Virginia like to
 force the argument, that should we go to war--and I
 will put it up with any man, 100\$ to 75\$ upon [a] very
 equal fight, and 100 to 100\$ when it is between an
 American heavy 44 frigate & a french 74, tho the french
 wt. [weight] of metal is over ours--They may attempt
 something at New Orleans because the inhabitants are
 part French, but it wont do they never can land on our
 Shores, nor never in my opinion blockade our ports--
 go to war with us she will have a plenty to look to at
 home and in Europe--- [346]

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER VIII

- 1 Pascua-- any festival of the Church which lasts three days. The term is usually used to refer to the Passover of the Jews, and to Easter; but it is used also in referring to Christmas. Mariano Velazquez de la Cadena (Edward Gray and Juan L. Iribas, editors), A New Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages, 2 vols., (New York, 1900), I, 482.
- 2 Note in margin of diary: On this night all women like to get married.
- 3 Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815. John Spencer Bassett, The Life of Andrew Jackson (New York, 1925), 182-207.
- 4 The articles referred to are three, four, and five of the Brazilian Treaty. Cf., Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Instructions from the Department to John G. A. Williamson, No. 3; also, Williamson's letter, January 13, 1836, to the Secretary of State. For text of Brazilian Treaty, see Hunter Miller, Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States, III, 451-484.
- 5 The law of 1828 "authorized the President to extend

the exemption from alien duties which of previous Acts, was restricted to the productions of the country to which the vessel belongs to those of any foreign country imported into the United States in vessels of any nations which should allow us similar privileges." Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Instructions from the Department to John G. A. Williamson, No. 3.

- 6 Williamson was proceeding exactly as he had been instructed. Ibid., No. 3.
- 7 Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Navigation, and Commerce, signed at Caracas January 20, 1836. Original in English and Spanish. Submitted to the Senate March 7, 1836. Resolution of advice and consent March 23, 1836. Ratified by the United States April 20, 1836. Ratified by Venezuela May 25, 1836. Ratifications exchanged at Caracas May 31, 1836. Proclaimed June 20, 1836. For text of treaty, see Hunter Miller, op. cit., IV, 3-32.
- 8 Article 14 of the treaty, regarding religious freedom, is more complete than the corresponding clause in the treaty with Brazil. This is one of the few points where in the treaties differ. In all essentials, and even in language, the two treaties are the same.

Ibid., IV, 32.

- 9 The isosceles triangle proposition sometimes marked the limit of the work in Euclid in universities in the Middle Ages. It was frequently called the Pons asinorum or the "Bridge of Asses," with the implication that the students could not cross it. Vera Sanford, A Short History of Mathematics (New York, 1930), 270-271.

- 10 For twenty years the United States had tried to reach a settlement with France regarding claims for the spoliation of American commerce during the wars following the French Revolution. Through the patience and tact of our minister to France, W. C. Rives of Virginia, the French did sign a treaty on July 4, 1831, agreeing to pay 25,000,000 francs in six annual installments. The first payment was due March, 1833. Our secretary of the treasury drew a draft on the French government which was forwarded through the United States Bank and protested for lack of funds. Believing that the amount was too large, the French Chambers had not appropriated the necessary money. This incident was used by Jackson's enemies to attack him. Nicholas Biddle demanded the usual protest charges amounting to nearly \$175,000: \$135,000 for damages, and \$40,000

protest cost, interest, and re-exchange. The administration was not willing to pay the \$135,000. This demand was lawful but Jackson and the public thought it unfair since the bank handled a large portion of surplus government funds without paying interest on them. All this happened in May, 1833, and Jackson refused to pay Biddle; so, in July, 1834, Biddle deducted the amount from the government's dividend as a stockholder in the bank.

Meanwhile, excitement in the United States grew over the failure of the French to pay the amounts agreed upon. Jackson, in his message to Congress on December 1, 1834, said: "Peace and friendly intercourse with all nations are as much the desire of our government as they are the interests of our people. But these objects are not to be permanently secured by surrendering the rights, or permitting the solemn treaties of their indemnity in cases of flagrant wrong, to be abrogated or set aside." Then Jackson recommended that if the French did not arrange to pay the United States as soon as possible, the United States should seize French property.

The French were insulted, and the French minister demanded his passports. Alphonse Pageot

was left in charge of the legation. The French Chambers passed appropriations but with the proviso that the money must not be paid until the language of the President was satisfactorily explained. This made the situation more tense since Edward Livingston, our minister who replaced Rives in 1833, came home; and in November 1835 chargé Thomas Barton asked for his passports. In January, 1836 Pageot returned to France and diplomatic relations were suspended. By this time both nations were willing to make concessions and the French construed Jackson's message of December 7, 1835, to be an apology. France arranged to pay the money, Pageot returned to Washington, and the threat of war disappeared.

J. D. Richardson, ed., A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1902, 10 vols., (Washington, 1903), III, 92-123, 147-177; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, 663-673; Bailey, Diplomatic History of the American People, 199-204.

- 11 The claim of Nehemiah Foster was for an overcharge of duties made in the Customs House at Puerto Cabello on an invoice of chairs in 1826. The amount involved was \$231.60 to which Litchfield felt should be added the interest for nine years and three months. The Venezuelan government did

not pay the interest. Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Claims, letters of Franklin Litchfield, June 5, 1836; July 19, 1836; April 12, 1838.

- 12 Don Bartholomeo Blandin was the first to introduce the cultivation of coffee in Venezuela (1784). After the free trade edict of Charles III, in 1778, coffee was developed as an article of commerce in the Spanish colonies. American and European Spaniards scarcely ever used that article. When asked why, "they gravely reply that it heats the blood." M. Lavaysse, A Statistical, Commercial and Political Description of Venezuela, Trinidad, Margarita, and Tobago (London, 1820), 220-221.

Blandin's is today the Country Club of Caracas. Conversation with Gustavo Mibeli.

- 13 Cf., Depons, Voyage to Terra Firma, 1801-1804, II, 181-182; Alexander Von Humboldt (Thomasina Ross, tr.), Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America, During the Years 1799-1804, 3 vols., (London, 1852), I, 416-417.
- 14 Williamson's letter of January 31, 1836, in which he inclosed the Treaty to the Secretary of State, makes no mention of the fact that the treaty was

signed on January 26, rather than January 20.

National Archives, File Microcopy No. 79, Roll 2.

Hunter Miller, op. cit., IV, 3, gives January 20, 1836 as the date for the signing of the treaty.

- 15 The Secretary of State instructed Williamson, April 20, 1836, that: "Mr. Felix Merino, Jr. will be allowed for his services as bearer of despatches, six dollars a day from the time of his departure from Caracas until his arrival at Washington, during the time of his detention in the United States, and until his return to Caracas, deducting therefrom such portion of his time as he may have been employed exclusively in his private affairs. He is also to be allowed his actual expenses during the time specified, on the production of proper vouchers. He has received seven hundred and fifty dollars on account. He will render an account with the vouchers to you and you will transmit them to this Department for settlement." National Archives, Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Instructions from the Department of State to John G. A. Williamson, No. 15.

- 16 William Ackers was serving as Consul in Venezuela for Denmark. His commission and instructions for

making a commercial treaty were brought to Caracas by an aide-de-camp. González Guinán, Historia Contemporánea de Venezuela, III, 17.

- 17 Louis Philippe (1773-1850) was proclaimed king of France by the Chamber of Deputies after Charles X had been overthrown during the July Revolution of 1830. Having discarded the "Divine Right" of the Bourbons, his kingship rested on a democratic basis, but he became more and more autocratic. His throne and his life were in danger many times because of repeated attempts by the Legitimists to restore the Bourbons. He agreed too late to make democratic reforms and lost his throne in 1848 when the Second French Republic was established. La Grande Encyclopédie, XXII, 660-665.

[CHAPTER IX]

[FEBRUARY 13 TO MARCH 20, 1836]

Saturday 13 Feb.y. 1836

For the last week my unfortunate propensity to be idle or at least not industrious enough to keep my journal up to the day has beguiled me from the path of duty and real passtime--

There is really at times such a benumbing feeling & sensation, of action as precludes almost the utter possibility of wielding a pen, or stirring my brains to record the passing moments of a day--It is all in the climate--a want of energy is visable in every thing, even the animals have no life the who or stick is necessary to provoke them to a pace beyond a walk--and man consult only his quiet and ease, and in this climate he has it at its full--

In the race of life here, there is no excitement, but a great deal of intrigue, the goal of existence has no prize on high, there is no reward in reaching it or running for the prise--Among the better class or rather the higher class of mankind, [347] all is smooth so long as their vices and indulgences are administered to, and they are permitted to retire like the tortoise within its own shell, and it is impossible ever to shake

them out of it--in debt you cannot sell their property, they are therefor supreme in both cases in the Land-- Under the mantle of Mantuana they sleep ever secure in their imaginations from earthquakes, at least no moral one can rouse them to a sense of moral or political duty--Country, amor patriae is never in their recollections, and surely makes no rule in their conduct or habits--

One of this sort of half civilized mantuana family one Salvador Rivas whom I met on board of a steam boat between Phil^a & Baltimore, and who raked up an acquaintance with me and who returned to Caracas some months since, took one of his cousins to wife a few evenings since, say 12 days ago--The Miss Aldersons [348] gave them a few days afterwards a party, and immediately following the OCallaghans gave a party to them--Salvador married his own cousin, an incestious connection--We were invited--The Rivas, their families both being Rivas, Salvador Rivas Tovar, his wife Rivas Pechaco--They had been at my house to several parties and we had returned all the visits they had ever made-- A few days after OCallaghans party, Rivas gave one at his mother in Laws, we were not invited, but English Strangers two who were here were invited, the Mr Hethorns father & Son--As regards the friendship or

intercourse between us in any way I care not a pin, as they never will or can be my friends or companions I make use of them to fill up my house, and they are considered a good family here--yesterday they sent us their Card, which I copy merely to record the Customs of the Country & which is adopted in this Country [349] in all cases of matrimony.

"Maria del Rosario Pacheco participa a U. el matrimonio de su hija ^{Mary} "Maria de la Luz Rivas con Salvador Rivas, quienes se ofrecen á U. en "su misma casa." Señor Williamson y S.ra The translation of which runs as follows Maria of Rosario Pacheco informs you of the marriage of her daughter Maria of ^{congratulates} Light Rivas with Saviour Rivas, and which is offered to you in the same house----

I am extremely glad they did not invite us, because their card now may sleep in the Tomb of the Capuletts, it shall not be disturbed by me or mine, they may eat their own Mondongo (tripes & offal made into a soup and sold in the market) and I shall never molest them;--Tho, it is customary to send round these cards to all whom they wish to visit them, and may be equally the custom to return it because it is expected, it will not be from my house, and I shall take great [350] pleasure in never asking one of them to my house--

This same Saviour Rivas, has never called at my house since his return from the States, tho he made one or two formal calls on me in Phil^a, they were always returned by me.--The Mantuanas of this Country are proberbially the most uncouth people in the Country without education or manners and in many instances cannot write their names-- It is thought by many they take their names from their connections with the original Indians of the Country--As scarcely a family of two generations in the Country but are either touched & tinged with either indian negroe blood--But I am of opinion their rank of Mantuana or at least a name of distinction, originates from the fact that the rich proprietors or officers & their families sent out from time to time from Spain to govern the Country, their wives or daughters wore the celebrated mantilla of Spain, which is [361] nothing but a large Large Lace Shall black or white, carelessly thrown over the head and fastened to a very large Comb, falling before and behind in folds that in a great measure obscure the face and certainly adds some grace to the form and movements of a fine figured woman--They are not unfrequently made one half of silk and the four sides of deep rich Lace; The mantilla is a graceful flowing & easy additional Coustume--It is here used as a church dress, and women

will forego any thing or almost commit any thing for a mantilla & rich black dress, it is indispensable, as a part of church formula, & becomes as much the rage among these as any extreme of dress in other Countries-- The Congress in session, have I perceived given us seats on the floor within the bar of the house of their deliberations--I shall at times [352] embrace it--They have in the lower refused sanction to the Treaty of limits between New Granada & Venezuela, all other parts not material they have sanctioned--Therefore all foreign expectations of payment for sums due is for the moment crushed--How long will other nations sanction such a policy, that the claims of their citizens must be procrastinated, for a disagreement about boundaries--² It will create great sensations at Bogota, and I should not doubt give satisfaction, as many of them have thought, the Gov^t of New Granada had been wronged in the Treaty in the distribution of the public debt.-- And now the door is opened, for new negotiation--as I presume they will claim all the Treaty or none--

I called on the Secretary and President on Monday last on the subject of the additional duties of 10 pCent upon foreign imports and Stated to them the severity [353] with which it operates on American business, and that it certainly would diminish the

revenue on American business instead of increasing it-- Their only argument is the necessity of the Gov^t they want funds and must raise it--It is a most unjust proceeding-- It cannot be stoped yet they are both sensible, that on American articles, instead of laying a duty, they should be reduced,

Their admissions gave no room for argument, and pleading necessity they begged the question and I gave it to them, and of cou[r]se they will lay the duty-- I trust they will not get half the revenue they did last year and I feell almost afraid such will turn out to be the truth--Argument is nothing here, sophistry is all truth on any Question among these people--they seize their data and conclusions follow, their basis being admitted, all is right--when in fact their data is unsound and of cou[r]se every thing that follows equally so-- [354]

Saturday 20th Feb.y. 1836.

This day is a collecting day among merchants and as it closes the week I usually walk down Town for news-- The Bogota or South mail arrives to day-- There is however no news--From S^t Thomas by the arrival of the Grand Canal at LaGuayra the Gov^t have been officially informed that Gen^l Belushe schooner the Masellie [Meselle] has been seized with her cargo at S^t Thomas

and held subject to the orders of the Gov^t by the Danish Authorities--Clark & Swain (Americans) and Captains were imprisoned, but released upon giving security, the Crew remained in prison--This vessel left Puerto Cabello some days since with a quantity of ammunition, Cannon, old brass Cannons & to sell at places she could and report says to buy provisions to supply the Port, which is yet held by the faction under the authority of Carabaño, Belushe, Melo, & the two Ibarras--and what appears strange she [355] passed the blockading squadron and made good her passage to St^t Thomas--with many it has been supposed she was permitted by connivance to escape, through the intrigue of Belushe with Gen^l Paez--It [is] certainly evident some understanding has existed between him and the Gen^l since an interview had with him a month or more since--₃

In fact every thing in this Country is intrigue, nothing can be done without it, it extends and ramifies itself into every incident and circumstance of life, it is a constitutional virtue, and he that does not possess it, is looked upon as a poor devil--

The Secretary of State Mr Gallegos went to LaGuayra for his wife who had arrived from Maracaybo--

The Congress are doing nothing, a change in their judiciary proceedings is before them they only

skim over the surface of the evils-- they must Strike deeper into the morbid matter, or it will never be felt--They promise some things, but I fear as usual they will do nothing-- [356]

Sunday 21 Feb.y. 1836

An extreme dull day always in this Catholic Country, but perhaps of more mirth than is to [be] found in the U States, music and dancing is not neglected here on account of the day, nor are the ordinary vocations & labours of life. It is a great day for the women and a holliday, and turns them all out of their prisons. for in a great measure by custom they live in the most retired and secluded manner--in the evenings after dinner they usually occupy seats formed at every window, and by its projection into the Street they are enabled to observe almost every thing that passes either up or down it--dressed well but generally without corsetts, nevertheless their clothes are usual well put on and in many instances with great taste--It is utterly impossible to render them sociable in the manner in which we understand sociability--educated and raised differently they of course find much difficulty in bringing themselves to adopt our Customs as we do theirs-- [357]

Much social intercoul[r]se is prevented, from an inexcusable practice adopted by foreigners in their

association; of confining their language and conversation too often to a comparative difference between the manners, habits and customs these people to other nations, with forming a correct data to reason upon-- finding every thing different here they presume it is extraordinary without an actual survey of the cause or causes that have produced it--

A nobleman whose association is only with men of his own rank and fortune, unless he has escaped from the things that have surrounded him and walked abroad through all the fields of nature and examined for himself mankind as circumstances have formed him, would [not] be a good judge of the world, because his life & his experience would only teach him to judge by comparison, therefore every thing not as good, not as fine not as rich not as improved as he has been raised & associated amidst would be good, fair or even tolerable, and his opinions would therefore take [358] the bias of early associations, habits formed without an examination of the world for himself-- Every thing would be either good or bad as it reached or failed in comparison with his education.

What might be real unaffected and chaste politeness here, would be rudeness and vulgar in other places, and what in other Countries might be considered

the elite of politeness, might be considered excessively impolite here.

For the last eight days nothing has transpired of any importance in a political way--Save the seizing of the Schooner Massille belonging to Renato Belushe at S^t Thomas by the Gov^t of the Danish Islands, loaded with cannon arms & & and sent down under the guns of a Danish man of War and delivered to the Venezuelan vessel, who have accordingly taken her and sent her down to P^o Cabello to join the squadron blockading that port., but it is said she has been placed in the hands of Mr Olliveria son in Law of Belushe he having given security for the same-- [359]

News has been rec^d by the President in an officio from Gen^l Paez that the faction at P^o Cabello are anxious to surrender on the same conditions as it [at] Maracaybo. The Gov^t here will not in my opinion accord it--John Clark & Swain who carried the Mossellie [sic.] to S^t Thomas have petitioned to be restored to rank and pay--Clark has come down but Swain remained behind--The Congress have refused an indulto--expulsion [from] the Country, without rank or pay, is all that has been granted them--These two men are both North Americans, and I believe every exertion has been manifested by their friends from the commencement to dissolve them

from any connection with the faction of the 8[#] July last, but without effect--they now get their reward-- They are not as wise as I thought they were or would be--- Congress is much engaged and giving as it were all power to the President-- They should recollect that one rent in the Constitution cannot be easily mended, and a precedent now, will ever after be appealed to [360] and will ultimately lead to an entire abolishment of the Constitution--They should draw a clear and well defined line, between Legislative and Constitutional power, otherwise, there is no Constitutional liberty-- In the formation of the Constitution of Venezuela, there are too many words and too many explanations, it should have been a simple declaration of rights & out of that a form of Gov^t established leaving the understanding of it to the Congress growing out of it and the Laws they might pass to protect and secure the principles declared----

Without a great corrective in the people or the Congress, the Legislative power will subvert the Constitution, as no doubt in many instances the Constitution in going on to affirm instead of declare, has instead of declaring a right Legislated on it-- Anarchy I am affraid is to be the result of the Present Gov^t if so despotism will follow, and it is only

necessary for times or circumstances to produce the man, and things [361] are formed to his hand----

Much depends upon this Congress, as the established precedents growing out of the revolution of 8[#] July, must hereafter become law in the Land--

Our last advices from the States look much like War with France, I hope not, but if so, let us tug to it like men and free men--

The Congress have passed a Law increasing the import duties 10 pCent to take place the first April-- it will operate very severe upon American business-- I hope the people will have to eat Casava⁴ & arepa for the next two years--

[#]
Tuesday 1 March 1836.

I have again permitted another week to pass without keeping up my diary, but I am resolved from this time forward to do my duty not only to myself but every other person--a diary is of great importance, as spreading before a person his own actions, his views and opinions at particular times, and [362] prepares the mind for greater exertion, and calls up many resources that would otherwise pass off in the idleness of indulgence-- The last 9 days have been somewhat fertile in events, in connection with the events and history of the revolution here of the 8[#]

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July--On the 27 March overtures were made by the besieged in P^oCabello to surrender placing them upon the same ground and privileges granted to them at Maracaybo, these propositions with others were submitted to Gen^l Paez at the lines at San Esteban, who immediately by express transmitted them to the executive and who immediately transmitted them to Congress then in Session and required their immediate action upon the subject-- It re^d the immediate attention of both houses & finally an indulto was prepared granting life only to the faction but expulsion forever from the Territory of the Republic, this to be confined exclusively to the officers, the soldiers to be placed under the direction of the executive in what ever part or parts of the Republic he may [363] conceive most beneficial to the Country. 6

By intrigue Gen^l Paez managed with some two or three of the inferior officers to obtain an unconditional surrender of the Castle and Town before the arrival of this indulto--There was no particular merit in this on the part of Gen^l Paez or those of the faction who aided it, for it is manifest that they had held out to the last, destitute of every thing, it was sheer necessity that compelled the surrender: And on the 1st 6 in the morning a movement was made and at 9 oclock the Town, Casa fuerte, & Castle were in possession of the

Constitutional forces, and again under the direction of the Gov^t--The officers amounting to some 105 were immediately placed on board of two of the blockading vessels and are there waiting the determination of the Gov^t on their case--Gen^l Paez receiv.g. the indulto after the Surrender sent it back again to Congress for a reaction, as the Town & was surrendered with[out?] the conditions, and would therefore come under the Laws [364] of the Country on the 8 yesterday the Congress had this questioned returned to them under discussion---

I have called repeatedly on the Secretary of State and have not for the last 8 or nine days until the 7 had an interview with him--This was sought because some weeks since I had addressed him on the subject of negotiating upon the question of claims, and he had answered me not proposing to negotiate, but that the Gov^t would receive and attend to all such matters with a view of doing justice to all parties--In consequence I declined handing him or the Gov^t the documents, reiterating my previous reasons together with others to endeavour to produce the belief of the necessity of the Course proposed by myself--and on the 7[#] called on MrSecretary of State and [he] proposed to meet me on Thursday on that business. I shall not be prepared

entirely, in consequence of the absence of Pedro Eduardo, as it is relative to events and times long since passed, and his [365] testimony is all important, as to the question of Authority under which he acted-- We have news that places the question of the UStates with France about the 25 million through the intervention of England, is likely to be settled--The King of France has accepted it & by a paper from New York of the 10[#] Feb.y., the President had communicated to Congress his acceptance of it likewise, reserving any point I presume from its tenor that may go beyond the message of the 8[#] Decem^r last--The same papers contains an action of the Legislature of Pensylvania not conclusive but a least a disposition to believe that it will be so, in rechartering the Bank of the UStates.⁷ This policy I will leave with the Pen[n]sylvania[n]s, but even with its enormous capital of 27 million, local in its operation, its importance must dwindle into nothing, unless they make it a political engine and which I believe they will, and if so away goes all the smaller Banks they are swallowed up at once, or [366] become hewers of wood and draughers of water for the mammoth-- It is to revolutionize Pen[n]sylvania--It will create a monied aristocracy, that will never advance the prosperity of the State, but will add greatly to the

influence of particular individuals-- The Bank can never act nationally, how then can it wield its immense capital unless it becomes a broker shop and resorts exclusively and alone to Exchange--The Citizens of Pen[n]sylvania are looking only to the immediate results and not the future--I wish them well--But it is an egregious folly and great presumption--a proportion [of them] go heart and hand for it a measure of party and others upon the ground of its benefits to the Community, they are deceived and fall into the hands of designing intriguing & ambitious men, and when tied neck & heels they will discover it--it may be too late--but I hope not---- [367]

Wednesday #
9 March 1836

Congress continued this day in session both houses united upon the return of the indulto sent to Gen^l Paez 27[#] ult^t & returned by him because P^o Cabello had surrendered unconditionally previous to its arrival-- a committee was appointed the 8[#] and reported this morning, approving of the general points of the previous indulto, but suggesting the propriety of the Congress making some exception of some of the principals--which was agreed to 26 to 23, a close vote, and which induces me to believe that when they come to act, they will do nothing, as a near equality

of numbers are disposed to embrace all the faction without any distinction under the previous parts of the reports of the Committee, to wit banishment taking away rank, pay, emoluments & honors--while the 26 are for excepting some of them & bring them under judgment of the tribunals as conspirators--I think some of the 26 will bolt, if not perhaps a compromise may be effected---

I doubt much should they bring [368] any part of them to the Law, that the Gov^t or the Congress can get the courts to act on their cases, Excuses are so often made and always admitted such as sickness, that in important matters the courts can seldom be brought to act---

I called on the President yesterday found the French Consul there, had a short interview with his Excell.y. looks a little blue, not very kind, seemed disposed to get clear of me as soon as possible--I have been for sometime during the passage of the import Law laying a further duty of 10 pCent on imports, endeavouring to place the question before him and his Secretary as very injurious to American commerce and much more serious to Venezuela and presume he may not have liked altogether so well my views or my words upon the subject--He may have thought I came again

upon the same subject--I am by appointment to meet Mr Gallegos tomorrow on the subject of claims, with whom I have exchanged notes upon the subject [369] tho not making by those notes an appointment upon the subject-- But I called personally on him on monday & requested the course here noted--I am fearful we shall have rather a stormy time about these matters, but I hope a calm will come in their adjustment clearly all that are right---

Thursday

10 March 1836.

By appointment to day I met in the Gov^t House Mr. Gallegos the Secretary of State upon the subject of claims--Having previously requested him to furnish me with sundry documents from the archives of the Gov^t relative to various claims in my hands, I was only prepared to present the claim of Jacob Idler, which had been a recent litigated one before the authorities and of much more magnitude than any in my hands-- accordingly at 12 oclock we met when I presented simply the decission of the Courts of Venezuela awarding to Mr Idler upwards of Seventy thousand hard dollars--Mr Gallegos then entered into various explenations relative to [370] various items of the claim, and presented me with the decission of the Council of Gov^t

published in the Gov^t Gazette in answer to my demand
as Consul for the payment of said Claim, I asked him
 for the printed Copy, he gave it to me, tho I had
 already a copy of it, I rec^d₉ it nevertheless--Mr Secretary
 then presented an expediente made upon my representation
 in 1833 when Consul in which was copies of various
 answers to the different points of account presented
 for Liquidation at Bogota by a Mr Paul under Idlers
 power--I therefore asked a copy of these documents and
 we adjourned to meet again at no fixed day, but which
 will be at the discretion of either party--I clearly
 perceive there is no disposition to adjust this claim
 according to the decrees of the Court and that the
 Gov^t will refuse it to the last- However as I have
 not yet examined all the documents, have not of cours
 investigated the entire matter in dispute--

A most extraordinary congressional proceeding,
 is now going on in Congress and has been since the
 return of the indulto passed by that body for the
 benefit [371] of the Puerto Cabello revolutionists of
 the 8 July last--Gen^l Paez conceived he had no
 authority to act or to extend the clemency sent him,
 because those for whom it was intended surrendered at
discretion before its arrival, and as he thought it
 presented a new aspect to the affairs, he return it

again to the Executive, and who in a Message returned it to Congress--

It is now therefore gravely discussing in Congress, how far they can submerge or Consolodate all power, legal, Executive and Constitutional into their own hands--

It [In] the first place the Congress had nothing to do with granting indultos to persons, that had not been tried and if tried belong to the Courts of Justice to decide, and if their decission was extreme, the Executive power comes in to reprieve--But in no case has the Legislature any power in or over the case--If admitted, the coordinate constitutional branches of the Gov^t are merged into the Legislature, and the Country has a complete Tyranny in the Legislative branch of the Gov^t usurping [372] all power, and seting themselves up as superior to the Constitution, and destroy the liberty and safe gard of the Gov^t the independent legal tribunals of the Country--It is a true axiom in Law, that all men are presumed inocent until found guilty--This strictly applies to these revolutionists, the tribunals to whom and before whom they are amenable have not tried nor condemned them--and until the action of this Branch of the Gov^t but what is worse, the executive likewise,

All these powers ought and are separate and distinct and can never [be] interfeared with by the other, without jeopardizing the safety & liberty of a nation, they are checks & ballances to sustain the rights of the Gov^t, the administration of Justice and the liberty of the citizen--let them run into each other, by intention or otherwise, and the nation must sink into despotizm or anarchy--and it destroys private & public liberty-- [373]

Friday

11 March 1836

This day the Congress settled the question of the P^O Cabello surrender, and have excepted several from the indulto of banishment subject to the discretion of the executive clemency--Carabaño, Melo, Landieta, and the murderers of Francisco Sucre at Cumana some time previous to their embareation for P^OCabello. ----
 a decission as extraordinary as these people are extraordinary in all their acts of justice--Gen^l Mariño is likewise as Superior Chief excepted--Here goes forth to the world the clearest manifestation of injustice that ever man stamped upon man, or embodied a system of ethics in their moral code or rules of action--

The 13 original getters up and actors in the city of Caracas of the 8[#] July, and who committed every

outrage upon the President and Gov^t have been pardoned
 at least excepted from their trial as conspirators
 under the Laws of the Country--while Mariño the very
 man called by them to preside over their acts and
 deliberations is turned [374] over to the civil
 tribunals of the Country-- Would it not be equally
 just to punish in the same manner the poor miserable
 soldier, the person b[r]ought into service & forced
 to do duty, and relieve his officer the very man who
 ordered him to do such an act--It shows incontestably
 this Gov^t can never be a nation, that there is an under
 current of corruption that secretly sweeps every thing
 upon its tide of moral impurities--Here the Legislature
 are usurping the rights of the judiciary and the
 President & Council-- and doing acts that must ever
 stain their character for justice--necessity could
 never have produced this decision--The general indulto
 ought when returned to Congress, [to have] been accepted
 and closed the question--without all this excitement
 of action, and fever produced among the Community, and
 hot blood of a few remaining military----Engaged in
 writing to the Consul at P^oCabello---a small party at
 my house this night--to Miss Teresa Stopford a little
 girl about 12 years old--she will make a fine woman--
 her father the Co^l Pressent and [375] Cap^t Smith, Son

of Sir Sidney Smith Comm^e & Capt^t of the British 12 Guns Ship Larre--a stiff person and a little haughty--not very sociable nor very agreeable, may be well informed but I doubt it--possibly a good seamen--I have no doubt brave, but he seems to feel and act as if every inch of him was an Englishman--

Re^d a communication from Sec.y. of State in regard to payment of bonds to the faction, not satisfactory--I answer him again--
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Saturday

12 March 1836

I did not leave my house to day, but answered by note the Secretary of State in answer to his on the subject of the paym^t of bonds to the faction--he had previously referred me to the decree of the 28[#] July, which is couched only in general terms, requiring persons not to pay to the faction, under the penalty of having to pay the same over again--It was therefore necessary to have an immediate understanding with the Gov^t how far Americans were responsible in such cases when the Constitutional Gov^t had no power to prevent & from circumstances [376] they were therefore compelled to pay their bonds to the powers "that be" where they resided.

In my conversations and private interviews

with Mr Michelana the Secretary previous to Mr Gallegos and likewise with him I was induced to believe, that in all cases where the bonds were actually due & paid to the faction, that the Constitutional Gov^t could not under any semblance of Justice require or compel a repayment to them--But when they had anticipated as no compulsion could be used in either case or by either party or power to compel a payment previous to its being due, payment was made to the faction, and previous to the completion of the time of the bond, the power in and over the place had returned to the constitutional Gov^t in that case it would be just that the legal Gov^t should recover again--being without the protection of the Gov^t they could obey only the power that ruled, but that would cease immediately by the occupancy of the Gov^t the power held by the faction.

I cannot doubt but the question will rest upon that basis, and be [377] sanctioned by the President and authorities. There appears quite a calm after the stormy debates upon the question of indulto returned from P^O Cabello--If the consciences of those who have thus sanctioned the extreme of injustice in pardoning the principle 13 actors and signers of the paper presented to the President on the 8[#] July, by surrendering to Justice those that were merely induced by these

13 traitors to come into their measures & subsequently become actors principally in the management by loaning a name or otherwise, they have the most complete India rubber hearts and consciences that ever disgraced the degraded dirt of their bodies--

It is a crying a revolting sin against integrity, virtue or character-- It is however, from the general structure of morals, and character which those morals develop, which adorn the general intriguing character of these people, but a germ of its virtue, and that no person can judge of them upon any precedent or any basis of fixed principles-- [378] Ruled by circumstances they are the mere creature of opinion, and interest and corruption is the channel through which they can reach by such tangible arguments the hearts and souls of all in the land--The deepest intrigue has been carried on for days upon this question, and even men who pretend to Constitutional virtue and integrity have willingly entered in this arena to shield this faction who would have put every[one] under their own will and controled the destinies of the Country by Military usurpation-- And Several of them and among them it is said that Gen^l Diego Ibarra had often declared he preferred to see his Country a desert, than to be ruled and Governed as it was--by a Constitution mild Laws & equal rights--

what right had such men to expect clemency from the Gov^t the Congress or any power--I have no doubt of the truth as thus expressed in the abstract--and yet these are refused the measures of the just Laws of their Country, under as great a supererogation of power as ever existed-- [379]

Sunday

13 March 1836

I have really nothing to say today the morning here is a church going hour for the devout Catholic Christian and to enjoy it one should rise early, as all the world goes early to [be] early to Church, the poor and those who have no finery to shew, from light until Six oclock, and those who have much (lujo) finery to exhibit from that hour until 8 or 9-- Thus passes off the sunday morning of Caracas. It is converted likewise into a day of much mirth, good eating & conviviality--and for the next two days they live upon the fragments of Sunday--Monday being always the worse markit day in the week arising from this habit & custom of the people-- we called to day on Mrs Escobar in her new house, Mrs Gallegos the wife of the Secretary of State and who speaks English very well, on our return had a visit from Mrs Salazar widow of the Colombian minister to the
12
UStates in 1825 & 1826 & who died in France --quite a

pleasant woman Speaks English so-so---- [380]

Monday

14 March 1836.

Unless a person goes a great deal among these people, he can have but little to record and should the[y] mix a good deal with him, he will remove from among them without any additional store of morals intelligence or good breeding--but then it is themselves, their education & habits and not arising from a want of natural capacity--And if a person is not disposed to see company, set down quietly at home and you will not often be disturbed unless it is by some beggar in some shape or other, and not infrequently is the appearance made in silk & cloth, and telling you at the same time that "I am a person of family and distinction,[" and the conclusion is therefore that they cannot work and between working and starving they consider begging the easiest and cheapest way of getting their livelihood-- I did not leave my house today, only early in the morning to get some few extra articles for dinner as a Mr Gosling [381] and a Doo^t Basos had engaged to eat dinner at my house--Could not find but one fish & that bespoken for Mrs Mocatta who I understand gives a dinner today in honor of her daughters birth day--a little lightwood smoked hung beef looking girl of about

13 now in England, would not pass in the States South
 of the Potomack for white, and would be looked at very
 suspiciously even in the North since the abolition
 question has been recently talked so much about,¹³
 and leading of course to general amalgamation--black say-
 ing to white I am as good as you--There is throughout
 the non slave holding parts or States of North America
 a general sympathy for the black slave particularly
 among the same labouring class, and heretofore on all
 occasions they have maintained and supported the freedom
 of the slave, But recently the zeal aided by the
 blindest moral fanaticism of a certain set of men too
 high in rank & fortune [382] to feel any other sympathy
 upon the subject of the slave than the abstract question,
 with which they have gulled the labouring & free people,
 and in some instances by example in visiting and
 association attempted to level all distinction in
 colour, until goaded on by the first principle of
 setting slaves free, have brought many people really to
 believe that no evil could result either northwardly
 or Southardly upon the entire liberation of the slave,
 and upon the back of this preaching up amalgamation &
 mixing white man with black man--In this State of
 excitement, all things were brought to a stand to,
 by the good reflecting sense of the very labouring

white population who really felt the greatest sympathy for the slave, by presenting to him what must eventually be the result of this freedom & this amalgamation--It was clearly therefor exhibit[ed] to them that they must be the victim & their families of carrying out this doctrine of universal freedom in colour-- [383]

That with their families only could this mixture take place, that the rich would escape this contamination, and that this would eventually be raising up another set of slaves differing a little in colour but at the same time hewers of wood and drawers of water for this exclusive set of white people in the land--That it would in fact instead of diminishing slavery it would in one sense be setting a greater distinction and forever preserving slavery in its most degraded form, from necessity & arbitrary distinctions produced by the various shades of humanity which this amalgamation system would produce--It would in one sense be perhaps exterminating slavery sense, but perpetuating it in another, that nothing could again ever do away--Let any man who does not believe this statement visit South America any[where], and let him with an impartial eye & feeling inquire into and examine the state of Society where virtually & legally there [384] is no distinction in Colour and of course not a great deal

in Society, and then let him put his hand upon his head or his heart, and say that the [he] wished the same state of things in the UStates--Nothing is clearer than that from like causes like effects are produced--And as general freedom and an attempt to elevate the slave, the man of colour to the rank in all things with the white in such a population as is in the UStates, would not any person say that the same basis was laid that exists in South America and if so would not the same effects grow out of it--general moral depravity, a want of moral honesty, and a complete degradation of mankind--I contend the present State of all South America has grown out of this mixture of colour and not their religion, and that we are indebted to the purity of character, of moral virtue & integrity of our forefathers in not mixing among blacks but always keeping a marked moral distinction & legal distinction between them, for the growth, prosperity, [385] freedom
 14
 & happiness of the UStates.

Tuesday 15 March 1836.

To turn to my diary for the purpose of keeping up a regular detail of events here, presents but a dull prospect of matter to form even an incident worth future reflection, recollection or consideration--I did not leave my house until after dinner for a walk

with my wife, and we have but one which we usually take--therefore nothing could present itself unless in reflection only, at ruined houses, falling walls and a still, silent population, whose tread even upon the paved streets sounds like a deserted hall a dead city, could not present any thing but the mouldering remains of what Caracas once was, we usually pass from the Esquina or corner llaguno to the east to the next corner fronting a Convent containing some 20 inmates from there up direct Calle del Comercio or Commerce Street, until it reaches near the ravine down which runs the river teques a little stream usually dry except in rainy weather, while on the Corner on our left is the reservoir that supplies the City with water--I should not neglect [386] first to say, that adjoining the Convent or nunnery on the Corner near North from the Convent, stands the ruins and remains of the handsome & splendid Church of Alta Gracia, the Church and Convent extending one entire side of the Square--it stands on perhaps the most elevated part of the City except Pastora, with a handsome Grecian front of architecture, built in the usual form of all the Churches in this City--three doors of entrance in front, from each door extending an aisle as deep as the Church, seperated from each other by immense pillars of dirt and stone, handsomely modelled

and correct and Chaste style--the beams that support the roffe are all exposed--and on each side of the aisles are various alters dedicated to particular saints of the Catholic Callendar. This Church fell during the earthquake of 1812 and it is said burried near 3000 persons beneath its ruins--it is still all in ruins except the north aysle which has been recently restored--it stands rent from top to bottom, within the Centre aisle you have a fearful view of crumbling, [387] cracked & falling pillars arches & walls, the Belfry was shaken by the earthquake near the top near half off from a Centre and by a second shake was replaced leaving it almost erect upon its former base, with the seams & rents of its seperation.

The whole structure is built of a confused mass of dirt, stone & brick thrown almost any way together fashioned by the artist into shape style & form, and presents in front a magnificent facade (tho in ruins) of near 150 feet--its roof or top have several small gothic points standing yet--it is now undergoing a slow and gradual rebuilding, but unless levelled with the ground rebuilt entirely anew must be a most unsafe place of worship in this earthquake Country--

The piety and religion of these people in all difficult, frightful & unusual events drives them to

the churches, as if god alone was in the house dedicated to his worship, and in this manner at the Commencement of the shocks in March 1812, all rushed into the Churches and were there burried beneath falling arches & walls of these [388] ponderous buildings--In front of this Church to the West is a public fountain--

After passing the reservoir for supplying the city with water the Street runs off to the West by a gradual inclination, until it intercepts with the regular street running square with the rest--this inclination of Calle del Comercio is formed from coming in contact with the ravine of Los Teques, we persue this Street by ruined walls, overgrown with creepers, & flowers & plants, the Street paved but covered with grass except the part used for walking until we reached the corner where the left to the West turns off at right angles to intercept a square further on with the Straight Street or road leading to LaGuayra running direct from the Pastora Church to the Pastora Gate at the base of the mountain--We usually turn to the right and persue our walk over an excelent bridge over Los Teques, built upon a beautiful and substantial arch of masonry, and upwards of 30 feet above the bottom or Stream--continuing this way until we pass the ruins of Two fountains [389] on either

hand, that are now dry--built of brick, with a handsome semicircular seat made of brick and mortar on the right, but all of which long since disused is now overgrown with weeds bush & grass, and left as a monument of former Spanish elegance & style--We pass on near due east until we reach on this same road or street, passing the ruins, foundations only standing of many good houses, now built over by a poor class of people with houses and these scattered composed of cane & mud and covered with tile--four posts are driven into the ground, cane wattled in or tyed with strings and the wall of dirt mixed with grass or straw put on by the hand and are then either white washed or allowed to remain as they were built--We reach here the parade ground and cuartel of the army of the Spanish Vice Roys now overgrown with brush, weeds and the accumulation of dirt, until nothing is to be seen but the handsome front wall built of mampostoria and stone reaching to its first Story only [390] with iron grated similar to all private houses in the City--It is said upon good authority here that beneath the interior Structure of this building and in the Patio the open Court in the Center there were under arms near 3000 troops, and out of the whole number in the garison at least 3000 perished in the Terrible Earthquake of 1812-- this building

is nearly square presenting four fronts now almost inaccessible from rubbish, brush, weeds & underwood, and I should suppose upwards of 180 feet front-- It is situated upon an elevated platform of Land overlooking the depth of the entire valley with the front of the Church at the Village of Petare in full view, which is built nearly at the end of the Vally--where the Guayra River seems to force itself through the mountains--Every thing in the Vally of Caracas seems to carry out the speculation that it was once a lake, and through this pass and the one above the City leading to Catia on the Coast, look as though they may have answered as [391] to the great body of water that once covered the Vally of Caracas--

Nearly all the Vally of Caracas below is visible from this spot with the mountains bounding the City and the river Guayra South running at an elevation of 3 to 500 feet high until it meets at the confluence of the river from El Valle a small town about a league from Caracas situated in [the] Vally on this river, which unites with the Guayra about a league from Caracas in the Vally of Caracas--to the East of this position a barren, sunburnt heath extends for near a mile, intersected with deep ravines & cuts to the base of the mountains intervening between Caracas and the Sea

Coast & LaGuayra towering in the highest point the Sylla to near 9 thousand feet--presenting to the view all the fantastic shapes that the fancy can weave or the imagination point, with the broken, base, uncovered ridges of hills running to the Vally & between them ocasionaly streams of water, runing leaping & jumping to the base looking like ribon of gause suspended from [392] curtains of green--all the ravines have timber in them--nature is now robing herself, and in a fiew days with a fiew more showers of rain the brown heath & brown leafless looking woods will all [be] clothed in green--Nature here throws off her covering as in colder lattitudes, but not so perceptably and so all at once, it is a perceptable change, but must be examined to be convinced-- A view is had from this place is had of the ruined building and residence of Vice regal munifisence, now in ruins, at the base of the sylla about a leagues distance--It was once terraced to the House for the distance of 300 yards it is now overgrown with grass & the pavement is lost to the eye--From this Garrison we descend gradually for two hundred yards to the church of La Trinidad just rising from its ruins, situated nearly in front of the Straight Street of Calle Carabobo--runing through the Centre of the City nearly due North & South, passing over a handsome bridge

near the Church thrown over the Las Teques--- [393]

Wednesday

16 March 1836

Congress engaged in regulating their decree concerning the faction at P^oCabello--City quiet--stormy weather--no arrivals and no foreign news--did not leave my house until evening to take my usual walk with my wife joined by Mrs Renshaw, who remained until after Tea--Re^d an officio from the Secretary of State with a Copy of the liquidation made at Bogota and asked at our first meeting, shall examine them this week and as early as possible make my official & perhaps final note this case of Jacob Idler--

Thursday 17 # March 1836

St Patricks day

After Breakfast to [took] a walk down the town, with the expectation of seeing some fine Irish merry in consequence of their nation Saints day called on old Mr OCallaghan & he did not seem as if he remembered it at all at all--however met with nothing strange, and returned home satisfied that it is one of the dullest places on earth inhabited with [394] twenty five thousand human beings, occupied myself the ballance of the day in translating the Council of Gov^t report against the case of Jacob Idler--

Learn that the President had not yet

confir[m]ed the decree of Congress on the subject of the indulto to those who surrendered at P^o Cabello--- This question has excited a great deal of sensation and roused into action many torpid feelings that would have then slumbered on until death relieved them of this worlds cares and troubles--god knows how it will end, there could be no doubt if the Government was firm or the Laws duly executed--The President I learn is unwell a common complaint with all these people when in inactive, or when they do not wish to do an act, or who are undetermined what to do--No news from the States nor from any quarter--even the French question has subsided to a calm from the Presidents acceptance of the mediation of the King of England.

The new French Consul Mess^r Pelun is daily expected & my old acquaintance Mathew Pascal, they are both at S^t Thomas-- [395]

Friday 18 March 1836---

Each day here is marked with such a general character of monotony that it seems to impress them with stupidity and vis inertial---if it was not for my now immediate engagement in a long and intricate investment [investigation?] of a long claim, I should not know scarcely how to pass my time--It is inexcusable I must admit for any man to complain of dulness or a

press of time, when reflection, & books can come always so readily to his help--No man ought to be alone or consider himself so with any kind of resources, I frankly I confess there are many moments many hours & some time many days when I prefer being alone--in communion with myself under a general review of past and reflecting upon [things] to come--Here unless laboriously employed there is time enough--and as the
 16
 rainy season seems to have set in for the time it has already been raining, every day for the last week--confinement to the house will make many think if they can--No news from any quarter [396]

 Saturday 19 March 1836

The feast day known in all devout Catholic Countries of San Jose in Spanish is observed in this Country with much glee, being the patron Saint of all Josephs & Josephas, and which is a common name in the Country many were made merry on this occasion--We invited Mrs Jove whose given name is Josepha this evening composed entirely of Creoles, all Ladies & but one creole young man, two English families & ourselves--we sat down to a good supper of sweets & chocolate, and the little darkies enjoyed themselves much--In fact foreigners do not mix enough in society with the Creoles of the Country to form a just estimate of their character,

taken more or less in all its bias from education & the associations and manners which it produces--they are a thousand times better than the men, and all the want of moral character in females in this Country can be traced to the licentious & immoral deportment of the men--Their vices, their pleasures of all character, is their ne plus ultra [397] of happiness, and they consequently resort to all the means which such principles point out to gain their end, and minister to the baser passions of fallen man.

We left at ten oclock--This day has been quiete, ascertain that the President has not yet signed the Congressional indulto for P^O-Cabello--a great deal of rain for the last 3 or 4 days---

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER IX

- 1 "When, in the reign of Charles V, social distinctions and their consequent rivalries were introduced from the mother-country to the colonies, there arose in Cumana and in other commercial towns of Terra Firma, exaggerated pretensions to nobility on the part of some of the most illustrious families of Caracas, distinguished by the designation of los Mantuanos. The progress of knowledge, and the consequent change in manners, have, however, gradually and pretty generally neutralized whatever is offensive in those distinctions among the whites. . . .Wherever men of colour are either considered as slaves, or as having been enfranchised, that which constitutes nobility is hereditary liberty--the proud boast of having never reckoned among ancestors any but freemen." Humboldt, op. cit., I, 413-414.
- 2 The ratification of the treaty of December, 1834, providing that New Granada should pay 50 %, Venezuela, 28.5 %, and Educador 21.5 % of the debt, was delayed until 1839 because of Venezuela's failure to ratify the boundary agreement between herself and New Granada. Plenipotentiaries of Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Granada met at Bogotá

on April 25, 1838 to deal again with the division of the debt. They finished their work on May 16, 1839. Documentos Anales, IV, 122-124. According to the new agreement, New Granada was to pay 51,699,144.34 pesos, Venezuela 29, 468,511.70 pesos, and Ecuador 22,230,631.64 pesos. Henao and Arrubla, History of Colombia, 442. The dividends on the foreign debt were paid faithfully during Páez's second term and up to the year 1848, when Páez went into exile and they were stopped. Edward B. Eastwick, Venezuela: or, Sketches of Life in a South American Republic; with the History of the Loan of 1864 (London, 1868), 324.

- 3 Article I of the pardon granted by Páez, February 28, 1836: ". . .With respect to the officials, crew, and troops of the schooner Meselle, . . .declaring in the present case the loss of rank, employment, and pensions they had obtained from the Government of Venezuela; and expulsion from the country of the officers and sergeant, temporarily or permanently, whichever is more convenient to the security of the Republic." Documentos Anales, II, 243. Clark and Swain were included in this expulsion. Ibid., II, 245.

- 4 Casava is made from the root called yuca, is extremely insipid, and well deserves the name of the Spanish words from which it is derived, "a que sabe?" (What does it taste like?). Major Flintor, A History of the Revolution of Caracas (London, 1819), 119.
- 5 The month is February, not March. Documentos Anales, II, 247.
- 6 A rather full account of the session of Congress, February 29, 1836 is given in Documentos Anales, II, 247-261. Complying with the recommendation of congress, President Vargas decreed on March I, the expulsion from the country of all those who were generals, chiefs, or officers. The troops would be dealt with according to the degree of their crime which would be determined later. Ibid., II, 271-273.
- 7 Public sentiment was increasing against the Second Bank of the United States which had been chartered for twenty years in 1816. On February 26, 1834, Governor Wolf, of Pennsylvania, sent a message to the legislature charging the bank with producing the pressure in the money market to accomplish certain objects indispensable to its existence.

This action dismayed Biddle, but he regained hope when Ritner was elected governor in 1835. He thought to secure a charter for the Bank from Pennsylvania, and wrote to a committee on banks in Harrisburg: "I believe it to be of the greatest importance to our State to appropriate to its own benefit the Capital of the Bank of the U. S. which is about to be distributed and can never be recalled if it once leaves the State." Letters received by Biddle in December indicated that Pennsylvania would grant him a Charter if Congress did not. Reginald C. McGrane, The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle dealing with National Affairs 1897-1844 (New York, 1919), 224, 246-250, 257; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, 584-655. In February 1836 the bank was chartered by Pennsylvania under the title "Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania." However, by 1840 the government cleared itself of its interest in this bank. Ralph C. H. Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States (Chicago, 1903), 372-375.

- 8 Idler's claim was for supplies furnished the revolutionists in Venezuela in 1812. As consul, Williamson had secured a settlement from the Supreme Court of Venezuela in favor of Idler in 1834;

but when payment was not made, Idler went to Washington for protection. Cf., National Archives, Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Instructions to Williamson, No. 3; Ibid., Notes to the Foreign Office, Williamson's letter, March 26, 1836.

- 9 Expediente--file of papers bearing on a case.
- 10 Cf., Documentos Anales, II, 286. There is no indication that this Sucre was related to Antonio José de Sucre, Bolívar's ablest lieutenant.
- 11 Secretary of State Jose E. Gallegos wrote Williamson that the decree of July 28, 1835, was a general notice not to pay duties to the faction because the payments would have to be made again to the constitutional government. Documentos Anales, IV, 346. Williamson replied, March 12, 1836, stating that he could not conceive that the object of the decree of 28th July expressed in general terms could extend or was intended to extend further than as a warning to those under the protection of the government, and not those who were without that protection. Ibid., IV, 347.
- 12 José María Salazar (1785--died in Paris 1828) was

the author of the first national hymn of Colombia. Bolívar thought his poems were very beautiful, especially the one about Bolívar's victory at Boyacá. For this he rewarded Salazar with diplomatic missions. While in the United States he transmitted to Washington's family the profound admiration of Bolívar for Washington. Espasa-Calpe, LIII, 178; Lecuna, Cartas del Libertador, II, 161, V, 318; Alfred Coester, The Literary History of Spanish America (New York, 1938), 71.

- 13 Among the earliest abolitionists to demand immediate and complete emancipation of slaves was William Lloyd Garrison who established The Liberator in 1831. An earlier paper was Benjamin Lundy's The Genius of Universal Emancipation (1821). Lundy started The National Enquirer and Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty in Philadelphia in 1835. Dictionary American Biography, VII, 168-172; XI, 507.
- 14 Williamson ignored the fact that there are mulattoes in the United States.
- 15 The terrible earthquake of March 26, 1812, destroyed a large part of Caracas, La Guayra, Barquisimeto,

and Merida. The town of San Felipe entirely disappeared. Thousands of people were buried beneath the ruins. Baralt y Díaz, Historia de Venezuela, II, 88-89. Royalists pointed out that the destroyed towns were those that had favored independence. "The clergy of Caracas, a secret and powerful enemy to the republican form of government because congress had reformed many of their oppressive and pernicious privileges, took this occasion to revenge the supposed insult. Priests raised their voices and preached in the streets, to the terrified people, that this was a punishment well deserved by the authors of innovations so impious and criminal." H. L. V. Ducoudray Holstein, Memoirs of Simon Bolivar (Boston, 1830), 27. One singular result of such preaching was that individuals who had lived in concubinage hastened to marry, and in the next two months there were more than five hundred such marriages. Poudenx & Mayer, Mémoire pour servir à L'Histoire de La Revolution de la Capitainerie Generale de Caracas (Paris, 1815), 65. The Congress of the United States, being then in session, sent five vessels loaded with flour for the relief of the sufferers. The distribution of these provisions

was entrusted to Alexander Scott. Ibid., 78.

- 16 The climate of Caracas has often been called a perpetual spring. The same sort of climate exists everywhere, half-way up the Cordilleras of equinoctial America. Rains are extremely frequent at Caracas in the months of April, May, and June. Humboldt, op. cit., I, 405-412.

[CHAPTER X]

[MARCH 20 TO MAY 16, 1836]

Sunday 20[#] March 1836

The semana santo or holy week being now at hand the Ladies in particular with that fanaticizm peculiar to them are making every preparation to Shew themselves and their finery--during this week it emphatically becomes a time of shew and gait--and to exhibit on this ocasion all ways and means are taken to procure the necessary lujo or finery for the ocasion, privations of any kind will be endured that they may make a splendid appearance, and every means not unfre[quently the loss of character & fame for this end will be resorted to for that purpose--And in this Country where not as high [398] value as in many other parts of the world is put upon moral standing, these events become more common, and unfortunately for the general state of Society there is not that distinction between lost & sustained virtue, that consigns either one or the other to a lower grade or elevate the other to a higher grade in rank or character that is observed and held as sacred in the life of female, as it offers a reward in public opinion for its strict observance.

Yet I am [not] disposed to make this Charge

lightly nor to extend to all people or classes--but certainly the dereliction from female honour and virtue does not here receive that castigation from public opinion or society that it does in the UStates--It does not always exclude them from society, and does not always sink them to a level with the infamous--But it may be said in justice to the women that nine cases out of ten when these accidents occur, it can be traced to the deliberate rascality of man-- He is here a mere animal and all his appetites are those of sensuality and enjoyment, and [399] every object is considered by him as mere objects to minister to his demoralized corrupt enjoyments--Earthquakes and revolutions have reduced society to a mere mass of circumstances, and great poverty growing out of these events have consigned to this state many families to the very verge of starvation and from that state to ruin the transition is easy and rapid, all these advantages have been improved by the reckless sons of immorality & vice, until habit, bad education, and a general want of character have made man the instrument of depravity to thousands-- more particular so when a general belief exists that labour is dishonorable, and to be compelled to work for a livelihood is debasement, there is no difficulty at once in persuing the state to which society may be reduced or moral character estimated--

There is another reason that may be adduced likewise the general mixture of colours in the Country, Indian, White and negro and all that can grow out of them and their descendents, besides the general [400] character of Spanish Colonial misrule, resorting to all means morally and politically to debase the character [of] their subjects with the false & cruel idea that in this state they were easier governed and of course better subjects-- Orders were not unfrequently given by the King of Spain to the Cap^t General to spend thousands in shew and amusements for the public, and to excite every character[istic] in the human bosom but that of elevation of moral character, that his subjects might sink an easy prey to his despotism and lose sight of all the higher attributes of his nature and character--That in dissipation and Shew they might lose sight of moral character and of course of political virtue--in this way he calculated to perpetuate his good Gov^t depending upon vice & fanaticism as his agents to maintain his reign and power, instead of the higher attributes of nature, the elevation of the human mind and the lights of a true holy and religious philosophy perpetuated & sustained by virtue inculcated upon the human understanding. [401]

Monday

#

21 March 1836.

Called to day on the Secretary of State on the business of Jacob Idler, and requested to know if the printed documents in the Gaceta del Gobierno which he had previously personally handed to me containing the ¹acuerdo of the Council of Gov^t on the subject should be considered as delivered to me officially as the answer of the Gov^t to demand for the payment of the debt due by Venezuela under the decrees of her tribunals to Jacob Idler--to this he did not seem disposed to answer, I therefore proposed that I would return them to the Secretary and ask his official return of it to me as such or not, just as the Gov^t might think proper; Therefore on the next day handed them official[ly] back and requested that this Gov^t would make good the am^t the Courts had declared to be due to Jacob Idler--²

The conduct of the Secretary on this occasion tho polite was evidently not frank, but exhibited some finesse which does not set very well on MrCallegos.

I am clearly of an opinion this Gov^t [402] unless some of its members are hired will never pay this debt of Idler unless the Gov^t of the UStates requires permptorily its payment, which I do not think

she can or will do--As it originated in a contract made openly with the authority of Venezuela, the Contractor took all the hazzard of course as he did all the gains--therefore my power and the instructions of my Gov^t can go no further than solicit and use their good offices to obtain an adjustment without any attempt at force or threat--I shall persue it with Caution, to succede if I can.

The President signed & sent the Congressional decree concerning the Revolutionists at P^oCabell^o3-- by which a few are surrendered to the Tribunals, and others banished for life and some not less than 5 years, nor over 10, Gen^l Mariño as Superior Chief is subject to the Law as well as Carabaño & Sandista

I doubt much whether any thing will be done even with the Traitor Carabaño, or any of them, the President even if condemned I think will commute the punishment & they will be left to plan & execute another revolution-- [403]

Tuesday

nd

22 March 1836

The approximation of the semana Santa keeps the Bells of the Convents & churches continually in motion, and the Ladies to pay their devotions to the shrine of the Saint most propitious to their vows--

Without something this kind the monotony of Caracas would be without a parallel, It would be a deserted City--no carts waggons or carriages or shod horses the Streets exhibit but a dull sombre picture of living moving humanity, as silent as an automaton shew-- The picture is filled up with a great variety of fantastic dresses in colours, shaded by the sombre hue of black dress and sweeping, weeping mantillas--all passing in silence, and nothing but the mere scratch of the light shoe is heard along the pavement--It is occasionally disturbed by loud voices using the most vulgar expression, such as via la mierda--puta--[h]ijo de Puta--used by a vagabond set such as arrieros and molojeros-- and occasionally by well dressed people who ought to know better--- [404]

Wednesday

rd

23 March 1836

All business is ceasing for the time and all persons preparing for the holy week, and each individual seems to be looking to it as a relief from labour and a day of merriment and show--Therefore all means is put in operation to secure money to buy the enjoyments of the time and the occasion--

No news nor nothing stirring of interest in the City--The mind has but little to do with things here,

there is no expansion of thought or intellect every thing seems bound between their mountains and confined to a narrow space, and it is not unfrequently said that all in the Country is in Caracas, that there is nothing out of it--This may be assigned as a reason why every creature wishes to get to Caracas--not an individual but what would prefer any sum to live in Caracas to three times the Am^t out of it. A proprietor of large & productive estates out of Caracas would prefer their abandonment for a third of their production to reside in Caracas--& with every thing and every person it is the same---- [405]

Thursday

24 March 1836--

Absolutely nothing, nothing, to record worth a moments consideration--engaged in translating the Acuerdo of the Council of Gov^t in the Case of Jacob Idler--did not pass into the Street until evening for a walk--

Friday 25

March 1836

This is the day of the annunciation of our savior, is observed as a holiday and cessation from Labour, and parading & mass in all the churches--It is the first day of the holy week--This night at about half past 9 passed my house the figure of the Virgin Mary splendidly decorated and dressed with a cap & a large robe of

purple velvet falling from the head to a great length
 behind, worked with flowers in Gold--⁵ The Virgin was
 standing, under a canopy, a white worked muslin dress
 in front & four swords piercing her bosom emblematic
 of her suffering and pains--she was standing on a
 raised platform of planks & carried upon the heads of
 some dozen devotees, hid [406] from observation by
 falling damask silk curtains on the four sides--
 around her were scattered roses, & all the variety of
 flowers of the Country. the procession was without
 order, & composed of perhaps 50 or 60 persons mostly
 women behind & men & boys & vagabonds from dress before
 with Candles in lanterns carried on poles--Their song
 doleful & solem but extremely grotesque. This is but
 a commencement of the Show for really without any or
 the least disposition to ridicule the belief or faith
 of any living creature--it is but a show & made so not
 by religion, but by a strong disposition to exhibit
 such things & impress upon the ignorant the exclusive
 rights of the Church, not their god or their saviour,
 but the worldly devotion to things that leave the
 conscience in the hands of keepers on earth and not in
 heaven--The great day of Catholicism is over here--
 it is visibly on the wane, and must soon find its
 level with reason & common sense & then it may by the

virtue of her representations hold the ground it is entitled to---- [407]

Saturday 26 March 1836

Today rec^d a letter from Mr H Leborious acknowledging a letter from me handing him a letter for a Mr Ghompre re^d under cover from the Secretary at Washington--Also⁶ a letter from Mr McAfee[#] at Bogota acknowledging mine of 13 Jan.y. informing him of having concluded a Treaty with Venezuela and the grounds of the Same, congratulating me upon the event.

I hope I may [have] rec^d the same from Washington in a few days--it will really afford me great pleasure if my act in this matter is approved--and Should it be so shall consider it of great importance to my further views--What they are only known to myself--they cannot be unbosomed to any other person--

No news have heard of the arrival of the Wissard from Boston--

The City is all in preparation for tomorrow the palm Sunday when our Saviour rode an ass & the palm was spread beneath his feet to walk upon--here it is all outside the heart is forgotten in show & religion is but exhibition-- [408]

Sunday 27[#] March 1836.

Not a thing worth recording--a general preparation for

the holy week--This evening quite a large procession--being palm Sunday and every body getting the palm blessed by the Priests & put into their windows--The Procession Commenced at the Cathedral and passed to Trinidad & to Alta Gracia--first the cross--then our Saviour with his hands tied to the block under the scourge, the Mary Magdalene, holding the ointment & Handkerchief to wipe the wounds inflicted by the Jews--then John the Evangelist, with pen in hand--then the Virgin Mary with her breast pierced with swords indicative of her great sufferings for the cruelty of the Jews to Jesus--

All business has ceased for the time. This procession was followed by a large concourse of persons, some for devotion and others to shew themselves & look at others--It closed this evening at Alta Gracia not having time to return to Trinidad--but will early tomorrow morning--- [409]

Monday 28 March 1836

To day is part a holiday, the evening, the stores are open, but still labour has ceased generally--This evening a large procession from the nuneray of Alta Gracia to the Carmelites, passing round several squares--the figures same as yesterday, a large crowd--attended with music vocal & instrumental following the Virgin.

Tuesday 29 -

The Interest is increased as the week advances and the day approximating that transfixed our Saviour to the cross--The procession very large this evening--cross first--Crist in a sitting position resting on his head on his hand an elbow on the knee--his back exposed & horribly lacerated--Mary Magdelene the same, and the tragic Mary ringing her hands and on a small cushion before her lying the Scourge--all beautifully tastily & extravagantly got up--came from San Francisco or the Carmelite nunery & passed round by the Cathedral & closed at S^t Mauriceo---- [410]

Monday

30 March 1836

This evening a very similar procession to that of yesterday--starting from San Pablo and passing up Calle del Comercio to Calle-----and then crossing direct two squares to the Cathedral--first a large purple flag, then a small ensign, then the cross--then Christ in a leaning position clothed in purple velvet & magnificently embroidered and resting on his Shoulders the cross the long end supported by
7
[Simon of Cyrene] of the bible who was seized for that purpose--then Mary the Mother of James with a Han^d with their faces on it, carved I believe as the impression of the face of Jesus left on it after wiping

his face during his sufferings--then John the Evangelist--
 the[n] Mary Magdalene with the ointment & Kerchief
 & last the Virgin Mary--Christ is crowned with thorns--
 Every figure is borne on a square table covered with
 candles under shades & surrounded with artificial
 flowers--before Christ & the Virgin incense is
 profusely burnt & singing & solemn instrumental musick--
 these tables are supported on the heads of hired or
 devout individuals--hid from view by curtains all
 round the table--⁸ [411]

 Thursday 31 March 1836.

The crucifixion of Jesus Christ was exhibited to day
 in procession with its bloody and cruel appendages--
 The procession as yesterday but Christ on the cross as
 large as life and natural as near as could be--every
 body goes to church, and in all are arrainged his
 sepulchre adorned with flowers, and raised into a
 mausoleum, and lighted up at night with hundred of
 wax candles, giving to the whole church and in many
 their long and vast aisles, a grand and imposing
 effect--every creature truly catholic muttering their
 prayers, as evening approaches the devotion is increased--
 To day all the priests are arrainged in the Cathedral
 dressed out in white & gold with the Bishop sitting in
 front and they on each side fronting the great altar

with their symbolical representations of Christ in front of the Bishop, and at a stated period each rises, addresses a prayer to Jesus knells, repeats & advances to the Bishop & kisses the symbols and falls back again to his place & is succeeded by another until all go [412] through the same ceremony--At first this ceremony looks very ridiculous, and which is heightened by the variety of intonations of voice of each priest, and the great procession and sanctity [with] which each repeats the same thing--attempting occasionally much force of voice, now high, now low, then ending in a very ludicrous whine--This ceremony gone through, the Bishop & all march bound to one of the large alters & visit the sepulchre, certainly very beautifully decorated--passing through crowds of kneeling devotees--some saying their prayers others looking round, to observe whatever is passing, mostly composed of women--many in their very becoming white & black mantillas, very pretty, it is a day of great show, and every thing fine is brought into requisition on this occasion--and the women will have it cost what it may--use it to day & tomorrow sell it in the Streets for whatever price it will bring--They return with the same ceremony the cross covered with black goes by a bearer always ahead--to the Center aisle of Choir--the Bishop approaches near [413] the

great altar, seats himself on the right this platform is carpeted and raised, surrounded by the priests, who change some of his vestments for others, preparation is then made to wash the feet of some dozen of the beggars of the city, which is performed near the Center of the Aisle leading from the choir to the great altar to the gaze and as many as could see the operation & to the admiration and devotion of the whole church--there are never pews and the ladies bring their hearth carpets which are carried and spread in such place as they may want them & taken up as they may change places, a very conven[ie]nt way of carrying their seats--the procession commenced at about 6 oclock and closed at the Cathedral--There is great solemnity in this exhibition--as evening approaches every creature sallies into the street saying their prayers--and this dull place empties her entire population into the Streets which becomes in all those leading to the various Churches crow[d]ed to excess, and one droning sound of a beehive--every heart is at devotion & every mouth saying [414] their prayers, but I am sorry to say that many of the females deny in their eyes and glances the devotion of their lips--They observe every thing, and [as] my wife passed with me for a moment their prayers ceased (those we met) to gaze at a stranger and push on repeating faster for fear they had forgot something---

It is a general Church visiting, and each one in succession are visited by every body, many to see and others really for devotion, this is continued and kept up until late at night.

The President is at Macuta--The Gov^t officers all aided, to day in the Cathedral by their presence-- Vice President & all their officers--

Friday
1st April 1836

To day was represented in the Streets by procession in the morning the body of Christ as taken from the cross and borne upon a bier inclosed in a glass case lying upon embroidered in gold bed or mattress, almost as natural as life--the blood streaming from his feet, bruised knees & hands perforated with the nails--the whole of the bier is formed of Tortoise shell inlaid with silver surrounded with beautiful artificial flowers & candles [415] of wax--the edge of the top of the bier was hung with small silver bells that in moving gave a light tingling sound--this in the morning proceeded first from San Francisco to the Cathedral, followed, next with the three Marys all standing on one platform or table robed in purple velvet and imbroidered in gold with gold belts--each of the candle shakes on all were surmounted with a silver crown, and every candle had its glass shade. Then followed S^t John and last the

Virgin Mary under a rich canopy of purple imbroidered
 velvet the Canopy supported by six columns of wood covered
 over with silver embosed and looked as if they were
 massy silver--in front of the virgin on the same
 platform was a beautiful cross made of Tortoise shell
 & inlaid with silver--Christ was followed by solemn
 instrumental music and dead march--The rear of the virgin
 was brought up by the Vice President & all the officers
 of Gov^t all in black--in fact every person that could
 own a black suit, or could [416] buy it, put it on to
 day., two files of militia followed Christ & the Virgin
 with reversed arms--It was a very imposing ceremony and
 well calculated to make religious and serious impressions
 upon all who surrender up their consciences to the keep-
 ing of priests and who never think for themselves--
 But it is certainly out of keeping to the reading or
 reflecting individual to believe in these representations
 clothed in velvet embroidery, lying on and surrounded
 with silver & Tortoise shell, that it is any thing like
 a true representation of the scene of the death &
 burial of our saviour, a man and a god in those days
 who had been scourged publicly & crucified by the
 people, should have been clothed in all these costly
 garments of velvet & fine linnen, and in some instances
 diamonds & pearls glittering on them---

The evening procession precisely the same but with the addition of a priest carrying next to the bier of crist the pot of ointment, and another upon a small box a hand standing erect upon its stump--all the rest the same---Caracas contains [417] at least a population of 30 thousand and during the holy week it is much added to from every little village in its neighbourhood, and I should suppose there could not have been less in the Streets than twenty thousand persons, many looking on the same ceremony for the thirtieth time, and still it is new to them. Every thing went off well--all business at a Stop-- drew to day dating it five days a head on the Gov^t for 1325 in favour of Gen^l Thomas Cadwalader,⁹ and sent to the Gov^t the last file of papers Conciso¹⁰ & &--they go by the Virginia Trader to sail tomorrow from LaGuayra.

rd
Saturday 2 April 1836

The second day after the crucifixion drew forth the entire population, a procession which I did not see, but with all the strict adhearence to the events in time and persons of the bible as described by the evangelists of the day--invited to dine to day with a Creole a Mr Esteves a Commandant in the Navy, and a remarkable event, because they very seldom entertain [418] went at 1/2 past four oclock, and most of the Company assembled--sat down at about 1/2 past five to

a very sumptuous dinner, well served and very well got up--after the meats were removed, porter ale & chese were served, in the meantime all the company left the Table and reseated themselves to this second course--after which retired again for the desert, which was profuse and very well put upon the Table consisting of almost all fruits, some sweetmeats and various cakes--The family acquitted themselves very well in the affair--retired at 9 oclock---

I have never been so much vexed at the delays in hearing from the States as for the last 3 months--an arrival from Boston but of no interest to me being so far North, only bringing the intelegence of the settlement of the French question--and these holliday times, every body is gading about in the streets to shew themselves & finery--All Gov^t affairs closed for the time being---- [419]

rd
Sunday 3 April 1836.

The resurrection of Jesus Christ which from historical events took place on this day was solemnized with considerable shew the Bishop left the Cathedral with solem music, the emblematic representation of the holy gost walking under a conopy of silk supported in the hands of oriests by six silver staffs followed by a large concourse of the citizens, round the four squares

of the plaza or market place, and at each visible opening to the Street from the market place all the people in the market kneeled, and a salute of musketry from a company of militia, who filed off to each square forming to the Centre from each sides completing the four as the holy gost past fired their salute--this proced[ed] from the Cathedral at about 7 to half past-- On the return of the Bishop and precisely as he had turned his back upon the plaza to enter the Cathedral, some waggish boys set fire to a ¹¹judas which they had prepared and hung up from the end of a house nearly opposite to the [420] Cathedral on the market place side, being filed with combustibles it went off popping whissing & smoking & blazing to the great amusement of a plaza full of people and the cries and echoes of the boys pelting it from every direction--It burned entirely up, so well had they prepared the betrayers of our savour----

Dined to day with the French Consul Mr Mahalin [sic.] recently appointed Charge d'affairs to Guatamala-- he leaves in a few days his successor has arrived and dined there likewise--Our Company Composed of Mr Mahalin, Mr de la Palem new Consul, attache to Mr Mahalin & Mr Lecony another hanger on of some description-- Sir Robert Ker Porter H. B. M. C. d'affairs--Mr Remshaw

American Consul at LaGuayra, and Mr Gallegos Secretary of Exterior Relations of Venezuela.

It was well served up with two courses of meats & one of desert--he gave us most miserable sour vin de Grave wine and no other--all in french style & cooking his services of China & silver very pretty, four handsome Silver Chaving dishes--retired at about 1/2 past seven sat down at 1/2 past five. heard last night of the arrival of the Gov Tomkins from Baltimore [421]

Monday 4 April 1836----

For the last ten days nothing has absolutely occurred--the arrival of the new French Consul M Etienne de la Palea and the preperation of the old to leave as charge d'affairs to Guatamala his l[1]aison with Mrs R--has now unless she chooses to desert her husband come to an end--the most unpopular agent that ever resided any where--he asked me to dinner after a residence here of more than three years--Sir Rob^t followed, and then it came to my turn--The frenchmans of only 7 persons including those of his family--Sir Rob^{ts} 12 including himself & Secretary, mine of 14 including wife & self--the Frenchmans well served very plain but neat--Sir Rob^{ts} a common affair with wine strong enough to knock a horse down, and it did it for the young frenchman attache to Mr Mahelin [sic.]--he drank with all & allmost all with him, he took bumpers they merely siped

he got drunk & they remained sober--when adjourned to take coffee the frenchman never out of Paris [422] before nor perhaps never dined with English drinking people found himself so far gone as not to be able to stand--he spewed in the Patio like a dog and the French Charge took French leave and lead him home--he looked a little pale the next day at my house, but gay enough, frenchman like all his cares are at his command--Sir Roberts wine was half brandy--after two glasses I had great respect for it--The Frenchmans new vin de Grave, could have drank enough to have drowned any man provided I could have found room--it was however Sowerish--not to my palate at all & I doubt less to Sir Rober^{ts}--no wine glasses at his table--

Several vessels from Boston, N York & Baltimore but none from Phil^a not a word of Merino--¹² nor the Gov^t about the Treaty--The Congress have refused the petition of Gen^l Paez for the original indulto to all the scamps at P^oCabello. so far so good--but I dont like things much, when Congress adjourns we shall see-- [423]

Friday 15 April 1836.

Heard to day that President Vargas had resigned his appointment into the hands of Congress--There is certainly something rickety about this Gov^t--it tumbles already from age--an age of six years, having in that time passed through one attempt at revolution and

another that entirely upset the Gov^t and sent the President and all packing--There is really such a want of moral character, such a want of real practical good sense in the people one and all, that it will become very doubtful whether for many years a Gov^t can be formed or formed carried out to the expectation of foreigners--

I should not be astonished from symptoms exhibited in various ways that a more radical and fundamental change may be brought about than the wisest heads or best friends of the Country, anticipates-- If the population was greater and more dense there could not be the shadow of a doubt--but it becomes so difficult a matter to draw the reins of Gov^t here from the sparseness of [424] population, that a regular systematic Gov^t can hardly find means or ways to force its power unless under a Military escort--Civilly these people do not seem disposed to aid each other, or do not conceive it necessary to bring themselves into so much civilization, as to acknowledge any leading moral obligation to protect and assist each other-- The Consequence is that the Lawyers rule them in all things and the priests chain their minds down to the dark and ridiculous dogmas of superstition without ever appealing to their better sense or reasonable faculties--

The curtain of improvement is never raised to exhibit the improved Condition of the world, but every leshe [leash] is thrown around them to chain them to the darkness of ages, which science has long since scattered by the light of intellect and matter--

Congress is engaged in various schemes and were we to jud[ge] of the country, its improvements, resources & condition moral and social from their pretension in doing things, upon [425] paper--the opinion of the world would be much in their favour--but their Legislative acts are like their language rich in sound and pretension, but much of it has no meaning--They are an astute people in all the little affairs that pretend to domestic economy and common intercourse--and acquire with great facility all the lighter parts of Education, that which adorns the person but leaves no powerful impression upon the mind--In argument sophistry is the basis of every thing--they seldom lay down a rational and clear data to reason upon, and their most powerful talent is to render every thing more obscure and doubtful--This is a very natural result, because they set out with no object or conclusion in view and as Sophistry leads them into mazes and never to the truth their propositions are always rong and their conclusions generally absurd.

They exhibit occasionally much ingenuity, without really any talent, they appear incapable of drawing [426] from the deep fountains of reason or the heart for any thing, and content themselves in all cases with having skimmed along, swallow like, upon the mere surface of the evening twilight of intellect--

They never appeal to the truths and advancements of the age, but always refer to exploded principles of antiquity as a reason and an example upon all subjects and acts to govern them--Without ever considering that they live in a different period, with different people, and that intellect & improvement has kept pace all the time with the age of the world--With them it would really seem as if life to them was the moment, a mere dream, a mere existence of sensual and other enjoyments, that they owe nothing to the age gone by or to come and are therefore under no obligation to the age gone by or to come--

The family relation[s] are not of so sacred a kind as we observed, they would seem to say to the World it owes us a living & we will have it-- [427] We visit a family occasionally whose brother was shot in the public plaza for assassination and Robbery-- and yet when we find them all congregated together, mother brother & sisters, nothing of the unfortunate

seems impressed upon their brows or their actions--with such a circumstance in a family in my own Country no change of places events or circumstances could wipe from the family a something that hang around them--no intercou[r]se nothing however distinguished but what would seem to hang its mantle of black upon the escutions of the house--a redeeming generation would be the only salvation to the family, and an obscurity that could never break the shade which such an event would throw around the hopes the prospects the respectability of such a family--It would be hard censure but such is the course of events in a highly civilized community, but in one, as this is, demibarbarism, these events leave scarce an impression, are events-- [428]

Saturday 16 April 1836

13
No news but the resignation of the President and
Roderigues Sec.y. of interior--& report says Mr Hernais 14
secretary of Marine & War--on the 19 the day of the

Transformation of Venezuela 1810 dined with the Vice
President who is President int[e]rino--the President
still at Macuta, is in fact unwell--Politics look a
little too awry, news from the interior speak[s] of
some allanero [llanero] affair, but for what object is
15
not known nor produced from what cause-- no resignation
has been accepted by the Congress--They are bringing

things to a close, have done much on paper, -- Mr & Mrs Mocatta leave the 22^d for LaGuayra, Phil^a & London, she says never to return "quien sabe" she is a native of the West Indies how can she live in London or any where else--The Vice Presidents dinner an excelent one about 30 persons sat down very crowded--Mrs Vice & daughter at Table--went off very well--The treaty in status quo yet-- [429]

Friday 22 April 1836

So little transpires of a public nature that to me it becomes really a matter of difficulty to keep up a diary unless a continual repetition of the same daily events, which can possess but little or no interest, neither as a matter of record or to transmit to those that may come after me--The Presidents resignation was finally acted upon and a[d]mitted the 25[th] by a vote of 24 to 21--Doo^t Vargas is therefore no longer President of Venezuela--Doo^t Andreas Navarte takes his place being Vice President by the Constitution de facto upon resignation, The resignation of Rodrigues as Secretary of interior has not been acted upon, but it is believed it will be admitted likewise--It is possible and I think probable a reorganization of the Cabinet will take place--tho' I do not yet believe that Gallegos as Secretary of State will resign nor Hernais as Secretary of Marine & War interino--It would appear

the views of the leading men [430] are undergoing a visible change, and I should not be astonished to see Gen^l Paéz at the head of the Gov^t in three months--but without force or complete dissolution of Gov^t by imbecility he cannot come in--If the Constitution is to be maintained, no change can take place under near 2 1/2 years, the time for a new constitutional election--There is certainly a lamentable want of force & energy in the Gov^t the temporising policy of Doc^t Vargas on his return has emboldened the reformist faction until they are almost open enough to come forward again as a body either by force or intrigue to the acquisition of their views for a radical change in the Gov^t and many of his warmest friends are beginning to lament the part they took in elevating him to the Chief Magistracy--The whole truth is this, Doc^t Vargas has not the requisite political knowledge nor moral courage enough for the times, he has been deceived in himself and his friends have added to that deception--He is a little in [431] service beyond the great body of his countrymen, but is in want of all the requisites to make a politician--Requiescat in pace---

There is some little excitement, that Gen^l Marino and others of the reformists who are outlawed and residing at Cu[r]lagoa will make some bold attempt to get a footing in the Country again--could he land with

five Hundred well armed men, there would scarcely be a difficulty of his sacking LaGuayra, and might march to Caracas--these people I think would hardly stand a fight--From the interior it is said a Co^l Farfan has revolted against the Gov^t, but I have been assured it is only a band of robbers with him at the head--Having committed an act of theft to defend himself against a civil process & the Laws he has called a few reckless rascals around him and put the Laws at defiance--It is not a political defection, but parties formed in this way by any cause, will always embolden the faction in the Country and out of it of the 8[#] July last to attempt [432] something, it is fuel to their cause, and producing a corresponding weakness in the friends of the Gov^t--- Gen^l Paez is quiet¹⁶ and I scarcely think will take any movement, unless he is called in a very imperious manner, by the public to put himself at the head of the Gov^t---As the founder of the Gov^t he ought as I believe he will be the last man to put his hands on it--Congress is drawing to a close, and really without having done any thing--or at least not much---

Tuesday 26 April 1836.

I have almost abandoned my journal from what cause or to what circumstance to attribute it I can truly offer no reason but the dearth [surfeit?] of repetition, and

so little of importance to detail--In this Country different from all others, news events or circumstances are not to be found in public prints the common channels of information in my own Country, but from an intercourse with the people, and then even then it is [433] intrigue to discover or find out any thing--even the affairs directly committed with the administration of Gov^t are all covert unless you make it a business of intrigue to discover it, or as in my capacity I make it a business to demand information of transactions. The political, social, & moral condition of this people deserve a book, and if well written with a true and accurate knowledge of them, would I am certain in the eyes of my Countrymen appear as a complet caricature of mankind, not being able to perceive the great incongruity of character, the direct contradiction of which he meets with at every Step-- to day one opinion may be formed tomorrow another, and scarcely a day afterwards but what would leave us in doubt as to opinions previously formed--The reason is obvious, they are in all the great relations of live & Gov^t Govern^d by circumstances, without one set of principles to Govern them or one fundamental axiom to basis their actions [434] or their opinions--life is a sophizm and he that has the greater faculties to confuse or

confound, by a semblance of truth passes for a great man and much wisdom--in this way their life is carried out--a cloud forever hangs over them, and suspicion marks every step they take--you cannot offer to buy the whole of any thing a man may have for sale from oranges in the market to an estate or a negotiation for one hundred thousand Dollars, but the seller will suspect something is in the wind from the boldness with which you offer to buy the whole.

Existence here is a dreary existence, but there is much astuteness in the head & conduct of these people, but it is all cunning, intrigue, & deception, so long accustomed to it, they cannot live or act in any other way--life therefore and particularly the capacity of man is thus robbed of its highest intellectual enjoyment and its rationality assimilated nearer to the brute creation than we ought to acknowledge, it is enjoyment more of the animal than [435] the enlightened exercise of the human understanding--They are not capable of great exertion neither in mind nor body, every thing is palliative & passive, without ever wishing to strike at the root of an evil or a disease, they console themselves under the infatuation of their religion, or the seductive indulgence of their climate, and it is perceived in every State of existence from

the leaper & lazarus in the Street to the man of wealth in his furnished house--Much has been done by the Spaniards to produce this state of things, as their colonial policy ever has been to degrade, to render inert and inactive both the mind and body of their colonists, offer them indulgences and promote them in every way possible to prevent the mind from ever being occupied with graver matters--believing in the general assertion that mankind is more prone to degenerate than to elevate itself when left to its own entire direction, without objects to excite ambition or Glory--that it is much easier for an intelligent or educated man to turn savage than for a savage to adopt the manners of [436] education and improvement.¹⁷ There is a spirit existing likewise in the Country of the most vindictive cast, and without a good knowledge of them they will lead unsuspectingly a man to his ruin or to his death, they will waylay him for purposes only known to their own bosom, it is generally the vindictiveness of the beast, not often to rob, and much oftener to repay large sums of revenge which they owe, with an object of this kind they will persue it for years to meet an opportunity, and really in the old Scot[c]h aphorism "to bide their (chance) opportunity--"

The genuine unsophisticated native is a piece

of wax and could be made a pliant to do good by good teachers as they are now to do bad by bad teachers, a general disposition in the head of the leading influential men might mould these people to their own form, it might take half an age but it would be accomplished perfectly. But under the present system of life education & habits, a change can only be made by time & circumstances, introducing [437] a better grade of manners, purer ideas in association with the better class of Foreigners--The great body of foreigners here are of the lowest class both in manners habits and education, are but a poor example to amend or alter by the power of example, the ideas or customs of the Country. They much sooner become a creole in every thing than set the examples of their own Country, and finding it easier to change themselves than the mass of the Community they do so, and become generally more immoral more debased than any part of the citizens--

Politically all things seems pretty quiet, some news from the plains that a co¹ Farfan¹⁸ has raised the standard of Rebellion, and calling out for reforms-- it is certain he is armed against the Gov^t, but to what extent he proposes to go is uncertain, or from what he is governed--nevertheless, I do not think there can be a doubt but what an understanding will be brought about

with him and the Gov^t or the officer of the same near him--- [438]

Congress are upon the eve of adjournment. They have sanctioned my Treaty and having been informed it has¹⁹ been admitted at home, it only becomes necessary to exchange it to become a Law of the Land--It admits the products of the world admissable in Venezuela, admitted upon the same footing as Venezuelean & free religious toleration.

The Secretary of State very greatful to my feelings particularly so as it is my first effort in diplomacy, presents me the good opinion of the President for my success according to instructions. Congress here have passed Laws concerning the Militia, and a mercantile Law, & Ley de judicial, and will adjourn to day the 15[#] May--If they have done no good they have not done much harm, I hope they will stick to the Constitution hereafter, that it may not become a by word of reproach to themselves and other Constitutional Gov^{ts}, that a constitution is too feeble a barrier to maintain public order and public justice--It is only necessary to sustain in good faith to Shew to the European powers that man is really capable of self Gov^t, a problem not believed in until the manly & firm support of it in [439] my own dear native country, the Land of the free and the home

of the brave---

20

President Vargas resigned some 15 days ago, it has been accepted and the Vice President is now charged with Executive duties--Vargas it is said is sick, very sick at LaGuayra--He has fallen and I would not throw a single blot upon himself or his career as a politician. But [his fault] is a general want of firmness and determination, and without much political sagacity, by the aid only of his firends [he] has been sustained--I have just heard, that on the 8[#] July when Cerujo presented himself at his house and required his resignation, that he had actually written it and in the act of presenting it, it was taken from him by Perez and torn up by him and scattered in the face of the demandant--This fact has been differently stated and I here put this upon paper that the truth in the transactions of the morning may be remembered and known-- I say Vargas has fallen, such circumstances would warrent the assertion, for indeed he [440] cannot any longer maintain that position which he did previous to the revolution, nor could he now maintain under all the various changes of policy, management and compromise, any other event than that they have brocken him down-- His firmness and tallents not being sufficient to him in the issue trying & to be tried in the Country--tho

apparently not forced, he has been forced to resign, he has absolutely sunk under the weight of events--Navarte who succeeds him is in want too of firmness, more temporising, yet he has more political sagacity & forethought, with better political talents, and a lawyer he is better able to manage the affairs of the Executive department than Vargas, and with all a man of very considerable talents--news from Europe looks a little warish--Austria, Russia & Prussia having taken possession of Cracow the quaranteed little republic on the confines of now lost Poland at the Vienna Treaty. may produce a little fitful fever, may pass off--Spain yet torn by Convulsions--and without any disposition to acknowledge South Am^{er} Independence. [441]

Sunday 15 May 1836

This day is usually spent in diversions and going to church soon in the morning, one mass very early is for those who are poor and have no lulo or finery to shew, and another afterwards for those who are rich and have much in the way of finery to exhibit--Religion here is more a trade than the business of the heart with god, a confession and asking a remission of sinful human nature--Indeed the gods worshiped here are in the main false gods, such gods as can grant the public amusement, pleasure, and gratification, not the sack cloth and ashes worshipers of the soul for poor fallen and sinful nature, it is but a bombastio

²¹
furioso of pleasure and enjoyment, a belief actually ²²
 in no accountability after death, a dum vivimus vivamus,
 a Horace enjoyment of life, certainly not to be despised
 or contemned but nevertheless the heart should be contrite
 an[d] obedient, for the [442] omnipotence and will of
 god, is above all human ken---I did not go to the
 cockpit to day, but spent it in a ride to the Marquis
²³
 del Toros, like Proserpine (went) gathering flowers,
 found the old man at home, and to my surprise met there
²⁴
 Co¹ Blanco a Priest turned Soldier, he dowsed his
casoc and seized the sword in the revolution and has
 followed it up 'till the present, a man more in
 externals resembling Genl. Bolivar more than any man
 in the world--He appears a cleaver fellow a little
 cold in his blood, but the lord forgive those who cry
out the pot is black -- the old Marquis as usual very
 polite with the same gold mounted vest he has worn for
 the last 20 years, at least ever since I have known
 him say 10 years, gathered as many roses at his place
 as I wanted, which he appeared pleased at and [1]
 left him--

Shall call upon Co¹ Blanco and ask him to
 dinner some day [443] this week. Have just heard of
 an arrival from New York--hope to get something tomorrow
 night---No answer yet to my officio claiming for
 spoillations upon American citizens by the faction---

life is dull, dull, dull, as a churchyard here---

Monday 16[#] May 1836

I have neglected my Journal without being able to offer an apology for it, unless the common one of not having any thing worth recording--various circumstances of but little importance have occurred since the date[#] of the 15[#] May--The Treaty I concluded and despatched home by Mr Merino was returned the 17[#] --and a note previously rec^d gave me the thanks of the President for my success--I have been engaged exclusively since up to the 31st to get the exchange effected, and by dint of great personal exertion succeeded in exchanging it on the 31st May at about 1/2 past 8 or 9 oclock at night, and that night arraigned [444] my official note and instructions and dispatched it by Mr Wm. G. Smith a Gen^t introduced to me by Mr Renshaw the Consul at LaGuayra, and a citizen of Phila.--He says[#] he is studying Law in the office of Mr Smith in 4 Street near Sergents & Binneys--His father a grain merchant and an Irishman, but that they are all whigs being once the original supporters of Gen^l Jackson but now opposed to him. However it was him or no body else as I could not find another man--I had previously offered the privilege of bearer of dispatches to Christobal, Baros de Mendoza, called

here Mendisito, after accepting it and agreeing to go he thought it necessary to consult the city of Caracas & by a wisdom unknown before and I expect unknown in any other part of the world he came to the opinion and belief that he would loose his citizenship by accepting the order to deliver a package to the Secretary of State of the UStates at Washington, he therefore backed out of the business [445] and I therefore had to take the first chance and offer as the Secretary required its transmission by a private messenger--Mr Smith was sent up from LaGuayra and he remained with me 4 days when I dispatched him--He appeared while here much fonder of common society than good, and sought the Companionship of mechanics and others in preferance to my house and society--this gave no very favourable opinion of his associations or disposition to elevate himself, but goes far to prove that a man may be detected by his deportment to what class of people he belonged--he will betray it, there is a something that will stick to him, the Shop, the ship, the desler and trader will leave marks of indelible impression that scarcely any circumstances in after life will wear away--He is gone he sailed in the V^a Trader²⁵ on Wednesday last the 1st June, I wish him a safe and happy voyage to Phil^a &

Washington and all that I may have done meet the views
& policy of my Gov^t

By Mr Smith I sent home a Jack [444] to be
shipped to Petersburg and from there to the old
residence of my fathers near Roxboro Person County N^o
Carolina.²⁶ My wife dispatched 4 Turpials one Arandjo
and two²⁷ ring doves under Mr Smiths to her sister &
others.

Nothing stirring here, the last news from
Bogota is of a most deplorable kind the rejection of
the Treaty with Venezuela and a refusal even to
acknowledge the divission of the national debt--a
severe blow at the liberty and prosperity of the
Country, all Colombia.²⁸

Yesterday some talk of a movement at Maracaybo
by the Blacks and that Farias had returned again to
that place--nothing positive in the matter--Farias had
returned to Curagoa the last as news from Phil^a to
where he had been deported--I anticipate fearful events
here--I cannot conceive that things are safe--the death
of Gen^l Paez would be a signal for blood & revolution
and the worst events, the most sanguinary acts would
grow out of it--I hope Venezuela destined to a better
fate---

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER X

- 1 acuerdo--report.
- 2 Cf., Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Williamson's letter to Callegos, March 22, 1836.
- 3 For the resolution of Congress, March 16, 1836, see Documentos Anales, II, 350-357.
- 4 mierda--excrement; puta--whore; arriero--muleteer; molojeros--sellers of fodder.
- 5 Duane describes this same night procession of the Virgin Mary during Passion Week. Visit to Colombia, 1822-23, 87-90.
- 6 Robert B. McAfee of Kentucky, nominated by Andrew Jackson to be charge d'affairs of the United States to the Republic of New Granada, January 22, 1833. Confirmed by Senate, February 6, 1833. Senate Executive Journal, IV, 302, 309.
- 7 Matthew 27:32.
- 8 All the Catholic countries in America make much of Holy Week. The processions and ceremonies in Mexico are probably more dramatic than those of Venezuela, for in Mexico people actually take the part of some

of the Biblical characters. Mme Calderon de la Barca, in describing the Good Friday procession, wrote: "The image of the Saviour was now carried forwards on a platform; with the heavy cross appearing to weigh him down; and on the same platform was Simon the Cyrenian, assisting him to bear the weight. The cyrenian was represented by an old man, with hair as white as snow, dressed in scarlet cloth; who, in a stooping posture, and without once moving his body, was carried about for hours in the whole force of the sun, the rays pouring down upon his uncovered head." Life in Mexico During a Residence of Two Years in That Country, 2 vols., (Boston, 1843), II, 146. Cf., C. B. Merwin, Three Years in Chile, 60-63.

- 9 This amount was "on account of Sallary." National Archives, File Microcopy No. 79, Roll 2, letter No. 17 of John G. A. Williamson to the Secretary of State, April 8, 1836. General Cadwalader of Philadelphia was "Testamentary Executor" for Williamson's estate. Ibid., Letter of Gabriel K. Circovich to the Secretary of State, August 28, 1840.
- 10 El Conciso is a single daily sheet of the proceedings of Congress. The first issue was February 8, 1832

(Caracas). Williamson frequently inclosed copies of El Conciso in his reports to the State Department.

- 11 The mutilation or destruction of Judases comes at the end of the Holy Week celebration. "Allelulia Saturday--the end of Lent: the day when the saints throw off their mourning, . . .when scores of Judases are torn to pieces, and when the annual consecration of fire and water takes place." Thomas Ewbank, Life in Brazil (New York, 1856), 233. Mme Calderon de la Barca gives a fuller description: "A military band struck up an air. . . and the noise of the innumerable matracas (rattles) some of wood and some of silver, with which every one is armed during the last days of the holy week, broke forth again as if by magic, while again commenced the sale of the Judases, fireworks in the form of that arch-traitor, which are sold on the evening of Good Friday, and let off on Saturday morning. Hundreds of these hideous figures were held above the crowd, by men who carried them tied together on long poles. An ugly misshapen monster they represent the betrayer to have been." Life in Mexico, I, 211.

- 12 Cf., supra, 341.

- 13 Vargas resigned on April 24, 1836. Marcial Hernández, Sinopsis de Historia de Venezuela (Maracaibo, 1914), 100.
- 14 Colonel Francisco Hernáiz. Secretary of War and Navy again under Páez, 1839. González Guinán, Historia Contemporánea de Venezuela, III, 124.
- 15 Cf., infra, [437.]
- 16 Páez had again retired to private life for a brief period. Autobiografía, II, 391.
- 17 Missionaries found it extremely difficult to civilize and Christianize the Indians of Venezuela. The Church made many concessions: cannibalism was permitted, i.e., "in case of necessity, one may eat human flesh, without being guilty of any sin"; the Inquisition did not apply to Indians; they were not bound to the rule of confession during Easter, confession once a year was sufficient; they were obliged to hear less than half as many masses as Spaniards. When one considers the Indian in Caracas after three hundred years of effort on the part of persistent teachers, it is not difficult to understand why Church regulations for Spaniards could not be strictly enforced with

regard to Indians. "It is difficult to impress an Indian with the utility of confession, he carries to the tribunal of penitence neither the necessary contrition nor attrition, he approaches with the intention of neither declaring his sin, nor reforming his conduct. . . .When in the beginning of the ceremony he is desired to kneel, he immediately squats on the ground; and in this posture, instead of declaring his sins, he stoutly denies every thing, which the confessor, knowing his practices, wishes him to confess: he must be absolutely convicted of a falsehood, before he will acknowledge himself guilty of any sin; and when reduced to this last extremity, he frequently curses those who have given information to the priest."

Old squaws are the worst offenders. It is not uncommon to hear them "burlesque the very sermons they are hearing, and by this means attempt to destroy in the young Indians the salutary effects they might otherwise produce on their morals. These old squaws, scattered in different parts of the church, make their remarks on everything that falls from the mouth of the preacher. When he speaks of the goodness and power of God, the old squaw replies in a low, muttering tone: if he be

so good and powerful, why does he not provide us food, without obliging us to labour for it? If he describes the torments of hell, the squaw replies: has he been there? who informed him of it? who is come from that quarter? If he expatiates on mortification and abstinence: why, says the squaw, does not the holy father, who preaches to us such fine morality, practise it himself? If he speaks of the subject of confession, the squaw ascribes it to the curiosity of the priest, and contends that God has no need of knowing what the Indians are doing; so that with such commentaries, the sermon is more prejudicial than favourable to the progress of the faith." Depons, Voyage to Terra Firma 1801-04, I, 226-242.

- 18 José Francisco Farfán, in the province of Apure, was not agitating for political principles or change, but to revenge injuries received from his personal enemies. Páez used his influence with this chief and secured peace for about a year; but in April, 1837, Páez had to use force. With sixty horsemen, he destroyed Farfán's force of one thousand. Baralt y Díaz, op. cit., III, 366; Marical Hernández, Historia de Venezuela, 100. For this victory Páez was given the title "Leon

- (lion) de Payara." Manuel Rosales Landaeta, Maracaay 1697 A 1916 (Caracas, 1916), 110.
- 19 Resolution of advice and consent by United States Senate, March 23, 1836. Ratified by United States, April 20, 1836. Ratified by Venezuela, May 25, 1836. Hunter Miller, op. cit., IV, 3.
 - 20 Vice President Andrés Navarte acted as president from April 24, 1836, until January 20, 1837; then José María Carreño, until May 11, 1837; and Carlos Soublette until 1839 when Páez became President a second time. Hernández, op. cit., 100.
 - 21 Bombastes Furioso--long, popular burlesque by William B. Rhodes (1722-1826). Produced anonymously at the Haymarket, 1810; but not published under the author's name until 1822. Dictionary National Biography, XLVIII, 85.
 - 22 dum vivimus vivamus--"while we live, let us live."
 - 23 Proserpine--in Greek mythology the daughter of Jupiter and Ceres. As she was gathering flowers she was abducted by Pluto and became the goddess of the underworld. Joseph Thomas, Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology (Philadelphia, 1930), 2004.

- 24 José Félix Blanco (born in Caracas 1782, died there April 18, 1872) had been ordained a priest but from the very beginning of the revolution he had sympathized with the group fighting for independence. In 1810 he enlisted in the army and took part in many engagements. He always enjoyed the confidence of Bolívar. The separation of Venezuela from the other republics did not have his approval; and when Bolívar died in 1830, Blanco retired from the army. However, when the 1835 revolution occurred, he again served in the army as commander of Maracaybo. He was Minister of War and Navy in 1837, a member of the Council of Government until 1847, then Secretary of Treasury. He retired to private life in 1855 and dedicated the rest of his life to the compilation of facts and documents for his history of Venezuela and Colombia. Because of his advanced age, he sought a collaborator and found one in Ramón Aspúrua. His great work, Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del libertador de Colombia, Perú y Bolivia por su orden cronológico, y con adiciones y notas que la ilustran, was first published in Caracas in 1866. The Pope reinstated him in the clergy, December 16, 1862, and Blanco devoted the rest of

- his life to the Church. Espasa-Calpe, VIII, 1081.
- 25 The Virginia Trader arrived May 24, 1836. Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Williamson's letter May 26, 1836, to Gallegos.
- 26 Williamson is listed in the Person County Records as having owned 200 acres of land valued at \$200 in 1823 and 1826. Records of Person County-- Wills, Inventories, Sales of Estates, and Taxables, 1823-1827, 47, 264.
- 27 The arrendajo or mocking-oriole is a glossy black with a bright yellow belly, rump, and tail. The turpial, somewhat smaller, is orange and black. It is easily domesticated and learns any whistled tune. Don Ramón Páez, Wild Scenes in South America (New York, 1862), 173-174.
- 28 This Treaty was finally ratified in 1839. Documentos Anales, IV, 122-124. Cf., supra, [352].

[CHAPTER XI]

[MAY 16, 1836 to JUNE 24, 1838]

[Since the volume or volumes of Williamson's diary, covering the period from May 16, 1836 to June 24, 1838, are missing, this chapter is compiled from Williamson's correspondence with the Departments of State of the United States and of Venezuela and from Miscellaneous Correspondence Concerning Claims 1830-1839.]

31 May, 1836

(Communication No. 20 to the Secretary of
State of the United States)

I have just this moment effected the Exchange of the treaty with Venezuela and hand it to you forthwith by the hands of Wm. G. Smith of Philadelphia, and have been much hurried in getting it ready by this opportunity.

18 October, 1836

(Communication No. 22 to the Secretary of
State of the United States)

All parts of the thirteen Provinces that compose Venezuela are tranquil; and a general character of improvement and industry is manifested to enlarge the resources and agricultural productions, as well as ameliorate the condition of the labouring class of people.

In addition to the three great staples of the Country, coffee, indigo & cacao, cotton is becoming an important article in their agriculture, and should the article in foreign markets sustain its present price, will become in a few years, second in nature and importance to no one of the exports of the Country. Its extension in cultivation is very great this year in comparison with the last, and not as it might seem, to the neglect of other estates, but because it is peculiarly adapted to the present condition of free labour in the Country, and that state of half starving, arising from the various Laws of manumission on that subject.

One difficulty however presents itself almost insurmountable from the locality of the Country, the want of roads and navigable streams leading into the country, upon which to transport their produce, and therefore every article exported or imported as well as the entire productions of the Country meets with increased difficulties of expense and carriage, in being transported upon the back of mules, Asses or horses, a small reduction therefore in the price of cotton abroad, immediately operates to reduce the quantity and extension in cultivation in many interior parts of the Country, and a considerable reduction

[due] to an abandonment every where, as the freights on so bulky an article to market and cost of production would not leave any proffit to the cultivator.

From the same cause, the high price of brown sugars abroad, have induced many planters in the valleys of this province and upon the coast to extend very much the production of the cane, its export therefore is increasing and will continue to increase, so long as the present price is maintained in the United States.

From the effects produced throughout Venezuela by the Revolution of July 1835, by its paralysing influence upon industry and taking a large proportion of the hireling labour in to supply the army, may be attributed the present depressed state of commerce with this country, as it has had a tendency to reduce the quantity and prevent any great extension of agricultural industry and production.

The election of a Vice President to supply the place of Andreas Navarte Ez^e whose term of service expires the 20th January next, took place in the capitals of each of the thirteen provinces which compose Venezuela, by the union of electors elected in August last for that purpose, on the first inst. In three provinces heard from there cannot be a doubt but that Gen^l Soubllette now minister to Spain will be elected, and

by his election will exercise all the Executive functions for the time of the unexpired term of Doc^t Vargas, which is two years. He is expected in Caracas in the month of December next.

26 January, 1837

(Communication No. 25 to the Secretary of
State of the United States)

The Congress of Venezuela convened on the 20[#] inst^t, but as yet the two houses have not been formed for the lack of members. The great difficulty and inconvenience of travelling in this country prevents the possibility of punctuality in forming any Legislative body, but there will be no doubt in a day or two, the constitutional number to organize the two branches.

By constitutional limitation, Andreas Navarte ceased to be Vice President on the 20[#] inst^t, and Jose Maria Careño, as president of the Council of Government, is now acting Vice President in consequence of the absence of Gen^l Carlos Soublette, the recently elected Vice President. . . .

The question of the most absorbing interest here just now, and which has engaged the attention, as well as manifested in the feelings of the citizens, is the firm belief that Great Britain has resolved under

the plea of an insult to a British acting consul at Panama, and to the British Nation, to take possession of the Isthmus of Darien. . . .

I do not think that Venezuela will interfere, or her Congress take any steps or make any declaration upon the subject, but her citizens feel highly indignant at the demand and threats of Lord Palmerston, and if their situation would admit it, would unhesitatingly take an open and decided stand against the menace, or the invasion or taking possession of any part of the Territory that once composed Colombia, by any nation or power.

In an interview with Gen^l Carreño now acting Vice President (& President) on the 21st inst, he stated to me he had served under Gen^l Bolivar in the campaign against the Spanish forces in that part of Colombia and had commanded as Military Governour, the Province of the Isthmus for near six years, had during this time succoured General Bolivar with men and means for his descent upon Peru. And that during the whole time, he was in the entire confidence of Gen^l Bolivar, who communicated with him, on all matters, and that no one question engaged more his attention and solicitude, than did this point of communication between the two seas.

A large body of forces was always determined to be maintained at Panama to defend its open situation and to succour the two points of Porto Bello and Chagres on the Atlantick and the forts at those two places were placed in repair and for defence, that the roads which he had opened in crossing from Porto Bello and Chagres to Panama with four thousand troops, he had entirely destroyed, leaving only the old ways, narrow, dangerous and difficult, open for common intercourse--He remarked that this policy was produced from weakness and a want of resources, and to retard any attempt at a renewed invasion of these points by the Spanish forces. He particularly stated that Gen^l Bolivar, always feared that it was the intention at some day of the British Government to take possession by some means, [of] this point between the two continents of North and South America--as important to extend her commerce and impose restrictions and render other nations subject to her impositions. With these views, he had determined to maintain a large force at the immediate point and city of Panama--He further stated that Porto Bello and Chagres were points easily defended, and it could effectually be done with a small body of troops, but that the climate was pestiferous, That the harbour of Porto Bello was

large and commodious and safe, but that Chagres could not be entered, but with small vessels and slight draft of water, and there was not more than one or two more immediate points where troops could be landed. Gen^l Carreño further informed me, that the whole coast of the Isthmus on the Pacifick was open and undefended as the city of Panama was a small fort not capable of defence, and that he presumes from the great indebtedness and poverty of the nation, and cessation of Hostilities by Spain, since he commanded there that it is not improbable the whole defence of the Isthmus are abandoned, and therefore without a strong physical force, and which he is doubtful New Granada cannot bring to that point, must in the event of the attempt of Great Britain to take it, fall into their hands without difficulty. He states the population of the Isthmus (province) at one hundred thousand souls, generally poor and without resources, except in horses and cattle, and from their general character might not be unwilling to pass into the hands and under the power of the British Gov^t, arising from their general contrabandist character, this immediate point between the two Continents having been for ages the great path way of trade and communication in Spanish times for the great part of the Pacifick coast, and as it has

been for years, that of British traders from Jamaica and other British West India possessions.

With these views General Carreño seems to believe there can be no doubt but England is determined under this consular pretext, at last when there seems no possibility of resistance, and Colombia (Venezuela, New Granada & Equador) largely indebted by loans to British subjects, to take possession of this point.

He further stated that he now has no doubt, that Admiral Fleming when in Caracas in 1827, and with a fleet of ten or twelve ships of war, then in the Roads of LaGuayra had in a measure produced a recession of Venezuela from Colombia, which immediately thereafter followed, with this question of Panama ultimately in view, to weaken the nation and produce small and separate interests, that this object might be accomplished thereafter without difficulty, and that this was the opinion of Bolivar.

This is pretty much his conversation upon this question, and I do not hesitate to say, that in many points of view they accord with my own, and I should not be surprised to learn that England has taken or will take possession of the Isthmus in a short time. . .

William Ackers Esq^{re}, merchant and a British subject but a Danish Berger of St Thomas and long

resident here has been appointed and recognized by this gov^t as Consul General for the Kingdom of Denmark.

George Gramlich Ez merchant and sometimes Consul for one of the free cities of Germany, has received authority from them in a joint power to treat with Venezuela upon the subject of commerce and navigation and I believe upon the basis of perfect equality and reciprocity. . . .

I again beg leave to call your attention to the Consulate at Angostura on the Orinoko; The gentleman appointed to that place has not yet arrived, 'tho' his appointment was announced in 1833 or 1834--- As regards emoluments of office, it offers no inducement to accept, and so far as business may be concerned, advantages of no importance.

Unless advised to the contrary, as I think it important we should have some agent at that place, I shall appoint some person resident there, to exercise the duties of Consular agent, until the person appointed shall arrive, or the President shall nominate some other individual to the office.

#

13 February

(Communication No. 26 to the Secretary of State of the United States)

The declaration made by Lord Palmerston was

carried out by Vice Admiral Sir Peter Halkett of the British West India squadron, by declaring in a state of Blockade the Coast of New Granada on the Atlantick.

The British Charge d, affaires informed me on the 11th ins^t that the British Minister at Madrid had transmitted official intelligence to the British Government that a commission of the Spanish Cortes, had recommended in a report the recognition of the Independence of all South America.

This report or this fact, has lead some of the officers of this Gov^t to believe that a second Treaty has been made with the Queen of Spain by England, by which she surrenders to the British Gov^t the Isthmus of Panama and Spanish Guayana, that section of the Territory of Venezuela lying South of the River Orinoko, grounded upon surrender on the part of England of her claims against Spain, indemnifying thereby such Spanish subjects as may have suffered from confiscation in this country during the revolution. These views were clearly sustained at an interview with Doct^r Paul Secretary of Interior and Justice, on the 12th ins^t, and I therefore believe that such are the sentiments of the present Cabinet.

25 June, 1837

(Communication No. 28 to the Secretary of

State of the United States)

A party headed by Co¹ Farfan in the plains of the Apure¹ river, in the interior commenced a second movement against the Government within a few days after it was known that General Soublette could not arrive in time to take upon himself the duties of the Executive office,² and consequently there being neither President nor Vice President in the Country; it devolved upon General Carreño as President of the Council of Government. Tho' Gen¹ Carreño believes as well as many other men in Venezuela that some reforms are necessary and wanted and perhaps fundamental, nevertheless I can scarcely believe there was a covert understanding between him and those of the plains under Co¹ Farfan or those expelled the soil and now in the Islands, to involve the Country in a contest which might lead to the most fatal results in arming the black and coloured population against the whites.

And I can scarcely doubt in the event of any effective movement against the Gov^t but that such a result will be produced. It was threatened by the reforms in July 1835 and is the watchward of every party doubtful of success.

The ambition of a few misguided and disappointed white men, aided by the feelings of hostility awakened

by a knowledge of the power (physical) of the coloured people throughout Venezuela, is destined I fear to result in the most serious consequences to humanity, and a peaceable progress to good government in this Country.

The faction of Farfan in the interior commenced about the time of the expulsion of those individuals captured at Puerto Cabello last year, and so soon as he found the government reestablished Gen^l Paez arranged all the difficulties with him, and it was generally believed that it would last. But from the intriguing spirit I fear of some prominent individuals in this city, aided by the expected succor promised by Gen^l Mariño and others from the islands³ and particularly from St Domingo, in coloured men as soldiers, and the executive department of the Government in the hands of Gen^l Carreño, a supposed friend of his views, Farfan raised again the standard of rebellion in February last with some three or four hundred men, well mounted, and commenced his movement by an attack upon the open town of San Fernando de Apure on the river Apure.

The Government in the meantime being advised of these movements, asked of Congress then in session an increase of the army, which was granted, and which

the Executive Gen^l Soublette who had in the meantime arrived placed directly under the authority and order of Gen^l Paez, who repaired to the scene of action in time to save San Fernando,⁴ beat off Co^l Farfan and finally succeeded in annihilating his party in two engagements (taking no prisoners) and I think effectually from official information putting down every germ of revolution in that part of Venezuela. . . .

The British Government and its officers paid him [Soublette] much attention in London, Madrid, and Paris, and he has returned with increased prepossessions in behalf of that nation. Soublette wants a consular convention, according to Article 33 of the treaty to fix the rights, privileges and immunities of consuls. This has been produced I have no doubt by occasional difficulties met with foreign agents and the recent very serious affair between the authorities at the city of Panama and the acting British Vice Consul Russell which resulted in the British Admiral on the West India Station declaring under the orders of his Government the Coast of New Granada in a state of Blockade, of which you have been previously advised.

The affair has been adjusted by reviewing the entire acts and decrees of the Tribunals in the case and the payment of £ 1000 demanded, a most humiliating

result to the Gov^t of New Granada, and which will leave an impression not only upon the people of New Granada, but throughout Colombia not easily to be erased, but will certainly so far as foreign agents are concerned, have an effect to protect them from the insults of petty officers of the Gov^t. . . .

The recent attempt at revolution by Co^l Farfan from a further inquiry into its origin, would appear to have arisen absolutely from a hostility of a part of the coloured population against the whites, more than from any political motives whatever. By one fortunate blow of Gen^l Paez it has been put down, The Gen^l himself escaped by the presence of mind of a coloured servant of his from a covert attack of a brother of Farfans in his recent campaign against him, and by which his life was saved, which has actually rescued the whole country and this city particularly from a calamity that I shudder to think of.

The death of Gen^l Paez would have brought a horde of half civilized coloured people from the plains and interior, to murder pillage and rob under exasperated feelings, the white portion of the population of the cities, and with the cry of colour against colour, would have raised the dormant feelings of those who compose the greatest proportion of the population

everywhere. Nothing could have prevented it, the Gov^t and city would have fallen before 1000 of these men, as I doubt whether the energy of those in power, aided by necessity, could have warded off the blow or could have protected the community from such a calamity. . The gov^t is disposed to keep this last insurrection very silent, and without a public inquiry into its origin or its principles, it therefor falls into common report as a part of the faction of the revolution of 1835.

rd
23 July, 1837

(Communication No. 29 to the Secretary of State
of the United States)

[Williamson inclosed a copy of a note from Renshaw, Consul at La Guayra, which stated that Renshaw had permission to live in Caracas, and that he had appointed John Boulton of La Guayra to be his consular agent. Williamson apparently did not want Renshaw in Caracas, and he informed the state department that Renshaw's duties required his presence in La Guayra.]

Mr Renshaw has now been in this Country as Consul two years, one year out of which his family has already resided in Caracas, and himself a great proportion of that time, and not until I suggested to him the impropriety of this circumstance did he remove to La Guayra. . . This is a bad example. . . . The consuls at Puerto Cabello and Maracaybo might ask the same privilege.

nd
2 August, 1837.

(Communication No. 30 to the Secretary of State of the United States)

[Inclosed further correspondence with Renshaw]

. . . . I now further state the gentelman designated by Mr Renshaw as his consular agent 'tho' a very Respectable man and engaged in American business is nevertheless like Mr Renshaw an Englishman.

[Williamson's letter to Renshaw, July 21]

Your official note under date of the 18th inst did not reach me until this morning. Its importance requires that I should ask a copy of the instructions you have received from the Department of State by which you are authorized contrary to Consular Instructions to reside in Caracas.

You will please therefore furnish this Legation with one by return mail.

[Renshaw's answer, July 28] I am respectfully led to suggest that as Consul of the United States I cannot consider myself under your controul as might be infered by the tenor and tone of your note and that consistently with my official station I cannot consent to comply with your demand of a transmission officially or otherwise by me to you of copy or copies of any such instructions.

[The major part of Williamson's correspondence

for the rest of this period concerns his progress in the settlement of claims. Three claims were paid: (1) those of Nehemiah Foster for an excess of duties charged at Puerto Cabello in April, 1827;⁶ (2) those of Peter Storms for damages to his boat while in the service of Venezuela during parts of 1835 and 1836;⁷ (3) and those of Franklin Litchfield for a return of duties collected from him by Venezuela for his bonds given to the faction that controlled Puerto Cabello during the revolution of 1835.⁸

Williamson negotiated at great length on the claims of two Baltimore firms but Venezuela finally proved they were not valid. Hollins & McBlair and John Donnell & Sons sent the schooners Speedwell and Eleanor, loaded with flour, to La Guayra in 1812. Their agent, Gerardo Petrullo, was paid by the Spanish authorities in gold but he deposited paper money in La Guayra which the Baltimore firms found worthless. Since their contract was with the newly established Venezuelan government, and not with Spain, Williamson tried to prove that Venezuela was obligated to pay the claims of Hollins and Donnell.⁹ After searching through the custom house records and finding proof that Petrullo had been paid, as indicated above, Santos Michelena wrote to Williamson:

Mr Gerardo Petrullo, a Spanish Subject, deposited in the Kings Treasury (boxes) of La Guayra, under the order of the Captain General and Superintendents of the Treasury, authorities likewise Spanish, in the month of March and April 1813 at the time they Governed the Country the same sums of paper money of which they (Hollins & Donnell) treat.

Consequently the Gov^t of the Republick is not nor cannot be responsible for said deposit, by virtue of which the claimants should direct their action where they may have a right against the heirs of Petrullo or against the Spanish Govt. 10

It is to be observed likewise that at the foot of the Contract, is not recorded as was just and necessary the receipt of the flour, therefore it is not known to whom it was delivered and likewise it is not mentioned in Petrullos representation. 11

By which it is established in an authentic manner, and free of the former decisions, that Petrullo was paid fully the value of the one thousand barrels of flour which the Govt. of Venezuela contracted for with him as consignee of the before mentioned vessels, and moreover, there has been unjustly paid, in consequence of the mistake which is demonstrated by the Tribunal of Accounts, the sum of \$11, 619 and 3 reales.

The govt. of the undersigned with pleasure believes this peremptorily terminated the claims of Messers Hollins & McBlair & Donnell. 12

One claim was left unsettled, that of Jacob Idler for supplies furnished Venezuela during her wars of independence.]

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XI

- 1 The Apure is formed by the union of two rivers: the Uribante and the Sarare. The first rises in the mountains of Mérida and is swollen by the confluence of sixteen rivers and many streams of the province. The Sarare has its origin near the city of Pamplona in New Granada. From the confluence of these two rivers, the waters take the name of Apure which name is not lost until it empties into the Orinoco. This river receives all the waters of Barinas and part of those of Mérida, Trujillo, Barquisimeto, Carabobo, and the province of Apure. Of the 213 leagues of the Apure, 188 are navigable. Codazzi, Geografía, 526-527.
- 2 Soublette did not get back to Caracas until May 11, 1837. Baralt y Díaz, op. cit., III, 567.
- 3 At this time Mariño and the exiled Reformists had their headquarters in Haiti. The Venezuelan Government sent an agent there and received from Boyer (Jean Pierre Boyer, President of the whole island from 1822 to 1843) assurances of friendship and the promise that he would watch Mariño and his companions and punish, according to law, any persons

who should take aggressive action contrary to the principles of his government. Ibid., III, 570.

- 4 From a military point of view, San Fernando is the key of the lower Apure for it controls the interior delta formed by the Apure and the Arauca rivers. It is on the right bank of the Apure at the point where it makes a ninety-degree turn to the southeast to join the Orinoco. Codazzi, Geografía, 533.
- 5 González Guinán, whose fifteen-volume Historia Contemporánea de Venezuela was published from 1909 to 1925, ascribes to Farfan motives and plans of which he was incapable. He states that Farfan rebelled "proclaiming the resurrection of Colombia, the reform of the Constitution, the re-establishment of military and ecclesiastical fueros, trial by jury, the abolition of taxes paid by farmers and ranchers, amnesty for the exiles of the 1835 revolution, and the recognition of Marino as Supreme Chief." III, 21. The last five pages of Baralt y Díaz Resumen de la Historia de Venezuela deal with this revolt. These authors were contemporaries of Farfan and their version of the affair is more in accord with that of Williamson

than with González Guinán. They say: "those bandits had no other aim than to rob and exterminate the rich proprietors." III, 369. After Farfan's first action in 1836, he wrote to Páez, May 8, 1836: "Jorge Mirabal has been authorized by the Supreme Government to violate my house and property; not only has he done this but he has outraged and scattered my family, so that I am going to kill, and burn my home town." Documentos Anales, III, 347. Páez said of Farfan's rebellion in 1836 that some people believed the reformists were backing it, but others felt it was a personal quarrel. After he defeated the faction in 1837 and became again the savior of Venezuela, he realized Farfan must have had a complicated program. The quotation above from González Guinán is found in Páez, Autobiografía, II, 398.

- 6 Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Miscellaneous Correspondence Concerning Claims, 1830-1839, Williamson's letters of July 19, 1836, August 29, 1836, November 3, 1836, and August 29, 1837.
- 7 Ibid., Williamson's letters of February 7, 1837 and July 15, 1837.

- 8 Ibid., Williamson's letters of October 3, 1837, November 13, 1837, and April 21, 1838.
- 9 Ibid., Williamson's letters of February 7, 1837, June 13, 1837, and July 19, 1838.
- 10 File Microcopy 79 Roll 2, Santos Michelena's letter of May 20, 1837.
- 11 Ibid., Santos Michelena's letter of May 24, 1837.
- 12 Ibid., from Department of Hacienda and Exterior Relations to Williamson, June 30, 1838.

1

"THE CASE IS WITH THE JURY." -- The Globe speaks of Gen. Jackson's "noble liberality!" General Jackson will die some of these days, and we cannot say then what we think of him, because the newspapers will all talk about "demortuis," & &. While we have the chance, then, we may as well contrast our opinion with that of the Globe; which is, that a meaner and more contracted political tyrant than Gen. Jackson never lived. Let the unprejudiced and impartial historian fifty years hence say which opinion is correct.---Alex. Gaz.

The above cut out from a Baltimore paper--1838--I shall not live to see the prediction fulfilled or not--but I will lay my head upon a block it will be the reverse of this sapient prophet

J.G.A.W.--Caracas

April 18--1839.

[CHAPTER XII]

[JUNE 24, 1838 to JULY 29, 1838]

June 24 Sunday 1838

I have for three days paid no attention to my diary, having closed my last vol. under date of 21st This is commenced on S^t Johns day,² and Catholicly my S^{ts} day, and the day likewise of my arrival at Caracas in 1835 as Charge d'affaires from the Gov^t of the United States to Venezuela-- I have therefore completed my third year in my diplomatic capacity, with what success, let my Treaty, and the various long and old standing claims, declare--not in large amounts nor in the aggregate very considerable, but nevertheless will exhibit some small degree of influence in getting demands sanctioned which have been denied for many years, against all applications---

S^t Johns day is quite a fiesta in Caracas and as there are many Johns by name, it is made a day of general feasting by all that name. Much of these ceremonies are ridiculous in the eyes of all others but Catholics, but many of them are imposing and must over the ignorant and those of absolute faith have great influence. Church service and church grandeur is however here fast decaying, and a few years more cannot then otherwise exhibit a prostrated religion and a

vanished clergy, or so miserably poor or wretchedly paid, that they will have to seek a more bigoted people than these, to carry their religion and their prosolitzm--

Those can only remain who from talents and virtues, will be able to stem the opposing tide. In religion, nothing is more common, if we appeal to history, than in a nation awaking from a long sleep of prostrated talents and bigoted religious principles, than it is in the first enthusiasm of disenthralment, to exceed all bonds of prudence and reason, and go to the other extremes of excess in hostility to all religion--

Witness the French revolution--Such I am fearful is the result here, but it would be more deplorable in its results here, for in such an event, the people would not worship Liberty as a god, nor would the general intelligence of [2] the Country ever be able to throw off such a reign of terror, as ignorance and half civilization would under such a reform, would by iron force put upon the nation--In France, there was a nation in the midst of Europe, enlightened and refined from ages, but ruled in some measure by Catholic despotism--it was only the consequence of new theories and dogmas in Philosophy, that in a burst of liberty inoculating all classes, and which was seized upon to throw off the shackles of religious intolerance and bigotry, as

well as the civil despotism of Gov^t----It had its course, and reason and intelligence, Education and this same Philosophy returned again with its power and influence to place the state of things in a somewhat new, but a more equal and just state--Here the reverse would happen, absolve a man here, it makes not matter how from his conscientious obligation, and law and reason would have no influence, because there is not enough intelligence and virtue in the Country, to produce a reaction or even momentarily stem the current of the worst and most malignant feelings of the human breast, and those uncontrolled but by ignorance and savagism.

No news--the mail from Bogota not in--do not hear a great deal about the elections--If scheming and planing should prevent the Election of Gen^l Paez, every man must prepare for revolution--the last Bandera Nacional edited by a great scoundrel Calcaño,³ in his last number would seem disposed to blow up the coles of slumbering reform of 1835, and by a covert attack in pretending to give a letter from Maracaybo stating the People there were asking for the reprieve of Col^l Farias, [sic]⁴ who had been ordered by the Courts to be shot for a second attempt at revolution since his capture as a party to the revolution of 1835--There seems some little movement on the score of the slaves or rather the col^d

people--it is a dangerous move--but be it now or hence, it is a revolution which Venezuela must undergo--peaceably or by the most sanguinary means--nearly all are col^d or mixed blooded--unity to succeed, easily & peaceably, is all that is required. [3]

I have not been as well yesterday & to day as I could wish--my liver is somewhat ailing, and a shooting pain from the interior of my right breast, to the shoulder blade of my right arm.

Sir Rob^t called on us to day, a perfect old woman gossip--Mrs Jove & Mrs Hill. Mr & Mrs Dallett--what a set of dislikes, Sir R. dislikes Mrs Jove, dont speak to Mrs Hill when he meets her on the Streets, and Mr & Mrs Dallett have cut Mrs H acquaintance, yet here they all spoke--Mrs H very uneasy, they left early--no news--the Black Hawk in from Boston, dates to the 29th May--Great mob in Phil^a in consequence of Garrisons, aided by two or three men women, attempts to discuss the question of abolition--the consequence was the Burning of the fine Building near Arch Street theatre called the Pennsylvania Hall--⁵

I could not have aided in that affair, but religiously would have united to have Lynched Garrison, and exposed his female quixotes in any decent manner--⁶
The dissolution of the Gov^t seems not far distant, when

people are permitted in direct opposition to a social compact, conventional understanding, and the social relations of society, thus to attempt to break down the very principles upon [which] the Southern states entered into the Confederacy, which favoured our Gov^t-- And these people too have advocates who defend them in all their unhallowed measures against the lives, the peace & security of upwards of 7 millions of people. It is true the South should look to the measure, otherwise they may be too late--Let the misnamed Whig party get into power, and what have we to expect, abolition and all its indubitable consequences, murder, fire and sword--who are the victims, the people of the South, who are the sufferers, people of the South--then Wake up, ye supporters of Modern Whiggery in the South--you are applying the torch to your own dwelling, the knife to your throats. [4]

#

Monday 25 June 1838

I have not in the Course of my rambles today picked up any thing worthy of notice. My health is not good-- I have an occasional twitching about the region of liver indicative rather of bilious affections--I trust it will wear off--A Mr Grant with Mr Lockhart paid us a visit to night, the former is a worthy descendent in size of his Scottish origin, six feet 3 or 4 inches at

least and built in proportion--He it appears is the manager of W^m Ackers estate on the Coast above LaGuayra called Juan (de) Dios, a very large, new, and extensive establishment, producing 30 or 40 thousand Dollars a year in sugar. Mr Lockhart is or has been a manager in some of the West India Islands but having discovered a new way of setting up boilers to economize labour & fuel, is following that business--Such would be called strange society to associate with, but it is such with whom we are thrown among in this Country and such as we cannot avoid without giving offence--and as I conceive I do not suffer from it unless carried too far I make the best of it--Mr Grant is really an intelligent man and converses extraordinarily well, he seems to have had a good education.

Caracas is dull enough in all conscience for the cloystered life of any Fryer or monk or Nun--
 Weather warm--sun very hot--cloudy & clear, but no rain to day.

Tuesday 26 June 1838.

There is nothing so peculiar in this Country, as the character and habits and Customs of the people, many arise from their origin, many of their education, and as many from their religion--The first impression attempted to be made on the human mind seemed to have

been that Spain and of course Spaniards, were the most powerful most learned scientific & rich people and nation in the world, this being established as fundamental, it of course followed, that every thing and all people not of Spanish origin [5] were inferior, in all things to themselves, and the revolution thus far has not yet abated this first and early impression, it lingers and hangs around the old class and many of the younger yet as an old threadbare mantle not able to shield the body from the wind or from the eyes of those better informed-- This idea however now is departing, and an acquaintance with other people, is in a small degree removing some, if not many of the prejudices against other people and other nations--But it will require years, & new systems of Education before this nation, now of not more than 800,000 souls, can or will elevate themselves in the scale of nations--French people, habits & manners are easily assumed and are more congenial to these people than English--Their domestic life, economy, general laxity of morals come up nearer to the standard of the people of this Country than any other people.

Not being able to judge of character refinement, and those true divisions which separate and divide and keep distinct all grades of men & society in an English Country; they in social intercourse is [are]

made up with the native mixture of all species of
adventurers, who palm themselves upon the public, and
from the appearance of wealth soon make themselves
congenial to the associations of the general society
of the Country. The present generation must pass off,
before a radical improvement can be effected in this
matter--and I doubt much if ever, so long as unrestrained
amalgamation of Colours takes place, and there is
nothing now to prevent it, but the moral & social feel-
ings of the parties, in every other respect, they are
levelled to a perfect equality--I do not hear one word
of news--there seems some little fuss at Maracaybo
about the Execution of Co^l Farias--but I suppose ere
this (on the 8th ins^t) he has ceased to exist--

Wether warm--Caracas very dull--myself & wife
both complaining. [6]

Wednesday 27 June 1838

My wife has been complaining, and I have called in
Doc^t Lacombe, who believes it to be spasmodic affection
of the womb--nothing material I cannot thing [sic.]--
he has prescribed magnesium, castile soap, in powders,
with perhaps in my opinion a grain or two of calomel,
to be taken every two hours until the pain is removed,
and a fraction of Camphor & sweet oil & perhaps a grain
or two of opium-- So late as 9 oclock at night these

powders and the external application of the oil, proved of great service--I think however there is a great deal of charlatanizm in the Doc^t, with much experience, and generally good reasoning, but little genius, in a difficult and dangerous case, the failure of his simples would be the failure of success with him--his resources being only practice, and having drawn entirely on that without success, his resources would be exhausted, and having no genius, he would be left in utter darkness and one thing would be as good as another for him to apply, out of his practical knowledge.

I have not heard one word of news--A very heavy fall of rain from 2 till night--

Thursday 28 June 1838.

Every thing and every body seems preparing to day for San Pedro⁷ tomorrow--it is quite a feast day in Catholic Countries--& St^t Peter is supposed to keep the gates of heaven--I have not obtained any information worth repeating--Wether warm--Rec^d a letter from Baltimore by the John----Engaged in reading various reported speeches in the Congress of the UStates on the Sub Treasury Question. The report of the Committee on the⁸ duel of Cilly & Graves, and passing a Law on the reissue of notes of a defunct corporation ----

Friday 29 June 1838

I have nothing worth noting to day--several arrivals⁹
 from the States--never interesting--Blockade of Mexico¹⁰
 & Buenos Ayres¹⁰ by the French--Valpariso¹¹ by the
 English--Burning an English steam boat on our waters¹²
 on the Lakes --eventful times full of the future.
 City quiet--wether warm-- [7]

 Saturday 30 June 1838

Three mails to day from Bogota,--Pombo¹³ resigned in
 consequence of some disgust--A new American Consul
 sent to Panama in place of Fernando who is a native of
 said city--a very fine day--

st
 Sunday 1 July 1838

Re^d a visit from Wm Ackers Esq^r Danish Consul General
 Col^l Stopford and a Mr Brandt, the latter as deaf as a
 post communicates entirely by slate--Could learn no
 news--the day lowry & rainy.

Monday 2 July 1838.

Have not picked up any thing to day tho' out for an
 hour or two--visited early this morning Doc^t Paul on
 Jacob Idlers business--I begin now to dispair a little--
 intrigue is on the wing, they have nominated one
 Pichado as Gov^t Fiscal in the case a man who will make
 any thing straight, crooked, but not the reverse, his
 head is like an old tangled skein of thread--talks
 a great deal and has some pretensions to talk well,

that is in words, sound signifying nothing--

Wether rainy & hot--no news--Have understood
that Co^l Farias was shot according to sentence in
Maracaybo the 8[#] or 9 ul^t and that he died like a
coward---

Tuesday 3rd July 1838.

This day passed off as usual very very dull, time in
fact in Caracas seems to hang heavy but it really
escapes with great precipitancy, because "we take no
note of time", there is nothing in the seasons, amuse-
ments or society to mark it sufficiently to have any
thing else but a momentary runing of the hours--All too
who are foreigners are looking from year to year, to
the time designated by the mind for an escape from the
Country, to many it will never come, because the most
of these expectations are founded upon the accumulation
of money or a fortune, and often like our shadow it
retreats in the persuit and tho we see it we never will
be able to overtake it.

No news--warm & rainy--I give no dinner tomorrow
on a/c of the fourth--- [8]

[#]
Wednesday 4 July, 1838.

At the distance of 2 thousand miles from my own dear
native country, I almost conceive that I can hear the
roar of cannon, and the acclamations of a people, who

on this day rush with one common consent to the altar of their country, in acknowledgement of the first dawn of civil and religious liberty by the declaration made by the wisest and most virtuous body of men of the same number that ever assembled for this or any other purpose, on the 4[#] July 1776. Its effects shook nations to their Centres, and the old world awoke as if from a deep sleep, at the long and reverberating echoes of Liberty, Liberty, which came on every breeze from the West, and man poor miserable prostrated man, stood redeemed and disenthralled before their oppressors, the Legitimate and the privileged, demanding their rights, which have not been listened to in vain--Gov^{ts} have ameliorated their condition, acknowledged their rights, and at this time they stand upon more elevated ground, and but for hireling soldiers, bayonets & muskets their liberty would be complete--It will come it must come, unless some unfortuitous event aided by power shall prostrate the liberties of my Country, and blot out for ever the hopes of the world--

Invited H. C. Dallett & family to dine with us to day, accepted, and at 1/2 past three sent their apology--so much for Tallow Chandlers and a few thousand Dollars--they will come when I ask them again--Mrs Jove and Mrs Salazar fortuna[tely] came in and partook

of Mr D^s dinner--My papers state Mexico & Buenos Ayres is blockaded by the French--City of Valparaiso by the English--The Americans or refugee Canadians have burnt the British Steamboat Rob^t Peel¹⁴ at Welland Island on the American shore--Tit for tat, very old schoolboy play--it may produce war--This in some measure pays for the Caroline--one step to another I fear we shall be driven into War with England-- [9]

Thursday 5 July 1838.

Went by invitation to day at 12 oclock to the casa del Gobierno by invitation to unite in celebrating the 5 July as the day upon which Venezuela declared herself free, Soverign and independent, and to my astonishment when I arrived there a few moments before 12, they had all departed for the home of the Vice President, leaving the Gov^t house in the hands of a small company of young military aspirantes, boys from 12 to 20 years of age--I followed on alone, and to my astonishment when reaching the Vice Presidents there only found his Sec.y. of State & Treasury and Sec.y. of Interior but no Sec.y. of War, one of the Supreme Court Judges, one or two of the Council of Gov^t, Commandant of arms Gen^l Judas Tadeo Penango, and some half dozen military--such is the society to which Soublette has come to, a few hangers on dependents & flatterers--his fall is certain, and there will be none so poor as to do him honor, in

2 years to come--verily, verily, he has his own reward--
 Gen^l Soubllette, has neither talents nor moral virtues,
 there is not a more debased man in his moral appetites
 in Caracas--Witness as all the town does [h]is open
 and notorious laison with the wife of P. Vamonde--at 7
 in the morning at 12 in the day and 6 in the evening--
 so say the neighbours, they all see it--as he enters
 poor Vamonde departs his house, and thus he consents
 to an intrigue as vile as it is mean and disgraceful,
 and a public shame to the city--a little secrecy at
 least in such things--the world should not have an eye
 open and notorious to such things.

The feelings of Independence which you should
 suppose inspired every Venezuelan bosom, is smothered--
 It never had its origin in virtue, character or patriotism.

 Friday 6 July 1838

No news, packet in on thursday last--brings nothing
 only the arrival in England of the Great Western &
 15
 Sirius Steam Ships from New York in 14 days passage,
 a new aera, a new dawn upon the commercial world--It
 promises fair, I trust it may succeed, a trip to England
 will be nothing but an excursion beyond the mountains
 of our own Country--Wether warm and rainy--Caracas as
 dull as a buried city a Pompeii upon earth-- [10]

 Saturday 7 July 1838

No mail to day from the South--Do not hear a word brought by the Packet, a talk of a change of ministry, retireing Lord Melbourne and putting in Sir Rob^t Peel and the most in addition of the Earl Grey friends, now conservative--the Whigs are rather loosing ground--The radicals will make a great fuss, and the Tories try all they can by wealth and its thousand channels of influence--

Caracas seems upon the eve of something; but as yet these good people and their leaders, think nothing can be done, unless in secret--how far behind the rest of the world--Politics & diplomacy, was once great secrets, until exploded by the results of such things in the UStates and in her foreign intercourse--they are both now but plain roads and open to all; and in the persuit of which ignorance can no longer be shrouded under the shield of secrecy, silence & duplicity--

Sunday 8 July 1838.

A almost continual rainy day--at half past three paid a visit to Sir Rob^t Ker Porter--he is a perfect old grany, as great a humbug as was ever palmed upon a sovereign people. He has rec^d & stuck up over his sofa an engraving of Queen Victoria, and he would induce every body to believe he worshiped her--he may himself and now a days no body will follow his example--Called on his Danish Magestys Consul General, Wm Ackers Esq^{re},

a short thick red faced grey eyed Englishman--he was not in--on a visit I presume to Lady Laura the watch, ward, tell tale, scandel talker and backbiter of Caracas--I do not think I have ever seen Caracas more dull, really & positively so, than at this moment--The wether uncertain and rainy--grateful to planters, and when hard not objectionabel to Caracas, because from the inclined position of many streets it sweeps them clean, and destroys many of the runing nosegays from many houses-- [11]

Monday 9 July 1838.
#

Up to this day, say the 16- I have been engaged in transcribing, copying, & translating various documents relative to the claims of Mes^s Hollins & McBlair and John Donnell & Sons of Baltimore to transmit on to Washington--¹⁶ They were mailed for LaGuayra on Saturday to go by the Wickford or Venezuela both vessels destined to touch at Puerto Cabello.

During the last week I have not been able to discover hear, or see any thing worth a corner in this book--The Military station in Caracas called the Park or el Parke, I observed on Saturday evening last to be without troops and closed--and thus far I have not been able to discover the reason, or where or for what purpose the troops consisting of some 150 men have been

removed or ordered--It is said they have gone to LaGuayra and taken with them the greater part of the amunition-- As I have no great confidence in the fidelity of Gen^l Soubllette to the present state of things, I cannot doubt as Acting Executive he would take any measures not directly open but covert to permit or give chance to a party to again make an assault but the present Gov^t-- It would only be necessary for Gen^l Paez to wink at any movement to insure the execution of his designs, but without such a demonstration from such a quarter Soubllette will play the game of deceit, neither one thing nor another, all things to all persons--For of himself he is nothing, on his own bottom he has no foundation, he knows it, and to which in no event can be trust--he must be pinned to the tail of some other; a principle he never can be in any decided political movement; and in social life, he is the same--He believes all the world like himself, no movement without interest, no patriotism or amor patria unless it results to his own immediate advantage; Consequently nothing can be said to him which may be of interest to the Gov^t or to Venezuela as a nation, proposed or suggested [12] but what the first idea that strikes him, what is this for, what interest has this man in these suggestions-- he must have some ulterior views of interests, something

personal, and in this way the greater part of these people reason in their intercourse with foreigners, or suspect the movements of nations--Distinct from interest the great body of mankind in their conception can have no motive--and believing in this doctrine as fundamental in moral life, it is not strange that such an unusual state of ignorance, barbarism, and selfishness should exist throughout all South America and in fact all the former Colonies of Spain now free, the true foundation of all the revolutions of a civil nature among themselves throughout all South America--And to such evils of Gov^t, must they be subject for years to come, until they learn to reason and think and act upon sounder principles in morals and politics---

#

Monday 16 July 1838.

Today I have been much engaged until two to have presented and present myself some paper of the national debt of Colombia to the junta economico to change it into Venezuelan upon which I have suffered by my proposition a great sacrifice and loss of \$44.000 3 oct I gave for 15900-5 pCent--however my claims being in Haberes Militares Military rights, bearing no interest, I conceived it necessary to place them in such a manner as to gain an interest at a sacrifice-- I have just heard of a report and it seems to come from

good authority, that a grita or cry or revolution has taken place in Carthegenia, calling for a reunion of Colombia.

18

If it is true Gen^l Carabano[#] the expelled revolutionist of 1835, 8 July who has found an asylum in that place no doubt if not at the head is at the bottom of it--any change is better for him than the situation in which he found himself in that city, and if the report is true, no doubt the movement has its ramifications [13] throughout Venezuela & New Granada--thus are many of the Venezuelan expulseados scattered throughout the Islands, New Granada, that such a sound would in a moment unite them for any purpose, if against the tranquility of their own Country, and who in all probability with Carabano on the Spot have been consulting and taking measures upon this very movement, ultimately or directly hoping to be able to extend it to Venezuela--They have only required a fulcrum to make the attempt, and having found that in Carthegenia upon their own Continent, their utmost efforts will be to revolutionize all Colombia, under a plea of again reorganising the Gov^t have nothing to do in it, it is personal, and to gratify their private feelings and insatiate ambition--Ambition in men of former ages, was one not only of personal aggrandizement, but the

establishment of Gov^t and Laws, to produce a prosperity among the people and respect of nations--But now in this Country, there is no other ambition but self interest & personal agrandizement with which in the nation, Gov^t or public benefit has anything to do, it has only one holy purpose and that is self, self, self.

Tuesday 17

Hear it again reported that a movement leading to revolution in Carthegenia has taken place, and that
19
Sant Ander on a visit to that city has been arrested and imprisoned, first it was said he was a party perhaps principle, it may be a sham in seizing and imprisoning him, he may be at the head.

But I cant think so, he has not nerve enough unless backed by complete protection, than he is brave & cruel, because others will bear the blame. to himself, aided by his own powers, he is nothing--

Wether warm & rainy--- [14]

Wednesday 18 July 1838

Caracas has never exhibited a more dull and uninteresting spectacle in Business or society, than at this time--
With a country surrounding it, lovely, picturesque, and at this season of the year, green as a wheatfield, and to the eye shaven and almost as smooth and equal as a patern, and a climate delicious and luxurious,

its inhabitants nevertheless does not partake of one single characteristic of all these natural beauties-- They a[re] sombre, cold, calculating, envious, corrupt in self, and without one feeling but that of contempt for Foreigners--Their friends pretend to the Contrary, but their actions and intercourse deny the assertion-- They are wary and political in their social intercourse and all tending to interest, self love and personal advantage. Their word is seldom their bond, if a greater interest arises in the meantime before the completion of engagements, consequently moral relations are even more precarious than their social, and nothing binds them, but bonds & mortgages, and not these if there is a loop hole to get out--

The affair bruited about of a movement at Carthegenia against the Gov^t of New Granada it would seem from the Sec.y. of States statement to me today, is false, and not true--I think it may be, as it certainly would then afford an asylum for the expelled citizens of Venezuela to unite at the spot, to form various schemes and plans to reinstate themselves in this Country or put the Gov^t here to great and unnecessary expense and trouble to guard it from intrusion or invasion--

The cry of liberty to the slave here, would be

the first movement, and proceeding from the mouths of white men or those pretending to be white--This is the most dangerous tocsin that could be sounded in Venezuela--a movement would endanger the whole social, moral, & political fabric of the Country--Hear no news--

The wether warm--Rain at intervals--Cloudy--
& sunshine---- [15]

Thursday 19 July 1838.

It would seem from letters said to have been rec^d by Gen^l Montilla²⁰ from Carthegenia of a late date that the report of a movement there against the Gov^t, is not true. I hope it may not be so, it would give the faction in Venezuela a great opportunity to commence again some movement against the present quiet state of things.

Every thing seems marching on well, tho the atrasados²¹ are grumbling and complaining about the 10 April 1834 Law,²² and the high rate of interest--the first binds them under the usual Laws of all nations to fulfil their obligations or have their property sold at vendue to pay the same, and to the payment of any interest as agreed upon by the contracting parties under like penalty--In fact making contracts and bargains perfectly open & free--This has made a greater inroad upon old and long established habits & customs of these people than any one thing which has happened or taken place

for centuries--- Previously as it still exists all property has a fixed value placed upon it by express Law or under appraisement, and could not be sold for less for debts than $2/3$ of this value, which in almost every case is exorbitant--the consequence was, he that could get in debt could under bad faith laugh in the face of those they rong, and not one of them but would like to force a sale at $2/3$ for cash that the buyer, if the person to whom the debt was due, should pay the ballance over in money--

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The Law of the 10 April 1834, has changed all this system and is producing a much more healthy state of things, and placing every thing upon its true value. No news.---

#

Friday 20 July 1838.

Have invited Mr Ackers, Mr Gosling, Co^l Smith & Mr Hernais to dine with me tomorrow--I have left out Mr Palem & Sir Rob^t & Co^l Stopford as I look upon them as my most secret and vile enemies--If they can get the wind of me they must be vastly cunning---I'll watch them--no news wether warm & rainy-- ---An arival from Baltimore have not heard what news nor how late dates she brings--French vessel in from Bordeaux brings me a pair of Lamps, & liquir decanters & glasses-- [16]

#

Saturday 21 July 1838.

I have not turned to my diary for the last 4 days being occupied in copy & transcribing documents relative to the Claims of Hollins & McBlair & John Donnell & Sons of Baltimore--which have been forwarded, and they go to shew, that their agent collected the am^t from the Spanish authorities, in cash and handed over to them a deposit of the ballance in valueless Venezuelan paper money--Gen^l Paez has arri^d and for the last 5 days we have had Bull running in the Street calle S^t Juan & Square of Capuchins--it commences at 4 to five oclock, large crowds gather--It goes to prove how necessary it is in a Spanish population for public diversion--, be it in church or in the Street, idleness & laziness are their beseting sin--and no doubt Gen^l Paez adopts this method to keep the eyes employed of the multitude and dull all other senses--He will no doubt be elected President, and we may reasonably anticipate peace during his four years--on this I build my hopes that the Country will thereafter settle down to peace and quietness--I learn verbally that the French and Mexican affair has been settled--The demands of [on?] Mexico if they have been complied with, were the most arbitrary and unjust that any nation ever made against another, and if they have been submitted to by Mexico, I consider her a worthless nation and her Gov^t more so--

However all these once colonies of Spain possess much bravado, much exterior demonstrations, but when called in to act they are in want of principle and bravery in their social & moral condition, personally they are not deficient in bravery, but as a nation, they are in the lowest scale of an independent power--climate and a general amalgamation has produced a weakness in Gov^t and severed all distinctions that by morality, honor & bravery individually support and maintain proper relations in society--

They will always be what they are, with if any very gradual & slow improvements, in all the conditions of Gov^t and social life----

Wether very warm--but the air & climate delicious--wind prevailing from the East-- [17]

Wednesday 25 July 1838.

This is the patron S^t Day of the City of Caracas, S^t James, S^t Iago de Leon de Caracas. ²³ the good name given it by its founders, to almost every City or Town throughout Spanish a S^t is attached--exhibiting the great religious bigotry of the period of their settlement--and every city and village have their regular protinal [patronal] Saint---

Caracas exhibited to day greater dullness, and fewer people in the Streets than I have ever seen or

this occasion or any other of a S^t day--The day wound up with a Bull running I cannot call it in the dignified terms of Spanish Chivalry Bull baiting, in the plaza de Capuchinos Calle S^t Juan--a large crowd assembled and all seemed to be amused at the most perfect nonsense & foolery ever witnessed, not to say a word of the cruelty & savagism of such sports--Many of Caracas fairest dames were present--a good school for refinement, sensability & moral habits--It is no wonder that character & morality is so low in a country where all habits & customs are so degenerated into vulgarity, barbarity & sensuality---

Gen^l Paez I do not believe was present--some of his followers were--Did not see him--

Wether warm but very pleasant--

Thursday 26th July 1838.

This is S^tAna day, ²⁴ and a feast day, as there are many Ana^s in Caracas, as well as yesterday the first day of S^tJanes--The first movement is Church in the morning--Idleness the ballance of the day----

Visited Gen^lPaez to day, did not find him in at the moment, but he returned in a short time passed through his Garden, he seems much taken up with some of his fruit trees--a Small pear tree has three pears on it and an apple tree several apples, but they do not

look thriving--

In my opinion the earth is too old that it has been too long in cultivation, and like the earth of all vallys surrounded with mountains is when there is rain too wet, and when no rain, too dry--a happy medium it is difficult to preserve in this country where the rains are periodical--Gen^l looks well but seems [18] a little broken since his last visit only a month or two since to Caracas--His cares as a good man are certainly heavy--for he must be sensible he is the only strong, the only support which Gov^t and Law have to preserve the Constitution and peace and quietness of Venezuela--all believe it, those who do not and who wish a change are compelled openly to admit it--The ambition of Gen^l Paez has cooled down to sober thought and reflection, which has given him from a strong discriminating mind a clear view of things, all of which is aided by his now accumulated and large family which unfortunately for the moral state of things in the Country are natural or illegitimate, 'tho' he lives with his woman with all the apparent care prudence & circumspection of a married man--his first wife is still living in the plains, by whom he has one son Manuel now a man of at least 28 years old, who spent sometime in the States, and who is quite a clever man--but

appears to possess none of the breeding or distinguished characteristics of his father, tho much of his features--his colour too is much darker than his fathers--The election for electors commences on 1st of next month and continues for 3 days--and is held in every Paroquia, distinct from each other throughout the city--the votes are given 'vive voce' the vote registered and signed by each voter, as his act--There is no deception in this matter here--however its results proves it only nominal, as it is all done before the votes are given, and therefore it only becomes a registry of the act--

Bull baiting still in the Plaza de Capuchinos--
Wether warm and unsettled, tho the air is pleasant.

Friday 27 July 1838.

Passed the greater part of the day within doors, and arranging papers belong to Mr J. Egans estate--I am very anxious & solicitous to get clear of this business, and I trust not again to be encumbered with another mans estate--

No news--wether warm--Caracas dull. Walked out at 1/2 past 2 I did not meet a respectable person in the Street-- [19]

Saturday 28 July 1838

Induced my wife to rise at 1/2 past 6 and at 7 took a walk through the market and from there through the

Commerical part of the city--There are more people stirring at this time of the day than at any other--some forced out for fresh air and health others for pleasure and the larger part for the market. Morning misty & foggy--fine rain--

Re^d letters today from James Semple Ez^{re}25

UStates Charge d'affaires at Bogota--it is short & pithy, indicative perhaps of the man as it may be of his views in cleaning the Legation at that city which I have no doubt is much encumbered with private affairs that in fact has nothing to do with the office--I am determined to leave nothing of the kind for my predecessor, if it is possible--Americans abroad are too often as well as many of our citizens at home are in the habit of bothering much the UStates at foreign Courts with their personal affairs, and if no attention is paid to them, straight forward, they commence to abuse without a shadow of foundation.

Mr Semple says not a word about politics, he will then get nothing from me but business, if I should have any to forward him officially--

Wether looks lowry & commenced raining at 5 oclock & continued till 1/2 past 6--called on Mrs Salazar & Mrs Josefe Gordon de Jove---

Re^d a letter from Mr Mandheardt at Truxillo, a

little too flattering--he writes well tho we cannot agree in Politics as to the source of the evils that exists in the UStates in the monetary system.

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XII

- 1 Newspaper clipping pasted on the first page of the second volume of the diary.
- 2 The Catholic Church celebrates the birthday of John the Baptist on June 28, and his beheading on August 29. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, XXVIII, 2957-2960; Ethel Berman, Almanach calcule pour la Nouvelle-Orleans Annee 1945 (New Orleans, 1945), 1. Variations in the celebration of this fiesta occur in different countries. In Mexico "the villagers take their saints in procession to the nearest pool, disrobe them if they are robed, and float them at the end of a cord. Then they are taken out, cleaned, dried, and returned to their niche or altar. I have seen this in the village of Ziricuaritiro in Michoacán in 1923." Ernest Gruening, Mexico and Its Heritage (New York, 1942), 242.
- 3 Juan Bautista Calcaño was born in La Guayra in 1799 and died in Caracas in 1870. He was one of Bolívar's most loyal friends and distinguished himself in politics, journalism, and sons. He was the father of Eduardo Bautista who was a politician, writer, and founder of El Diario and El Monitor;

Juan Bautista, poet; José Antonio, poet; Luis Camilo, poet; Julio, poet; Mariano Arístides, poet; and Simón, poet. These seven sons made important literary contributions in nineteenth century Venezuela. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, X, 572. For the literary contributions of this "family of nightingales" see Coester, Literary History of Spanish America, 311-312, 316, 324.

- 4 Francisco María Faria (1791-1838), veteran of the wars of independence, became the leader of the 1835 revolution in Maracaibo. He was one of those pardoned by the government but exiled. Returning to the country in 1838, he was caught and executed on June 8 of that year. Ibid., XXIII, 258. González Guinán states that the execution was at four o'clock in the afternoon of June 7. Historia de Venezuela, III, 63.
- 5 Garrison's active participation in the abolition movement began when he drafted the constitution for the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1831. The declaration of principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, organized in Philadelphia in 1833, were largely phrased by him. He was an efficient propagandist but frequently antagonized even his

supporters. Because of his desire to link abolition with other reform movements, he lost some of his influence with sincere anti-slavery people. The appearance of Sarah and Angelina Grimke as speakers at their meetings was distasteful to the more conservative Abolitionists, who did not favor woman's rights. Dictionary American Biography, VII, 169-170. For detailed account of the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall see Niles Weekly Register, May 26, 1838, 195.

- 6 Sarah Moore Grimke (1792-1873) and Angelina Emily Grimke (1805-1879) were born in Charleston, South Carolina, of wealthy aristocratic parents. Sarah visited Philadelphia where association with Quakers made her discontented with her home environment. She and her sister Angelina became Quakers. However, both chafed under the discipline of the orthodox Philadelphia Friends, and resented what seemed an equivocal attitude on slavery and abolition. In 1835 Angelina wrote to Garrison, encouraging him in his work. This letter was published in the Liberator, September 19, 1835. In 1836 she wrote Appeal to the Christian Women of the South in which she urged Southern women to speak and act against

slavery. She accepted invitations from the American Anti-Slavery Society to address small groups of women in private parlors. Sarah likewise wrote and lectured. Gradually the sisters gained a reputation for earnestness and eloquence and spoke to large audiences. Then prejudice and opposition to women speaking in public developed. The Grimkees felt compelled to defend women's rights as well as abolition. Many of the opponents of slavery were won over to the cause of woman's rights, and the introduction of the question into the anti-slavery agitation by these two sisters was an important factor in the development of both causes. Ibid., VII, 634-635.

- 7 According to two early Church Fathers, Eusebius and Jerome, the date of Peter's death was June 29 in the fourteenth year of Nero. Nearly all the writers who affirm the martyrdom of Peter in Rome, express clearly the manner of his death--he was crucified. Origen (c. 185-254) adds that he was crucified upside down at his own request because he did not consider himself worthy to die as had his Master. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, XLII, 1294; Berman, Almanach, 1.

- 8 Jonathan Cilley, member of the House of Representatives from Maine, was killed in a duel by William J. Graves, member of the same from Kentucky. Niles' Weekly Register, LIV (March 3, 1838), 1.
- 9 Williamson here refers to the "Pastry War" of 1838, so called because, among other claims, France presented one for destruction by Mexicans of a bakery owned by a Frenchman. The French minister presented claims for payment that dated back to 1828, his total demand being six hundred thousand pesos. The Mexican government pronounced these claims to be entirely without foundation so a squadron under Prince de Joinville and Admiral Baudin was sent to Vera Cruz at the close of 1837 to enforce the demands. For nearly a year the French fleet blockaded Vera Cruz. At length, on November 27, 1838 the fort of San Juan de Ulloa was bombarded and de Joinville landed some troops near Vera Cruz. The French were embarking on December 5, 1838, when the encounter took place which caused Santa Anna to lose a leg. The Convention, or Treaty of Peace, was drawn up through the intervention of the British Minister Pakenham, and it was signed on March 19, 1839. The French lifted the blockade and received the full amount of their claims, six

hundred thousand pesos. Antonio de La Pena y Reyes (ed.), Archivo Historico Diplomatico Mexicano (Mexico, 1923--), XXIII, ix-xl; Ulick Ralph Burke, A Life of Benito Juarez (London, 1894), 31-32; Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, Santa Anna (Norman, 1936), 155-161.

- 10 In 1838 Admiral Leblanc, commander of the French squadron near La Plata, asked Rosas (dictator of Argentina) for an explanation of the forced military service of French subjects. Rosas' act was based on a law of 1821 the purpose of which was to arm foreigners as well as citizens for the defense of the city or the frontier against Indian invasions. Felipe Arana, minister of foreign affairs, stated that only six Frenchmen had served in the Argentine army (five were volunteers and the sixth was a robber); and that the French claim was not justified because all foreigners were treated the same; i.e., there was no discrimination against the French. With this rejection of the French claims, Leblanc announced the blockade of Buenos Aires on March 28, 1838. This affair was settled by treaty October 29, 1840 by which Rosas' government agreed to pay indemnities for losses or injuries that

French subjects had suffered, upon condition that the French minister should immediately raise the blockade. Ricardo Levene (William Spence Robertson, ed. and tr.), A History of Argentina (Chapel Hill, 1937), 424-425.

- 11 Possibly Williamson's reference should be to Callao rather than Valparaiso. Chile had declared war on Peru in November 1836, and General Manuel Bulnes had landed Chilean troops north of Callao and marched upon Lima. He took Lima but was unable to enter Callao where his position was made more difficult because England, France and the United States had ships in the harbor. Representatives of these countries thwarted the general in various ways and refused to recognize the effective blockade of Callao. Luis Galdames (Isaac Joslin Cox, tr. and ed.), A History of Chile (Chapel Hill, 1941), 271. "Information has reached the department of state, from the charge d'affaires at Santiago de Chile, of the Chilean government having decreed the blockade of the ports of Callao, Chorillas, and Ancon, from the 18th of April last. The commencement of the blockade was subsequently put off to the 25th, and on the 19th, five Chilean vessels of war sailed from Valparaiso, for the purpose of carrying the

decree into effect. Miles' Weekly Register, LIV (August 4, 1838), 355.

- 12 Defeated leaders of a Canadian insurrection in 1837 took refuge in New York. One of these, Mackenzie, aided by Americans, seized an island in the Niagara River belonging to Canada. The Canadian militia on December 29, 1837 seized the Caroline, a steamer being used by the insurgents. The boat was set on fire and sent over the Falls. Samuel Flag Bemis (ed.), The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy, 10 vols., (New York, 1927-1929), IV, 332-336. There was some delay in settling the Caroline case but finally, in 1842, both governments agreed to forget the incident. Ibid., V, 29-31.
- 13 Lino de Pombo (1797-1862), Colombian writer and politician, took part in the wars for independence from 1812 until the end. He was Consul to England from 1820 to 1825, and served as Secretary of Interior and of Exterior Relations from 1832 to 1837. By order of the congress of 1844 he made the Recopilación Granadina. He also wrote Lecciones de aritmética y álgebra and Lecciones de geometría analítica. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, XLVI, 194.

- 14 The situation along the Canadian border gradually improved during 1838, but a number of incidents did occur, one of which concerned the Canadian vessel Sir Robert Peel. "Operating on the principle of 'a steamboat for a steamboat,' a party of disguised Americans boarded, looted, and burned the Canadian vessel, in May, 1838, yelling to the half-dressed passengers set ashore, 'Remember the Caroline'." Bailey, Diplomatic History of the American People, 207.
- 15 Belief in the efficiency of steamships for Atlantic service was confirmed in 1838 when several British steamships, the Sirius, Great Western, Liverpool, and British Queen, made the passage from England to New York and back. The passages made by these ships were considerably faster than those of the sailing packets, the Great Western making the eastward run in twelve days, ten hours, and the westward crossing in thirteen days, three hours. Joseph Leeming, Brave Ships of England and America (New York, 1941), 210; Niles' Weekly Register, LIV (April 28, 1838), 129, 144; (May 2, 1838), 162.
- 16 National Archives, File Microcopy No. 79, Roll 2. Williamson's Letter No. 46 to the State Department,

dated July 13, 1838.

- 17 The word haber in a military sense, refers to food, daily pay of soldiers, loans or credit for armament and supplies--anything that has to do with the needs of an army. Espasa Calbe, Enciclopedia, XXVII, 443. Those who supplied these needs were given claims against the government, or Haberes Militares. Evidently these could be transferred from one person to another for Williamson came into possession of some. During 1838 he was very much concerned about his haberes and early in the year transferred them to Bogotá where the Commission was meeting to determine the debt settlement. On January 20, 1838 he wrote to Guillermo Smith, Secretary of State of Venezuela: "According to the information derived from you a few days since, I now beg leave to hand you fourteen Originals, accompan^d with two lists of the same, of Military Haberes belonging to the late James Egan deces^d, amounting to Twenty nine thousand three Hundred & thirty dollars 5 1/2 reales, and accompanying likewise three Originals with two lists belonging to myself, of Military Haberes, amounting to twelve thousand one Hundred & Eighty three Dollars (12183) requesting that they may be forwarded at

the earliest convenience of this Govt. to be laid before the commission now in session at Bogota for adjustment, and as early as possible thereafter returned through the same channel."

Generally, in writing to Venezuelan state officials, concerning claims Williamson was dictatorial and pedantic. In this instance he was very conciliatory, even humble; for not having received any word from Smith, he wrote on February 26: "The acknowledgment of their reception having not yet been recd., the undersigned is fearful it may not have reached the hands of the Hon^{le} Sec.Y; he begs therefore to ask if the same has been recd. and if the manner and form in which they are presented be correct." File Microcopy, No. 79, Roll 2.

18 Cf. supra., 205.

19 Francisco de Paula Santander (1792-1842) was born in Cúcuta and was only eighteen when the wars for independence began. After the Royalists regained control in New Granada, he escaped and joined Bolívar at Angostura (1817). Bolívar sent him to Casanare early in January, 1819, to organize the preliminaries for the daring invasion of New

Granada. Santander did this work well, and on August 6 and 7, 1819, covered himself with glory at the battle of Boyacá. When Great Colombia was organized, Santander was elected Vice President, but served as President while Bolívar was absent on his Peruvian campaign. Santander was implicated in the plot to assassinate Bolívar (September 25, 1828) and was condemned to death but Bolívar commuted his sentence to exile, so Santander went to Europe for three years. He was President of New Granada from 1832 to 1837 and during that period dealt with the problems of debt division and boundaries. Also, he reformed the system of public instruction, founded numerous schools and divided the country into three university districts. Before and after his death many documents were published that were written by Santander. The most important are: Cartas politicas (Bogotá, n.d.), Historia de sus desavenencias con el Libertador (Bogotá, n.d.), El vicepresidente de Colombia da cuenta a la negociacion y manejo del emprestido de 1824 (Bogotá, 1828), and Archivo Santander, 23 vols., (Bogotá, 1913-1927). Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, LIV, 216-218; Henao y Arrubla, History of Colombia, 205 et seq.; González Guinán, Historia Contemporanea

de Venezuela, I, passim.

20 Cf. supra., 204.

21 atrasados--poor, backward.

22 Article I of the Law of April 10, 1834 states that the property of a debtor may be sold at auction for the amount of his debts. Williamson sent a copy of this law concerning liberty of contracts to the State Department. National Archives, File Microcopy No. 84, Roll 3. See also González Guinán, Historia de Venezuela, III, 78.

23 Santiago (Saint James) was the son of Zebedee and Salome and the older brother of John the Evangelist. In the vesper hymn of the Visigothic liturgy for the fiesta of Santiago, he is proclaimed as the evangelist of Spain. The tradition that he visited Spain dates back as far as the seventh century. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, LIV, 331; Berman, Almanach, 2.

24 There is nothing in the Bible about St. Ana; but, according to the Holy Fathers and tradition, she was the mother of the Virgin Mary. The Greek Church celebrates three fiestas each year for her while

the Latin Church celebrates only one, July 26.

Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, V, 296-298.

- 25 James Semple of Illinois, was nominated charge at Bogotá on October 12, 1837; nomination confirmed, October 14, 1837. Senate Executive Proceedings, V, 48, 49.

[CHAPTER XIII]

[JULY 28, 1838 To AUGUST 24, 1838]

Sunday 29[#] July 1838.

I was awakened last night by the hardest fall of rain I ever heard in Venezuela and it continued incessant until near 8 oclock, brok off a little and has commenced literally pouring, deluging the city in water--the streets runing like canals, and every thing looking drooping & wet--the clouds seemed gathering from all quarters, but most from the east, hover over the city in rolling wattery masses and burst with such a fall of rain as I have seldom or ever witnessed--It is now pouring at 15 minutes before 9 oclock, and seems as tho' [20] it might continue the day out--it is darker than I have ever witnessed for 10 years in Caracas, candles in some of my rooms would be of service--a dense, thick, spongy, atomosphere with clouds overhanging as watery as the most devoted water god could ask, or a parched up planter could desire--A continuation of this wether for a week, would be almost as terrible as an earthquake, as many of the houses & walls from the nature and material of their construction would fall to the ground--the river Guayra watering the entire South side of the city, must if this rain has

extended to the surrounding mountains & head fountains do from its impetuous and over swollen state such and serious injury to some houses, many growers of molojo, and some large coffee & sugar estates in the Vegas or Vally--It cleared partially up about 3 oclock and remained so, and 'tho' somewhat threatning, no more rain fell during the night--

Mrs Jove & Son with a Mr Lockheart dined with us to day--her son completely over eat himself, and with 2 glasses of champaign & one of Porter he became very high at table and frightened his mother almost into fits--he eat a most enormous quantity of cheese entirely too rich for him--he is not over 14 years old, I shall keep a look out upon this chaps indulgences again at my house--for such things I do not like.

We all took a cut at Mrs Stopford, who it appears, is the common mark for every body creole & foreigner, as she makes a mark of every body--nothing escapes her steam power tongue--always in motion--and always envious--always depreciating every thing & every body, but herself who she things is a perfect divinity, and her daughter like an "icicle on Dians Temple"--nous veron--

Carcas is a miserable place--existence is mere vegetation, and the mind & body soon partakes of the

common torpidity and dullness. that surrounds them--
To be gay & lively here is to get the remarks of every
body--but to dress for a shew, the greatest evidence
of talents & respectability--every thing here in the
social & moral scale of life are at the two extremes
of existence-- [21]

Monday 30 July 1838.

The character every day of our foreign population in
Caracas, develops itself every day more and more--
its composition is incongruous so far as morality is
concerned and disgraceful to all the social virtues
that should commence in society--We are told that such
and such a person are bastards, that such and such can
live in no country but this, when in truth, to the
disgrace of the natives, no attention is paid strictly
to know who and what a foreigner is, a foreigner is a
foreigner, all their eyes are alike, and of course
alike to common civility and attention--It is however
true that Smith¹ the present Secretary of foreign
relations is from best accounts the natural son of some
British officer bearing his name, or he taking that of
his mother, who is now an old woman in London living
upon her means--he however I think in a visit in 1835
to London did not find much if any attention either
from mother or father, and he returned greatly disappointed,

he does not talk a great deal, and on the subject of his visit he is perfectly dumb--W^m Ackers the richest foreign merchant in Caracas, is said to be a bastard and known notoriously to be the father of some dozen mulatos, half white & white children--some he has arround him--others who have had to run away from their own country for crimes have not only by their ilgoten means found an asylum here, but positive protection--not only by Law but even in what may be termed good or the best society here--and it is such men as some persons are disposed to thrust upon their visitors or are asked to meet them in a social circle--I am determined to withdraw myself to myself, must in the street speak of course all common civility out of doors and should they call on me, treat them for the time being politely, but never to ask them into my house on any social occasions.

The society is even worse here than in the most common little gossiping village of the U States with its 200 population every body enquires into and knows your business, better than you know yourself-- --This has been a very pleasent day--as usual warm but not disagreeable--Wind from the East--Have heard no news--Caracas looks extremely dull--business folks rather down in the mouth---- [22]

Tuesday 31st July 1838.

To day I have received \$15.000 Dollars in Venezuelian 5 pCt consolodated debt actually paying the interest for \$41.500 haberas Militaris called "deuda consolodable" de Colombia and think I have made a good bargain. because I believe by the Election of Gen^l Paez to the Presidency the present state of things will at least last his four years and in that time I should have rec^d at least the cost of my Haberes--

I have heard no news--Caracas is very dull, and lifeless except in scandal of a private and personal nature--I regret I have to notice it, as in any other country we pass these things as the idle wind, but here it is made of great importance, and where besides there is such a riffraff of Character, in the Company of which you are thrown in spite of your teeth, if you keep any at all, and of an extreme low class, that one should exclude himself entirely to avoid it, or enter it with all these draw backs-- To day very warm & hot, with a clear summer sky--but in the shade or within doors as is always the case in Caracas, it is pleasant. and always agreeable. There is not so agreeable a summer climate in the world--and to escape from the frost and snow of the North for the winter offers a most delicious and agreeable change.

The general election for Electors to elect a President commences tomorrow--it excites a little movement--Gen^l Paez has all his feelers out--There is some trick & scheming going on by the Bolivaran faction and the faction of 1835--they certainly are at work--and I think dirty work--These two partys generally are now composed of odds and ends, that any change would be the better for them, they might in political convulsions grasp at something, but with peace and quietness their vocation is gone--I believe Gen^l Paez is determined to keep things quiet--The Vice President & now acting President Soublette, is a mere wether cock, satisfied if in office and employment, and sucking the vials, he is a good calf--tho' not a fat one, for he has been at the tit all his life, and he wished to remain there--He is cunning and artful, proud & ostentatious, but no real tallents, a sycophant & toad eater--he admires himself & his dress as much as any dandy--- [23]

Wednesday August 1st 1838.

Rec^d a visit from the Conde de Tovar, ² son of the father who bore that title under the Spanish crown, and now in common courtesy conceded to the Son--A Gentleman Educated in France, Speaks English French & Spanish, his visit was to make inquiry about our Banking system

in the UStates,--his ideas for the present State of Venezuela in such matters, very good and patriotic--his views first that a Bank here should be only for the present one of deposit & Loans in cash, and not to issue paper--I suggested to him that a Bank here could and ought to get the people to be accustomed to paper money, to issue on a capital of 500,000^t 100.000 in Bills, reserving however the \$100000 in specie to answer its calls calculating only the proffit on that am^t as the silver or gold had been paid out and not paper--instead of making an interest only upon credit,--because here for the present it is utterly impossible to find resources always at command to meet exigencies like in many other countrys--confidence established will bring capital and money, and to establish it absolutely until a change of things in the Country, Banking should be done on a positive security and not imaginary, or a basis that no reaction could effect it-- When everything is thus established--other views might take place, and changes always to suit the times, events or circumstances--

Conversation general, but touching all these points of capital, trade and industry, in connection with Banks--

I find his views very much in favour of the French system, specie entirely for all common transactions, and Bills for Commercial purposes or remittances--

No news--very warm--suffering from an excessive cold in the head, first in my throat, then rising to my head, and almost stoppage of circulation through the mucus channels of the nose--

nd
Thursday 2nd .August 1838.

I have scarcely a word to note to day--did not leave my house--occupied in writing and examining the life of the Liberator "Vida Publica de Libertador"--it is deficient in many things--however it is utterly impossible to have obtained all private correspondence--but many public is wanting. The whole is intended to transmit the fame & virtues of the deces^d his errors are forgotten--Caracas has not [24] done her duty to the memory of Bolivar, ³ and the country at large are truly ungrateful, not one deliberate act of theirs commemorative of Bolivar have they ever carried out, 'tho' on paper they have passed many--He like all mortals had his virtues & his vices, his tallents and his errors--many of the head & perhaps too many of the heart--that since 1819 at Angostura he deceived his own Countrymen and the world at large of his ulterior views of Gov^t the history of that day & his subsequent life will positively testify--He was enamoured with the British Constitution and Laws, and charmed with the idea of Kings Lords and commons--But in 1827 he commenced too late--lead into

one error by the designs of Gen¹ Paez and deceived in the other by his own people, aided by one Cockburn the British Minister who met him in 1827 in Caracas--He had from 1819 to 1829 lost sight of the People of Venezuela, having resided the most of that period to the South, Bogota Quito & Lima--the changes which liberty and free intercourse with the world presented on his return in 1827 to calm the Cosiata⁴ of Gen¹ Paez, a different people in their views of political & social life--at least so much changed, that they had begun to think for themselves--and his seclusion while here without a frank & free intercourse and exchange of views with his friends, he emphatically knew nothing of the Carracanian--Power might bind them, and there are no people more easily alarmed than they are, but they are volcanic in the extreme, effervescent on all little questions, but willing & obedient creatures to power--Bolívar developed his views and opinions immediately on his return South, but it was too late--his willing slaves of officers who had foll^d his fortunes were mere soldiers without influence--no weight unless in Command with out an army large enough to look down hostility, they were useless--he commenced with his Ocana Convention & his War against Perue, and he died an outcast at S^t Martha--broken down in fame as he was in spirits--His ambition ruined him,

hurried him from the field of Glory to an obscure grave--
[25]

rd
Friday 3 .. 1838.

I have been engaged for two days looking over in a light manner the Vida publica de Libertador de Colombia-- it is interesting for its compilation but much is left out, and the compiler seems to have consulted in the collection only such public documents as he could easily lay his hands upon without putting himself to the trouble to obtain others semi public & private that would have very much indeed to elucidate many points & fill up vacancies in details that would have been of vast importance to the future compilist or historian--

The elections are going on in Caracas but there is no stir--no life---no interest seems to be felt or manifested--a few designing men control in some measure the elections--it is all however cut and dried before hand or done during the long ganvass of 8 days--

No news & no arrivals--we are much behind for news from the States--the adjournment of Congress what has been finally done upon the SubTreasury Bill and how partys seem to Stand---

This summers elections are important to Mr Van Buren--I fear the democracy of the Country is fast falling beneath the aristocracy of interest Bank

influence, and corruption--it will however rise again,
as long as our institutions last the people must be
triumphant--as the Aristocracy even in obtaining the
Gov^t cannot or will not dare to touch the basis of our
Gov^t or her fine principles--

Saturday 4 August 1838.

The mail from Bogota today brings no news--Still engaged
in looking over the life of Gen^l Bolivar--find it
interesting in many points of view, and certainly
contains many incidents pointing to the compiler of the
History of the Country--The elections which are going
on in Caracas since the 1st ins^t are certainly without
interest, 'tho' strong exertions are making by a quiet
and silent but industrious party to get elected among
the electors such individuals as to have upon future
congressional elections some effect to change the
present representation and thus effect a change in
measures & policy, leading I fear to a change so radical
as to strike revolutionary at the present constitution
and & Gov^t--Finding that force has failed [26] in the
attempt in 1835, they now seem disposed to take
constitutional means to accomplish what they could not
do then by revolution; but should they succeed in
future elections so as to get a majority in Congress,
neither Constitution nor Laws in my opinion would

they respect--the means that brought them legally into power would be the very means taken to produce a revolution more fundamental more suited to their private interests & personal views than force perhaps could have produced--

The ideas of the rights of meum & teum, and the general & social and moral relations of society are but little understood in this Country yet--the strongest generally the richest have great power, and middle class events & circumstances are producing a firm and solid class of middle people that in a few years are to rule this country, much to its advantage and improvement in every respect--

Under the old Spanish Colonial policy there never existed but two classes or grades in society the rich and titled and the slave & free man the same as slave--and it will require yet another generation to sink the first to their proper level and to elevate the last to the rank they as small proprietors should hold in the scale of the nation, as they must become the bulwark of the nation here as they are in all free nations--Mr & Mrs Stopford & Mrs Salazar spent the evening with us--it is utterly impossible for me ever to respect Mrs S--She is an intriguing, lying and gabbling woman, makes ten thousand lies of her own and

palms them as that of others upon her visitors and when she visits, She is dangerous in Society and more dangerous in social and intimate intercourse--

Sunday 5 . August 1838.

This morning is very fine, wind from Petare--sun hot--, but the shade delightful--Mrs Mendoza & Mrs Casanova called on us--the old lady is I truly believe a well meaning disingenuous woman--poor and she owns it, with a large family but which she manages with great prudence and circumspection--The boys look neat and clean always, evidencing the care of the mother-- [27]

I have not ascertained that there is any news--Gen^l Paez it is said spends a few days at George Goslings on the coast about 20 miles above LaGuayra called Camburi--he takes with him the mother and children of his present family, she of course a----and the children all bastards--MrGosling has certainly but little respect for the feelings of his wife to introduce to her society the Gen^l family under these circumstances, and I should be glad to learn she has maintained her dignity of mother & wife by leaving the house to the possession of her unprincipled husband and his guests. Gosling is a West Indian, a native of St Cruz and has all his life lived a loose, vulgar and indulgent life, no refinement, but a man of some education and intelligence--

he is a calculating fellow, and I should not doubt for a moment he is endeavoring to pave the way for an attempt at least to marry his son one or both to the Gen^{ls} two bastard daughters--It is a speculation perfectly within the capacity and feelings of Mr Gosling--The Gen^{ls} woman is said to be sensible and shrewd and cunning like all animals in their native state, that she is calculating & wor[l]dly there is no doubt, as it is commonly reported she has already secured a large sum in money & investments of property, sufficient to enrich all her children--

Doe^t Lacombe spent the evening with us--it is impossible for me to drive from my head the idea of a professed Charlatan when ever I meet with him, and under the spurious garb of much precission of conduct, some little pretense to dignity, the dissolute and abandoned man in morals & principles---

Monday 6 ..August 1838.

The wether delicious, the evening the finest I have experienced for a long time--rode to El Valle, a small pueblo or village on the banks of a small river that meets the Guayra about 2 1/2 miles below the city of Caracas--Cross a cove of a mountain with a good road cut through it to the Valle del Rincon and thence on the same new road on a level to the village--the

village has a opoulation of perhaps 1000 persons--
 with two stragling streets & some tolerable houses--
 and is situated beneath the mountains to the West on a
 slope of land--after 5 in the afternoon it is always
 agreeable. No news--have come to a determination to
 discharge my [28] boy John for his insult to my wife--

Wether very warm.

 Tuesday 7..August 183[8]

I have nothing to diary to day--Have not felt very
 well for several days and this evening taken with a
 violent pain in the back of my head, at nine oclock
 went to bed and took about 2 teaspoon full of calcimed
 Magnesia, but still felt very well [unwell?], could
 not sleep, a violent congestive state of the system
 came on, cold as marble, and a profuse state of
 persperation, literally running off of me, with a dumb
 pain from the back of my head extending down the
 spine--Sent for Doc^t Lacombe, in the meantime produced
 a discharge from the stomach by the aid of my finger,
 which I keep up until I had discharged the entire
 quantity of my dinner--a stool followed, and I felt much
 relieved--the doc^t arrived and charlitan like commenced
 telling me it was spasms of the stomach merely because
 I had excited puking which he witnessed as he came in
 without looking at the discharges, and after feeling my

pulse, which was certainly full, but not indicative of fever he then stated it was dangerous these kind of pukings, all the time keeping up the idea that it had come on me spontaneously produced by disease--feeling now much relieved--he gave me a slight sedative of opium & something else which he had brought with him, and which I presume he intended no person should see--and in a few moments I from my exertions to puke & the quiet state of the system following aided by his dose, fell into a profound slumber which lasted the ballance of the night--and I awoke much calmed, and almost free from all the effects of the past night--He called about 8 and gave me a doze of mana, magnesia & senna--which passed off well--remained in bed during this day Wednesday--eat a plate of soup at dinner on Thursday & rode out--and feel pretty well, with still a heaviness about my head, rather indicative still of bilious influence--Had several visitors this night (Thursday) left us about 10 oclock.

Do not feel entirely relieved--The Rowena from New York arrived on Wednesday in a short passage, have heard no news;

Caracas seems dull enough--called on the Sec.y. to day, to present some claims acknowledged at Bogota for his part--- ---- [29]

Friday 10 August 1838.

The inquisitive Irishman Peter Duffy called on me to day--
The Paul Pry into every mans business and certainly
without a great deal of mallice--of what strange pro-
pensities & whims & materials poor weak human nature is
made of--he is found under all shapes, but the predominant
principle seems to be interest and among civilization
curiosity--it is not found in any creature in a savage
or natural state, or half civilized state to the extent
that improvement education and social life produces--
Society is certainly conventional and is produced more
from imaginary wants than real, and those wants which
are absolute always spring from nature--But this
conventional state of Society elevates the human species,
opens the intellect, subjects the mind to the control
of reason and reflection, and is therefore always look-
ing out for something new, something to improve his
comforts or his condition--

There is less genuine curiosity among these
people than any I have ever lived among, so far as they
are concerned in the society which they form they would
remain as they are forever or retrograde--as there seems
no incentive to improvement to the advancement of human
convenience or happiness--and they would really seem
to wish it should remain so--A Steamboat at LaGuayra

would not excite curiosity enough for 100 persons to pass to the mole to look at it--and not enough to send from Caracas 1 dozen persons for the same purpose--

The Great Western herself would not excite little more, such is the natural state of the great boddy of this people--Climate, & productions all tend to keep human nature in this state, indulgence destroys morals, and idleness is the extreme enjoyment of human bliss--The Packet is in & brings the a/c of the Coronation of Victoria Queen of England, Ireland, & Scotland on the 28[#] June, with much splendor pomp and parade, such are the georgous show & trapings of royalty, such the vain purposes for which man acknowledges Queens & Kings & Emperors, that they May bow with reverence to a name to a shadow, and all from a belief of an incapacity for self Gov^t---

Do not hear one word of news by the Rowena from New York, have not seen a paper--the Mornings and evenings delightful-- [30]

Saturday 11 August 1838

I have engaged a new servant from tomorrow morning, at 10 Spanish Dollars p month--a native of Maracaybo, black, and of good appearance, seems handy and willing, about 35 years of age--

Do not learn that there is any particoular news

from Bogota--The Packet has brought nothing particular, every thing in England has been absorbed (as Mr Calhoun says) in the fete of crowning the young Queen-----a short life to all crowned heads--She is now worth 25 Shillings, because she has a crown and is a soverign---

I have obtained no news from the States--'tho' it is said every thing is bettering--- ---an unpleasant day, wind from Catia and heavy and inclined to rain, and cool.

Sunday 12 August 1838

My new Servent Jose Antonio Salon made his appearance early this morning & he commences to day--

It rained hard last night and for a long time, the morning lowery but I think will break off a fine day-- -- --remained at home--not very well Mr J. M. Foster called to day--stated Mrs F. had been quite unwell, but was better, a very similar attack to mine--Mr Lievesly the Sec.Y. of the British Charge d'affaires called to day--It is said he is a Jew and that his proper name is Levy--has some marks of face like the Tribe, and more in his parsimony & disposition to make money than in any thing else--He originally came to this Country as one of the Topo Settlers, but finally got his present berth where he has remained ever since say 12 to 13 years--Mr F. Gives me no news--Congress I perceive adjourned on the 9[#] July---The Sub Treasury

Bill defeated, and certainly it looks a little squally for Mr Van Burens reelection--he is politician enough to tack in time, without a sacrifice of principle or in my opinion friends, and his opponents are composed of such odds & ends of party & principles they cant stick together to make a President-- Should they however without principle do so, their act will seal the destiny of the man they elevate, and they will thereafter leave him to paddle his own canoe, without a paddle--they must dissolve sooner or later & after this act, positively & immediately. [31]

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Monday 13 August 1838

This day has passed off very dull--went downtown, heard no news--not well--my faeces to day horrible and black--Doo^t Lacombe called told him must take calomel--he seemed not desposed to give it and if so in small doses--however he went up to 10 grains, not enough, but resolved to take it--senna & mana magnesia & salts afterwards--and fractions of Capsicum or pepper to rub my right side--I am more confir^med in my previous opinion, that he is a quack--a real old woman of a phisician, full of simples, playing on the prejudices or temperament of his patients--very bad by his permission [?] and thus the most trifling medicines recommended, much relieved & well, he then looks for

much praise, great recommendation for science and skill--
all in my eye--his knowledge is an attempt at human
nature not his trade & he thus imposes or wished to
impose upon the world--

No news--Saw a few papers to day to 20[#] July--
find nothing particular from the States--

Tuesday 14 August--1838

Took calomel last night--& a purgative of Senena, mama
& & this morning--few operations--some sensation on
my liver side--rubed in Capsicum has occasioned a great
heat & violent beyond my ideas, its effect equal to a
blister-- --it wore off by applying sweet oil, but
created an immense deal of pain-- --the day past very
well--

No news--Wether warm.--but agreeable -Tomorrow
is assention---Things move pretty well on in my house
with my new servant--if he will remain an continue to
improve I shall not believe I have lost any thing by
the change but the impudence and impertinence of
John---

Wednesday 15[#] August 1838.

To day by the Catholic callander is the day of
assoencion of the Virgin Mary to heaven, as is observed,
as an entire feast day--It has been as dull and as
silent in the streets as any catholic or good

Caracanian Christian could wish--The word silent can be used no where so properly as here when speaking of the city of Caracas --men & ladies shoes are thin ⁵ soled, mules, Jacks, & horses unshod, and a cart is seldom or never seen or heard in the streets, it is consequently on any day silent [32] enough, but on feast days after the mass of the morning is got over, there are few people seen or heard on the streets from 11 till 4---on all days it is pretty much the same--At four, they are sitting or rather peeping out from their windows, the females and the men if they can sport a horse are sure to be mounted, segar in mouth, silver spurs on the heel and if possible by any means 2 reales in his pocket--riding in a kind of half galop pace as fast as the horse can get along--this gait is peculiar to the horses of this Country or more properly to the taste of the Creole, and which the horse Jocky teaches them--Sir Rob^t called this morning. very polite--he is if possible the older he grows the greater fool--Doc^t Vargas has been nominated minister to England--he is a fool if he accepts--it is as complete a trick to show off the Vice President as ever was, to allow the natives of England to draw a comparison between him as now vice President and Vargas once President--However if they come to writing, Vargas is much his superior, but in address, great confidence and an immense deal of pride

and vanity he cannot hold a light to the Vice President
Gen¹ Carlos Soublette.

 Thursday 16[#] August 1838

Made an arrangement to day with Lesponne for Dunlaps
 note--he continues it until 15[#] December next at 1
 pCent p month and he agrees to take from [him] two
 thousand more at 1 pCent until the same time with Henry
 Dallette as endorser--Henry is not yet 25 years old and
 according to Spanish Law he is yet a child and his acts
 are not Legal or binding, he is however here engaged
 largely in business--and I cannot think in case of
 accidents I can sustain a loss--tho' should it come to
 the pinch that he might by Leponns [sic] failure be
 required to pay it, I have such an opinion of him that
 I believe he would creap out of his signature & bond
 under the protection of the Law.---His brother John once
 done a trick of that kind here, I have seen the documents,
 to prevent a claim for a cousin of his who had died
 here, been [being?] recovered of him-- ---The wether
 very warm & Caracas certainly extremely dull--- [33]

 Friday 17[#] August 1838.

Wrote a letter to day by the way of Phil^a under cover
 to Gen¹ T. Cadwalader, to Miss Bond on the subject of
 the National debt of Colombia, with likewise my opinion
 to him of the \$500000 consolodated Venezuelan 5 pCent

debt created by the Congress--I should be glad he would enter into my plans tho they were not extensively explained, and form a company to buy up the same--I would go my full length into it, if I thought it necessary after the four years of the Presidency of Gen^l Paez to sell out--Caracas very hot--no news--called on the Sec.y. of State for information about the views of this Gov^t in paying the interest of the Foreign Loan in London--his reply was that every exertion was making [being made?] and it should be accomplished if he lives and remains in the office he holds or has any influence to effect it--

No news---a second time I say this for I am just at this moment bothered by a visitor--

Saturday 18 August 1838.

I do not learn that the Southern mail to day brings any news of importance--

This morning commenced with a very heavy but slow and constant rain--cleared up at 2 and a fine evening--

Deliv^d Lesponne today 2000\$ at 1 pCent per month interest 'till 25 Decem^r ---with H Dallette security--Finished reading the Conversations of Lord Byron today by Medwin, ⁶ a very loose work and not of much credit to all concerned for tallents, virtues or

morals--Byron has been much [w]ronged no doubt in many charges made against him--that he was a loose and debauched and sensual man there can be no doubt, that he did not respect female virtue nor the female sex in General, his life clearly proves--that particular circumstances in early life influenced much his subsequent life, every incident proves--passion, & enjoyment and to which two characteristics, he made every thing bend in his intercourse with society, there is no doubt, and to the exclusion of many fine traits of character [34]--His profession of kindness & benevolence for the whole world, was more of the head than of the heart--So soon as virtue morality or talents were opposed to his sensuality, they were no longer sensations of his heart--not an Atheist but a sui generis upon the subject of religion, life, and death, and hereafter--

I cannot think he could have benefited Greece by his talents, his examples or his virtues. His money alone was the only principle that would have aided them to obtain their Liberty or found their nation--He was totally unfit to Govern or direct--his enterprises existed more on paper, in the imagination, than in any essential energy of body, to the cause of Grecian liberty--He could not have formed a Gov^t but of the most utopian kind, for emancipated Greece--his

ideas would have always run into an error in believing the present descendants, were like their ancestors only in name--he would have lost sight in Grecian History & fame, the practical results of Gov^t, and have been utterly impossible to fix these principles suited [to] the condition & society of modern Greece--His plans would have all been speculation-- ----

Sunday 19 August 1838

This day has passed off with a visit from Mr & Mrs Palem the French Consul; It is said here or rather whispered that he is not married to his wife, that she is some woman he has picked up while Consul at Massina in Italy--Others say she is a Turk and not a Sicilian, at all events she does not evince much of being well raised or well educated--she has neither manners, mind, or education--and some of her good friends say she cannot read--her own language she certainly does not speak and I am told she speaks very bad French--That she is rather an imposition of some kind I have no doubt, and there is some minstry around her every circumstance indicates-- The former Vice President Andrias Navarte called on me to day--without news--warm & disagreeable-- [35]

Monday 20 August 1838

This day has passed rather tristy--my wife in bed but not particularly unwell--Mrs Jove & son and Mrs Gaveau

breakfasted with me on Quail & palomitas, which Mr Gaveau had the goodness to send me last night--sporting in this Country is very laborious, besides the great heat of the sun--we intend a picnic in a few days but do not know who will yet be of the party--and I dont much care either, for all are alike here--character is nothing, notorious scoundrels are to be found in every mans dish, and we are compelled to jostle against them & with them to keep to keep any society at all--If I go [with] the English Charge d'affaires I then turn out such as I don't like, or dont go--yet one Vicente Bennedetti, a more notorious swindler and villian never escaped justice, is one of his most constant guests and seems his bosom friend--and all I believe to keep me at a distance--but as I know the old woman so well, I have no objections to humour him, and that he should believe that he slights me: the reverse is actually the case, for I know and every body who has spent an hour with him knows there is no information to be obtained or any thing else as an example or model to be followed.

And as for the rest, all of them, holding appointments from their Gov^{ts}, they are the merest scum of the political pot of intrigue or imposition that were ever imposed upon a nation as agents, however it

answers in the present condition of Venezuela and her state of Society and manners--

Tuesday 21st August 1838.

It is positive that Doc^t Vargas has renounced or refused to accept his nomination to London as minister--It is nothing more than I believed and so expressed it to Sir Rob^t Ker Porter, that he would not accept--Vargas is aware that Soublettes policy is different from his, more of self and more of pride and circumstance--yet it is singular to find with the general belief in the liberality and equality of Gov^t of Doc^t Vargas, that he should be upheld by every Godo or old Spaniard in the Country--It induces me to withdraw much confidence in his political honesty and [36] in sustaining the Nationality of Venezuela-- --

For it is certain that this part of the population generally throughout the Country are opposed and have always been opposed to any other Gov^t than that of Spain, and are advocates even now of a return to Colonial vassalage, under Spanish dominion--

Vargas has never been a Patriot, throughout the revolution he retired from the public eye, and thus remained a kind of non-combatent patriot that came in the last hour to receive or seize some opportunity to elevate himself in a Country and under Laws which he

never aided to support or to make: With all the charges of this kind that can be brought against him, I believe he is a good man, but he has a great quantity of retiring vanity, and thus passes himself upon the public as a great man, which he certainly is not, as a Medical man among his Countrymen he stands first, but could not any where else, where medicine is a science--

There will be great difficulty in selecting a man for the appointment to London, embracing financial knowledge as well as political, to represent Venezuela-- The Vice President is no doubt much mortified at the refusal of Vargas, as he intended it as a kind of peace offering to his party and his friends, and a balsam to his wounded feelings, a kind of Soublette Trap, to catch his enemies and tame them to his views & his policy--

He is however thwarted at the start--and it will take all his cunning to select another--

No news--Wether very warm

rd
Wednesday 22 August 1838.

7
Sent a propio to Doct Forsyths for an order for 9000\$ in Military Haberes to supply a vacancy of that amt. in a Haber sold, which has returned as not right by the Commission at Bogota--I must look into this business-- I think it good--

The Secretary tells me, it will be very difficult to find a man suited for the Commission to London--If Vargas would have done, there are [37] dozens equally good--the only point in a man for the present appointment is moral honesty, and I believe so far Vargas was a very fit man--Such men are scarce in Caracas--there is not one in ten that can be trusted in the matter, and the Secretary who is an Englishman knows it very well.

A few days will give the Vice President time to make another appointment--if he can or could get off for 6 months he would do it, but he cannot, and besides he is anxious to reconcile party's and make friends, for he will hardly know where he will stand after the 20 Jan.Y. next--The Scepter then will depart from him, which he has by a great unforeseen combination of things, clutched--yammos a ver-----

rd
Thursday 23 August 1838.

There seems a general pause in every thing, but time, that runs here like it does every where else, but nothing else, society, business, are both different from what it is in any other part of the world with the same population--Climate produces a great deal of idleness, want of energy, and dulness--every thing here predisposes to enjoyment or rather indulgence, which leaves to the rong side of morality or virtue--mind and

matter here at times seem to stand still, there is nothing to excite the one, and but sensually the other-- the moral energies are dormant or never called into exercise--Wether warm--

Forsyth sent my people back with the order on the Sec.y. of Hacienda for nine thousand Haberes Militares, to day--I do not know that I shall want them, but I am very thankful for his kindness in the matter, and shall duly appreciate it--no news--my last dates from Philadelphia are as old as 12th June--summer has completely passed since I have any news--

I have not seen the Vice President but once or twice at home or in the streets for the last 6 weeks.----

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XIII

- 1 Guillermo Smith was born in Edinburgh in 1794, and died in Caracas in 1857. In 1818 he enlisted in the legion which Captain Juan Uslar organized in England and took to Angostura. From there Smith was sent to the Apure, and under the command of Páez, took part in the battle of Carabobo (1821). By 1822 he was second in command of the Apure battalion and proceeded to organize the Boyaca battalion. Because of his knowledge of accounting and finances, Smith was made quartermaster of the army of central Venezuela. Smith had a great admiration for Páez but refused to take part in his revolution of 1826 because he had taken the oath of loyalty to the Colombian government in 1821. When Bolívar returned to Venezuela (1827), he placed Smith in the general commissary for the departments of Venezuela, Zulia, Grineco, and Maturín. He served in the treasury department of Venezuela until Páez' second term as President when Páez made him Secretary of Hacienda and Exterior Relations. His last service for Venezuela was as a director of the Banco Nacional. In all of his services, military as well as civil, he proved himself a patriotic son of his adopted

country. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, LVI, 1047-1048; Páez, Autobiografía, II, 418-419.

- 2 Manuel Felipe Tovar, descendant of a noble Spanish family, was born in Caracas in 1803, and died in Paris in 1868. He received a careful education in Venezuela and Europe. When very young he affiliated with the conservative party but did not begin to figure in politics until 1857. In that year he became a member of the comite organized in Caracas to guide the latent revolution. This group succeeded in making Julián Castro president and Tovar vicepresident. Castro resigned in 1858 and for a brief period Tovar was president. Enemies of the conservatives were strong enough to regain power in 1858 and Tovar took refuge in Valencia. However, he reorganized the conservative force and was back in Caracas as president in 1860. He occupied this position little more than a year for he resigned in May 20, 1861, and sailed for Europe. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, LXIII, 43.
- 3 Bolívar died at Santa Marta, Colombia, and was buried there. It was not until 1842 that Venezuelans made any effort to transfer his remains to Caracas. Páez presented the matter in his message to Congress of February 9, 1842, and a few months later the body

of the Liberator was brought to the Cathedral. In 1852 it was removed to the National Pantheon at Caracas. Páez, Autobiografía, II, 486-489; Pan American Union, Bibliography of the Liberator Simón Bolívar (Washington, 1933), 20.

- 4 The Cosíata (little thing) refers to Páez' attempt to set up an independent Venezuela in 1826. Ibid., 102.
- 5 Literally, Caracas was a quiet city because there were no good roads in Venezuela and very few wheeled vehicles. In writing about the city Bonnycastle said: "The ground is so precipitous, that the few carriages which the inhabitants possess are little used." This was in 1819. Duane wrote a few years later: "The absence of wheel-carriages produces at first a sense of deficiency without perceiving in what: but roads must precede carriages, and I have repeatedly met on my route handsome pieces of artillery lying in a ditch, where they had been dragged by infinite labour, and could not be carried upon wheels farther." R. H. Bonnycastle, Spanish America or a Descriptive Historical, and Geographical Account of the Dominions of Spain in the Western Hemisphere (Philadelphia, 1819), 244; Duane, Visit to Colombia, 28-29.

- 6 Thomas Medwin, of the 24th Light Dragoons, Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron: Noted During a Residence with his Lordship at Pisa in the Years 1821 and 1822 (New York, 1824).
- 7 propio--messenger.

[CHAPTER XIV]

[AUGUST 24, 1838 To SEPTEMBER 22, 1838]

Friday 24[#] August 1838

I have felt to day much oppressed in mind, recollections association of ideas, carried me back to the days of my boyhood and youth and manhood, and distance and time asked me where are my early & first associates, my country & neighbours, death and removal and change [38] and vicissitudes of life have asperated us forever-- some in one place some in another, and others have been gathered into the vast garner of eternity--My mind strayed over pathways, roads, fields, scenes that are never to be erased from memorys record 'till to me life shall have closed its scenes--Involuntarily my eyes often filled with tears--the heart was full, and sympathy awakened every tender cord that vibrated through my whole system--I feel as if left almost alone in this world, my dear wife is all with whom it seems I cling for tranquillity and happiness--my near relations are scattered to the four winds of heaven--those on my mothers side god only knows where they are--one Aunt I have living, oppressed with cares and the troubles of life, poor but industrious and manages to get her existence, her children are all boys and some grown up

to mans estate, and I believe are doing well.

Society here too has no power to remove cares, or drown associations--it is but one dull routine of unsociable existence--¹ no friendships--no social interchange of familiar visiting, or meetings to dissipate cares or feelings-- --Wether warm--for the last week we have had rain every evening after 5 oclock--

The Country looks beautiful--vegetation in the highest and greenest state--fruits coming in, in great quantities-- --no news--only that Co¹ Smith Sec.Y. of Hacienda informed me yesterday that Spain by a Royal decree had admitted Venezuelan Vessels upon an equal footing with Spanish in her ports, and therefore can carry her own productions in her own bottoms subject to only the same duties in every respect as her own--²

[#]
Saturday 25 August 1838.

I have rec^d no letters to day from the South--our minister at Bogota, is pretty much upon the keep all principle, hear every thing, but say nothing--reserve may suit his dignity, but I cant think it will suit his interests--but we shall see--

No news, but the arrival of the Ann & Leah from Phil^a in a very long passage--have not rec^d my papers yet--a long letter from the Doc^t at Rawlingsberg upon politicks--he had better stick to his Tobacco & pills--

he wishes to change but he says principle wont let him; principle to [39] a conviction of truth should never be opposed, one vanished of course, the moment the other is satisfied--the Doc^t is rather a Bank man because they have granted great facilities, as if evil was to be tolerated, principles torn up by the roots, because a partial good has been adopted produced at first and evil & ruin afterwards, in the establishment of so many paper issuing Banks.

I learn the Banks in Phil^a have commenced payments in Specie on the 1st inst. This must restore confidence our country must prosper, it cannot go backwards.

Caracas is excessively dull & very warm and damp, indicative of much fever--I have not been well for some weeks--my liver side feels quite heavy, paining, and I think strong indications of a bilious derangement--

Sunday 26 August 1838

Paid one or two visits, not well--remained at home the greater part of the day--Mr Ackers Consul Gen^l of Denmark called--a pleasant enough red faced fat Englishman, has lived in the West Indies for 40 years or more of his life--He is said to be rich, and that hides every fault. In his domestic affairs (he has never married) he has the reputation of being a great Tyrant and very domineering over those over whom he

has the least power or authority--He is a pleasant man and can make himself very agreeable.

Monday 27[#] August 1838.

I am a little perplexed to day about a Military Haberes for 9000\$ belonging to the Estate of James Egan⁸ Estate that has returned as not altogether correct, perhaps a dead loss, which I had sold Floriano Orea--³ Must replace it--Shall therefore have to go into the market to buy, it will cost me at least 8 or 9 Hundred Dollars--rather a pretty affair for me--however must get over it the best I can--

Tuesday 28[#] August 1838.

Doc^t Litchfield U.S.C. for P^oCabello is here, in persuit of private business--Have bargained for 11.00 Haberes Militaris at 7 3/4--a good lesson well learned to me-- Mr Foster from LaGuayra is here, he is [40] a singular man, with the highest passions easily excited, but I believe very warm in his friendships and equally so in his dislikes--I am fearful from his temper just now he is taking a small spree--a little more liquor than he ought to do.--A man of his temperament ought never to taste a drop, unless he was worth millions-- --Called on the Sec.Y. to day, he seemed a little gruff, however that is his usual face, and a man without manners or politeness--he is a dray horse just now hitched to a

very overloaded gray. but with perseverance he may get along with it--Talents dont aid him much, but his industry & perseverance overcomes many difficulties.

He is deeply imersed in plans for the debt of Venezuela, is most vexed, and will be more so, for really the present system is but a robing of the holders of Colombian debt-- ---No papers yet. no news-- Caracas very warm, very hot--

Wednesday 29 August 1838.

This day has been one of unusual quietness--received my papers pAnn & Leah from Phil^a--engaged in reading them--wether disagreeable--wind from Petare, cold & hot at the same time--Gen^l Paez returned from a visit to Cam[b]uri the residence of a Mr. G. Gosling on the Coast about 7 leagues above LaGuayra--

There is some stir about a movement in P^o
4
Rico against Spain--Venezuela will aid her but secretly-- any thing to get into a fuss--a certain class of people in a revolutioned and revolutionary country are always looking out for such things, to better themselves as any situation is better than peace & quietness to them-- It will if successful be injurious to Venezuela, but I should not doubt, if they effect it--but P^oRico will ask protection from Venezuela, and so we go to war & privateering and pirating again--we shall have more news

by tomorrow on in a few days--It creates speculative ideas, what will Cuba do after this--She must change--a new system & experiment must be made there--to be Independent will suit North America, but to pass into other hands to be the colony of any European first class power--the United [States] cannot and will not submit to--It is to bring [41] the United [States] ultimately in my opinion into a collision [sic.] with some European power, more probably England than any other--her naval jealousy, her supremacy jealousy- and her commercial jealousy [sic.] will plunge her into any thing against the power, & wealth & strength of the United States--nous veron----

Thursday 30 August 1838.

Mr Ackers called to day--bow to him & scrape to him, and pay court to him, and let him believe he is a little above you, and you admit it, or just his equal--and he is quite a decent agreeable Englishman--but he is like all his Countrymen--they hate the United States as a Gov^t and a nation, and look with contempt upon her citizens wherever they are to be found and they meet with them, but they fear them in all intercourse of business, or where mind, energy or activity must be called into play or use--I have nothing new--the P^o Rico affair will perhaps turn out something, it may be

true that a revolution may be effected--Such a thing
 was suspicioned near 2 months since and some individuals
 have been sent out of the Country on suspicion----
 Wind all day from Catia--very disagreeable---

st
 Friday 31 -- August 1838.

This day has passed off like all washer woman days in
 Caracas, dull enough--visited Gen^l Paez found him at
 Breakfast--met his oldest and only legitimate Son,
 requested him to obtain the liberty for Mr Adams to
 take a Portrait of the Gen^l--which I think he will
 grant--no news--engaged in looking over my Washington
 papers--without some resource of this kind, should
 absolutely die in Caracas from dullness & stupidity--
 I am getting more tired, absolutely fatigued of Caracas
 than ever--because my calculations are not to make it
 my permanent place of residence, and I look to a home
 in my own dear native Country, otherwise I might bring
 my mind to bear the ills I suffer and as I advance in
 life, surrender all things, that my philosophy might
 reconcile me to the Climate & Society for the remainder
 of my life--At my age, we ought to look out for a
roost, a resting place, not only for the Twilight of
 life, but the night of death--no news-- [42]

st
 Saturday 1 September 1838.

This is general mail day from the South and interior

generally--rec^d nothing from Bogota--hear no news--
 passed two hours down Town, actually to kill time and
 pick up something but heard nothing of interest, only a
 little private scandal--among the foreigners here, they
 are a most ungodly and unchristian & uncivil black guard
 set, not one to be found, that could any where else
 be classed as a gentleman or lady--and to be forced into
 such company is beyond endurance, and we must or abandon
 all--my wife has not philosophy enough for this, I can
 manage my cards well enough in the matter--but I detest
 them from my soul--

nd
 Sunday 2 September 1838

Our Good city in a certain quarter has been put in
 considerable commotion by a recent imposition practiced
 upon a certain German druggist residing in Calle de
las leys Patrias, by some woman in Caracas--She comes
 to Mr Brune & hands him a letter purporting to be from
 one of the Miss Dalla Costas, making love to him, he
 answers it, receives another more in love but asking
 a few doubleongitas small parts of a doubleon, he
 sends them and answers again, and so he was duped until
 he thought it time to make proposals in propria forma,
 he calls on George Gramlich Ez^o German Charge for
 advice and direction and his intercession with Mr
 Dalla Costa at Angostura who in answer blows it all up

to Mr Santa Maria his brother in Law and in whose house the young ladies are residing--Mr Santa Maria calls on Mr Gramlich for his proof of why he had thus intruded himself in behalf of such a man as Brune on the peace and quietness of his family--when he sent for Mr Brune & he delivered up the letters purporting to be Miss. Dalla Costas, which are all forgeries, and the Charge and his friend Brune are thus made fools of--Mr Santa Maria treated him with great contempt, and Mrs Santamaria with the two girls one on each arm to receive Mr Gramlich's apology, treated him with the most marked contempt, saying she might forget it, but never would forgive him for his conduct in the affair--Thus the knowing & supercilious fools [43] have been rightly and justly castigated for their impudence and impertinence--Mr G. should have first called on Mr Santa Maria as the Guardian and protector of the young ladies and made known the statements of Mr Broun [sic.] before he should have written a line to Mr Dalla Costa--

But his overweening vanity, self confidence, self importance and pride, got himself into as nasty a business as any mans consequences from these beauties of Character ever got any man into--and he got out of it in a most lame and unsatisfactory manner, under the contempt of the whole of the whole family--Mr Santa Maria went so far as to say (that) at first, the insult

could only be wiped out with blood, but he at last concluded the individual Mr G. was too contemptible to be any further noticed-- ---This adds a little sauce⁵ to our city dish of private Slang, which has ruined society here and prevented any genuine real, social intercourse with foreigners or natives--I am trying to get out as far as I can--and by degrees I will do so-- and shall not visit any body unless in a most formal manner--I have clearly proved social and friendly & intimate intercourse cannot exist here.--no news--

rd t
Monday 3-- Sep- 1838.

'Tho' I have been in the Streets today I have obtained nothing worth notice--Mr F. Orea Bot for me to day 10750\$ Military Haberes at 7 3/4 pCent^t am.g to 833.12\$ which I have paid to supply the place of 9000 returned of James Egans that is said to be of no value.--There is a great imposition by the Gov^t in this matter-- because it had through its officers Sec.Y. of Hacienda declared which is on the document, that the Habere existed and had not been satisfied, and upon the faith of that it was purchased, and now the Commission in Bogota to declare it is not right, and the original should be presented which has never been granted-- ---There is some question yet about the acceptance by Doo^t Vargas of his nomination to London--I think now at

last his vanity, with the flattery of his enemies,
will perhaps [lead] him to do an act which his own
judgment condemns, and accept the appointment--he is at
best but a nose of wax --and has great reputation, with-
out any thing to sustain it-- [44]

t
Tuesday 4 Sep- 1838.

I have nothing to record to day--Paid off my responsibility
for the return Military Habere bo^t of J^s Egan, Estate
9000\$--should make a push to get it recognized yet--

Called on Sir Rob^t --what an old grany and
what pretensions --he is the fool of fools a real
kings fool, now Victorias fool--and some of his satelights
that revolve among his light, but that scarcely twinkle,
because the luminary itself can afford no light, to
loose none otherwise utter darkness would be the
consequence--He is a poor miserable old dotaged brocken
down pretender--

Two vessels from the States, one from Boston and
the other from New York--hear no news--

Mr Litchfield visited me this evening--he is a
great bore and a very weak man--goes down tomorrow to
La^Guayra & from there to P^OCabelle his post as Consul
of the US.

[20 lines inked out including the date
Wednesday 5th Sep^r 1838]

Called on the Sec.y. to day & he stated that the

am^t for which I presented claims adjusted at Bogota, would have to be asked of the Congress [45] in his ⁶ presupuestos de gastos for the next year, I may therefore expect to get it sometime next Spring--I shall push the question instantly after the meeting of Congress--and I think it would be best to obtain a special resolution ordering the Sec.Y. to pay it out of the Treasury, which I shall press upon the Sec.Y.--There seems to be little circulating in the way of news--it is yet thought that Doct^t Vargas may be persuaded to accept his appointment to London--Col^l Stopford is making a push to obtain the situation--the only quality he has for this appointment is chicanery and great presumption, with as many air built castles in his head as ever Don Quixote had--He wants money, and money at all hazards he will have, the road to it, is not material, he will take any, byways or paths, over mountains or plains or boggs, it is all the same--he is just now as desperate a gambler as ever staked his last cent on Faro, or at the gaming table--It is not my opinion he will be appointed--The Gov^t cannot be so blind cannot send him merely because he speaks Spanish and writes it--they may however, as the Council of Gov^t in this appointment will have much influence with Gen^l Soublette--There is great exertions so far as they have any wright making

by the British Charge' and W^m Cakers--but I think it is all wind, I do not think they can effect the prejudices, I will not say the good sense of this people so as to appoint him.

[Under date of Thursday 6[#] Sept^t 1838. 32 lines crossed out. From the few discernable words it might be inferred that someone is criticizing his ability.] [46]

Friday 7[#] Sept^t 1838

In looking over "de Vida del Libertador", I observe the order suspending Gen^l Paez from his situation Gefe Superior Civil y Militar de Venezuela in 1826 was signed by Gen^l Soublette now Vice President and "encargado de poder Ejecutivo" de Venezuela, he acting at the time Sec.Y. of War & Marine of Colombia at Bogota--what Strange situations by the revolutions of things we are placed in--does Gen^l Paez forget this or no, in my opinion he does not, he is using Soublette as a tool, when Soublette thinks he is using him as a tool--All Gen^l Paez wants is another Doo^t Peña⁷ as Sec.Y. with his tallents, but not his virgues, these he had none, but faithfulness to Gen^l Paez & hostility to Spaniards to every body else he acted with motives & dealings of interest, policy, cunning and deception----

Called on Mr Adams & found he had commenced his picture for me of Gen^l Paez--I think he will do it

credit, as it will be an original--I am a little fearful that I may be deceived in [his] giving me copy & retain the original, but I have more confidence than to believe that he will thus deceive me--This morning very warm, --Caracas is just now very feverish-- --- [47]

Saturday 8th Sept 1838.

He who ever may look over these notes from curiosity or any other feelings, will be much disappointed no doubt, to find so little, in so much, relative to the people and country--As my daily notes are almost entirely taken up with men & things and persons that accident or business has brought me in contact with--and necessarily I have said a good deal of individuals not worth a notice and perhaps whose names will not be found in the records of their own Country or that of any visitor to Caracas--unfortunately society is confined to a nutshell, and even that is not worth intimacy--

Foreigners generally are traders & merchants, interested alone in the pursuit of gain, and regard no one nor any thing, and mostly of the lowest class, belonging to merchants, and are consequently much below the Standard of gentility any where else--

At 35 minutes past 11 this morning a very severe shock of an earth quake passed over the City. I was sitting reading in a large arm rocking chair, the noise

& shock were almost simultaneously, and almost knecked my legs to gether--seemed to rise directly under my feet.--I find it has been generally felt, and considered a hard one--some persons have thought there were two, I was not conscious of but one, and I have not felt so severe a shock in some years--I think it was more perpendicular than horizontal, and consequently the more dangerous. Have not discovered that the Bogota mail today has brought any thing--The British Packet arriv^d evening before last, but I have not heard a word of news she has brought, except that the Colonial Bank Company of London have instructed Mr Ackers of this City, to commence loaning to a million of Dollars at 1 pCent pmonth on such securities as they demand--If well and judiciously mannaged, it will be of great service to the Country, but to loan money to planters in any country, tho' safe it is not as good a business, nor are they the proper persons to loan to, as merchants--

We shall hear more of it in a few days--

Wether warm and damp--a very heavy rain commenced from 6 1/2 to 8, at nine clear star light--

[48]

Saturday 9 Sept 1838.

Paid off to day with my wife all our old standing debts of visits, the Vice Presidents, Mrs Mendoza, Mrs Gen^l

Montilla, Mrs Pecheco Rivas, & Mrs Ibarra--found every thing kind and pleasant (3 lines inked out)

Found cards at home from S^{ir} Rob^t Ker Porter & F. Hernais the Vice Presidents Son in Law.

It has been very warm to day and continued throughout the night--Nature looks a little Earthquaky according to the creole ideas and observations, and as they are experimentalists, they ought to know. Re^d a packet of papers from Co^l Stopford from England--find nothing in them of interest, but the exultings of Lord Brougham⁸ upon the subject of West India Slavery and the immediate prospects that all will be free--The whole British policy upon this question is striking day after day upon the Southern part of the United States, aided by Northern fanatics--The South should be up and doing, they should not not talk--It is a struggle they must meet, and should be prepared, tho it strikes at the very root of our social compact--any forcible or even underhanded attempt without the Consent of the Southern Slave States & Slave holders, is a virtual and an absolute dissolution of our Gov^t--and a more forcible one than by armed men--Let the South look to it, Let their moral police throughout the Country, place the question upon its basis, the examination and inquiry into every saddle bags traveller that may thread through

our Country otherwise those in the main & leading public high ways, and it may be necessary even to examine into the views of every man not known, who may travel in any way through the Country in formal Cut of Cloth & face--If such policy is not observed, before we are aware of it our Country will be swept in flames & our families bleeding under the Strokes of inffatuated [sic.] Slaves-- [49]

Monday 10[#] Sep^t 1838.

A severer spell of hot wether was I am told by old inhabitants was never felt in Caracas, I hope it will not wind up with a terrible visit of a destroying earthquake--from 9 in the morning till 4 it is almost insuportable--quiet and still and within doors or in the shade it is beareble, but in the sun, it is hot as any negro could wish it--There seems to be much sickness in the city, fevers & dissentery, in LaGuayra I learn, there is much fever and of a violent Kind, several deaths among foreigners--principally Germans--No news--Caracas as dull as any heart could wish--

Tuesday 11[#] -Sep^t 1838.

Mr J. M. Foster is up from LaGuayra, he is a most mercurial man, is on a small spree just now, and I think taking a little more spirits than he ought--Mrs F. he says is not very well--The Wife of his Clerk a

Mr Kogel unwell--Mr F. family is large and I should not be astonished to hear of sickness among them--Sent the Sec.Y. of foreign Relations a second note on the subject of the claims adjusted at Bogota in 1829 re^d from the Gov^t--There seems some delicacy in the matter--it only am^{ts} to 1200\$ upwards of Dollars against Venezuela--She must begin to make some preparations in this matter, otherwise her credit will fall for ever--it is even low enough already, 'tho' so far faithfully it has paid the interest upon the Consolidated Custom House debt for 12 months--

No news--The "Nacional" has died a natural death or perhaps rather from a want of pap, money, the editor was a hireling, and is yet to be hired by any body for any purpose--he is called par excelense Negro Briceno to distinguish his colour and descent from others of the same name of better family, clear Skins and no doubt many of better consciences--he is now getting old, and he should be careful to husband his few remaining years--The wether continues excessively hot little or no air, white clouds with now and then a shade of rain--every thing looks firey in the heavens-- --no arrivals from the states-- [50]

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Wednesday 12 Sep-- 1838.

Mr Foster informs me Mr Kogels wife died last night--

It seems really a fever of a violent character exists in LaGuayra & Maquitia--Mr K lived in the latter place--Should this wether continue, we may expect worse accounts from La^uayra--It has not been visited by any particular sickness for years, not at least for 21 years which I have known La^uayra--its locality is dry & baren and there seems no natural cause but heat & the dampness of the ocean or the night breeze from the Mountains to produce disease--It is however like all the towns in this country a filthy place and in many parts want ventilation, and is a deposit for all the dumping vegetable and animal matter from the houses of the inhabitants, many piles of which, there and in Caracas, are as venerable from age as the Patriarch of cities
 9
 Jerusalem--

Wrote to Bogota & Maracaybo.--Much interest is felt about the recent talked of Bank as if it was a Panacia for every evil inflicting the Country, idleness extravagance and all--

Banks to aid industry may be of service and to extend credit upon a proper basis, better suited to the Co[n]dition and life of merchants than any other class of citizens--It will if even well managed disapoint many who anticipate many advantages from it--To issue paper would flood the Country with Bankruptcy and ruin,

but a loan Bank only may be of great service--nous
veron-----

It has been excessively warm to day--I regret to find Mr Foster is again turning to his old habits and which his friends believed he had abandoned, that is drinking too much, he is now here really on a spree---champaign, Porter & Claret constitutes the offers to his friends--It will disapoint his partner much if he is so, his partner--it neither suits him, his business, nor his credit--I regret it much, as he has a large family dependent really dependent upon him, some 5 or 6 are females-- [51]

t
 Thursday 13 Sep---1838.

The morning opened fine but the sun very warm--Mr Foster with Doc^t Forsyth came to my house as late as half past 8 oclock--The former more drunk than I have seen him for years, even those when I first knew him--he must hold up or he is gone--it will not do--he cannot stand it in purse or in person--his friends are much astonished.

The wether continues excessively hot, and what is very uncommon for Caracas the nights prove very warm until near daylight--A Mr Lockheart, Wilkinson & Dunlap came to my house, the first in much his usual way of Brag & balderdash and some airs of the great little man, warmed with liquor, they drank several glasses of

Brandy & Water & retired at half past 10 oclock.

The Society which a person is forced to receive in this Country, or see none, is the antipodes of good society any where else, and often makes me half [have] a bad opinion of myself, but there is no remedy. the best in the country is such as opinion would in many instances be ashamed to be seen with in any other, but it must be borne with until a proper Change from proper Causes can be effected, and that distinction necessary to maintain Society be brought about, and substituted for the impositions now practised upon those who know better, but suffers under the rules & customs of a country he cannot control-- --I am determined to be more retired, but certainly receive every body kindly who may call on me, either as complimentary or on business-- no news--The Virginia Trader in from Phil^a in a passage of upwards of 30 days--have not got my papers yet--

Friday 14 Sept--1838.

I am more satisfied than ever these people cannot become a great nation, if ever under centuries--There is not a man in the Gov^t and perhaps not one out of it that is really capable at this moment of filling the office of Sec.Y. of the Treasury or the financial post, to sustain the honor of the nation--in all the little petty duplicities and huskstering of finance, they are many of them competent--but in the part to give honor and

character to a nation in their views and extended policy, there is not one----- [52]

The system now being carried into effect, in consolidating the Custom House debt, and creating a sinking fund, so far as that debt is concerned is fair enough and honest enough--but in admitting other debts, without regard to the true interest of the nation or the honor due to the holders, into this debt so as it may be concerned to keep the Capital sum always up to 500,000\$, at the lowest price, is right down robbery upon the public--because in the eagerness to get something hundreds make a sacrifice of more than 50 pCt. upon their debt, that they may get something--

If this Gov^t under her Treaty of 1834 of Partition and division of the Colombian responsibilities, had have immediately called upon holders to present their claims in Venezuela to the am^t of the part of Venezuela and funded the same & paid the interest and then created a sinking fund equal to or more than the interest, with which at the lowest bidder they might buy up the debt, the Gov^t, the Nation would have saved her honor and done justice to every man interested in the internal debt of Colombia--and the Gov^t beyond doubt would have purchased according to the present value of money every hundred dollars at 25\$ to 33\$--

But it commences sharing in the consolodation or entry into the debt, by which a sacrifice as we have had by the first offers at 50 to 65 pCent to get in, and then a purchase at 28 to 33\$ for each 100 of that consolodated--which actually reduces the original value of the 100\$ to about 8 or 10\$--as great a robbery as ever was committed by a nation upon her subjects or citizens--Some of the holders of 3 & 5 pCent consolodated Bonds of Colombia, are endeavoring to force Venezuela to an acknowledgment of this debt for the true amount, according to the 13 & 14 articles of the Treaty of Venezuela with New Granada--justice and right is certainly on their side--but the Gov^t in my opinion will disregard such applications or put them off by some evasive answer from day to day, until she consolodates, by some financial scheme aided by the Present 500000\$ debt, the entire [53] amount of her responsibilities under the Treaty, and then come out with a public notice that Venezuela has already paid off her proportion and the holders of Colombian bonds will look to New Granada or the Equador, as the case may be, for their claims--The fear of this Circumstance will force many to enter into any scheme of Venezuela to pay the interest or buy up her debt or her proportion--to their great loss, and certainly

nationally in money matters consid^d great gain to the Nation--but to her great loss of honor & character as a nation--

John M Foster, Doc^t Forsyth & Co^l Stopford called on me this evening--Mr F, still a little sprexy, his dinner too much moistened with wine & &----

Co^l Stopford is certainly the most gentlemanly in his manners of any man in Caracas--his education and society has been good--but-----

Saturday 15 Sep^t 1838.

I have rec^d no letters to day--Bogota would seem still to be in rather a revolutionary state arising from the party or faction of Gen^l S^t Ander---this movement or this suspicion of things, arises from the certainty in the Election of Gen^l Paez to the Presidency of Venezuela, against whom Gen^l Santander would move heaven and earth to injure or accomplish his ruin.

The happiness, interest or prosperity of his Country would be only secondary to such a success against Gen^l Paez--I have not seen the Vice President for a long time, some 3 or 4 weeks, and I have no great desire to be more intimate--

Wether extremely hot, clear & with white flying clouds and wind from the east--Many persons are suspicious of the coming of a terrible earthquake--god

deliver us safe from such predictions--

Sunday 16th Sep^r 1838.

I have seen more forcibly the Vanity of the Sweedish Knight, for he is in truth no English Knight, Sir Rob^t Ker Porter, than in my visits this morning to Gen^l Paez, where in a long uper room in his house, the Gen^l has all his family painted seperate by a Mr Castillo of small size, and among the number, because Sir Rob^t considers Gen^l Paez his great friend, and I class him with his family to please Sir Rob^t--is a full [54] length likeness of the Knight in a frock coat Epaulets & Sword, with one hand leaning on a table on which are a pair of Globes and maps, and at a distance on his left beneath a curtin is the ocean with a ship under sail--not one position or subject introduced belong to the man, he is no seaman, he has been a traveller, as his Sketch, will prove, he is no orator, and he is there in a most commanding position--he is certainly no officer tho in Spain in 1806 - 7 -& 8¹⁰ he wrote letters to his most debauched and abandoned Cap^t Caulfield, and had some insignificant Staff appointment--and certainly his dress belongs to no diplomatic body that I ever heard or read off--take it all and all it exhibits Sir Robt in a most ludicrous position in every way to a man acquainted with him--He is indeed a good

companion for Gen¹ Soubllette who indeed with Gen¹ Paez treats him as a mere hand plant a mere pisaller, a locum tenens¹¹; his fortunes for his tallents corresponds well with Gen¹ Soubllette, in this case point to one single clause in their history that redounds to their Character or tallents--but they both have been fortunate and may have some reputation for sticking themselves to the coat tail of greater men, and therefore follow very well.

The Gen¹ seemed in good humour, saw the portrait about being taken of him by Mr Adams of London for me, it is so far tolerably good--rather large and full in the face, too long necked--but he will work it down to its proper dimensions--It hardly so far, I must confess, comes up to my expectations, and I shall regret exceedingly it should not be a first rate likeness as well as work, as I intend it for the States and perhaps for Washington, and it will be quite an object of attention from all persons--The Gen¹ has filled a large space in the history of his Country, to his Credit and honor, and is persuing a course just now, so far as my observations go, to conclude his work with immortality--Wether very warm & hot--tho to me not disagreeable--This day closes the annual fiesta at the Church of Pastora---- [55]
Gen¹ Soubllette paid us a visit to day--Mr & Mrs Theador

the new married couple--he a Hanoveran Jew, reformed they say--and has become a Catholic to marry his wife-- She is a very pretty, healthy & very fair girl of 16, of good family, but not mantuanag----The News carrier of the city next came, Mrs Stopford, the most insincere heartless and unfeeling woman, that ever told tales and worse than tales, down right lies--how she can have the impudence to visit us god only Knows but from her callousness, after having spoken of us as she has done, all over the city--verily she will have her reward some of these days--

t
Monday 17[#] Sep --1838.

The morning has opened very hot, the sky clear, with white and fleecy clouds, no air, and every indication of some change, I hope not for an Earthquake.

It has continued very hot all day & night-- no news--The Sec.Y. of State seems disposed not to answer my note relative to the payment of his of the convention with Mr Moore¹² in Bogota in 1829 granting¹³ indemnifications^t to the am of 25 thousand Dollars and upwards for Spoliations on Two vessels.

What is he or they waiting for, is it to hear from Bogota, is it to inquire into the truth of the documents presented by me--I shall find out--I shall make a personal call in the matter--

There has been for a long time, a disposition

to thrust by certain people, certain persons upon society as gentleman in this City, and no person has aided it or abetted more than the Painter Sir Rob^t-- the Sweedish Knight (Joachims Knight & Amaranthine Knight & & & &) in which he has been privily aided by a few of his lickspittles who abuse him behind his back most ummercifully--all this too under a parade of show and State, and the union of such and such persons--but it is but a slim affair and a slim attempt at best--its meanness betrays it, and the men render every thing mean of themselves --It is all English hits, at Americans, their nation & Gov^t---& our circle is so small here, it becomes at once manifest the objects & views and the influence and on the occasion--But with all their pretensions, their public manouveres, are [56] most pitiful and their private most disgraceful.

Some State is Pretended to, when we have neither Court nor State in Caracas from the Vice President down, and yet you would suppose in meeting with some of these Dons, they were really men of State, but this is only in the Streets or in other houses not their own--"State without the Machinery of State is of all States the worst"--Here at a dinner Party, there are no trained servants, men & women and of all colours are mixed up, running from plate to plate without any order

or system, and the table groaning beneath a Load of meat called here and there by the Landlord or lady-- and every man at the table as grave as any venerated [venerated?] Señors--wine unloosens a little--but it is stuff, not one in 20 knows what good wine is--they drink any thing, but generally prefer claret--many are fond of the stronger kind--the service on the table would seem to be the work of old decency collected from every house in Caracas--a fine old fashioned China vessel or plate beside the most inferior Staffordshire ware, glass of every kind & size, knives of all ages & sizes and scarcely a pair among them-- ---some of their dishes excellent--their various ensaladas or sallads are tasteful & well tasted--some composed of olives, granada, beets, & capers smothered in oil, others of mixt various fruits native & foreign--a dish of Irish potatoes, onions, cabbage made into a sallad, not bad--some of their hashes excellent--But for real stile or state or taste there is not an atom of it---

Tuesday 18 Sep^t--1838.

Merely walked down street--hear no news--Caracas most excessively hot & dull as it is always--great deal of Electricity in the air--

Wednesday 19[#] [1838].

Heavy fall of rain this evening--wind variable--hot,

but hope the air will be cooled a little--Did not
 observe the Eclipse on the 18[#]--the day was very quiet
 & still, & Cloudy--scarcely a breath of air--Climate
 from the statements of the old people here seems to
 be undergoing many changes-- [57]

Thursday 20[#] Sep^t---1838.

Wether warm--Sir Rob^t called to hand me personally
 as he had previously indicated by a note, nine Dollars
 for 18 N^o of Richardsons dictionary¹⁴ which I had
 ordered from Phil^a for him--He spoke of the Bank or
 agency about to be established in Caracas by the
 Colonial Banking establishment in London--he infered
 Mr A was not capable of managing it--I said I thought
 Mr A was too old for such an experiment in Caracas in
 a new Country where people were unacquainted with Banks--
 Sir Rob^t all together spoke rather disparagingly of Mr
 A as manager, without coming decidedly out--He says
 Mr A is to get 3000L Sterling for its management--a
 good sum which will throw all foreign Diplomatic agencies
 in the background--he indeed will be the money King at
 least of Caracas, and will rule the Gov^t if he is
 cunning and wise--He spoke of Gen^l Soublotte^s going to
 England as minister after his two years of service as
 Vice President is over--I have no doubt this is the
 G^s wish, but let him reside two years in London, and

he will become tame enough; There seems to be a great difficulty in finding a man to send to England just now as minister & Commissioner to meet Pedro Gual, and Mosquera of the Equador & New Granada to a division of the liabilities of Colombia--

ts

This visit of Sir Rob -- seems a propitiation of some kind, so very Kind, when I did not owe him a visit, and he intends no doubt I should take it as a very polite and obliging & condescending circumstance on this part--for what its worth, I receive, not a bauble more--no news--

rd t
Friday 21 Sep --1838.

Have just understood a vessel arri^d night before last from Baltimore with dates to the 16 or 18 August--every thing had assumed a different State of things, since the 13[#] August the day of a general payment in specie by all the Banks ¹⁵ --the exciting moral question for the moment is over but so far as it has been made the instrument of polities will be felt and used as a rallying point--It cannot be doubted but that public opinion has forced the Gov^r of Pennsylvania to issue his proclamation [58] against the Pennsylvania Banks to resume on the 13[#] August, Contrary to their wishes, and for fear of loosing all the advantages the Bank and the Whig party had gained by their distress

measures, operating upon public opinion, they have been reluctantly drawn into this measure, and with a complete understanding with Gov^r Ritner--The Bank are the authors in fact of the proclamation, fixing time & & &---a concerted measure, and not the free will and independent sentiments of his Exen.Y. as the Executive of a free & Independent State-- --

It has been a measure of Cabal & intrigue to produce concert, so as to applaude the Gov^r and glorify the Whig party--a name prostituted in aid of centralizim, consolodation and power, and subversive of the independence of state rights and reoublican democratic principles.

This day is very warm---

This vessel brings intelligence of a revolution in Cuba or at Havanna, in which the Military of the Moro Castle are concerned--it had not succeeded, tho it was supposed from firing for several days, the fort had been closed and a war existed between it & the City or the Gov^r and his soldiers--If 1000 resolute & determined men have possession of the Moro Castle well armed, the revolution is accomplished, and Cuba is free, or subject to more bloody scenes than S Domingo^t in 1798--- ---

1

I learn that Gen Soublette will not appoint

any person as minister to London, should Doc^t Vargas continue to hold out in refusing his nomination---a most singular determination, it is of more importance just now, at this moment, than it may perhaps be for the next 30 years to have a minister & Commissioner in London to divide and adjust the liabilities of Colombia between the respective portions of what composed that nation--

The Gen^l himself would like to go, above all things he would prefer an Embassy to London, that he might show off & play the little greatman--

Caracas is triste beyond belief--to live here is a banishment from ones Country----- [59]

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XIV

- 1 Caracas did not have a monopoly on dullness. Travellers through different parts of Spanish America frequently commented on the monotony of existence. In Guatemala John L. Stephens observed "it was so dull, news about a deaf woman was the subject of excitement for days." Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan, 2 vols. (New York, 1846), I, 222.
- 2 A long period of diplomacy preceded this concession. Páez thought the death of Ferdinand VII (1833) meant a new era for Venezuelan prosperity and diplomacy. If the Absolutists succeeded in putting Don Carlos on the throne, or the Liberals the daughter of Ferdinand, it was very likely that those who did not want to see Spain involved in a civil war would seek refuge elsewhere. They would come to Venezuela because of the similarity in customs and language and because of the ease with which other Spaniards had adjusted themselves there. Moreover, this was the opportune time to initiate diplomatic negotiations for recognition by Spain of Venezuela's independence. Since Spain bought more cacao than any other nation, Venezuelan commercial interests were anxious to have

Spain grant recognition.

Therefore, in 1833, Páez instructed Alejo Fortique, who was living in London, to solicit the mediation of France and England. Some Venezuelans misinterpreted this action of Páez. Rumors were current in the province of Apure that that region was to be sold to England in payment of the national debt and that later England would cede it to Spain. Many inhabitants of the Apure abandoned their homes and went to other provinces, but the majority determined to remain and defend their land with the same boldness with which they had won it. Fortique was recalled and Mariano Montilla sent in his stead.

Montilla arrived in London, May 5, 1834. Ministers from Mexico, Buenos Aires, New Granada, and Bolivia were there on the same mission. The minister from Bolivia felt they should work together, but the minister from New Granada did not have instructions to cooperate with Venezuela. Lord Palmerston told Montilla that before England could recognize Venezuela, she would have to clarify her relations in the treaty between Great Colombia and Britain and give some assurance that Venezuela's part of the debt would be paid. Montilla convinced Palmerston of Venezuela's good faith; so, on October

1, 1834, Montilla was granted a passport and permission to travel with the British diplomats. However, the Venezuelan congress failed to grant the necessary funds; so pleading ill health, Montilla went home in December of 1834.

Soublette was sent out almost immediately and had his first conference with Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, the chief Spanish minister at Madrid. Rosa insisted that Venezuela still belonged to Spain, Soublette insisted that she had won her independence. At their last conversation, Soublette said that this attitude on Spain's part was a double evil: it deprived Spain of a large market, and America of the friendship of a people with whom she had hoped to live in peace. Soublette returned home and assumed the Vice-Presidency. All that was gained from Spain was the decree of September 17, 1837, opening the ports of that nation to the commerce of Venezuela. Páez, Autobiografía, II, 401-413; Documentos Anales, IV, 449-477. For an account of Papal recognition of American Independence see J. Lloyd Mecham, The Papacy and Spanish-American Independence, Hispanic American Historical Review, IX (Durham, May, 1939), 154-175.

- 3 Floriano Orea and Sam. D. Forsyth took charge of Williamson's personal property and diplomatic records after his death. National Archives, Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, File Microcopy 79, Roll 2, Sir Robt. Ker Porter to Secretary of State, August 13, 1840.

- 4 The unrest in Puerto Rico and Cuba at this time was not due to agitation for independence but the fear of slave insurrections and actual insurrections. (Twenty years later Cuban slaves and Cuban freemen and whites made their first united effort to throw off the yoke of Spain). The unrest in 1838 was caused mainly by England's bungling in her attempts to abolish the slave trade, and this in turn was due to the lack of cooperation on the part of Englishmen. "When the Brazilians at Rio or the Spaniards at the Havana see the British functionaries disagreeing among themselves, on the very principles they are sent there to enforce; when they see one of these English gentlemen purchasing slaves, a second hiring them, a third obtaining the services of the liberated African, without paying either a fair price or adequate wages, and a fourth resisting the temptation, and refusing, on any terms, to admit a bondsman within his walls;--these gentlemen, the regular slave-holders,

are but too apt to conclude that the opinions of the people of England are also divided, and that their practices would be equally so had they the opportunity."

David Turnbull, Travels in The West: Cuba; with Notices of Porto Rico, and the Slave Trade (London, 1840), 76.

Slaves were kidnapped from neighboring islands and taken to Puerto Rico to be sold. In 1836 fourteen British negroes were taken from Antigua to Puerto Rico to be sold into slavery. News of this reaching the foreign office, Palmerston instructed the minister at Madrid to press for a royal order on the Captain-General at Puerto Rico directing him to emancipate the fourteen negroes in question. Commander Hope proceeded to San Juan, Puerto Rico, and secured the delivery of the negroes. He discovered that about 500 British subjects were held in captivity in Puerto Rico and that a considerable number had escaped to St. Domingo, the United States and other places. The Captain-General issued a proclamation requiring all English negroes to be delivered to the Spanish authorities, promising payment for them according to their respective bills of sale. On Commander Hope's second visit in April, 1838, only six slaves had arrived at the capital. In the report of his mission, Commander Hope gave full credit to the good

faith and sincerity of the Captain-General, but that his authority was wholly inadequate to secure satisfactory results. Ibid., 568-572. Another writer of this period accused Turnbull (the authority for the above account) of concerting "incendiary plots". Richard Burley Kimball, Cuba and the Cubans (New York, 1850), 73. Likewise, W. F. Johnson wrote: "The British consul, David Turnbull,. . . . was unpopular with the planters, who accused him of inciting their slaves to rebellion." The History of Cuba, 5 vols., (New York, 1920), II, 366. But the Cuban historian, Ramiro Guerra, claims that the slavery question was made more acute by England's actions in suppressing the clandestine slave trade. Ramiro Guerra y Sanchez, Manual de Historia de Cuba, 2 vols., (Habana, 1938), I, 379-380. Lord Brougham's speeches in Parliament, 1838, showed that England was causing the slave trade to flourish. He quoted statistics on the increase in the traffic which are substantiated by Portell Vila. The Annual Register, or a View of the History and Politics of the Year 1838 (London, 1839), 87-93; Herminio Portell Vila, Historia de Cuba, 4 vols. (Havana, 1938-1941), I, 295-346.

5 slang--literally to sling the jaw, abusive language.

6 presupuestos de gastos--budget.

7 Miguel Peña (1781-1833) received his Doctor of Law degree in 1806 from the University of Caracas and became an outstanding lawyer there. He was active in the events of April 19, 1810, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. When Miranda surrendered to the Royalists in 1812, Peña escaped and by the next year was sustaining the war in the Valley of Aragua until Bolívar arrived. But when misfortune in the shape of Boves upset the cause of the revolutionists a second time, Peña hid in the forests between Valencia and the Orinoco. In 1816 he presided at the Assembly of ninety-three members in San Diego de Cabruta which determined the authority of a supreme chief. He went to Guayana in 1821, to continue fighting and was made a representative to the Congress of Cucuta over which body he presided. He signed the first Constitution of the Republic of Colombia, August 30, 1821; and was elected by that Congress to be a member of the Supreme Court at Bogotá. In 1825, Peña returned to Valencia and when Santander and the Colombian Congress suspended Páez, he became Páez's chief adviser. "He was omnipotent then and became the protagonist in the drama of the impending destruction of

Colombia." His power over Páez had diminished by 1829 and he retired to private life; but when Venezuela became independent, he was made Secretary of Interior and Justice. Carabobo sent him as its representative to Congress and he presided over two consecutive sessions. Peña signed the Constitution which served Venezuela until 1857; but he also had the doubtful honor of having signed (as President of Congress) the decrees that forbade Bolívar and some of his followers from setting foot on Venezuelan soil. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, XLIII, 424-426.

- 8 Henry Peter Brougham (1778-1868) was one of the small group who started the Edinburgh Review in 1802. In 1806 he settled in London and supported himself mainly by writing for this paper. "His reviews were slashing, but his work was often superficial and his criticisms sometimes scandalously unjust." An enthusiastic advocate of abolition, he went to Holland and Italy in 1804 to gain information on the subject, and in that year published A Concise Statement of the Question Regarding the Abolition of the Slave Trade. A speech he made July 13, 1830, on bringing forward a motion against slavery, caused him to be elected to Parliament; and in November of that year he was made chancellor and elevated to

the peerage. During 1838 he did much literary work, editing four volumes of his Speeches and writing book reviews and other articles. On February 20, 1838, in a speech of great eloquence, he moved resolutions recommending the immediate abolition of Slavery.

It was during his chancellorship that he used to drive about in a little carriage specially built for him by Robinson the coachmaker, which excited much wonder by its unusual shape--it was the ancestor of all broughams. Dictionary National Biography, VI, 448-458; Annual Register of 1838, 80-96.

- 9 Caracas "is upon the whole a most enchanting place of residence; and situated as it is in one of the finest vallies in the world, it would be as healthy as beautiful did not a bad arrangement, respecting the sewers of the city, render it otherwise. In each street is one or two shallow drains, for the conveyance of the domestic filth and the rain-water beyond the city. These are covered with flat pieces of stone, in such a manner as to leave interstices between them, that the drain may receive the water which runs in torrents from the houses during the wet seasons. The unwholesomeness of the exhalations,

which continually arise from these openings, is extremely offensive, and in conjunction with a large pond at the extremity of the city, where the contents of all are emptied, and where the offensive matter is allowed to decompose, serves to engender fevers of a malignant nature, or at least these disorders have been, with good apparent reason, attributed to such causes. Happily four or five clear streams run constantly through the city, which tends, in some degree, to counteract these injurious exhalations. An Officer of the Colombian Navy, Recollections of a Service of Three Years during the War-of-Extermination in the Republics of Venezuela and Colombia, 2 vols., (London, 1828), II, 207-208.

- 10 Letters from Portugal and Spain, published in 1809, were written during the march of the troops under Sir John Moore (1808). Dictionary National Biography, XLVI, 191.
- 11 pisaller--a last resource; locum tenens--substitute.
- 12 Thomas Patrick Moore (1796?-1853), member of the House of Representatives from March 1823 to March 1829, was nominated by Andrew Jackson, March 12, 1829, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Colombia,

in place of William Henry Harrison, recalled. Confirmed by the Senate, March 13, 1829. Senate Executive Journal, IV, 20-22. He ingratiated himself with Bolívar and in the first few weeks of his ministry obtained important commercial concessions for the United States. After the withdrawal of Ecuador and Venezuela, he remained at Bogotá and exerted himself to bring about a reunion of the three states. When these efforts failed he asked to be recalled in 1832, but at Jackson's request stayed for another year. (He was succeeded by Robert Breckinridge McAfee who served as charge from 1833 to 1837). Dictionary American Biography, XIII, 139-140. John Quincy Adams wrote his opinion of Moore: "His integrity is problematical, and his only public service, the servility of his prostitution to the cause of Jackson's election and the baseness of his slanders upon me." Memoirs, VIII, 112.

- 13 The two vessels were the Josephine and the Ranger. Simeon Toby, president of the "Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania," had presented claims for the first vessel, while the Ranger belonged to Frederick Vincent of Norfolk, Virginia. National Archives, Diplomatic Post Records, letters of Williamson: June 19, 1839 to Simeon Toby.

- 14 Sir Robert Ker Porter had travelled in Persia, Bagdad and Western Asia Minor. He had examined the ruins of Persepolis, made many valuable drawings, and copied cuneiform inscriptions. So this dictionary may have been John Richardson, Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English; etc. (London, 1806). Catalogue of the Library of Harvard University. 5 vols., (Cambridge, 1830-1834), II, 708.
- 15 August 13, 1838 was the date on which the Atlantic States agreed to resume specie payment. Niles Weekly Register, LIV (August, 11, 1838), 369.

[CHAPTER XV]

[SEPTEMBER 22, 1838 To FEBRUARY 10, 1839]

nd t
Saturday 22 Sep 1838

This day opens warm, damp, and appearances of rain,
wind variable--Bogota mail in with dates to the 14th
ul^t no particular news--several showers of rain--write
to Gen^l Cadwalader by the John to Baltimore & duplicate
pthe LaBrusse to the same place to send me 2500 five
frank pieces by the first vessel.----this is for the
purpose of buying into the 5 pCt consolodated debt of
Venezuela of 500000\$--which I think I shall be able to
do at 30 to 36 pCt. or 30 to 36 \$ pthe one Hundred.--
R^d a letter from Mr Semple at Bogota stating the
rejection of Mr Rives¹ claim forwarded to him some
months since, and to my astonishment, because his claim
is one of the most just that ever was presented to a
nation, for money actually paid the Gov^t of Venezuela
and her officers in Margarita in 1817 & 1818, when this
was the only point held by the Patriots in the Country--
and original documents presented to substantiate the
same--Tho' Venezuela may have bar[r]led all those claims
not presented in time, and upon that ground rejected
this, still when a commission is appointed on claims,
they are called upon not to decide upon cases already

acknowledged, but those which have failed from circumstances beyond individual control to come with in the Law, and are equitable and just, otherwise why have a commission at all --They are called to gether as a court of Equity, as men having justice in view and with the fear of god before their eyes, to do justice between man and man in his personal and private as well as social relations.-----

t
Sunday 23 Sep--1838.

two or three visitors--rain much lightning--the atmosphere for the last month has seemed more charged with electricity that I have ever known it in Caracas or any where--Mrs Jove & son came in between Showers, very late, and dined with us, complaining as usual of her Stomach, and that she must take pills &&&--She however drank a weak glass of Brandy & Water and devoured 3 good slices of veal, plate of soup, beans peas & all the other et ceteras--It has rained in Showers all day--French Brig in from Bordeaux--brings my wifes bonnet no news-- ---Caracas is dull enough--- [60]

Monday 24 Sep^t 1838.

The Sec.Y. of state Mr Smith lost his son Richard yesterday morning, went to his funeral at 6 last night--It is reported he died of Black vomit alias yellow fever, I doubt it much--he has 3 other children sick and himself quite unwell and his wife is now absent at

Valencia on a visit to her friends--

Mr G. Gramlich the Hanseatic representative first consul, and now I believe charge, or it has ceased after forming ² his Treaty-- he called only I presume to say that the Boots and Shoes ordered by him for me had arri^d ³ from Bordeaux, presenting me the Facture, and Stating that they were subject to my orders at the Custom House--I then asked Mr G. as they were shipped to him & imported for me expressly, he would do me a great favour to ask their delivery free of duty from the Gov^t, he without a moments thought replied he could not, I thanked him very much for his kindness and regretted I had troubled in the matter at all--Stating to him the object of duties was what I wanted to save, that it amounted to 50 pCent on the invoice--He then agreed to send for them or rather ask their delivery free of duty--I as promptly rejected it, and immediately took my usual course to ask their deliv.Y in a note to the Sec.Y. of State--in a few moments thereafter he left the house--This is the first visit he has paid me in the last month and I hope they will be longer hereafter--This said German in every way and manner he could for the last 2 years sought to be intimate and friendly with me, visited me at all hours and all times, familiarly asking for this and then for that, the loan

of this, and in every respect he was rec^d with Kindness & attention--and now from some cause, god knows what, he has dropt off and I hope he will drop further and fare better--for I have never had but one opinion of him, that he is the merest pretender and upstart in every thing I ever knew, and I have always been provided accordingly for the man, as I am certain I know him, have known him, & still know him well. [61]

Tuesday 25 Sep^t 1838

I have neglected my diary for nearly a week, because engaged in arranging some tables relative to the commerce of Venezuela for the last 7 years, and some statistical views of the population of the Nation--
nothing material has occured--Baron le Gross⁴ has arri^d from France for the purpose of carrying out the Coventia [Convention] formed some years since to make a Treaty between France and Venezuela regulating commerce and &&& and I should not dout that high pretensions will be made on the subject of French Citizens and residents, if we are to take the Policy persued recently towards Buenos Ayres & Mexico--H arri^d at LaGuayra on Thursday last and came up this morning (Saturday) from LaGuay--I do not know yet what effect his arrival may have on the beau monde of Caracas--nothing I believe however--

The French Consul will have to open his heart on the occasion tho' I doubt it--There are several of the officers of the Man of War in Caracas, shall perhaps pay them my respects on Monday or Tuesday next--Wether is excessively hot--have felt much depressed to day (Saturday) in my feelings--seem sometimes to think my life is destined to close most unexpectedly--it may be the mere Shadow of a shade, but it may be nevertheless true in results--I re^d a box of boots & shoes to day from France, excelent but the boots dont fit, too large by half--the shoes answer very well, my wife receives a bonnet likewise, with which she is much displeased, it is rather old fashionly but still it may be the c[us]tom in France--

The Secretary has been invisible for the last week--will call on him on Monday next;

There appears to be many strangers from the islands at this moment in Caracas--some I learn from P Rico are here for political offenses, others in persuit of business-- no news from the States latest dates to 17[#] August--

There is great complaint in the City about business--want of money &&&--no produce in the market---
[62]

Sunday 30[#] Sep^t---1838.

By special invitation from Jose Manuel Paez, son of his
 Exe.¹Y. Gen⁵ Paez I went to the National College to
 witness the degree of Doct^t of Laws conferred on him--a
 large and very respectable concourse of citizens and
 professors attended, with all the foreigners of
 distinction in the City--it commenced about half past
 4 oclock and ended about or near six--the various
 professors and Doct^t of Laws, Medicine, and Divinity
 attended dressed in their gowns and their shoulders
 with the Coloured mantles of their profession and
 degrees--the gown of Black silk, and the [hood] of
 sattin, Blue white and red--bounded with blue ribon
 about 2 inc[h]es wide, of blue on red, red on white,
 white on blue and red--their caps composed of hanks of
 silk suspended from a crown covering the entire forehead
 and down to the eyes all round, squarp top surmounted
 some with guilt or gold ornaments, others of silk with
 a small ball of out silk--a very inconvenient head
 affair, not becoming, nor exhibiting dignity or beauty--
 after the ceremony went to the house of Gen¹Paez to
 take some of the refresheants--found an unusual crowd
 of all sorts sizes and descriptions, a perfect mob--a
 table was set out in the corridor of the house with a
 table its full length covered with every thing in the
 Shape of Caracanian sweetmeats exhibiting a rather

splendid affair--in the two story part of his house was laid out a table with wine Porter & Champaign &&&---- Remained until 1/2 past seven returned to my house---

Baron Le Greau or Gross his Sec.Y. and a Vice Consul from France arriv^d Caracas on yesterday and paid me a visit to day--they were at the Colledge accomp^d by their officers from the Frigate that brought them out, and went down to the enfair at Gen^l Paez--Le Baron seems a pleasant man--a tall lean specimen of the French--his manners good--his object is to make a treaty with Venezuela--he will have tough work to get through with it--it will sh^y work---

[pages 63 to 73 torn from the diary]

[73]I will now endeavour to commence again my diary-- my health is not good I have suff^d much from a peculiar symptom above or at the commencement of my liver--tho not bilious I am not sound I fear in that region--I have cold clammy sweats at night, and everything seems exhibiting some prognostic of future disease I hope to get away from this Country ere any thing serious shall follow--The Gov^t here seems in a heavy dull state, but I believe healthy--I hope no change will be made as I make large calculations on Venezuelan 5 pCt debt, being owner of near 20000\$--in it---

Decem^r 13[#] 1838--

One month has passed and I turn almost with pain to my diary, shame at my neglect and disgust at having so little to record in the past month--Spent Christmas in the Vallies of the Tuy at the Estate of Doc^t S. D. Forsyth--within sight of the pueblo of Ocumare --a fine Country, wretchedly populate and even the few still more wretched, miserable and disgusting, composed of all shades and colours--in the lowest state of ignorance, and an antipathy general against all foreigners, the few intelligent measurably throw it off in intercourse, but poverty it is deep seated, deep rooted as the human heart--I cannot much wonder at it from the continual state of dependence and ignorance fastened for Centuries on the natives of Spanish despotism.

I attribute however, the entire moral degradation of the Country, su[s]picion, social intercourse and barbarous state of the Civilization alone to the general amalgamation of colours, and that brutish intermixture of master & slave under the very nose and protection of the female class of the wives of the first settlers who came from Spain--it has lost nothing from their descendents--it is yet liberally kept up So much so that it is not uncommon thing to find upon estates every variety of cast of family connexions from the

slave [74] to the master that his cupidity, dissoluteness or immorality could produce, all claiming one common head like cattle upon an estate--nothing can remove this but education, a different morality established, a change in habits, and an influx of emigration, which will take years and years to accomplish; but in my opinion it will never change- The Tuy vallies are rich in soil and production, the estates are generally coffee, indigo being nearly abandoned and the few remaining Cacao estates are fast going to decay and replaced by coffee--The vally of Chirallava [Charallave] is a rich country, hills productive, but the agriculture very much neglected--it is chiefly a grain growing country, tho there are from the village of that name persuing the stream of the same name until it enters into the River Tuy, several very handsome Coffee estates, among them is Do^t Forsyth's, and in a fine state of cultivation & improvement.

The Country generally without timber but here and there some beautiful woods but entirely inaccessible from the nature of the underwood--the country covered with a species of high grass something like grunle grass 6 feet and more in height and it is almost impossible to pass through it afoot or on horseback--I observed a very singular looking Tree in the forests, called

⁶
Indio desnudo or the naked Indian---It looks as tho
 dead, but little or no vegetation--the bark pricly
 and the colours very similar to the Indian--beneath
 the fuzzy exterior is a smooth skin of half green &
 copper colour--

Dined at Carlos Dunlops, his estate is called
 Calabozo lying between Ocumare & Cúa on the Tuy--

[#]
Suped the 24[#] at night at Diego Alcala^S his
 estate is on the river Chrillara [Charallave] & called
 Salamanca--meet Ge¹ Mazero⁷ there --he has made some
 small figure in life tho' no more than 47--but he is
 literally a [75] man of no moral principles and
 absolutely devoid of any species of Tallents--he is
 however a very gentlemanly man in appearance and makes
 many pretensions to the Cavallero, and is an influential
 man nevertheless in these vallies--The Country between
 Caracas and Ocumare until you descend at Charallava is
 one continual mountain ascent & descent--precipitous
 in the extreme in many places and I should conceive in
 the rainy season utterly impossible to pass--it was
 however in my voyage perfectly dry & hard--It would
 appear We ascended at some points little less or lower
 than the Sylla of Caracas, but I presume never more
 than 6000 feet elevation--Ocumare lies a little East of
 South from Caracas--our accomodations on the road

shocking, comfortless, and dirty in the extreme, scarcely emerging from a state of barbarism, and the people as savage and as uncouth, in appearance as their dress and unshaven faces would or could indicate to any civilized human being from the UStates or Europe--Slept on my passage the first night at a place called las arancas, turned in 8 and never awoke until 5 in the morning, cool & comfortable, but slept absolutely in my ⁸ Cobia, [sic.] boots & spurs and upon a flock mattress laid on a bench in a room with 5 others, house built of posts set in the ground, wattled walls filled in with mud & the roof thatched with grass--the room about 12 feet square and not a window or a hold but the doors--

The mountain air fine & chery, scenery grand imposing and sublime, sometimes in the clouds and then below them--I have often wondered how it was possible, the Spaniards ever found a pass way to the Tuy--it seems impossible in a natural state of the Country how it ever could have been discovered--inaccessibile it seems--but a path way has been found and yet in my opinion a better way could still be discovered----- [76]

Sunday

#

Caracas 20 . Jan.Y. 1839

This day the Congress of Venezuela is to meet it however

did not meet, a quorum for the house was formed, but not the Senate it wanting 2 members to form that body and the Congress--Visited to day accomp^d by G Foster, Son of Jn^o MFoster, Doc^t Vargas whom I have not seen in his house since his resignation as President of Venezuela--he re^d politely, and the doc^t looked a little animated tho labouring under a very severe cold of the head; but nevertheless looks in good health--called on the Vice President, charged with the duties of President, as a Kind of farewell visit as the scepter must in a day or two part from Judea-- He in my opinion is but the man I have long designated him to be a cold, selfish, caculating, cunning fellow, fond of dress, of indomitable vanity & pride, and a most lucky man, without any tallents of a high grade to sustain his present elevation--Gen^l Paez will leave Maracay for Caracas on the 25[#] and will be sworn in as President perhaps the 30[#] following--The recent news from Mexico by the Way of the UStates of France having taken possession of Vera Cruz has created a very great sensation among these people, they seem to feel it as an act against the whole (Southern) Continent. The effect will be such as to opperate a little on the Congress in confirming the Treaty recently made with the French Encargado Baron Gros--It however must be sanctioned by the

Congress--they cannot get over it--

The Senate is said to be a very Respectable body of men, and the lower house nearly equal--So far as words may go or acts passed they may surpass their predecessors but as moral, executive men, as persons deeply interested for the future, I doubt all their acts and all their pretensions---- [81]

[pages 77 to 81 torn out]

Sunday 27[#] Jan.Y. 1939.

Did not leave my house to day--several visitors--no news--re^d papers from Washington to the 28[#] Decem^r ul^t The Harrisburg affair with Stephens, Ritner, Penrose & Burrows at the head of it, exhibits the spirit of the mis-called Whig party, a party that had rather rule "in hell than serve in heaven"--- disorganizers, abolitionists contrary to our charter of union, and even when numbers are against them, seem determined to govern by money and Bank influence, or any species of power striking at the very foundations of American Liberty--they have been defeated and their vile attempt to palm minority members upon the Legislature, has recoiled and will still continue to recoil with fearful and I hope prostrating vengeance upon the whole of such antirepublican scoundrels.

The abolition question at Washington seems at

last settled, Having in a full house vote 6 only in the minority with John Q Adams at the head,¹⁰ and the leader of every measure on the subject that would seem to point at a disso[llution] of the Union.

Mexico it would seem was determined to defend herself against France, having refused to acknowledge the capitulation or surrender of Gen^l Rincon of Vera Cruz.

This attack of France under her exorbitant demands previously made, is an evidence of power over right and oppression upon a weaker power, with in my opinion most sinister views--suppose it should lead France to attempt a Conquest--England sieze upon Texas & a civil war in Canada--all under an understanding with those two powers, concocted in Europe with all of our ministers and agents gulled, blind or cannot see--the effect of the whole of which ulteriorly leading to producing war in the UStates dismemberment of the Union, and if possible exterminating [82] the principles of Free Gov^t from the Earth----

Europe is not equal to this task against the UStates, still it might embroil us in difficulties, disunion internal or civil war, that would permit European powers to plant many thorne amid the roses of our Great Republic--whose importance just now in every point of view, is operating & influencing the destiny

of the World--as the United States in her Territorial limits and increase of population, must in the progress of the next 100 years have her 100.000.000 of population.

England and France in my opinion are operating together, secretly, confidentially and privately--and much of their policy is against the principles of the Gov^t of the United States--Her always neutral position, alarms these powers, as it in European wars increases her greatness and strengthens her in all her views--

We shall see--a few years will not pass until the secret will out, and the United States will have to take a position almost against the whole world-----

Monday 28 Jan.Y. 1839.

Congress engaged on Sir Rob^t Negro Treaty, it will in my opinion go by the board, if the Gov^t intends to be free, they cannot acknowledge it, if it wished to truckle to England and place herself entirely in the Mouth of her enormous marine then the Congress will pass it--The Right of search is a sacred principle and a dangerous one, and for the weaker power to throw themselves by Treaty will be gulphed with difficulty, and likewise the nomination of Gen^l D. F. OLeary¹¹ as Commissioner to London---

This morning was very cool--wether fine & dry--no news--wrote to Phil^a to day by the Ann & Sarah----

Tuesday 29 Jan.Y. 1839

Decidedly the coldest morning that I have ever felt in Caracas--Mr J. Alderson of Savana Grande stated the Thermometer to be as low as 52. did not place mine in a situation to Judge of the cold, but felt it until half past 8--In my Patio [it] has frequently been as low as 54 & 55, but never as low as 52. Sir Rob^t Treaty was cast overboard to day, and he may now as he said he would ask for his Pasports--he has no such idea, just as long as he can get 1500L a year to live in Caracas so long will he remain in the Country. He is somebody here, while in England he is nobody but a Painter, for his title being a Sweedish one is not acknowledged in England but per gracia-- --- The French Treaty of Commerce will in all probability meet with the same fate.

The acting Executive will no doubt attempt many operations to effect his objects, and I should not be astonished he is even leagued if he finds it popular to produce its rejection.

Gen^l Soublotte according to Co^l Thomas Richard¹² & Doct^r Forsyth at a dinner at my house a few days since, has been a traitor in his friendships and politics all his life, self and Self interest has been his guide the secret influence of all his actions, and true to those principles, he is still carrying them

out, and will just as long as he is permitted to be in office or have any influence--no news--Wether dry and pleasant--

Wednesday 30 Jan.Y. 1839.

I have dis^d to day the Treaty of Sir Rob^t alias his Negro Treaty, has not been rejected, but I have no doubt it will be, it has only passed or incurred its first reading by the congress, and they have asked for the Protocol of the Sec.Y. of State to discover the I presume the various propositions of their agent in the affair, and his reasons under his instructions how far he has acted up to them--or betrayed them--Things in foreign matters will be pretty [84] warm this Congress-- I cannot doubt the French Treaty will be sensably affected by present symptoms and I am doubtful it may do what sober reason and judgment may hereafter condemn-- However as neither the Congress nor the Gov^t nor the people seem to have any principles but expedients, it is a difficult matter to move on with them except under the influence of feelings in which the judgment has nothing to do.

Fair wether--dry & clear & wind from the right quarter--

Gen^l Soubllette I have no doubt is much vexed and molested--he is not what he was in his influences, and he knows it, if he does not he will soon find it out---

Gen^l Paez may possibly be Gov^d to a certain extent by him--but when and where he discovers popular opinion against him in adopting any of Soublette's movements, he will surely drop him--S--is tricky & faithless and may possibly betray Paez or lead him into errors, but he will instantly retrace his steps---

st
Thursday 31-- Jan.Y. 1839.

Tomorrow is the day fixed on to Swear in his Exe.Y. Gen^l Paez as President elect of Venezuela for the next Four--all foreign agents are I presume invited, I have re^d mine from the Se.Y. of Foreign Relations to the casa del Gobierno, Shall attend in full dress--There seems much diversity of opinion about Sir R -- Negro Treaty--It wont go--and I doubt this result will effect or interest Baron Gros Treaty--Called on him to day, he seems in fine glee--forced I think, as the French are rather under the ban in public opinion--Gen^l Paez it is thought will recall the nomination of OLeary as commissioner--This may be doubted--but that he will be gov^d by Public opinion there is no doubt--There is not a word published of the doings of Congress--It is passing strange that a population of 30 thousand cannot support a diary for this purpose--but it is so-- Consequently we are in the dark about Congressional movements--much is contemplated--but nothing will be

done but on paper-- [85]

Friday 1st Feb.Y. 1839.

R^d early this morning an invitation from Congress to be present in the Capilla of the Colledge to see the oath administered to Gen^l Paez as President of Venezuela under the direction of the Congress--

One of our servant women was taken very ill last night, and became almost senseless--sent for the Doc^t--a Creole Doc^t Xemenis-- --She is better this morning--a congestion of the body--violent head ache-- ---

Met the Congress according to invitation at 12, but Gen^l Paez accomp^d by a congressional deputation entered at or near half past one--came up the aisle to the seat of the President of the Senate and house, on the elevation in front of the altar, in front a Table cov^d with a velvet cloth of green with gold border--the Sec.Y.s seated below at this table and right & left in chairs the Congress, and back the Spectators--around above or between the Table of the Speakers, arranged chairs for the Foreign delegation, which arri^d helter, skelter, and took our seats in that order and without regularity--the President elect came directly up the aisle between the members and took the seat on the right of the President of the Senate Doc^t Vargas--in a few minutes rose when he was sworn in by Vargas, with

a short speech afterwards, and an equally Short one in Answer by Paez--seated again for a minut, he then rose made his bow and retired down the aisle with the congressional commission to the Gov^t house--after a few minutes spent in silence, the Congress retired to their labours and the Foreign delegation to the Gov^t house where we arriv^d about 1/4 past Two--found the President & Vice President on the platform, surrounded by his deputy Secretaries, all but the Sec.Y. of State--the three Sec.Ys. represented by their first officers--talked a little--Made our bows and retired-- ---I left first--Shaked hands and the rest foll^d ---

Our Servent still bad--- [86]

Saturday 2nd Feb.Y--1839

We have news here to day by way of S^t Thomas that an attack was made by the Mexicans upon the French at Vera Cruz, and they were repulsed with the loss of Gen^l S^tAna and many killed ¹³ --it is also reported many assassinations had taken place, committed by the Mexicans on the French--and many other things, all of which wants confirmation--

It is likewise said that war had been declared against France--Should this Affair continue, it is to embroil many nations, unless very speedily terminated by a submission or an adjustment of difficulties--It

seems the French are not disposed to lessen their pretensions and the Mexicans to adhere to their determination of negation of all demands--

The Mexicans, in this affair have right and justice on their side--but power now adays gives right, it is a cardinal principle of all Kingly Governments, and unless the larger nations should look down upon such demands, the weaker must and ever will be trampled upon.

Wether fine--Congress doing as yet nothing of importance--

rd
Sunday 3 Feb.Y. 1839

The wether to day has been very fine--mornings cool, cold--Spent the day retired without receiving visitors--
The French Consul & Lady, Sir Rob^t & Mr Hernais & Consul General Ackers--

The news from Mexico, in part would seem to have some foundation--Sent Gen^l Paez a large pear which a friend of mine gave from France, such a thing as was never before seen in Caracas in its natural state--¹⁴

Sat up very late last night with a party at E'carte--contrary to my rules, but who can prescribe rules for others, and it is my principles not to insult, or give offense if it can reasonably be avoided--

Congress is on the British negro Treaty----

It will not go down--- [87]

Monday 4 Feb.Y. 1839

Morning really cold--thermometer at 56---

Spent last night at a party opposite, to our house, a Mrs Blanco, given in consequence of baptising their first born--- a large party. very respectable, and every thing in abundance. remaining until near 3 oclock--the night at that hour very cold (for Caracas)--

The Speaker of the House informed me the British Negro Treaty rejected unanimously, Poor Sir Rob^t he may now as I understand he has said he would do, pull up stakes and depart--joy be with him--but never so long as he enjoys here 1500L a year--with that and the honor of his employment he is a great man here, in England not a rushlight. in Russia scarcely above a serf--so we go, and so wags the world, what is great in one place is little enough in another--what you enjoy here at the top of the pot, is not a dodger in that pot in other parts of the world.

Sir Rob^t however says he is off in one year more--his jester Mr Lievesley says he has said so, well may be so ----

Had a good deal of conversation with Gov^r Martin Tovar upon the British Negro Treaty--he is a good old man--with Mr Ma[n]rique the Speaker of the House, much more on the Treaty--His views are sound as a Venezuelian

and sound as an American, if he will only stick to it, as well as many others if they will act as well as talk--Have not yet paid a visit to the Congress--I am so deaf in one ear, it is most inconvenient to attend--as I cannot hear distinct enough to pay attention to the proceedings--

Tuesday 5- Feb.Y. 1839.

Yesterday had a good deal of conversation with John S. Hemon, --dont think him a very good friend of his business associate Mr John M Foster--as I think very clearly he in his heart dont approve of many of his acts, and he seemed to wish to find out something in the affairs of Messrs Howland and Aspinwalls \$300.000 of Gov^t paper--as I [88] know nothing could say nothing--but I am satisfied Mr Foster has more knowledge and much more honor than Mr H. can have from his very nature, in any thing he may do for another, and as a merchant, there is as much difference as between a huckster and a merchant of the most extended intelligence--

Sir Rob^t is in a funk about his Negro Treaty--he will endeavour to get the administration to alter, change, and confirm the Treaty anew--for the action of the wisdom of the Venezuelan Congress--in my opinion it wont go, in the one way or the other, head foremost nor tail foremost--by by the board--it deserves such

treatment, it is asking Venezuela to do that by Treaty with a foreign nation, a Kind of alliance, which she has done by her Laws--The next step if this should be patched up hashed up to suit the pallet of a majority, will be a direct interfearence in the private affairs of the nation and demand freedom to all her black population--to adopt this Treaty such consequences are inevitable--

Wednesday 6 Feb.Y. 1839

Went for the first time in several years bird hunting with a Mr Gareau--dogs bad game (the quail) tolerable plenty Killed 1 1/2 dozen--done better than I expected Killed nearly the half--with a good dog might have taken 2 dozen--a fine day, and not hot--but sufficiently warm--breakfasted at the dos Caminos or fork roads or two roads near Petare in the Vally of Caracas--San Cocho cold chicken sweet & good wine--slept 2 hours and at two started again--all an all rather a pleassent day of it--mean to go again--

#

10 April 1834 called Liberty of Contracts. wish to make some changes, so as not to sell any property but [at] a certain price on the avaluattion--the old Spanish regime [89] it to be sold for 2/3, they are discussing I am told to fix it at 1/2--what a fooling--this half under a rascally valuation may be more than 2/3 of an honest one and even grester than a true &

honest avaluation of the whole--what nonsense--property is worth no more than it will bring, and such is the natural Law, and the Laws of all commercial nations--

Hear no news--no packet yet--the first intelligence from the States will be interesting the Mexican affairs are assuming a gloomy aspect--and if France dont mind she will upon an attempt at conquest, find all America against her--The United States cannot look tamely on this French affair & Mexican War--her interest is not direct, but indirect deeply interested--Mexico to obtain a positive interfearence will have to make good her debt due the UStates.--

Thursday 7 . Feb.Y. 1839

A Breakfast & party this morning--champaign, quails &&&--no news--feel heavy and dull--Congress hammering away at the Law of the 10[#] April 1834--nothing doing, Caracas as dull as a church--wish I was out of the Country----

[8 lines inked out]

Friday 8. Feb.Y. 1839

This day has passed off without any thing new--I learn
15
the camara threw out[#] the Bill proposing alterations[#] in the Laws of the 10[#] April, This Law passed 10[#] April 1834, leaves it free for any to contract for money at any interest agreed upon, and their property

is responsible for it at public auction for what it will bring, if so expressed in the Contract--to do away this Law would do a great injury to the Country from which it would not [90] recover in years--I doubt however much the policy of permitting a person to contract for any interest, as the necessities of a person at times might force him to give any interest--But if the Law was so fixed as to allow a fair interest according to the present state of the Country, say 12 1/2 pCt. annum, it would be all sufficient, and could not fail, by a due execution of the Laws to amply pay and satisfy any man having money to loan--

Gen^l Paez paid me a visit to day at about 3 o'clock like any other Citizen--the more I see of this man, the more I am pleased with him, and am induced to believe his views are to aggrandize or rather to endeavour to benefit his Country in every way he can-- No Packet yet, and no recent arrivals from the States--- great anxiety is manifested to hear from Mexico--and if the reports of a Battle at Verz Cruz be true--

Saturday--9 Feb.Y. 1839.

Mail day from the South, but do not hear of any particular intelligence being rec^d--no letters from Bogota, as Mr Semple is so much a man of business as he himself says, I can expect nothing from him but

letters of business-- I shall therefore strictly adhere to his position and write him upon nothing but business---

The English Negro Treaty is I learn undergoing a new dress. hashed up to suit the pallate of the negative Congress--but it wont do in my opinion in any Shape--The French Treaty not yet presented, there seems some doubts, and it is undergoing a kind of gastronomick purification to suit the taste and stomachs of the Congresantes ----

I will give both of them a kind of inverted hand to help them not up but down hill.

Politically these great Representatives of the great Nations of the court of St James and S^t Cloud, are very important, and personally impudent and self important--they can feel a thrust and [91] I have already given them a small one--They are not so well acquainted with these people as they think they are, tho' one has resided in Spain and the other 15 years in Caracas.--Sir Rob^t commenced dinner parties, but too late, and the other visits with cane and hat in hand and a courtesy for a bow, but neither are understood here--There seems no excuse for a man to keep his hat and stick in hand while promnading a parlour, or visiting and taking tea, yet the Baron and his hopeful ministers hir[e]d secretary wish to force the custom

down the throat of these people, and Sir Rob^t to wear on great occasions a surtout and forage cap as a dress suit.---They will get perhaps a bee in their bonnet lugs ere they are aware of it.

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XV

- 1 Williamson wrote to James Semple under date of March 14, 1838: "Mr. Rives is a mariner and therefore subject to all the vicissitudes and changes incident to such a life--His family resides in Baltimore. The notice of this Gov^t fixing a limited time to present claims never reached him or came under his notice until his arrival here, or at the Island of Margarita in 1835, when he presented his documents and which were rejected in consequence of the limitation having expired." National Archives, Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Miscellaneous Correspondence Concerning Claims, 1830-1839.
- 2 This treaty of amity and commerce with the Hanseatic cities was approved by the Venezuelan congress, April 28, 1838. González Guinán, Historia de Venezuela, III, 76.
- 3 facture--invoice, bill of sale.
- 4 The father of Baron Jean Baptiste Louis Gros (1793-1870) was attached to the entourage of the Duchess of Bourbon and followed her into exile. Jean Baptiste was attache at the Lisbon Legation in 1823, and later was charge of various missions, especially

in Egypt. He was made a baron in 1829, and was sent to Bogotá as charge February 16, 1838. Baron Gros was one of the ministers who helped to regulate the differences between England and Greece in 1850, and was sent to China in 1857 and in 1860 received the title of 'ambassadeur extraordinaire' for negotiation of the peace. On his return he was made ambassador to London, 1862. La Grande Encyclopédie, XIX, 454.

- 5 The Universidad Central de Venezuela has a long history for it developed from the Seminario de Santa Rosa which was founded by royal decree, May 28, 1672. Philip V, by the royal decree of December 22, 1721, and Innocent III, by the bull of December 16, 1722, changed the Seminario to the Universidad. The University opened in August 11, 1725, and its first rector was Don Francisco Martínez de Pórras. Blanco y Aspuruá, Documentos, I, 51.
- 6 Indio desnudo, common name for the Bursera Simaruba. This family of dicotyledonous shrubs and trees was named for the German botanist, Joachim Burser. Products of these plants are myrrh, balsam, and frankincense. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, IX, 1516; XXVIII, 1319.

7 General Felipe Mazero (1778-1865), veteran of the wars of independence, retired to private life after the successful conclusion of the Peruvian campaign; but when Páez attempted revolution in 1826, Mazero placed himself at the head of the Apure Battalion. In 1827, after the Cogiata was over, Mazero retired to private life and dedicated himself to agriculture. Ibid., XXXIII, 1386-1387.

8 cobiya--cover, shawl. Ibid., XIII, 1048.

9 Williamson's reference is to the "Buckshot War." As a result of the Pennsylvania state election of October 9, 1838, the Anti-Masonic Whig party (Thomas Henry Burrowes, state chairman) was defeated by alleged frauds at the Philadelphia polls. Both the Democrats and Whigs claimed control of the House of Representatives and two speakers were elected. A mob threatened violence and Thaddeus Stevens, Charles B. Penrose, and Burrowes escaped from the Senate room through a window. In order to seat the defeated Whig candidates, Governor Ritner called for United States troops but Van Buren ignored the request. Then Ritner called out the militia, requisitioning among other equipment, thirteen rounds of buckshot cartridges; hence the name

"Buckshot War." The militia refused to assist Ritner and order was restored when three Whigs voted with the Democrats, enabling them to organize the House. James Truslow Adams (ed.), Dictionary American History, 6 vols., (New York, 1940), I, 248; Dictionary American Biography, III, 335; Niles Weekly Register, LV (December 22, 1838), 268-269.

- 10 On December 20, 1838, John Quincy Adams presented a petition from the citizens of New Hampshire on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Colombia. The Speaker ruled that the prayer to be heard in support of the petition must go on the table. Adams disagreed, but after some debate it was decided by a vote of 180 to 8 that the decision of the chair should stand as the judgment of the house. Niles Weekly Register, LV (December 22, 1838), 271.

- 11 Daniel Florencio O'Leary was born in Dublin in 1800 or 1801 and died at Santa Fe de Bogotá, February 24, 1877. Sixteen years old when he enlisted in London with Col. Wilson's British Legion, he was not much older when he became a lieutenant during the Apure and New Granada campaigns. Bolívar made him one of his aides in

1821, and from that time on, he accompanied Bolívar and acted as his agent in Chile and Brazil. When Bolívar died O'Leary went to England and remained there until 1838. He was twice a diplomatic representative of England to Venezuela: 1842-1843 and 1876-1877.

O'Leary's Memorias (published by his son, Simón B. O'Leary, by order of the Venezuelan government and under the auspices of its president, General Guzmán Blanco) were edited in 32 volumes but in three groups from 1879 to 1888. The first group contained the first twenty-six volumes. The second group was the next three volumes. They were printed in 1883 but were suppressed because they contained the letters of Manuela Sáenz to Bolívar and because there were offensive allusions to Antonio L. Guzmán, father of the president. The remaining volumes were printed 1887-1888. Rufino Blanco-Fombona (ed.), Daniel F. O'Leary Últimos Años de la Vida Pública de Bolívar (Madrid, 1916), 9-23; Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, XXXIX, 991-992. Espasa Calpe gives 1854 as the date of O'Leary's death while Blanco-Fombona gives the date as 1877.

- 12 Thomas Richards, an English adventurer, was born in Manchester in 1789. Until 1814 he carried on

the business of T. Richards & Co. in Cadiz. Having helped some revolutionists to escape from Spain, Richards was persecuted and ruined. He fled to Cartagena and took part in the revolutionary army of New Granada where he became a colonel. When Morillo re-established control in New Granada, Richards escaped to the plains of Casanare, and finally reached Angostura. There he joined Admiral Brion and served with him until Brion retired to Curacao in 1821. Richards then went to Caracas where he died, poor and abandoned, in 1840; but left behind him a numerous progeny. Espasa Calpe, Encyclopedia, LI, 426.

- 13 Santa Anna was not killed but lost a leg as a result of this engagement. Cf., supra, 477.
- 14 Williamson is in error here for an earlier traveller, in describing the market place, intimates that pears were frequently seen. "There are several squares in Caracas; but none of them worthy of notice, except the Plaza Mayor, or great square, where the market for fruits, vegetables, fish, and other smaller articles, is held. The east side is principally occupied by the cathedral, the south by the college, and the west by the public prison.

Within these is, as it were, another square formed principally by ranges of low shops, which, however convenient in a commercial point of view, entirely disfigure the whole. . . .In this square may be seen the fruits which we have been accustomed to consider as peculiar to very different climates, all brought from the distance of a few leagues. The banana, the pine apple, and the sapadillo, are mingled with the apple, the pear, and the chestnut. The potatoe and the plantain, fresh provisions which seem to belong to the temperate zones, and those kinds of fish which are peculiar to tropical seas, are here offered for sale on the same spot."

Robert Semple, Sketch of the Present State of Caracas (London, 1812), 50-51.

- 15 Camara--each of the two houses of a legislative body.

[CHAPTER XVI]

[FEBRUARY 10, 1839 To MARCH 24, 1839]

[#]
Sunday 10. Feb.Y. 1839.

This is the first day of Carnestolendas,¹ when every person, servants and all consider themselves privileged to wet by throwing water, eggshells full of water on every person, indiscriminately--I have great respect for the customs of all people--but this is but a childish one, tho eagerly persued by all men, women, boys & girls, in the Streets and in houses--- No news--wether unsettled & cloudy and drizly--Mr Casanova from Maracaybo called on me to day, he is a member of Congress from that city and district--To please me I suppose he spoke much of American Trade, its benefits to Venezuela &&&&&--but--it is true, tho I do [not] think he cares much to acknowledge it.

[#]
Monday 11 Feb.Y. 1839.

A shocking state of things, cannot pass into the streets without a chance of geting wet from the windows or balconys--Bought in conjunction with F. Orea #66000 5 1/2 pCt Venezuelian debt at 38 pCt. so he says--I think he has gained 2 or 3 pCt. of me in the amt^t which gives me, which is half--I doubt sometimes he did not buy [92] at all, but sold me the debt of others--I

have now 20.350\$ in this Stock yielding me upwards of
 1000 p²annum Mac[o]luquina, or 800# Spanish Value--This
 sum alone keeps me from want the ballance of my life,
 if no change takes place in the Gov^t, no revolution--
 however, the moment I can get 50 pCt--will give me
 8000\$ Spanish, which I can put out at 6 pCt--will give
 me 480\$ enough to keep soul and body together for the
 rest of my life--I have however besides this 6000\$ at
 home--and I came here not worth a cent in 1835--I mean
 that which I could call my own, my wifes income I have
 never taken into consideration which may reach when the
 Chesepeake & Deleware Canal Commences paying interest
 may reach 1000 pyear--I therefore to day consider we
 have a near income of 2000\$ p Annum, not a small am^t--
 for poor people--a four years residence here more and
 no revolution, I will make my 30.000\$ clear of this
 world on my own a/c. It however becomes me to look out
 for breakers, as I do not know what Mr Van Buren may
think of me --all I can say however, and I think without
 egotizm on my part, I have done him some service--and
 to me in a great measure belongs the revolution effected
 in my district in Carolina--

No news--and no packit yet--and no arrival from
 the States--

 Tuesday 12. Feb.Y. 1839.

Carnestolendas continues to day--no passing the Streets without a shower from Balconys & windows--No news--Caracas dull enough in all conscience, Congress adds nor imparts any life to the City--no arrivals--mornings cool--

Wednesday 13. Feb.Y. 1839--

Mrs Jove & Son dined with me to day, and they eat as tho they had fasted for the last week--Doc^t Fortique Judge of the Superior Court called on me to day have known him for 11 years--a clever [93] man--older than I supposed 44 years--Spent 4 years abroad--2 in UStates, 1 in England 2 in France & Italy----

The British Packet in--have heard no news, and have rec^d no letters--This morning quite cold--thermometer 56--

Thursday 14 Feb.Y. 1839.

This morning very cold, tho' the thermometer in my Patio did not exhibit it or fall so low as two days past, at 58----

Two vessels from Boston--The Vera Cruz affair between the French & Mexicans confirmed, War declared by Mexico--Should this business last any time, it will create no small sensation--privateers will injure much the French commerce, however much France may attempt to frighten every body engaged in, by hanging as pirates

*** those they may take, the Laws of Nations protect them, and France may nevertheless go to extremes in the matter but it will recoil violently upon her in every point of view----

Verbal news by the Packit States that the English & Turkish (I suppose French) united and forced a passage through the Dardenelles--a (ohispa) spark of War--one more demonstration and it has begun and if so where will it end, in Asia or in Europe--The settled Policy of Russia is agrandizement and conquest, and no doubt she has been looking for years forward to laying her "huge paws" upon the British Indias, as well as Turkey in Europe--Where then would she stop, aided in a like policy by Austria and the Entire Continent would be at their disposal--
3

Friday 15. Feb.Y. 1839.

Called on the Secretary of State--re^d his memoria to Congress well got up and contains much matter of interest--No news further--The sun very warm & Caracas a horrid hole and as a whole.

Bought two pair of rasors--why put this in my diary, because I have been very badly shaved. [94]

Saturday 16 Feb.Y. 1839.

I have heard of no news from the South--

It appears that the report by the Packit is

confined to a verbal statement of the Capt. that the English had positively forced a passage into the Black Sea through the Dardanelles opposed by a Russian naval force and that an engagement had taken place--the Cap^t brings this in consequence of putting back after sailing and thus brings the intelligence--we shall have the truth of it by the next packet, which we may look for hourly--

No news--The Congress of Venezuela I learn has given Gen^l McGregor⁴ McGregor 20-000-\$ for his services and placed him on third pay as Gen^l --if so, it is doing him great justice and does the Congress honor--I fear however it is only the Senate have done this & the lower house will refuse it--however I hope not.

Sunday 17. Feb.Y. 1839

[2 1/2 lines inked out] and in the little nasty private affairs and scandals so ripe in Caracas I am determined to wipe my hands of them entirely--my ears are open and I must hear, but my mixing is out of the question.

Re^d on Friday last a most singular communication from Mr^s J. M. Foster rather it would seem to get me to mix or meddle in the affairs of her husband, now concerned in business with John S. Mamson in LaGuayra--but I have answered her in a firendly and polite note,

which cannot fail to impress upon her the necessity of my keeping aloof from all such affairs not only from public situation but from a private objection to mixing in the affairs of other persons--I do not know how she will take it--as she is a very masculine woman, but as a lady she ought to be satisfied that I am right in my position.

There is perhaps no little place in the world where so many discordant elements exist [95] as exists in La^Uayra, and it extends in all its ramifications to Caracas from commercial connexions, and the business of the port being in the hands almost exclusively of foreigners, among whom so many feuds exist--Harmony does not exist and friendship is out of the question, squeezed into such a focus [focus?], as all business is in this country--There will no doubt be a considerable blow up some of these days with the American traders in La^Uayra, and may lead to very unpleasant personal altercations, fighting I believe to be out of the question, the elements are not so chivalrous as to produce a pistol affair, but may lead to blows of another sort.

Mr Ackers, Doc^t Bascomb a sidevant yankie and Mr La Forrest the French Vice Consul called to day; and Doc^t S. D. Forsyth dined with me alone--the latter is

a most singular man, so made up of little tricks and intrigues, so much a man of all things to all persons, with so many stratagems in private life, and a continual strain to make himself something in public and the eyes of every one that he is inexhaustable on all subjects-- with a retentive memory and particularly in things he feels [sic.] or thinks he has an interest, that he always makes himself the first person in details and events, or right or wrong, important or unimportant, that really like an eel you cannot hold him even by the tail--a man originally of little or no education, but of a naturally active mind, but no propensity to dive into things, but float upon their service, he has arrived near or at the garulity of old age, without having accomplished scarcely an object which his ambition coverted.

Has many companionable qualities--some good and many bad, because he is generally false in all his intercourse--yet perhaps he is not really a bad man-- only a dangerous one to be too intimate and confidential with--He has occasionally been Kind and useful to me but again I have thought a little treacherous--yet I conceive I have paid him in friendships for all--- [96]

Monday 18 . Feb.Y. 1839

Last evening from 5 'till 9 oclock at night, Caracas

was covered with a damp and cold mist, almost rain, and very disagreeable.

This wether is that kind which here produces colds, rheumatizms, catarrahs and a host of malos to the human frame, particularly that class of citizen ⁵ poco quebrantado---

I have not enjoyed good health for many months tho seemingly so---the peculiar sensations of my right side, just above the region of my liver indicates at times as tho' it might put a stop to life at a moments warning----

Called on Gen^l Paez found him engaged in his private cockpit preparing for his great fight some day next month--he re^d me in a jackit & slippers without cravat or vest, this easy mode and convenient mode of life has been his custom, he is much restrained dressed like a gentleman--A stranger would scarcely have recognized the President of Venezuela and the soldier in his present garb--but so few are the restraints of life in this Country that a few years since, not a dress coat or surtout or frock of cloth would have been found or seen in Caracas. and in the Country, a checked shirt straw hat and drawers with coquisas shoes, was the only dress, it is yet pretty much so--but in town an entire change has been wrought, and there is some

pretensions to style & dandyism.

Gen^l Paez is decidedly the democrat of the Country spiced a little yet with authoritative power by nature, which is perceptible at times, but it is escaping with the contact of other scenes and other objects-- He has so long commanded free as the wind, that the restraints of Law, Gov^t and constitution, and I may say Civilization are yet but threads in his hands, yet obeys and I think will continue to do so perhaps for ever and make himself the first Citizen of his Country-----
[97]

Tuesday 19 Feb.Y. 1839.

Baron Gros called to day--he seems a little sore on the score of his treaty, and the Mexican News tho' the first has not been yet presented to Congress. He is a little doubtful it may [be] delayed, postponed or perhaps rejected entirely--as the Congresantes are mere thermometers of the passions, and not the judgments of sound political intelligence or Wisdom--He has invited me to dine with him on Thursday, have accepted--do not know whether it is an official dinner or not.

#

The British Packit in of the 15 Jan.Y.--no news--the verbal report of the Dardanells affair, has ended as expected, not a word of it true--A tremendous blow off Liverpool two packit Ships lost, the Pennsylvania

& another & one British Ship with emigrants--many persons lost.

Wednesday 20 . Feb.Y. 1839

The wether for many days unsettled, much wind some rain, and extremely damp.--to day has been in the sun extremely hot--wind for several days from Petare during the whole day, and without fail in the evening--

Congress it would seem are disposed to lay heavy & powerful burdens upon business through the Custom Houses of the Republic, and responsabilities which would drive merchants out of business and ship owners from sending a vessel to their ports--by creating responsabilities not to be complied but at great hazzard, and the smallest error in manifests a[n] almost confiscation of vessel, or such a heavy fine, that no ordinary captain would like to run the risque of.--a deputation of merchants from La^uayra have presented to a commission of Congress their views and their objections, it will in all probability have at least the effect to modify the propositions and the Law--Mr Aranda ⁶ who has within the last year been sent to LaGuayra as collector is no doubt the author of this project, a man of some head but no experience, Theoretical in all his views, [98] he believes he can carry out in practise any visionary scheme of reform, of Gov^t Laws, or constitution, which he may conceive in his dreams--He is said to be a

Coauthor of the Celebrated Bolivian Code, and was an
 excelent second to all Gen^l Bolivars views, visions &
 whims.

The Packit of the 15[#] Jan.Y. brings news of a
 tremendous storm on the Coast off Liverpool--loss of
 the Pennelvania [sic.] and 8^t Andrew Packit Ship & a
 british Ship loaded with emigrants--and I learn the
 three ships & Cargoes are valued at 700.000 L Sterling,
 an enormous am^t---Cant believe it--tho' it is possible.⁷

Thursday 21 Feb.Y. 1839[#]

Dined to day with Baron Gros, present only The British
 Charge, French Consul, & Vice--in number 8--Precedence
 awarded of course to me, a little to the annoyance of
 the British Charge, old woman--for indeed he is an old
 woman----

It passed off pleasantly enough, French, English
 & Spanish spoken--

No news--Do not think the Baron au fait, at
 a dinner, 'tho' it may arise from the many little
 difficulties which a person has to encounter here in
 Cooks and servents--however his men servents are men
of France and ought to know their business--Wether
 with hard Catia wind all day--and coold at night, to
 sensation, without having a great effect upon the
 Thermometer--

Congress, dont know really what--it is doing--
I hear so badly that I have no pleasure in visiting
the two houses--

nd
Friday 22 - Feb.Y. 1839.

Wether warm--paid a visit to Gen^l Sir Gregor M^c-Gregor, .
who came to this Country first in 1811 and served
alternately in Venezuela & New Granada for several years,
under a great variety of reverses, hardships and [99]
misfortunes, until Gen^l Bolivar Expelled him the
Country, or rather when he was temporarily out of it,
gave orders he should not be permitted to touch the
soil again--in 1835 President Vargas permitted his
return, and he arri^d in Caracas in Nov^r 1838--He is now
said to be the head of the clan M^cGreggor if that clan
existed--he is a rough soldier looking man, with a
voice as loud as his Scotch mountain blasts--I do not
think of much education--tho no doubt he has seen much
good society--he says he is cousin to Lord Balgray,
formerly Sir David Robinson Williamson Ewart, the
second name he took from his first wife, and his last
from his last wife, his name being Sir David Williamson,
he is now deo^d and his title discends to his nephew
Charles Williamson--The Gen^l is disposed to make me his
kinsman--my father being a Scotsman--I know nothing
particular of our family & my father was very silent

on the subject, however I do not think they were above the common class of mankind. It is possible and probable we have many relations in Bengal or British East Indies.

rd
Saturday 23--Feb.Y. 1839

Went out gunning to day with a Mr F Gareau, towards Catia, baged 1 dozen patridge complete, with a bad dog, and returned at 11 oclock--with a good dog could have taken 2 dozen--much labour and fatigue--tho' not very hot--

No news--hear nothing from the South. A British Ship in from Liverpool in about 25 days--none from the States.

Sunday 24 Feb.Y. 1839.

Had a very excelent breakfast at 1/2 past eleven of patridges & buckwheat cakes, Mr Gareau breakfasted with us--my wife complaining of debility, and her spirits low & depressed--continued on Monday the same way and on tuesday morning complained much of throat and shivering or aguerish--sent for Lacombe [100] at night, who found her with slight fever, glands of the neck a little swelled, and throat a little inflamed, prescribed a vomit of Tarter in broken doses, and a slight purge of sena, mana, & cream of tarter--relieved by effects of the vomit--- ---

Merely passed into the Street to day on business--

heard no news--read the melancholy fate of the New York Packits Pennsylvania and Oxford, great loss of lives, Cap^t Smith of the P. lost, Cap^t Thompson of the Oxford saved--The Lockwoods tho not a Packit was a very fine Ship with Emigrants lost (for N York) and one half of the passengers--The Cambridge Packit Ship saved with great difficulty--all three Vessels from Liverpool to the UStates--

Wednesday 27[#] Feb.Y. 1839

My wife a little better, and I trust will soon recover herself again--She has enjoyed a great show of fine health since we were married, which will be 7 years the 8[#] May next--She is much depressed for want of society-- --- Wether is extremely hot in the Sun--a change of wind yesterday & to day from Catia to Petare which the warm, makes an agreeable and salubrious change---

My wife has not got better the Doc^t ordered a poultice of ground flax-seed, which when applied warm soon becomes cold and I think in this state did her an injury and increased the cold and consequently effected the throat more--The Doc^t (Lacombe) called at half past 9 at night and examined her throat and mouth and ordered her if no better in the morning to commence again the emetic-- ---

Rec^d a visit to night from a Mr Skinner of

Utica NYork a Universalist preacher a man of about 45 years old, perhaps not so much, in company with a Mr Parsons of the city or vicinity of N York, and a Mr Pitfield do not know from whence--

They came with Mr Manson, to whom in [101] conversation I del^d them exclusively, as he (Manson) is so self important, knowing and egotistical I never wish to come in contact with him only merely in the way of civility, because we can never agree upon any thing--or any subject-- Those gentlemen promised to call on me tomorrow at 11 to visit the two houses of Congress. I shall avoid religion with this Universalists, as no doubt he would on all occasions feel a disposition to prosolite--

Thureday 28- Feb.Y. 1839

My wife complained a good deal last night, and this morning I have commenced again the vomit--I think it will give her relief--she suffers much under sickness because so little accustomed to it, for she has never to say been ill except with the measles since our marriage, now near 7 years--She has passed a bad day, with considerable pain in the throat, tho the glands have abated much their size on the side of the throat---
The three Americans, named yesterday called but I could not from the indisposition of Mrs W attend them

anywhere.

Confined to the house all day--

st
Friday 1 March 1839

This day has passed without any thing particular--The Congress are discussing Public Credit, and Should they adopt the proposed plan and which I learn is popular to redeem the entire Public Credits commencing with Colombian 5 pCt and reducing it to 33 1/3 Venezuelan without allowing the back interest on the bonds, 3 pCts proportionably low and so on with the entire debts, their financial principles are good and their national honor sunk to the ebb of degradation--

Congress at my suggestion to Gen^l Paez & Sec.Y. Smith are about giving power to the President & Council of Gov^t to contract for the cutting of a rail road⁹ from here to LaGuayra, and should it meet my views thereafter, I will see what propositions and advantages I can derive from a contract, or rather what they will allow-- [102] The distance is not more on the rout proposed than about 25 miles, and I think it can be cut for 30.000\$ p mile--making a sum of 750.000\$ Dollars--the carrying business alone in my opinion alone will pay 150.000\$ p year and passengers 20 to 30.000 more--I think beyond a doubt it will yield 15 pt to 20 p Ct. I propose in a few days to measure the distances, say two ways and examine

by the eye only the locality---If I can make an advantageous contract, and can subsequently raise the subscription will undertake the road, and if so, it will be with all my force of personal and mental exertions to conclude it in two years or a less time--The wether. is very warm sun extremely hot, but as usual in Caracas the shade and within the houses delightful and pleasant.

It is said a vessel has arr^d direct from Havannah and brings news rather the opposite in many points in the recent events and movements of the French at Vera Cruz--and with another notice that a French Brig of War had fired into an American Man of War for attempting to force the Blockade--If it [is true] this fact alone, as by Laws of Nations Neutral National armed Vessels are never prohibited by blockade from entering and departing into or from any Blockaded place, it would rather induce a belief of a determination of the French to provoke war of some kind and perhaps create a pretense to seize upon Cuba or endeavour to make a movement for conquest on the Coast of Mexico. Gen^l Bernard¹⁰ long employed in the Engineer department of our Gov^t has no doubt created or stimulated these views, if I am correct in them, from his actual knowledge of the Weakest and most vulnerable part of our Country, for certainly our Southern Mexican frontier & Coast is the weakest part

of our Country---I trust however such are not the facts-- yet Louis Philipe is a deep scheming politician and in common with England and the Spanish Cabinet, they will all have some deep laid scheme in this matter--France [103] to invade Mexico and England take possession of Cuba and free the Slaves of that Island and then should it produce War with the UStates, to declare freedom to all slaves who may take part with them in the Southern part of our Confederacy.¹¹ It behooves us to look well to these matters--one event may well bring on another, until perhaps these astounding facts will appear clear of the clouds which now in supposition only that seems to hand over such policy--The United States should never forget, and her people, Gov^t and citizens, that we are envied for greatness and increasing strength and wealth, by all Europe, and that in a few more years we are destined to give Laws to the world, that the seat of power and influence will have to change its place from the old to the New World----

nd
Saturday 2 March 1839

There has been in Caracas for the last two or 3 days the rev^d Mr Skinner of Utica an Universalist preacher and a Mr Pitfield of the same place & a Mr Parsons of New York they leave tomorrow evening or Monday morning for Valencia & P^O-Cabello to embark again for S^t-Cruz,

thence to P^o Rico & the Havanna, then to New Orleans--
Mr P. seems in ill health---

My wife I am glad to say is much better after
applying 18 leaches to the throat--she still suffers
from soreness, but I trust it will now soon pass off--
Hear of no news from the South as it is mail day--Sir
Rob^t had a large dinner party on thursday last, the
French party exclusively--he seems to give me the goby--
I am extremely obliged to him, as it saves me his
civilities and I can loose nothing by not eating his
beeff--

rd
Sunday 3 - March 1839

Breakfasted to day at Mr Gareaus with quite a mixt
company--it was excelent--played Escarte afterwards, the
game occasionally engendered some slight colisions--
shall back out of such scrapes--they ultimately lead
to very unpleasent events, and too often seperate
friends an acquaintences--I am sorry that [104] any
circumstances should induce me to break the Sabath, a
day that ought to be consecrated to better things, and
a communion more closely with our god--The Re^d Mr
Skinner may give rather an unfavourable account perhaps
of Caracas and of me--let him do it--No arrivals from
the States and particularly from Phil^a--my last date
from Phil^a not later than 28[#] Decem^r --Do not know what

the Congress is about, nor the President as regards my holding or rather continuing in my present situation-- I am heartily sick of it, tho' would have no objection to remain one or two years more.

Monday 4 March 1839.

In arrainging some affairs in connection with the estate of J^s Egan I have neglected to keep up daily my diary, besides a continual run in the streets to look after the Cantaro to put a stone over him in the Campo Santo¹² of the City;

Today the 7#

I paid John Egan nephew and Legatee under Mr Egans Will two thousand Dollars on a/c and he immediately loaned it to Mr Lockart & Mr Lockart to Carlos Dunlop. of Tuy, who paid off Stopford & Ansola.

I have learned nothing in the way of news for several days--Sir Rob^t is negotiating anew his negro Treaty, and if there is any independence in the Congress they will lay it out flat, as they have done the previous ones--but I doubt it, as no doubt Sir Rob^t will allow Mr Rodrigues the negociator to make it as he pleases--even that will not answer perhaps--- The French Treaty is before Congress, it will go down, I cannot doubt it, unless Congress is disposed to add insult to negotiation and Treat France different than it has Treated England or the United States---Caracas

is excessively dull so far as I am concerned--My wife thank god is up & with a little prudence she is safe--the wether is hot and very dry in Caracas & the Vally, litterally parched up--- [105]

Friday 8 March 1839.

Re-^d a note from the Sec.Y. of Foreign Relations advising me of the Supreme Court having confirmed the sentence of the Superior Court in Idlers case by granting the appeal of the Gov^t of Restitucion In Integrum,¹³ and having transmitted to Bogota all the documents in his case for a new liquidation of accounts---Thus the very Supreme Court itself who had previously decided the Gov^t was due Mr Idler upwards of 70.000 \$ fuertes, upon a liquidated account, now contend and admit a new liquidation, and of course a complete revision of their previous decrees--Thus Justice is truly blind, and a principle is admitted that a case once adjudged can be adjudged anew--so there is no end to the matter.

My wife is better--but the mind is now more in want of ease than the body--she litteraly dreams and sleeps upon the hopes of returning to Phil^a and for my own part, I am tired enough, and if I was not actually gaining a few dollars would not remain here one day longer than a good opportunity to depart offered--Caracas is litterally just now a bed of dust, the air full and

heavy & hot much such wether as we have in Carolina in the month of May or latter part of April at the springing of vegetation. every thing indicating Spring and a change of seasons--- ----

Saturday 9 March 1839

Mail in from Bogota, no news--Re^d a letter from Mr Semple--had not re^d my last letters of 9 Feb.Y.---
--- [2 lines inked out].

day hot, gloomy with dust, atmosphere thick smoky & heavy--Re^d porposition from Co^l Richards about Mr Halsy^s claim, ¹⁴ asks 1000\$ on loan upon his property for the information he can give--shall perhaps offer him 500\$ and if I recover I will not ask for it but make it a present to him--but he only wants it as a loan--Am in great doubt--tho the hazzard [106] is certainly worth it--because if I succeed I shall have ¹⁵ made a handsome sum of money.--- Nights hot until 2 oclock & then cool till morning and after 8 very warm---.

Learn the John is in from Baltimore--am anxious to hear from the States---

Sunday 10 March 1839

This morning dreadfully close, still, the air full of dust & heavy beyond endurance without being very hot-- for the last 15 days many complaints of sore throat-- and affections of the throat & thorax--

Went to the Colledge de Independencia of Montenegro, heard a class examined on Spanish Grammar--an excelent class--Young Camacho a son of the niece of Gen-¹ Bolivar, seemed decidedly superior to any in his class--he is about 14 years old--

Have heard no news--The John from Baltimore I learn brings very late dates--but I cannot get a word of news--She comes I learn to J. S. McKaighen & Co, a partner of whom is Renshaw the American Consul as mean a lickspittle and gob totor of a man as was ever born in London.-----

Monday 11 March 1839

I have neglected my diary this almost entire week, and when I think of it cannot offer a reason or an excuse, except looking into and inquiring about a claim of Mr Halsey, and to get some important papers from Col¹ Richards who was Sec.Y. to Admiral Brion, I have agreed with E. McClory that him & Richards shall have half of my commission which is 33 1/3 pCt. half of which they get, if we succeed--my commission on Mr Halsey. ^spart, will be my own and do not think he can object to Allow it say 10 pCt--however we shall see--McClory advances Richards on loan 1000\$ with a lean on his property and I proposed myself that I will in the want of Sec.Y. [security] [107] pay half that sum & him and Richards the ballance--shall commence this work at once---Congress

I think have resolved on the whole (my opinion) not to touch in any way Public Credit this session--So down goes all paper, except Venezuelian 5 pCt-- -- --Two arrivals from the States one from Phil^A & one from New York--no particular News---It would seem the Superior Court of Penslvania have decided against the validity of Gov^r Ritners interregnum appointments, consequently Mayor that was and would be John Swift appointed recorder by Ritner, walks out of the office as he entered it, clean shod if not dry shod--I think the democratic party throughout the United States is gaining ground, and do not doubt but Mr Van Buren will be reelected--The people in our country must and will govern, it is their right, no other case we acknowledge--Banks & other chartered rights and priviledges to the contrary notwithstanding--

Whigizm as now understood, unmasked can never get into to power, force of circumstances and combinations may do it, may deceive cajole and fawn public opinion into an error, but the deception will not long be hid from the democracy of the Country; Mr Clay it would seem has prepared his white washing Tub & brush, and given a coat over his old and known sentiments in introducing the disctrick antiabolition petition--
16
and he appears I perceive with a black patch (so say

17

the newspapers) under his eye, on the floor of Congress, under a new coat on the subject--This is one of his card shuffle⁸ as he is looking out for a new deal and a new hand--he and Mr Rives of Virginia¹⁸ are playing a game, and this is the first deal in the game--who will win, the election in Virginia just now for Senator will tell Mr Rives [108] and the election of 1840, tell the other--

19

I never thought that Mr Rives could play second hand to any body--nous veron as Mr Ritchie says--

Sunday 17 March 1839

I can make no appology for my seeming neglect or laziness in not attending more to my Journal--in fact there are so few things worthy of notice, so few incidents that pass in this dull city worth even an observation, that my mind really becomes inactive and almost incapable of active exertion--human nature here as it is every where the most valuable study, interesting in as much as it effects every thing in this world--

In this Country from the defects of Education, religion and morality, it is presented in a form and phases that perhaps is to [be] found in no Country but the Collonies of Old Spain--

The indiscriminate connexions, mixture of Colours and general amalgamation, has had a great

tendency to blunt all the fine feelings of the human heart, that in others is the soul of life, enjoyments, happiness, enterprise & industry-- --life here is nothing but a moral degradation and depravity of the human heart, operated on by causes, not effects, in which existence is blinded with sensuality moral depravity & corruption--Yet too all this & in the fact of a bigotry in religion to be found no where but in Catholic Countries--The Clergy who should in all countries be the guides, and directors of social and moral life, are here really the disorganizers and most corrupt of the inhabitants--The lust of the flesh, sensual enjoyment, and card playing constitutes away from the exercise of their immediate functions, their whole life--They are the consulted and advisors and not infrequently are the real personally interested in all the abominations of moral associations in the City--There are exceptions but they are [109] few in deed--And under the sacred Catholic religion of confession, they hold in their hands all the vices, immoralities and vices of the City; and [in] this manner find a field as wide as their wilful appetites and more wilful immoralities can desire--The virtues of one and the vices of another, are thus familiar to them, and poor human nature corrupt and corrupting fall an easy pray to a more easy cloak like religion, and these are thus if not

always the first, at least the great principles in
destroying all virtue, integrity and morals--

The result of all this, is that there is no
Shame that leaves an impression, in the commission of
any immoral act--daughters are prostitutes shielded and
protected, and sons taught there is no shame and [of]
course no crime in any thing they may commit that makes
an inroad upon the virtue of a family--It neither casts
them from their families, nor prevents still the usual
associations of familiarity, society or friends--This
subject would to persue it lead me to write a volum-----

Congress have not yet passed the French Treaty--
Sir Rob^t Negro Treaty has been signed by the pleni-
potenciaries--but in my opinion it will not go through
the Congress--

Public credit will be left till next year---

rd
Saturday 23 - March 1839.

Re^d to day the Message of President Roquefuerte of the
Equador from J G. Picket Ez^{re} [Esquire]²⁰ commissioner
from the UStates to that Gov^t---together with a letter
from Mr Semple at Bogota.

The Message is a good document but perhaps a
little in advance of the civilization of his Country,
therefore arises the difficulties of puting into
effective operations any improvements because the

executive officers of inferior degree are incapable of their execution--It however may do some good, and may lead to a reform of many abuses of curtail their proportions which now in many branches of the Gov^t are so perceptible--Mr Semple seems [110] a little more politely disposed--his first letters were rather pointed--but if he lives two years in Bogota it will wear off as he will find a very different class of people to deal with than perhaps he ever expected, whatever may have been his previous sentiments--

The holy week commences tomorrow when we shall have another shew of all the church can do, and devotees promise for another year--Silk shoes, silk stockings, and every thing fine will this week be brought into requisition at whatever cost of morals or money.

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XVI

- 1 Carneistolendas--Shrovetide, the three days before Ash Wednesday.
- 2 "It is estimated that the mass of the current money in the province of Caraccas, is not more than three millions of dollars, of which the fourth is in small clipped coin, which they call macouquina. Its form, to which no other parts will give the honours of money, and moreover its weight, retains it in the country, because it cannot leave it without leaving a third of its value. A bag of this money, which represents the value of one thousand dollars, does not actually weigh more than seven hundred; but as it has a currency which nobody disputes, the exchange for dollars is made with great facility, and without premium." F. Depons, Voyage to Terra Firma, 1801-1804, II, 300.
- 3 In 1833, the Russian fleet had helped Mahmud II, sultan of Turkey, to defeat his rebellious vassal, Mehemet Ali, ruler of Egypt. Russia's reward was a promise from Turkey that the Dardanelles should be closed to foreign warships at the demand of the Russian government. Palmerston suspected that Russia intended to secure a protectorate over the

Turkish empire and the right to pass through the straits. France and Britain protested, but the treaty was ratified and there was peace for five years. When Mehemet Ali rebelled again, in 1838, he had the support of France. Mahamud was defeated at the decisive battle of Nezib, June 1839, but he knew England would not allow the break-up of his empire. England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia arranged a conference in which they determined how to handle Mehemet. France was not consulted and for a time there was considerable war sentiment. E. L. Woodward, The Age of Reform (Oxford, 1938), 222-228; Schevill, History of Europe, 661-664; Niles Weekly Register, LIV (August 11, 1838), 371; LV (February 9, 1839), 374; LVI (May 11, 1839), 164; (July 27, 1839), 342; (August 24, 1839), 408.

- 4 Gregor MacGregor "Cazique de Poyais" (?- 1845?) was born in Scotland. He went to Venezuela in 1811 and in the next year married Doña Josefa Antonia Andrea de Xeres Aristeguieta y Lovera Bolívar. (This was MacGregor's second wife.) Doña Josefa's mother was the only daughter of the eldest sister of Bolívar's father. MacGregor helped many victims of the earthquake in 1812; and when Miranda capitulated,

he went to Cartagena and joined Bolivar, taking part in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814. Very ill in 1814, MacGregor returned to Venezuela to get well. He was in Haiti in 1816, and returned to Europe 1818 (?). While there he got together an expedition whose destination was to be Porto Bello. MacGregor left England in November, 1818; but his expedition did not leave until the next month. Porto Bello was captured in April, 1820; however, the Spaniards retook it almost immediately. MacGregor appears to have left the service of Venezuela at this time and settled among the Poyais Indians, a warlike tribe on the Mosquito coast. Obtaining a tract of fertile land, he adopted the title of Cacique, encouraged trade, established schools, projected a bank, established a small army, and in April, 1821 started for Europe. He went to get implements and colonists who would cultivate the soil. In 1836 he published in London Plan of Constitution for the Mosquito Territory. Paez removed the ban against his return to Venezuela in 1835. The Congress of 1839 granted his appeal for naturalization and restoration of his former military rank (general of division) and granted him a sum of money. He is believed to have died in Caracas. Gustavus Butler Hippiisley, Acts of Oppression, Committed Under the Administration of M.

de Villela, Prime Minister of Charles X. In the Years 1825-1826 (London, 1831), 14-22, 100-146; An Officer Who Miraculously Escaped, Narrative of the Expedition under General Mac Gregor against Porto Bello (London, 1820), 1-55; W. D. Weatherhead, An Account of the Late Expedition Against the Isthmus of Darien (London, 1821); Dictionary National Biography, XXXV, 95.

- 5 malos--ills; quebrantado--debilitated.
- 6 Francisco Aranda (1798-1873), lawyer, veteran of the wars of independence, member of the Ocaña Convention, and of the Bogotá congress (1830)--was distinguished on all occasions by his conciliatory character. He tried to prevent the separation of Venezuela from Colombia; but after the separation, he served Venezuela as Minister of Hacienda and Exterior Relations, as senator, and as minister plenipotenciary to the United States in 1855. In 1836 he published Código de Procedimientos Judiciales. The National Government decreed in 1876 that his remains be placed in the Panteón Nacional. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, V, 1205.
- 7 The storm which destroyed these ships swept over

west England, January 6, 1838. For full account of the destruction see Niles Weekly Register, LV (February 16, 1839), 386.

- 8 Lord Balgray was the brother of Col. Charles Williamson, the British army officer who was Aaron Burr's agent to England in Burr's Conspiracy. Nathan Schachner, Aaron Burr (New York, 1937), 284-288, 452; Isaac Joslin Cox, "Hispanic American Phases of the 'Burr Conspiracy'," in Hispanic American Historical Review, XII (May, 1932), 145-175; Matthew L. Davis (ed.), Private Journal of Aaron Burr During His Residence of Four Years in Europe, 2 vols. (New York, 1856), 282-286, 375-377.
- 9 A railroad from Caracas to La Guayra was not completed until 1883. This was at a cost, Scruggs says, of \$100,000 per mile while Spence claims the cost of \$200,000. Scruggs, Colombian and Venezuelan Republics, 200; Spence, Venezuela, 42-43.
- 10 Simon Bernard (1779-1839) was born at Dôle, France. In spite of a poverty-stricken background, he managed to become a military engineer and served Napoleon. He it was who collected the information which made possible Napoleon's brilliant battle of Austerlitz. Bernard was "the last officer whom Napoleon had seen

by his side at Waterloo." Through Lafayette's recommendation, Bernard received employment in the United States. Congress was authorized to employ him as a "skillful assistant" in the engineer corps. He was given the pay and courtesy title of brigadier-general, and placed on the board for planning coast defenses. After the resignation of Col. J. G. Swift and Lt. Col. Wm. McRee, the board was composed of Bernard and Major Joseph G. Totten with other officers temporarily assigned. Bernard and Totten were both great engineers and gradually worked out a complete system of defense including not only plans for modern forts on the coast, but also a project for extensive development of interior communication by roads and canals. Bernard's chief monument is Fort Monroe, Virginia. He returned to France after Louis Philippe came to the throne (1830). Dictionary American Biography, II, 223.

- 11 In the manuscript correspondence of Charles Williamson which is in the Newberry Library in Chicago, there are frequent references to the possibility in case of war with the United States of stirring up slave insurrections. See also I. J. Cox, op. cit., 165-166; 169, 171.

- 12 cantaro--jug; campo santo--cemetery. In Caracas, statues of Mary Magdalena show her carrying a jug. When the sinful Mary was judged, Jesus said, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." This is the basis of the custom mentioned by Williamson. Conversation with Simon Bolivar, student from Caracas; and Alberto Golcher, student from San Jose, Costa Rica.
- 13 Restitucion in integrum-- the abrogation of a contract in which one party is a minor or is absent. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, L, 1343-1344.
- 14 Williamson's first letter to James Semple about Halsy's claim was dated January 9, 1839. He wrote: "At the request of Mr. Thos. Lloyd Halsy of Providence & State of Rhode Island in the U States, I hand you inclosed papers and documents which I have numbered from 1 to 15 inclusive, of a claim he presents against the Gov^t of Colombia for captures made by commodor Jolly & Chitty then in the Colombian or Venezuelan National service in 1818, of Brazilian vessels, prizes to the Argentine Privateer Constancia. This claim is sent you merely to hand in that the time may not elapse as designated by law, as Mr. Halsy says he is in search of the

necessary proofs to establish the same as early thereafter as possible." Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Claims, 1830-1839. In a letter to Santander, dated November 30, 1822, Mariano Montilla said that Joly and Chitty were the best officers in the Colombian squadron. Archivo Santander, 23 vols. (Bogotá, 1913-1917), IX, 163. Chitty's name is sometimes given as D'Chitty, and also Gualterio Chitty. Ibid., IX, 163; XVIII, 303. Lecuna states that the names of these two naval captains were Walter Davis Chitty and Nicholas Joly. Cartas del Libertador, X, 108, 210.

- 15 The three prizes taken by the Constancia were: the San Jose, sold for \$28,600; the Carlota, sold for \$34,205.4 1/2; the Gertrudis \$29,942. If Williamson made good the claim, he could collect commission on a total of \$72,747.4 1/2. Among the documents which Williamson sent to Bogota to confirm this claim was the "sworn certificate of Col. Richards [at this time in unfortunate circumstances] legally taken, which places the San Jose, La Carlota, and La Gertrudis--prizes to the Constancia, to the use of the Gov^t and the account sales of the prizes taken from the Admiralty office, in which he was Sec. and Gen Bolivars orders taken

from his original letter to Admiral Brion to deliver up the prizes and proceeds. Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, Claims, 1830-1839, letter of Williamson to Semple dated April 9, 1838. The manner in which Halsy became entitled to the claim is not explained in the correspondence.

- 16 Clay had not been resigned to the fact that the Whigs considered him "unavailable" in 1836 and immediately began a campaign to secure the Whig nomination for 1840. George Rawlings Poage, Henry Clay and the Whig Party (Chapel Hill, 1936), 13.
- 17 Clay was on his way to Washington, December, 1838, when his coach overturned in Uniontown. When dragged from under the vehicle he remarked that the Clay of Kentucky had been mixed with the limestone of Pennsylvania. Calvin Colton, The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay (New York, 1856), 431; Seymour Dunbar, A History of Travel in America (New York, 1937), 767.
- 18 William Cabell Rives (1793-1868) of Virginia was a member of the House of Representatives (1823-1829) and Minister to France (1829-1831). Elected to the Senate in 1832, Rives resigned in 1834 when the Virginia Assembly instructed him to take a stand

against Jackson's removal of federal deposits from the Bank of the United States. When John Tyler resigned from the Senate in 1836, Rives was elected to replace him. Until this time he had supported Jackson's measures, but now he came out against Van Buren's sub treasury system. Rives' term expired in 1839, and he became a candidate to succeed himself "opposed by John Tyler the regular Whig candidate, and John Y. Mason, the regular Democrat. Many Whigs deserted Tyler and threw their support to Rives, but a few refused to do so, and no election was effected either that year or the next. During the struggle it was revealed that Henry Clay was supporting the move to draw Rives into the Whig Fold, and he even made a proposition to Tyler to secure his nomination for the vice-presidency in 1840 if he would withdraw from the senatorial race and acquiesce in the election of Rives. . . Tyler was nominated for the vice-presidency in 1840, and Rives was elected to the Senate in 1841." When his term expired he returned to private life and began his principal literary work, History of the Life and Times of James Madison, 3 vols., 1859-1868. Dictionary American Biography, XV, 635-637; Niles Weekly Register, LV (December 22, 1838), 267-268; LVI (March 30, 1839), 66; (May 4, 1839),

150; (June 22, 1839), 270.

- 19 Thomas Ritchie (1778-1854) brought out the Enquirer (later the Richmond Enquirer), May 9, 1804, and continued it for forty-one years three times a week with occasional extras after 1806. This "Napoleon of the Press" had many nicknames, some of which were: "Thomas Nous Verrons," "Old Nous Verrons," "Momentous Crisis Ritchie," "Obita Principis Ritchie," "Old State Rights," and "Father Ritchie." Charles Henry Ambler, Thomas Ritchie a Study in Virginia Politics (Richmond, 1913), 290; Dictionary American Biography, XV, 628.

- 20 J. C. Pickett of Virginia was nominated "to be charge d'affaires of the United States near the Government of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation in place of James B. Thornton, deceased," on June 6, 1838. Nomination confirmed, June 9, 1838. Senate Executive Journal, V, 118, 120.

[CHAPTER XVII]

[MARCH 24, 1839 To AUGUST 2, 1839]

[#]
Sunday 24 March 1839

This is Palm Sunday--and every body goes to church for a consecrated palm leaf to put in the house or hang in the window. Many are highly ornamented and festooned in various ways figures and forms and made presents of--and throughout this week processions will pass from church to Church through many of the streets and around many Squares, bearing the cross and images well carved in wood of many of the Saints and Apostles--dressed with much expence and great extravagance--

Many families this week will Spend the earnings and savings of Six Months, and many woman prostitute themselves alone to make a shew on this occasion.

The offices will be Shut and no business done this week--it is all Sainting from Church to Church--and devotion in which the heart has but little to do---

[#]
Monday 25 March 1839

This week has occupied the attention of every one it being the holy week--processions commencing this evening and has continued until this evening, say Friday, and I believe closes with to day--The British middle packit it--no news I hear--

By the arrival of the Schooner Tompkins [111] from Baltimore, we have intelligence that on the 3rd March the Congress voted 10 millions of Dollars and authorized the President to raise 50 thousand volunteers to Protect our lines between Maine & Canada--¹ I have not yet been able to ascertain what news had been re^d that produced this movement and sanctioned almost un-²animously by the Congress 206 out of 212 members in the house of Representatives and the Senate unanimously, these measures--There must have been some unprovoked aggression on the part of the British on Americans--it is a Chispa of War--The next news will be very important--no news here--

³
Saturday 30 March 1839.

R^d a letter to day from Mr Semple at Bogota he seems disposed to leave his place, at least he says he goes West in a few days and may perhaps return to the States, and if he cannot give up his situation will bring his wife & family with him--He will not return in my opinion if he takes this step, let him return to the States, and if he cannot give up his situation will bring his wife & family with him--He will not return in my opinion if he takes this step, let him return to the States and then look back at the difficulties, exposures, and Hardships, he has undergone to reach Bogota, and

must again undergo, with the addition of his family and he will be made of stern materials to again undertake a voyage to Carthegenia up the Magdalena and thence by land to the Capital-- ---It is positive that the the lower House of Congress have very unceremoniously refused even the reading of the French Treaty--Sir Rob^{ts} negro Treaty will fare just as bad--no doubt--the Baron is much sentido at this treatment being I presume his first diplomatic act in making a Treaty--and as he seemed from all accounts a great cabellero, fine manners &&&&&, his disappointment no doubt is great--At first it was bruited he was a very great man, now [112] he is a very common man, and the Venezuelan Commissioner Doc^tNavarte a much Superior man--So wags the world, when one is up all cry his merriits, but when falling down, all again say what a poor devil--

To live in this world and enjoy it, a man should live for himself and perfectly calous of every thing like human nature that surrounds him. In social relations deceptive, cold and indifferent--in all others a scoundrel.

at
Sunday 31-- March 1839

March is now leaving us, and Spring commences in my dear native land, here it is all Spring and summer however never the extreme of heat that is felt in more northern lattitudes, in this lattitude this phenomenon exists

alone from the location of Caracas, in a vally between mountains on all sides, and three thousand feet elevation.

Sir Greggor McGregor dined with me to day, with the Hon^{le} Dec^t Labistida, & Henriques members of the Congress from Truxillo--It passed off tolerably well-- no news--the British middle packit in-- --The Semana Santa is past, and I am glad of it--

The lujo of the last week that walked on many, will now be carried through the streets for sale--

[113]

st
Monday 1-- April 1839--

Occupied nearly the whole of to day in geting Co^l Richards to be ready to commence his certificate in case of the claim of the "Constancia," the documents relative to which I have already transmitted to Bogota--Tomorrow hope (as it is the first day of labour) to get the affair arranged--It is very important as I hope to make some money out of the affair, and if I do adieu to all further trouble in any attempts at money making-- --

This is all fools day and may be for me in this claim--

There seems much chit chat runing the rounds about the French Treaty--the House of Representatives surely have treated the Executive with but little politeness, if it has not exceeded its constitutional limits--

The Treaty should have been read or refered to a committee to report on it, but it seems it done neither but rejected it in toto without a even a first reading----

nd
Tuesday 2-- April 1839

Communed with Co¹ Richards to day, met with no difficulties--called on the Sec.Y. of foreign Relations relative to a notice re-^d on Saturday from Mr Semple at Bogota, stating that the commission had decided that no further evidence can be re-^d after the 9[#] ins^t he is of an opinion this only refers to Venezuela as a Gov^t and not to private claims, because Venezuela herself is making many claims for sums she has taken up here of Colombian debts--or even if it is against the introduction of new pretensions by private persons after that period it is all well--but certainly can not be against testimony to be presented to substantiate a claim already presented in proper time--

Gen¹ Paez since Sunday last has been entirely engaged in cockfighting, a desafia³ against Foreigners-- they are equal to day--the English party however I believe are behind one fight--Fine Sport for the President of a Country at the head of such matters--last year the Gen¹ lost near 6 thousand Dollars--- [114]

rd
Wednesday 3-- April 1839

Wrote to Bogota to day relative to the claims of the

"Constancia" stating that by next mail proper & legal documents to establish the claim would be forwarded by next mail--

I have not heard a word of news, things seem very quiet in Caracas--The French affair is very silent-- I have no doubt Baron Gros is endeavouring to initiate another interview on the subject of his Treaty, but if the lower House are firm, he may as well go on to Bogota-- But if a serious effort is made by threats &&&, many ways of creating alarm, may change a vote or two which is all that is required, and the Treaty will be guelphed down. If it is so done, there is certainly no Gov^t but that of Gen^l Paez the coordinate Branches are swallowed up in the Executive, and their Independence is the mere will of the President--

The Canada, Maine, affair seems to have kicked up a dust at home and has even excited speculation upon the subject here--War for us in my opinion cannot injure the UStates, but serve as a greater stimulus to bring out the hidden power of the nation, and present her great resources as a warn[ing] to future aggressions from European Powers--To England it would be a most disastrous affair--the clarion of her downfall; the most dangerous war to her greatness she ever embarked in--We are not what we were 25 years ago--we have in every stage

of advancement and improvement resources and power,
 outstripped calculations, and have in that time advanced
 more than any Nation ever did in 200 years-- Let
 England therefore beware of North America She is destined
 to give Law on the Land and the Ocean--Nothing can stop
 us, but civil war, which can never for the next 100
 years take place--- [115]

 Thursday 4 April 1839

The wether for many days has presented all the Spring
 appearance of the Middle States of the UStates--the
 Atmosphere, hazy, smoky, dry and parched up, sun red,
 and warm.

Appearances would indicate a fine crop year,
 should the rains regularly set in in the couse of 20
 days and continue--the farmer will in this Land of the
 sun be amply compensated for his industry.

Learn that the British Negro Treaty is before
 the Congress--I cannot believe it will pass--Have not
 even got a glimpse of the Baron since the rejection of
 his Treaty.

Wether extremely dry and hot--went to the River
 to bathe to day at 3 found the water very pleasant--
 shall continue it for perhaps a week with a hope it will
 be of service as I feel tho not positively sick much
 debilitated and very weak--no particular news--

Friday 5 April 1839.

This day has passed off without anything new--

The French Treaty I learn is referred to a commission of the three of the House, Doc^t Dias, Manrique and Rivas--all I believe sworn enemies to to the whole affair--their report may therefore [be] expected against it-- ---Gen^l Soublotte seems to keep himself very close and tight-- --- he is cunning enough, and which to many looks like sense--he watches Gen^l Paez as a cat watches a mouse, and directs whenever he can--his day is running out 18 months more and he is a private citizen and will herd it as all his family does-- --he is no longer young, and he seems to regret it much, from his petit maitre ⁴habit and style of dress, combing his hair, putting on & off his gloves taking snuff and walking the streets--- no packit---

Saturday 6 April 1839.

I have not looked into my diary for the last 10 days, a little from carelessness and more from a want of matter--The B. Packit in--no news of much importance, and as for city news do not hear a word--every thing is peacefully quiet, and I trust will remain so--- [116]

Thursday, 18 April 1839

Caracas seems asleep, it is dull, dull, dull--a village in North America of 20 families has more life in it than this city with its reported number of 40 thousand--

Tomorrow is the anniversary of the first military movements in Caracas against the Spanish authorities-- the Baton of power was taken from the then Gov^r Ampara [sic.],⁵ by a City deputation, but the positive declaration of Independence did not follow until 5[#] July of next year⁶ 1810--

There seems some movements in the Streets but it is a dull personification of a triumph of principles over misrule and despotic Gov^t--- Gen^l Paez is morally so wedded to his own enjoyments and manner of life, so tight handed, in fact so miserly that I doubt whether he will spend one cent on his own account to entertain or even receive company--We shall see--

No arrivals from the States--our latest dates are to the 12[#] March, 40 days old---

I feel great anxiety to learn from home the Maine Question in my opinion is rather a vexed one, and I doubt whether in summing up the general account between the UStates and England, but many difficulties will arise, perhaps to open further the difference and difficulties between us--

The Congress however have presented a bold front to English usurpation, it may calm their fever of dominancy and teach the necessity of an early and prompt arrangement of difficulties--or lead to a direct war---

Friday 19 April 1839

This day has literally passed off without any public demonstration whatever, only some half dozen old red curtains hung out from some half dozen balconies---- Paez has remained quiet in his den and all the officers of Gov^t ---seemed to have retired to their shades--- However Co^l Smith [117] and family paid us a visit at about 8 oclock at night--he is Sec.Y. of State, and has done the Gov^t some service--and certainly without a great deal of tallents, has managed and discharged his duties as Se.Y. of State and Treasury very well and much to his credit.

No news--Caracas hot dry and dull.

Saturday 20 April 1839.

I hear of nothing from Bogota to day--two vessels off La^uayra last night--The Ann & Leah from Phil^a no doubt is one--The French citizens here are much alarmed on the score of Mexican Privateers--The Congress has thrown out Gen^l Paez nomination of 13 Generals--good--no Report yet on the French Treaty--the 3 months of Congress expires on the 24, without a prorogation or a call by the Pres^t the Treaty is dead as well as Sir Rob^ts negro Treaty-- There really appears to be some spunk in the Congress-- its members seem to feel they have power and they mean to use it--Gen^l Paez in all his views of power openly or secretly will meet with opposition, but I believe a real

constitutional opposition--not personal, I hope a national good feeling of opposition--

Sunday 21 April 1839

Gen^l Sir Greggor M^o-Greggor with two or three of my countrymen dined with me to day; it passed off very well---

[nine lines inked out]

Drank to day my last bottle of hermitage wine, taken by old Zenga from an English Ship bound from London to Cuba in 1827--it was a fine delicious wine, a little too much body like all wines for and from the London docks--The Black Hawk [118] from Boston & Ann & Leah from Phil^a, Have re^d no papers yet, but learn the French and Mexican war is closed by Mexico paying the first demand of \$600.000 & 200.000 more as equivalent to losses sustained by French Citizens in the ordering them out of the Country.

There the Mexicans have proved like the New Granadians, they [are] all wind--life honor & patriotism with them is nothing but a warm bottle of vapouring Champaign, after the Cork is drawn all its qualities escape in a moment--such in fact, as the qualities, firmness, & strength of all the people descendents of Spain in her former Collonies of North & South America.---

nd
Monday 22 - April 1839

Have spent a most heavy day, labouring under a great inactivity, and a general want of stirring up in my nervous or muscular system--the effects of climate, all leading to idleness of body and of course a great want of activity of mind--

Wether very hot & dry--On the 12[#] learn that a severe Earthquake took place at Cumana, damaged houses very much but no lives lost--The Wether from its intense heat, and atmospherical appearances looks as tho' we might look for some such convulsions of nature here--god forbid--

The Committee have at length reported to Congress on the French Treaty, proposing in a very long report, the changing of some five or six articles, otherwise it cannot be admitted.

The English negro Treaty sent to a commission to sleep until next year--Congress will adjourn on the 24 ins^t --it may be prorogued--Gen^l Paez may recall it--but I think neither.

The French Treaty will therefore sleep 'till next year--no news, but a report of the Mexican & French affairs having been adjusted--to the shame of the Mexicans. [119]

Tuesday 23[#] April 1839.

I have been unwell and complaining for the last 15

days, and consequently have neglected my diary--It is extremely dull to keep an account of every day transactions in a Country and a place so entirely & absolutely devoid of that life, activity and energy to be met with any where and every where except in a Spanish Colony, as so invariably and continually pervades this--

We have an arrival from the States but no news of interest--

The Congress proroged by itself and called Sect.Y [secretly] by the President, passed last night Sir Rob^{ts} English Negro Treaty--⁷

From the best information I understand the French Treaty will be absolutely negatived, and it ought to be, many of its articles are invidious and entirely too Louis Felipe diplomatic to be understood--too fine, too thin, something the Diplomatist who negotiated it, whose manners are too thin for these people and he seems disposed to press such measures in the Treaty--The Baron is no doubt a gentleman, but he is not suited to do any thing where he is understood, for he seems disposed, that no one shall understand him but himself--The time for such a suggestion has passed, and neither "Louis Philepe nor any other crowned head can now do as their wise forefathers used to do of despotic memory--another age has arisen--the people, a most hateful work to

Aristocracy and despotism all over the wor[ld], are better educated, more thinking than before, and are [not] the senseless clods of dirt they used to be, before the American Revolution- The light of that Country is doing much to unslave mankind and calm the ardour of Legitimacy in every & all Kingly Gov^{ts} on earth--

Baron Gros will have to take the negative to his first attempt at negotiation--

It seems he is the son of some man or [120] some woman that followed the fortunes of the mother of Louis Philippe in her expulsion as Chamberlain or any thing else, from the French Territory during Napoleons reign and Louis Philip from this School of Diplomacy wishes to make him a man & repay his obligations--be it so--every man is worth his hire--The Barons Sec.Y. too, is a son too of some [of] the hangers on to his family--a mere nought, a mere child of abortion--but here adressed Conde, Count--~~and~~--what a farce--the more I see and come in contact with such creturs as Jack

⁸
Downing says, the more they sink in my estimation, and the more elevated seems to rise the character of my Country her Gov^t and her people, whose foundations rests upon Virtue, intelligence and the Public Will.

Saturday 4 May 1839

It has now reached near a month since I have looked at

my diary--the more the pitty & shame.

The French Charge Baron Gros has absolutely failed to make a Treaty with this Gov^t upon such a Basis as the Congress would approve--and the last negociator Doc^t Alejo Fortequa on the part of this Gov^t, finding he could not acced to the proposals of the Baron upon the subject of spoliations, considered it foolishness to negotiate--and Sec.Y. Smith told me last Saturday the 1st of June he proposed the article of the American Treaty upon that subject which he rejected as not being within his power under his instructions to adopt--the whole affair broke up last week and the French delegation took their departure on Saturday last at about 5 oclock, for LaGuayra, to sail for Carthegenia on Sunday following, touching at P^t-Cabello, Curazoa, & S^t Martha--- [121] There has been little or no alterations or changes in the last month--Gen^l Paez has nominated A. L. Gusman as a kind of sub Secretary to the Sec.Y. of foreign Relations--and some few subordinate changes in the offices--

The Baron was feasted by Sir Rob^t and Co^l Stopford before departure, litterally jumping over me on the occasion---It is probable I have eat the last dinner I ever shall with either of them at their own houses-- --- because if I keep my senses, I do not think.

I shall ever accept another invitation from either of them---

Our weather has been changeable with some rain--
I am getting really tired of Caracas--and next Spring
trust I shall leave the country forever--

Monday 3rd June 1839

The wether is very unsettled and showery--it has I fear
in some instances come a little too late for the coffee
crops, but will prove good for the frutos menores----

The arrival of the W^mAckers from Liverpool brings
out many things for the Bank (colonial Bank of London)
an agency in this City--Miss Smith, sister of the present
Sec.Y. of Foreign affairs, Mr & Mrs Bolton & family and
several other passengers--She brings no late dates.

A vessel from New York--but I have rec^d neither
letters nor papers, my dates are only to the 16[#] April
from Phil^a --feel some anxiety to hear from Home-----

Caracas is dull enough--Gen^l Paez seems to keep
himself very much to himself--and the Petit matre Vice
Pres^t Gen^l Soublotte is in Tuy, he is looking out for
some fixture, as his salary of 12 is now reduced to 4
thousand, He understands how to mince his means, and
to his family, to spend it upon his mosas---- he is
indeed (tunante) cunning--in private or public life--
he is wise indeed--a perfect watcher of times and events--

[122]

Tuesday 4 June 1839.

Better than a month has passed since I have even looked at my journal--I have not much to record during the time---Gen^l Paez is in peaceable possession of the Presidency, running horses, caring not a great deal about any thing but his own private views and interest, for certainly there is not a man in the Republic who thinks more of his own individual interest in all things touching money than he does--We have tried steamboat subscription, 't'wont do; roads its no go, in fact nothing that interests the nation in her corporate capacity has any incitement to these people, self is all in all, the public is not worth a thought--and it is thus they will remain without any improvements but the almost imperceptable increase of the Country in its individuality--as a nation Venezuela is destined to be the same she now is for the next 50 or 100 years, and he who makes different calculations, will be most woefully mistaken--

10

Francisco Michelana has published to his 7 inclusive N^o of La Verdad, a mere medly of trash & self--he has made several hits at Gen^l Paez & the Gov^t-, but his weapons are so badly used, so badly poised, that they fall harmless at the feet of the Lion, and he has got all the little dogs of writers in Caracas to bark

at him--He means well, his object is good but he has neither talents nor character sufficient to do any or much good---

The 5[#] July passed sub silencio from the Gov^t authority--nothing but a stillness profound and deep, told the day from any other--

The Long talked of Private Theatre of the French Chevallier de La Palea French Consul member of the legion [123] of honor~~#####~~ has died still born, and burried with due honors, the Pall bearers were Mrs Stopford Mrs & Miss Renshaws, the Miss Rojas, Mrs & Miss Toro--a sad and weeping time, all in black--hung to the heavens in black.

The first the wife of a Co¹ Stopford more noted for confiscation of property & Lawsuits than any Military prowess, she is now said after a lapse of 14 years to be inceinte,¹¹ and the censorious world believes Baron gros the recent defeated Treaty making French Charge, now gone to Bogota, has had a finger in it--the second Mrs R. noted in city Gossip as a very close friend of the Predecessor of the Chevallier Palea, an old French debauchee whose wife it is said lives in close confab with a certain French Minister at Paris, and that he too is closely allied to a birth of this lady, a short time after his departure; oh Lord, how we are under French

influence here may it last until it peoples the Country and crosses the breed; and Miss R. celebrated for her nakedness of truth, monkey fingers, black feet, and eyes¹² which she says are lamping --Truly so, for they have out, so report says, the purse strings of a certain Moses "the Jew," alissed [sic.] Adolph Wolffe, wonder if he is any kin to the Misonary [?] Jew of the same name--what a burlesque of a name Adolp for a Jew--its all a mistake--his true name, or the true reading of his name is beyond doubt Aaron, a genuine patriarchal name, he should not be ashamed of it--However this is said to have blowed over, tho' they have moved into a new house, at the tune of 50\$ p month a good price for a consuls wife, whose sallary cannot reach 1000\$ p year--& besides they say he is poor--thats all fudge, he has failed a[s] Tavern Keeper 3 times in Phil^a and must be rich, if [124] he would only own it--- The next the Miss Rojas, daughters of a knight from Santo Domingo, darker than they should be; he is called in this city the Marquis or duke of Wind, "Marquis de Ventoso"---the next is Mrs Toro who forgot she was once married and married a second time, both husbands living, and distinguished in Caracas as the Mistress of Gen¹ Bolivar--her daughter Miss Clorinda Toro, by the second marriage, a pedant, fool, and ugly--Such are the personages that make up Mrs Palem^s

Society, Soirees, &&&&&--I had almost forgot to add to these worthies the family of Vicente Berneditte, they are rather above the rest, mother & two daughters, but the father is as notorious a Scoundrel as ever lived, suspected of being concerned in a felony in S^t Thomas, an absconding debtor & a notorious gambler--- ---This is but a slight touch of Foreign Society in Caracas--the natives god speed them---

Gen^l Paez has within a few days nominated Doc^t Alejo Fortique Minister to London, and commissioner to divide the Colombia debt in London & perhaps he will be ordered to pay a visit to the Pope--¹³ Gen^l OLeary resigned--¹⁴

There never was a man more deceived in his advice than Gen^l Soublotte to this said Daniel F. OLeary--Soublotte had supposed Congress would not confirm OLeary in his situation as Charge to Rome and commissioner in London, and that the public (which is true) were much opposed to his nomination, and he had better resign to save his credit, not believing that this ebullition of feeling like every thing else with these people would soon pass away, which it has done, and poor fellow must now return to his disconsolate wife after an absence of 6 years, contrary to his wishes in both cases. [125] The appointment of Fortique is about the best that could be made--He speaks and reads English, and tho rather a

light man in his habits, is nevertheless a cleaver man in talents.

Poor OLeary still poorer Carlos Soublette, the deceiver is deceived, in his own toils he has been caught-- As President (acting) he made the nomination of his brother in Law this Daniel OLeary--a dog will not return to vomit with less taste than he does to his adopted Country, and his fat wife, who cares about as much for him as I do, but who cares for others more than she does for him--so the gossip of Caracas says---

I am making my calculations for an escape from this Country in about 10 months say next Spring--

Called yesterday 23rd on the Sec.Y. of State about the cash for the Josephine & Ranger arrangement, and he says he is about giving the order for payment.

Wednesday

24 July 1839.

Called to day on Gen^l M^o Greggor--& W^m Ackers Esq-- --found British Middle packet in--no news-- Caracas as usual dull enough--intended to pay my respects to a Mr L.
15
Miranda in return for his call on Sunday last, he is sent out as second in the direction of the recent Branch of the Colonial Bank of London just put into operation in this City--but finding the packet in did not do so--- All English people here or those having or pretending to

have business with London, are or pretend to be much engaged upon the arrival or departure of the British packit---

It is all a humbug with many, and a pretense of men of business, who in fact who have no business----. There is much sickness in Caracas--much feaver and many violent cases of puios or inflamatory diseases here The City has been sickly for the last 4 months, and still continues---- [126]

Thursday 25 July 1839

This is Santiago day, or S^t James Day, and is consequently a lazy day---nothing doing---Morning cool, day hot, & feverish---I fear Caracas is to undergo a severe scourge of sickness---there is much and it still seems on the increase, particularly in the Lower part of the city---We are more exempt in the upper part or higher ground reaching nearer the mountains. Thermometer ranging from 62 to 76.

The Packit brings no news, but a seeming discontent generally throughout Europe--The Canada or Main and New Brunswick line question seems to have occupied a portion of British feeling, as it has excited the cupidity of her citizens and I fear has extended even to the Gov^t

For my own part I see much in the distance to convince me, that the day is not distant when this

question if not settled promptly, will produce a war between the two countries; as regards right and justice it is all on our side, and interest and English domineering feelings on the other--as She has pretended to the claims she makes, a British tenacity regardless of right or justice, propels or will propel the Gov^t into measures or such a retreat as make her grovel in being compelled from necessity to do us justice; English people hate us desperately and deep--and the few survivors in this Country and those those that have gone before have never let slip the least opportunity to prejudice the Gov^t and citizens of the United States in the eyes of these people. If I had no other reason in the Maine line boundary, the very fact of its separating, adhearing to the line we claim, Canada from New Brushwick would be my reason for holding on to it--every inch of it----

A few months and this boundary question must assume a different shape & form---- [127]

Friday 26 July 1839

This is ^tdie S Ana --a half feast day, and besides there are many by that name in Caracas, who Catholic like keep the day as their Saints day.

#

I have seen papers to the 18[#] June from the States--but I only observed a general confusion in business, and commercial concern generally seem to me

to be involved in more difficulties than ever known before--tho' at the sametime not that general distress among merchants---

The last years have involved, Banks and monied men, and political interests in such positions, that a seperation seems like the Siamese twins to forcibly, and such must be the case, to part will almost prove the death of both---The unfortunate position some years taken or assumed by the Bank of the United States, in hostility to the Gov^t and actually heading a political party opposed to the administration, has in my opinion been the means of producing the present unfortunate and flatulent state of commercial transaactions.

The Gov^t too following up its blows as resisted by the Bank, in some cases perhaps where both were rong, irritated and increased, and excited all the rancour of a corporate Body and gave an opoortunity through such a souless body to do acts and perpetrate hostilities against the Gov^t as well as individuals, which in neither case comported with the character of the one or the patriotism of the other--It was however a holy cause on the part of the Gov^t, because it must fall or the Bank must withdraw into its proper and Legitimate Channels of usefulness & business.--The Bank gave way--The populatity and soundness of Gen^l Jacksons principles saved the

Country and finally placed the Bank and its blind and infatuated minions in the place that usurpers should ever be contending for just & democratic opinion--at the feet of the Gov^t ----- [128]

Saturday 27 July 1839

No news from the South--Understand there is considerable excitement in Caracas about some publication made by Francisco Michelana on the subject of slavery--a delicate subject here, almost a great if not greater in its danger to the whites than such a subject in the UStates. He ought to be shipped, bag & baggage---

Sunday 28 July 1839

Mrs Jove & son dined with us to day--Set up nearly all night playing brag, ¹⁶ a humiliating affair; in my own house but could not quit, in such affairs a person is at the mercy of his visitors--will not do it, however, again. No news. Michelana is much talked of--The Gov^t is about taking some steps about his publication--- Coloured people & slaves against the whites in this Country, would lead to a disappearance of the latter, as they actually compose a very small part of the people.

Monday 29 July 1839

Settled this morning a long standing difficulty with Mr Butler [?] about some Sugar Pans on a/c of J^s Egeans estate and paid him to get clear of the same

\$250--- ---I have not rec^d any notice from Mr Sec.Y.
 of State about the Gov^t appropriation of Last year for
 the Josephine & Ranger spoliations--however I shall
 wait until the 2nd Proximo, when if nothing is said or
sung upon the question, will then do my self the
 pleasure to Jog his memory.

To my great astonishment to day read the latter
 part of a letter from La^Guayra stating that news had
 reached them that Gen^l LaMar President of Texas had
 taken the city of Durango on the Pacific side of
 Mexico,¹⁷ a bold and daring attempt at such a distance
 from their little infant colony---- It gives Texas
 possession of the finest mining district in all Mexico
 and [129] no doubt resources of an immense extent, provided
 the wealth of the Churches are taken possession of, of
 which I do not doubt---Without seeing at all in the
 Secrets of Texan policy or that of the Gov^t of the U
 States in such matters or particularly with a reference
 to Texas; this success has alwas been my view of it---
 that the Gov^t or those who have administered it for the
 last twelve years have been at the bottom of Texan
 affairs & policy, since aided by the Gov^t, there is no
 doubt---The Policy principles & Gov^t of the UStates is
 to extend beyond to the Isthmus of Darien is plain beyond
 doubt, Anglo British blood is to civilize all South

America sooner or latter---How far European policy or particularly British, will fall into these measures, remains only (if this be true) a short time to be seen-- I am doubtful it will lead to blow--and the success of Texas against Mexico, to a revolution of the Union-- because alone the Slave policy of the one with the antislave policy alone is to produce in a few years such a separation of interest and feelings as to lead to his result--however there will remain still a bond of union--Saxon blood and the English Language, with certain proportion of general principles in Gov^t----

July Tuesday 30 1839

Rec^d to day from the Treasury upwards of thirteen thousand Dollars from the Treasury on a/c of the adjusted claims of the Josephine and Ranger, as the proportion due by Venezuela.

These claims were adjusted by a convention of our Minister at Bogota in 1829, and this settlement is made to day as the part that falls to the share of Venezuela under her Treaty of separation and division of liabilities, under the previous Gov^t of Colombia. -----It did not seem to cause much pain at the Treasury in the payment of this am^t --Tho' at my last interview with the Sec.Y. of the Treasury & foreign and relations he seemed disposed to impress upon my by insinuations

that he had met with great difficulty in this affair--
 Some I have no doubt, as it seems to be a general moral
 as well as political character of these people to grudge
 every thing like justice, unless they are personally
 benefitted, by a transaction in money matters. There
 seems a general buz, here upon the subject of the threats
 of Francisco Michelana, to harrang the people (god help
 them; the people as a body here is hardly known) upon
 the subject of slavery---There can be but one opinion
 in this matter, the people here are nearly all col-^d
 --and union among them would in very short order destroy
 all the white.

st
 Wednesday 31 ---July 1839

Caracas seems to be slumbering over a mine that must
 explode some of these days, unless by a gentle and easy
 amalgamation of colour the people become one in all
 things---Many of the principle inhabitants believe they
 are safe and ask the question where is the danger, and
 it is answered by the naked facts where is not the danger
 when it presents itself at every step, and in every
 shape--49/50 are co-¹ and mixt blood, even worse--what
 then is wanted but a movement, a solitary effort, and
 the spasm throughout the Republic would not last one
 hour--and yet these good people [think] there is no
 danger--The police is worthless and its direction worse,

and the great body of these individuals are co^{ld} and
would at a moments warning turn against their employers---

There are no troops, and the Malicia is unorganized,
and without any character as Malicia or troops---We truly
sleep here in security, only from the want of union,
supineness & idleness of the co^{ld} people, or their great
good & quiet character----- [131]

Thursday 1st August 1839

Called at the Bank to day about Bills on the States and
England--and Mr Ackers informs me that he will draw on
the State, at 1 pCent--Shall in all probability take
his Bill--- ----no news--Caracas is much out of its
climate--- There has not been the half of the usual rain
this season or this period--The city is sickly much fever--

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XVII

- 1 Cf., Congressional Globe, VII, 241-244; Bemis, American Secretaries of State, V, 333; Niles Weekly Register, LVI (March 9, 1838), 118.
- 2 Williamson is in error as to the vote: there were 201 yeas and 6 nays. Congressional Globe, VII, 244.
- 3 desafia--challenge.
- 4 petit maître--fop, coxcomb.
- 5 Capitan General Vicente de Emparan. One of the first acts of the revolutionary Junta of April 19, 1810, was to arrest Emparan and other officials and put them on a boat at LaGuayra bound for the United States. Restrepo, Historia de la Revolución, I, 534-535.
- 6 The declaration of independence was July 5, 1811. Ibid., II, 5.
- 7 This treaty, with very few changes, was the treaty which Sir Robert and Santos Michelena arranged May 19, 1837. González Guinán, Historia Contemporanea, III, 101, 105. Venezuela was to cooperate with Great Britain to extinguish the slave trade. By Article I Venezuela declared the slave trade abolished in all parts of the world except Australasia. Documentos

Anales, IV, 442.

- 8 Major Jack Downing, "a notable fictitious letter-writer in the days of Andrew Jackson", was the creation of Seba Smith (1792-1868) of Maine. "Downing will be remembered as a political satirist who set a new pattern for American humor, and who led the way for a host of homely philosophers and critics from Sam Slick and Hosea Biglow to Mr. Dooley and Will Rogers." Jack Downing went to Washington, and became "ginneral Jackson's right hand man," and helped the old "Ginneral" through with his fight against "Biddle's Bank," and settled the Madawaska Boundary difficulty, and put down and crushed out South Carolina Nullification. Declaring that there is an outside as well as an inside to everything, Downing parodied Thomas Hart Benton when he published Thirty Years "Out" of the United States Senate (1859). Williamson probably had been reading Letters of J. Downing, Major, Downingville Militia, Second Brigade to his old friend, Mr. Dwight, of the New-York Daily Advertiser, published in New York, 1834. The "Ginneral," Van Buren, and Governor Woodbury came to visit Downingville and the Major arranged a special program. "As soon as we got down to the meetin-house door, Zekil Bigelow gin the address; it was stuck full

of Latin words here and there, like burs in a stray sheep's fleece. Zekil is a knowin cretur: he keeps a packin-yard, and salts down more fish than any man in three counties round: he don't know so much about Latin as some folks, but he did get along with his address most curious. He thank'd the Ginerall for comin to Downingville in the first place, and then he thank's him for his proclamation, and for presarvin the Union, and threw in the salt, and the nitre, and pickle, and when he come to talk of the nullifiers, he cut and shaved, and made the scales fly, I tell you. Every hair on the Ginerall's head stood strait on eend. And there stood that cretur Zekiel right afore him, talking like a book, and his head was as smooth, and every hair on it slicked down with a dipped candle; and that are kew of his wo'd tell the folks behind which way his eye turned just as well as though they was lookin strait in his face--caze it kinder lodged on his collar, and every time he looked up, it would stand still a minet, and point right strait up in the air."

Letters of J. Downing, 24-25; Mary Alice Wyman, Two American Pioneers Seba Smith and Elizabeth Oakes Smith (New York, 1927), 1-166; My Thirty Years Out of the Senate (New York, 1859), 9-10; Dictionary

American Biography, XVII, 345-346.

- 9 The Banco Colonial Británico was established in Caracas on May 10, 1839, with a capital of \$330.000. González Guinán, Historia Contemporánea, III, 120.
- 10 Francisco Michelena y Rojas, a Venezuelan explorer of the nineteenth century, became known as the only Venezuelan who has been called viajero universal (universal traveller). He published Viajes científicos en todo el mundo, desde 1822 hasta 1842 (Madrid, 1843). Part of this work is about the Marianas and the Philippines. Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, XXXV, 19. The article on slavery may be the one taken from Correo de Caracas, No. 7 and found in Documentos Anales, IV, 437-445.
- 11 enceinte--pregnant.
- 12 lamping--to set eyes upon; to look at.
- 13 Páez, Autobiografía, II, 428; González Guinán, Historia Contemporánea, III, 107.
- 14 González Guinán states that O'Leary also went to London to assist Fortique. Ibid., III, 107.
- 15 Leander de Miranda, son of the most famous "precursor" of South American independence, Francisco de Miranda,

was born October 9, 1803 in London. His mother was Sarah Andrews, an uneducated woman reputed to be of Jewish extraction. Leander always retained his British citizenship. The last part of his life was spent in Europe. He died in Paris in 1883.

William Spence Robertson, The Life of Miranda, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1929), II, 225-227, 229, 230.

"Leander" must have been a favorite name of Francisco de Miranda for that was the name of the boat which he used in 1806 in an attempt to liberate Venezuela from Spain. William Spence Robertson, Rise of Spanish-American Republics as told in the Lives of their Liberators (New York, 1918), 46.

- 16 brag--card game similar to poker. A Merriam-Webster Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language (Springfield, 1944), 323.
- 17 Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar (1798-1859) of Georgia was the second president of Texas (1836-1841). Dictionary American Biography, X, 553-554. Williamson's statement about the capture of Durango is not true. At this time there was a federalist movement in Northern Mexico and the states involved, among which was Durango, were making every effort to get help from Texas. William Campbell Binkley, The Expansionist

Movement in Texas 1836-1850 (Berkley, 1925), 47.

[CHAPTER XVIII]

[AUGUST 2, 1839 To NOVEMBER 30, 1839]

nd
Friday 2 August 1839

I have got myself into a small scrape by having my agent condemned in expenses to the am^t, of 500\$ in a Law suit to represent the ins^t of Gov^r Dudley^l of North Carolina in a meeting of the creditors of John Alderson ---Mr D. claiming upwards of 25000\$ against him---a decision on the part of the Judge of the Merchantile Court, the most scandalous and rascally ever made---He has been bribed I have no doubt, Tho' I have always had a better opinion of Eugenio Mendoza. Bribed because there is no appeal upon the Legal issue or Law in the case, but against him personally, to make him responsible, a folorn hope generally in all Countrys---

Caracas is extremely dull--and the rainy season not eeting in as usual there is much feaver and sickness and many deaths---

rd
Saturday 3 August 1839

Find I shall have to pay upwards of 500\$--on account of E^d R. Dudley's claim against John Alderson, which is contrary to what I expected, because I could not believe a creditor applying for his claim would be or could be condemned in cort---There cannot exist a doubt

but Eugenio Mendoza has been bribed to give the sentence he has done in this case of John Alderson---I am now under a believe that John Alderson has deceived me & that he commenced with me with that view--he has lost the ²espera [132] asked by a decision of the Merchantile Court---But the beauty of his chicanery is this, he comes to me and informs me the espera was granted, and then says my vote as agent for Dudley was nothing that it was granted without it, when his claim alone amounted to 1/4 or more of all claims against him; and then we came to an understanding and he gives me a bond for about half the am^t payable in 6 years, the time he asked of his creditors.----And now he has lost his Espera, no doubt he is about compromising with his creditors, by which he may & will no doubt give a bond or hypothecation upon all his effects, to the exclusion of this claim of Dudley---and thus I am to be deceived & Dudley cheated out of any claim upon his property until others are first satisfied----

The wether for Caracas is excessively bad, very dry and very hot---much sickness--

Sunday 4 August 1839

I have neglected my diary for many days---no excuse for it, but the real idle state of things in Caracas---I have not mixt much with the Gov^t people or officers, I am

rather withdrawing from their sight, preparatory to my asking leave of absence which I am determined to do in Nov^{OR} next to take effect in the Spring----

John Aldersons difficulties have increased and my claim for Gov^r Dudley of my State, lies in statu quo---bidding my opportunity---I have never been more astonished at any thing, than at the conduct of J. Alderson with me---a day or two after the decision of the Judges excluding this claim---I met Mr Alderson at Jose Apuillas my procurador^s ---when I asked Mr A in what light he now considered the claims against---of no value sir---in what light the contract made [133] with you after you told me (which was not the case) that the Espera was granted and that my claim had done him no service; he conceived it no obligation, it was not a pagare³ not a bond a mere document of no legal weight between us---I replied I regret then Sir we ever had exchanged a word upon the subject. He replied you are at liberty to pursue your case by a decision of the Judges---I replied I was not prepared for this issue---I asked him if he would pay the costs of this business as it had been pursued exclusively by his agents influence with my appoderado [sic]⁴, and without my knowledge or consent---how can I Sir I have no means, but if I could, I would.

Will you pursue the case sir said I to him by

5

Gaja against the Judge no I cannot--This conversation surprised me much--I left the house & requested him to call on me, when he left--he did so--when a very similar conversation took place between us, but with much more caution & better armed to refuse all satisfaction in the matter, such as he considered himself absolved from the contract or debt unless I persued it--Then Mr A I said you consider of course our contract of no avail--well then sir, place me in the same situation I was previous to it--agreed & the document was destroyed--Now Mr A said I, suppose I sell your bond or persue the case to recovery by entering into a bargain with some persons here to persue it; what course will you persue, for the for the full am^t Sir I will throw every obstacle in the way I can--This sir is very kind and considerate on your part--then says I you pay all costs & I will persue it alone for your benefit, I cant do this--then I replied you actually leave me without your aid to benefit you, and [134] will not do it to benefit me--therefore you give me neither hope nor charge for expenses on your part to aid you, or on my part at my expense to recover the entire debt--I regret Sir we ever exchanged a word on the subject--You wish to throw every thing on Mr Dudley and given if possible every advantage, in not recovering the debt from you---

This is about the sum & substance of our

conversation---

When Mr A spoke to me about G^r Dudley^s debt, he no doubt had his eyes to asking an espera, & finally asked me how I would vote upon the question to present my claim (Mr Dudleys) with the rest of claims-- I will give him my vote--He then some days afterwards comes & tells me the Espera is granted without my aid--& that he then proposed I shall reduce the Am^t by giving me a bond under the 10th April to pay the same, say 12000 or upwards in six years, or \$7000 or upwards Spanish with interest at 6 p. Cent, which makes near the or about 12000 masquinno--

This contract we destroyed by consent after our conversation on the subject of the debt after the decision of the Judge excluding it from the concurso [?] with the rest of his creditors--

Mr A --has literally bit his fingers in this affair--& no doubt he wishes to impugn my conduct, should I take any pass at him in the matter-- I am perfectly willing to place my conduct by the side of his & the public may judge of it--

rd
Friday 23 August 1839.

From this day till the 9th Sep^r -- ing I have nothing particular to record--Gen^l Paez seems molested much by the scribblers of the day & having fixed [135] his attention upon an article in the Correo de Caracas of

the 27th August he has thought proper to discharge a Mr Cagigal as its author from his appointment as professor in the Military or rather mathematical Gov^t college, and I learn that Mr Cagigal declined the order, with the observation that Gen Paez may cut his ¹sueldos ⁷ off but he will continue in his duties, deriving his appointment from the Congress.

There is certainly a military feeling existing yet, and nothing gauks [sic.] the remnant more than the operation of the friends of civil order that they have at last the power over the Military--But unfortunately this spirit of civil power is advocated by all the entire party of Spain--for yet Spain & Spanish influences has still its secret & powerful effect over many of the good people of this country--new manners habits & customs, customs & habits of the day are making inroads upon the old dull bigoted state of Spanish life & politics, and the friends are not disposed to give it up yet, as long as a hope, yea nothing but a baseless vision remains---

Doct Vargas the resigned President is supposed to be at the head of this party--indeed I have for some time doubted his patriotism--and certainly among all his countrymen he is the most prejudiced man in the Country, and fears more the improvements of the age to the injury of his fame than any man in the Country--Shorn of his

Laurels as a politician, he falls back upon his profession as Doc^t of Medicine, and just at this moment he finds himself surrounded by a younger & even more intelligent class of medical men than himself--The Scepter therefore which he has held in this department like that of his Presidency, is departing [136]--The Doc^t retired life since his return from his banishment by the faction of 1836 and since his resignation as President, has been any thing but an open manly, dignified and abused Venezuelan--He seems to have retired to conjure up his wrath, to fan his bile into a flame, and in secret, and with all his private intrigue upon all the known adherents of Spanish despotism remaining in the Country--litterally brooding over his ill luck, and certainly the misplaced confidence of the patriots of the Country.

He is seldom or ever seen and considers his dignity & importance compromised by a free & frank and open communion with his fellow citizens--those who visit him certainly find him courteous and polite, but evidently jealous in the extreme and nervous upon all subjects but his profession as a medical man--politics make him tremble, yet secretly his intrigues with the entire Spanish faction are omnipotent-----

Soublette has retired to his cave, a small house adjoining his residence with the front forever closed,

and you enter by a door opened into a descent into his private room--he there seats himself a la creole wrapped up in his bata⁸ of dirty calico or still dirtier flannel, and looks the very picture of Shakespear⁸ apothecary, dark, sun dried, toothless (almost) in one jaw, seeming to be deeply employed, when he is not, and dignified with Venezuelan Vanity and Stupidity--he is not stupid however, but all his talents and the entire force of his character and his influence, is cunning, without one manly trait in his character as a soldier or a man--his own interests he has in a measure lost sight of, because from his property, he cannot be rich, but his family to the last, the lowest & meanest he has always studied to place them in snug apartments-- [137] However my own [opinion] is, the adhearing to one of the strongest creole virtues, which is to impress upon you he is not rich but poor, that he has taken very good care of the main chance, and has secured a large sum of money & holds it in secret--I do not believe he is poor---

Politically Caracas seems calm--the last two Packets of the 15 & 1st bring no intelligence of importance--only a general distress in England for money⁹ and a great advance of interest, to 6 PCent which the Bank is discounting at---Such an event under no circumstances has occurred [in] England for the last 100 years---

Such in my opinion is the effect produced by the rapid strides to power, influence, and wealth & commerce, in the UStates---and beyond a doubt, in a few more years the influence of the UStates is to be felt every where, as well in commerce as in politics---

Our latest advices from the States, speak of a general approximation of hard times and scarcity of money & consequently rise usuriously of interest---

9th Sep^r 1839.

We have had very incessant and hard rains for the last 10 days & last Saturday was a day in Caracas unusual indeed, and resembling more a September Northeaster, in the States, that I have ever seen in Caracas---
rain all day---& wind----

The wether very hot---this day passed without rain---there appears no news---

Dec^t S D Forsyth has been taking his soup with us for the last month---he is the most leaky man I ever knew---nothing should be told him unless you wished it told again---There does not seem a great deal of evil in him or much violence---but to be thought he knows every body & every bodys business & intriguing is his utmost vanity---he is at times most prosy, and has not half the influence he thinks he has, and which many of his associates believes he has---there was a time [138] when he did to a certain degree possess power by

influence, but ceasing to be able to do these good people any further good or render them services from being broken down in a great measure, tho listened to and he visits and talks with all, his power has ceased & his influence gone---Yet his entire intercourse is to impress you with a belief of his great influence---he does not lack impudence & has not a great deal of modesty--the repulsed he will hang on still and tho slighted will still bow to those who treat him slightly---he is a Joe
10
Surface-- and yet he does not mean much harm, nor is he a bad man---has some talents for cunning, but I cannot think much else---the road to every mans heart he thinks and not very incorrectly is vanity---he therefore never fails to please every body and any and all they have to their faces to gain his object---Knowing that flattery talks more & influences more than sound sense, he uses it invariably among his acquaintances always to obtain his object---but sometimes he oversteps the mark and when & where he is well understood always---

His company is agreeable and his dress and intercourse always gentlemanly, and he seldom or ever descends to great familiarity---he is therefore guarded and extremely politic---

He is not always to be trusted, tho seemingly forever a confidant, and have no doubt has been the depository of more secrets than any man in Caracas--

his life has been varied from poverty to affluence, & affluence to poverty--he is now, if nothing happens rather placed between the two extremes--he is about 60 years old, but still wishes to be considered young--he has become prosy & seldom fails to tell his stories over & over again, tho his memory seems good---

Cardenas is still very sickly & within the last week several young men of my acquaintance has been burried--the fever seems of a Typhoid character & not yellow-- [139]

Tuesday 10th Sep^r 1839

The wether in the morning, fine, at 11 the sun most excessively hot--evening rain---

Almost the entire family of the Sec.Y. of State is unwell--much sickness in Caracas, and many deaths, but not being published a knowledge of the facts are only handed from person to person--the sickness seems to partake much of the characteristics of violent bilious symptoms---

There seems but little news in Caracas, the sickness seems to have put a stop to all gayety--no arrivals from the States--Co^l Steford & family are off for dear old England the latter part of the month, they had better remain there, but they wont, they cant keep it up six months, & back again they will come to live &

die in this unhappy and unclean country.

Wednesday 11 Sep^t 1839

This is Southern mail day--wrote Mr Joseph Goodring¹¹
at Bogota to send me by Santos Michelana all the papers
in the Case of Mr Halseys claim & Juan Rives^s, or send
them by mail.---Sickness still continues, the Doc^{ts} say
however it is better, several of my acquaintances are
down with the fever, some are getting better--no arrivals
and no news---the Gov^t is quiet, tho the Gen^l seems a
little molested---Seublette have not seen for a month
and dont much care whether I see his dried leather face
again for a month to come---the Sec.Y. of States family
are better--Forsyth Still at my house, proposes I should
go to Tay next Monday with him--dont know--the best way
is to be in doubt, then no one understands my movements---
I never wish to practice deception, but to seem undetermined
is the way to deceive always creating a belief you are
an uncertain man, determined within yourself & you deceive
complete[ly] every body--To be known as [140] a
determined man is always to place yourself and your
actions in the hands of your enemies--But never answer
where the fact is required any other way than to the
point--The system of pumping is very common among all
associations, and my diplomacy is always to deceive
those who have no right to know any thing about me or

nine. ~~The situation is~~ ^{the} ~~same~~ ^{same} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~before~~ ^{before}.

Thursday 12 Sep^r 1839.

With all my disposition to obtain something fit to be made use of to keep a kind of thread in my diary, I turn in despair almost every day to it, with scarcely a thing to record--To day have been pretty much in the Street without an idea or an event to set down--

Of all places perhaps in the world, always excepting Spanish America, there is perhaps not another more insipid and dull than Caracas--A man who can sink his mind and associations, with vulgar half civilized life, and circumstances circumscribed to the city, may indeed murder his days, and pass them in the low and debased manner which existence is spun out here--but not otherwise, there are no lofty objects in view, nothing that does or can elevated the head or the heart in to great actions or create great hopes, of future importance--The view is a short one, from the Colledge
12
to the pulperia or to that society which the latter engenders or produces--Doct^{rs} & Lawyers, Priests and merchants, mingle indiscriminately in their social life, at the gaming table or buy their bottle of sour Catalonian wine from the same shop.--and yet you will observe occasionally great pretensions to distinction & mantuonism--

The organized habits, customs, education and religion of these people are peculiar in its hostility to all people from abroad, be their pursuits or their objects what they may---The Country wants population, thousands of delightful vallys & hills blossoming [141] the year round, cheerful with health, fine water and a luxurious climate, producing forever, are to be found within 100 leagues of Caracas--¹³ but a foreigner cannot approach or reach them under the garb of security, or the hopes of the slightest friendship or assistance which the settlement of a new Country requires from every person resident or neighbour--¹⁴ to attempt it, you are an intruder, you interfere in the little miserable calculations of a few native settlers, and they cry out against you, heretics in the Church, and infidels in your labour--no assistance can you expect from them--no hopes of the slightest aid--neither bread nor consolation of any kind will they offer you--but if you have money they will sell you, and can you administer to their wants or their cupidity they are in form, mere form, externally your friends--but poor, needy & in want and unacquainted with the Country you are an object to be despised, and should not have way there with your family or your emigrant society, persecution of the lowest vilest & meanest of the human heart, will be used against

you to any and perhaps force you from the Country---
 What a poor European Emigrant nets & hopes for in his
 banishment from his Country to the backwoods of North
 America, here is not to be found neither from the rich
 nor poor--they are equally averse to you, unless [you]
 be of immediate and positive use to them---The arms of
 welcome friend & neighbour, are not thrown open here
 from the heart, cold indifference & persecution is the
 emigrants lot---The only population that can in the least
 make an impression upon this Country, must come from the
 Spanish Colonial Islands or Spais---the latter they dont
 want---the former, is just making its appearance---but a
 more miserable or vagabond set or class never disgraced
 morals or Society or a nation, than those that have already
 found a home in this Country----- [142]

Friday 13 Sep^r 1839

This day like almost all in Caracas has passed dull,
 dull, dull; there is not excitement except in little
 pitiful personal slanders to keep the great body of
 the Community from stagnating like pond water--and such
 is indeed the State of Society---there are no rational
 amusements, no places of resort to which a person could
 or can go and meet with Society of the head or the heart
 unalixed with little personal bickerings--every body seems
 afraid of themselves, the very book they should open and

leisure hour.

But intelligence here is mixt as in Greengrocer shops & retail stores and wholesale--as a lawyer his associates are with those who can give them Catalonia wine, and cards to play, and as a medical man, his knowledge or prejudices or customs confines his practice to the mere study of simples and the application of palliatives and old womens remedies, it is therefore in both professions the learned & respectable of all countries, here but a mere viz to put bread in their mouths without consulting the dignity of the same--
 -----A Vessel from New York, no news--one from Amsterdam for Curacao--

15

Have not yet called on Mr Adlereruits the recently arrived agent of the Swedish Gov^t --he has been rec^d, but in what Capacity the papers do not say--So soon as I ascertain his movements, shall pay him my respects--

Called on Sir Rob^t the British Charge d, affairs & Consul A painter by trade found him in a great funk, his landlord having ordered him to leave his house--like all old women, he consequently in a great funk--how the old rat would laugh if such a thing had fallen on me, and [143] I of course consider myself priviledged to laugh now at him---he has called to his assistance every body to intercede for him to remain only 8 months, but

he & they have all failed--- I cannot doubt, if he had have humbled himself so much as to have asked me to have done him a favour in the matter, that it is very likely I could have succeeded--enough--he goes out and I am not displeased.-----

Saturday 14th Sep^r 1839.

No news from Bogota, mail in--wether hot, slight rains--
Caracas as usual---

Sunday 15th Sep^r 1839.

Invited Gen M^o-Greggor, Gen^l Costello, Dec^t Forsyth Mrs Jove & Mrs Salazar to dine with us to day--dinner pretty good & passed off very well,--Mrs Jove has quit the wine system & now takes her grog of Brandy instead, by advice of her phisicians to cure a dispepsia, caused by greasy dishes, hard boiled eggs, queso de mano, and sundry other eatibles which only an ostrich or a condor could digest--says she is dieting and eating at the same time the most indigestible of food-- --Sir Gregor M^oGreggor, gave her such strong & sly cuts---for indeed she would be a Madam de Stael, if she could-- She is a perfect
16
horse Marine-- but certainly she is a woman of much really good sense and fine mind, but a most insufferable egotist, vain as the queen of Sheba, and a perfect non compos in many things--She would make a world but could not herself live in it, and is not capable of

taking the world as made---

Monday 16th Sep^r 1839.

Have been in the Streets for several hours to day without noting or observing a single thing of interest--wether is changing a little, not quite so hot--a great deal of thunder but no rain---Time hangs heavy on my hands not much to do, and find to sit myself down to write for an hour or so, increases [144] to a very unpleasant extent a pain or rather torpidness which seems to have taken possession of my right side, with an attendant pain the Shoulder & arm to the elbow--my Physiician says it is my liver, and I sometimes believe it to be so, because the pills which I take composed of colocythe [?], gamboge, & calomel removed for a time the pain or sensation. I am affected in both shoulders--and at times very seriously in the head, something like vertigo.

Tuesday 17th Sep^r 1839.

From an absolute vis inertia I have not even opened my diary for some days--nothing worthy of notice---wether unsettled--rain, hot, sunshine--Packit of the 15 brings¹⁷ no news, but the death of the Sultan & War in Egypt and Hanover still unsettled, the Duke of England had better beware, this is as much an age of constitutional Govern^{ts} as one of rail roads--and despotism is sleeping upon a mine of awful consequences of an abused and

insulted people--France is quiet, but it is a dreamy slumber. She is awaking, and her throws [throws] of inertia will shake all Europe--Despotic Russia, Austria & Prussia are quiet under their prosperity and peace after her long continental struggle with Napoleon, this still lasts, and may for a few years longer--Money matters seem much deranged the world over--A Vessel from the States brings me a private letter which states that the first notes of the great Mammoth U.S Bank having 4 & 8 months to run are still selling at 1 1/2 p month discount--speaks badly for the monetary affairs and badly for the Bank--her stock from 119 to 121 in June is down to 109 to 110--But still the hammer sounds and forges & industry is all alive--rail roads advancing--cotton little down--but population increases demand and industry must go on, [145] be the consequences of extravagance and overtrading what they may-- ---South America Generally seems doomed to stand still, from Mexico to Cape Horn embracing the richer portions of the great American continent represents but one great field of paralisation, a sleepy idleness, indebted almost to her entire value under her system of industry developing her resources, but a change if it were possible, which her mixt population and luxurious climates almost forever prevents, she might exhibit a justness and wealth, which under the

wonders of Spanish Monopoly seen to the world to create, never actually did---It never can be the case, the physical state of the people & Society will forever tend to demoralize and debase her citizens, until Tyranny & despotism shall again rule & Govern the Country from one end to the other---The contiguity of the UStates to Mexico, will at no great distance of time, change that Country, for the Anglo Saxon race must from the Northern Hive pour her millions of civilized not as in the days of Atala the Hun uncivilized people over all this Country to the Isthmus.

t
Thursday 26- Sep- 1839.

I have neglected my diary---what apology none, idleness, for I have nothing to do---Have asked leave of absence and shall expect in the Spring to return home---There is no compensation in this Country for a desertion of my own---The Doct informs me, coming from the Hon^e B. Brown, ¹⁸ that at Washington my services were duly appreciated, and that I might remain in my present station pretty much as long as I pleased---Called a few days since on a Mr Adlerovitz said to be charge d, affaires from Sweden---But as yet the Gov^t dont say so, no notice to that effect having yet been given to the public---He is very gentlemanly man has no doubt [146] seen good society; I have not yet met him in any

society--Have just understood that Gen^l Sir Greger
M^c Greger, committed an act of Crim Con in London with
 a Cousin of Sir Rob^t Ker Porters, they are therefore not
 on speaking terms--I should rejoice to see a flare up
 between them, but Sir Rob^t is too prudent to place himself
 in a situation where it would become necessary to support
 it by fighting.-----

Sickness, fever of a virulent cast is still
 existing in Caracas--wether hot, occasional rain--
 There seems to be no news.-----

Co^l Stopford & family go tomorrow morning for
 La Guayra & have taken passage bag & baggage in the Fan
 o Shanter for Liverpool--it has been a mighty effort to
 get off--I rejoice at their departure a more heartless
 creature than his wife & daughter does not exist on
 earth or beneath it--a more pander for society, scandal
 lying ~~AAAAAAAAAAAA~~----- I wish them a calm-----and that
 I may not be in Caracas on their return, for they
 certainly will--they cannot live in England. Their great
 object seems to be to get their daughter off of their
 hands and if they can only throw her into good society
 she may find a good groom [?].

Thursday 21st Nov^r 1839
 Yesterday the 20th of Nov. we buried Zachariah Hoffman,
 a native of New York, he has resided in this city nearly

or more than 10 years, though [through] many struggles of life and character--he died in the House of Dona Josefa Tevar the widow of Don Jose Blanco, with whom it is reported he has lived as husband and taking charge as mayor Dona her very valuable property, which he has much improved--his funeral [147] was very respectably attended--He is said to have been a man of but little respectability in his character & dealings, tho' in his management of Mrs Tevars property, he had formed many acquaintances and perhaps had made friends--Dec^t P. F. de Paul his friend & Dec^t Rodrigues requested to use my name in the invitations to his funeral; I could not deny it, could it be of any service.

Caracas has been for the last three months much afflicted with fever and many deaths have occurred, and it still remains sickly--Dec^t S. D. Forsyth is still with me, that is, eats with me--he is a perfect Paul Pry, ²⁰ with a very gentlemanly exterior and intercourse. He visits my place, and feels much anxiety to pry into all the little gossip &&&&& of the city--he is not all times a harmless intruder, and he becomes extremely leaky, always repeating what he has heard, which loses nothing from passing through his hands.

I am making my calculations upon getting my leave of absence sometime this winter, so as to leave Caracas

in the Spring, and perhaps for ever---Thirteen years of almost continued residence in this climate, has I fear however not fitted me very well to reside in any other latitude.

My wife is even more anxious than myself to leave, all her days & hours are spent in calculations of the arrival of the time when she may bid adieu to this Country---I shall not leave it with much regret, yet my residence here has in some measure formed some links of friendships or associations that cannot be severed without a word or a sigh--To me Caracas has been a place of some pleasure & much pain--yet it is here [148] under the protection & honor of my Gov^t I have saved a few thousand Dollars to pay my way in the decline of life---And perhaps to no person am I more indebted for my situation than to the Present President of the UStates M Van Buren, thro' direct from him I have rec^d no favours or kindness, my commission coming from Gen^l A. Jackson, may whose great usefulness, manliness, firmness, vigour patriotism and high souled character, cheer his declining years--to me his name is and shall be for ever a watchword---

I have become, idle, lazy and careless--from what cause cannot tell, but I attribute it to a want of some thing to produce excitement something to move vis

inert life, which so heavily here loads down the mind as well as physical powers--The climate here predisposes to every thing like indulgence and ease, and we soon take up with it however much we may think before enjoying it, to the contrary---

nd
Friday 22-- Nov. 1839.

The continued and incessant rains which has fallen in Caracas since the 1st April to this morning, seems not to have abated at all its violence--This morning early it was clear but it commenced about 6 and continues hard to this moment say 10 o'clock

The sickness commenced in Caracas at the early part of the rainy season, with alternate rain & sunshine, but more sun than rain, the wise medical men thus attributed to the absence of much rain the prevalent epidemic, and now its continuation is attributed to the great quantity of rain--It is certainly true that I have never known Caracas so wet, there has not been dry weather enough to dry up the moisture even under the fervid atmosphere of the climate [149] and the walls of all the houses being principally of dirt rased, with high wall inclosures of the same materials, in many parts of the city where the lots are small & narrow the sun nor air find an entry or free circulation--This is the season when we should have fine air and very dry--but

rain has fallen every day for the last 30--

There is still much sickness in Caracas--violent cases of fever of a typhus character, and in some high grade of bilious, much like the yellow fever--it is difficult to say when and where it will end--however it would seem to me impossible that any contagious diseases can exist or spread in this climate or rather in this highly elevated valley, where the air is generally pure, rarefied, but not so high as to produce any difficulty of breathing, or effects upon sound chests---

There seems to be no news in circulation The entire Ministry of the Gov^t resigned a few days since in consequence of the Council of Gov^t sustaining a petition of return of property of the Churches to the College & Churches which the Laws had declared belonging to the State---They will all however continue perhaps but Gen^l Urdenata as Sec.Y. of War who retires invalided--- the ministers refused to sign the decision of the Council of Gov^t 21

This day has passed excessively dull--in fact there is nothing in the Country, but the Country, that looks cheerful--the people as a body are the most dull cold monkish looking people in the world, always a gloom seeming to hang over them for their misdeeds or bad conduct, as tho' conscience had much to do in these

things, when in fact they have less conscience and generally but very little honor in any thing---

There seems no news stirring a vessel from Baltimore but I have nothing--news from the States at this moment very interesting. [180]

Saturday 23rd Nov. 1839.

I have nothing to report--there is no news & Caracas is as dull as a Church yard--there is in fact nothing, nothing to relieve the dullness and sameness that every day reels [rolls?] round in Caracas--Whether still unsettled, a most unusual thing at this season of the year---

Sunday 24th Nov. 1839

Wind from Cuba cool & fine, the good Church people who seem to have great or greater faith in Wood symbolical of the diety or saints, than they have actually in diety itself--The Wether breaking off to all appearances fine and cool, the Church has brought out Saint Francisco & marshalled him over half the city to remove the pests, or the present disease prevalent in the city from its inhabitants--such is still the fanaticism of Priest craft in this Country to impose upon the poor unthinking class of people in this Country---they are truly happy in their ignorance, leaving the Church to think, act & do for them entirely under one requisition alone of going

to Church & confessing to the Priests, and in this manner both body & soul are fed with hopes, lost in ignorance and perdition---

Monday 25[#] Nov. 1839

Wether changeable again so much for Saint Francisco of yesterday--the day however has turned out fine, but the morning cloudy misty & very cool--no news--Papers up to the 25[#] Oct^t Stoppage of the Banks in Phila & Baltimore & for the South to pay Specie--and a report of the death of Gen^l Jackson--²² no packet yet--a vessel from Boston--but have no news--The Gov^t very quiet--- [151]

Tuesday 26[#] Nov. 1839

Morning cold misty & rainy & the wether looks even worse than 10 days ago--the inhabitants say Caracas since the Earthquake of 1812 has undergone a great change in climate, and the seasons varying more than ever was previously known & more uncertain. After ten o'clock the wether cleared up and we had a fine day but a very strong wind from Catia-- ---Visited yesterday Mrs Harrison recently from England formerly the wife of a Mr Willmet British Consul at P^o Cabello who died the day after his landing in England with an affection of the liver--Mr H became acquainted with her in p^o Cabello hearing of Mr W death followed immediately on and married the Widow & brought her out---She is a native of Lima in

Peru; rather a good looking woman, very brown and her dress much studied for effect--altogether she has rather a harsh look and Privateerish, pretty much as a doubtful person might seem--I beg her pardon if I do her wrong, but as I believe I know these people, and the Colonial Standard is the same from Mexico to Cape Horn, she seemed as she did not care for any thing, and that her person and her actions were her own, and that she would with one or the other as it might suit her convenience or pleasure----

Caracas, Caracas, thou sad personified dullness, was it not for an occasional evening of cards, I would almost wish to sleep away the next 7 months--Yet there is something that makes us regret a departure from it, its ever fine Climate, green hills, good water, quietness & fruits forever budding & ripening---night very windy & cold---- [182]

Wednesday 27 Nov. 1839

Morning high north wind (Catie) bright sun, and a most perfect cerulean sky---

It seems that we have lost the rain at last, however it will be changeable until the Mortex entirely pass--now commences our fairest season in Caracas--- But there has been so much sickness and so many deaths throughout almost all the families, that a real dull

winter must pass, and perhaps without a single ball given by any family in the City. This day closed a fine one--- British Packet news of a political nature, but the Commercial world seems uprooted to its foundations, it is not alone in North America: difficulties exist, but every part of the Globe where trade is done, to a positive extent difficulties exists, of course greater with a people or a nation in a just proportion to their liabilities and extent of business based on facilities,
 23 24
 in the language of Webb & Noah of the Courier & Living [?] enquirer--which is nothing more nor less than paper credit, and a too over anxiety in the Banks to make money---

This Country seems less affected than perhaps any other, having no means but that amount which her actual production forces into circulation, and business confined exclusively to commonplace, with no paper credit, feels none of the convulsions of commerce of other Countries and perhaps never will--neither her people, nor population in my opinion will ever change these things--unless the Establishment of Banks should by getting their bills into circulation, drive out of the Country all the circulating medium of gold & silver--But as these people by nature are not disposed to speculate to a great extent, nor loan their credits,

but upon firm security, and no disposition [183] to place their fortunes in the hands of others to manage, not even to raise a credit to do business upon, on Banking principles, will for years if not forever prevent those actions and reactions of business which in larger communities with the Credit and Banking system, must and will always produce-----

Thursday 28 Nov. 1859

The at 12 last night it was clear and cool, rain fell during the night, this morning however is bright, sunny, cheering, with a fine breeze from the North, (Gatia) but which is believed by the natives to be very unhealthy--If it is clear & fine rain I doubt it, but if as it usually is, when the wind is from that point, misty damp & foggy I have no doubt it is unhealthy, and has a great tendency to effect the nervous system & produce catarrhs & colds of the head and a general depression the chest and lungs--as well as Rheumatism-----

To day was burried a Mr Salter a Scots man and saddler by trade, an industrious, useful and most ingenious mechanic, only a few days. say five, he was walking the Streets--Ferdinando Perez was burried this evening he died very suddenly--Caracas indeed seems predisposed in fact there is certainly existing a disease which seems to slay right and left, and at very

short notice---However I trust and hope the great change that has taken place in the wether within the last 4 days will drive away all pestilence---No news---British Packit is in---

Friday 29 Nov. 1839.

This morning is a delightful clear & fine morning, cool and with high North Wind (Catia) and clear---a continuence of this wether must drive away all Peste that it may leave us with nervous & Rheumatic affections---Winter seems to have commenced [154] for it is very cool for Caracas, arising entirely from the North Wind---the sun is very warm, but the entire temperature of the air approaches much to the Sep^t wether of my part of North Carolina.

Dec^t Forsyth leaves me to day, but I think he would like to remain, he is most seriously wedded to Caracas; With a fine estate in Tuy producing him 500 quintals of Coffee, he ought to make, as he really does better than perhaps in all the vally, his home the most comfortable and pleasant of any other---

He is excessively prying and inquisitive, always upon the move and the scent with certainly no bad intentions, but it leads him into courts and scenes that throws a suspicion on all his actions.

This day after 1 1/2 oclock turned out a most

unpleasant & rainy evening and very cool--P. left at 2

two did not come up for his soup & porter---

No news--sickness seems still to continue--

Politically things seem moving on quietly--Gen¹ Paez

is still in this city--his family, as well as himself

have been slightly visited by the fever--- ---He is

best off now who keeps retired from the rest of the town.

The wether is altogether unwholesome---

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER XVIII

- 1 Edward Bishop Dudley (1789-1855) was governor of North Carolina from 1837 to 1840. He held no public office after 1840, but his greatest achievement was the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad. Dudley secured its charter, led in subscribing its capital, served as its president (1836-37, 1841-47), saved it by his personal credit from bankruptcy (Dudley was wealthy), and mapped out extensions on the Atlantic coastline. Dictionary American Biography, V, 480-481.
- 2 espera--respite, adjournment.
- 3 pagara--promissory note.
- 4 apoderado--proxy, attorney.
- 5 caja de consulta--counsellor's brief.
- 6 concurso de acreedores--meeting of creditors.
- 7 sueldos--salary, wages.
- 8 bate--dressing-gown.
- 9 In 1839 England's "manufacturing interest" was in a "depressed condition;" and it made "a sudden, though concentrated movement....in hostility to the existing

system of corn-laws." Lord Brougham and others made many speeches for repeal of the corn-laws. The Annual Register for the year 1839, 1, 17, 28-60.

- 10 Joe Surface is a hypocritical character in Richard Brinsley Sheridan's play The School for Scandal. Although this comedy narrowly escaped suppression, the author achieved his greatest triumph as a dramatist when it was staged, May 8, 1777. P. R. Lieder, R. M. Lovett, R. K. Root (editors), British Poetry and Prose From Beowulf to Blake (New York, 1936), 894-940; William A. Wheeler, An Explanatory and Pronouncing Dictionary of the Noted Names of Fiction (Boston, 1917), 384; Dictionary National Biography, LII, 78-85.
- 11 Goodring acted as charge for Semple while he was absent from Bogota. National Archives, Venezuela, Claims 1830-39, Williamson's letter to Semple, June 3, 1840.
- 12 "Pulperia is the name given in this country (Venezuela) to establishments which are at the same times shops, farms, and inns, such as they may be, adapted to the state of society in the province. They are generally kept by natives of Biscay, or

Catalonia, who begin their career in this country with selling victuals, liquors, cloths, and iron, or whatever they can collect, at the same time. In the towns it is easy to trace the prosperity of the owners, in the gradual change which takes place in these collections. The proportion of manufactured goods increases by degrees, until at length they form the whole, and the master becomes a respectable merchant." Semple, Sketch of Caracas, 67.

- 13 Buane tells about a plantation in this area "which belonged to a gentleman, a native of Caracas, who, after studying medicine, could not find, in a population of 30,000 souls, enough of sickness to live by, and therefore determining not to ~~take of~~ the doctor,' had established himself here, and was already rich. Visit to Colombia 1822 and 1823, 112-113.
- 14 The 1839 Congress of Venezuela was much concerned about the small scale of immigration. From 1837 until 1839, only 72 French immigrants and 604 from the Canary Islands had entered the country. The Secretary of Congress stated that so long as adequate and effective guarantees were not given to immigrants, immigration would be unsatisfactory. Gonzalez

Guinea, Historia Contemporanea, III, 96.

16 Federico Tomas de Adlercreutz, son of the Swedish general and statesman Karl Johan Adlercreutz, was born in Finland, July 23, 1793. Thanks to his father's position and his own education, he acquired a considerable military reputation during the Napoleonic wars. At the end of 1819 he decided to enter the service of a foreign country because while his "military reputation was intact, his pocket-book was empty." He arrived at the island of Margarita in 1820, and later was sent with Admiral Byron on the Rio Hacha expedition. Bolívar made him a colonel in the Colombian army in 1821 and Adlercreutz had an active part in the revolution. O'Connor says that Adlercreutz was the best educated and equipped of all the officers who came to Colombia. After Bolívar's death Adlercreutz went to Jamaica for a time, then to Sweden. This government sent him to Venezuela in 1839 to make a commercial treaty. He lived in Venezuela until 1849 when he returned to Sweden and died there in 1862. C. Parra-Perez, La Carrera del Coronel Conde de Adlercreutz (Paris, 1928), 11-36; F. O'Connor D'Alesch, Independencia Americana Reseñas de Francisco Burdett O'Connor (Madrid, 1916), 46.

- 16 ~~horse~~ marine--a marine or sailor on mounted duty ashore or a cavalryman on shipboard; hence a man out of his element.
- 17 Mahmud II, Sultan of Turkey, died July 30, 1839. He was born in 1785 and succeeded to the throne in 1808. "His greatest achievement, the destruction of the Janissaries, is a remarkable event in Turkish history; but his reign will be chiefly remembered for the rapid curtailment of the empire, the progress of Russia, and the establishment of a virtually independent sovereignty under Mehemet Ali in Egypt and Syria." Niles Weekly Register, LVI (August 24, 1839), 408.
- 18 Bedford Brown of Caswell County, North Carolina, was born in 1795. He became a member of the House of Commons, from Caswell in 1815 and served many years in both Houses of the General Assembly. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1829. John H. Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina From 1584 to 1851, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1851), II, 79. Brown wrote letters of recommendation to help Williamson get his appointment as charge. National Archives, Diplomatic Post Records, Venezuela, letters of Bedford Brown, November 20, 1832, January

9, 1836.

- 19 orin con—criminal conversation. Since Adlercreutz told this gossip about McGregor, McGregor could have retaliated in kind. "In 1839 Adlercreutz, on his way from Sweden, was detained in London where he saw O'Leary and joined in an amorous intrigue with a certain Mrs. S. a woman whose love tokens both Montilla and Soublotte knew." The lady's lamentations when Adlercreutz left her were well known. Para-Perez, La Carrera de Adlercreutz, 25.
- 20 Paul Pry--the title of a well known comedy in 3 acts by John Poole, and the name of its principal character, "one of those idle, meddling fellows, who, having no employment themselves, are perpetually interfering in other people's affairs." William A. Wheeler, Noted Names of Fiction, 306. John Poole (1786?-1872) was an English dramatist and miscellaneous writer. Paul Pry was written in 1825. Dictionary National Biography, XLVI, 97-98.
- 21 González Guinard gives a brief and similar analysis of this ministerial crisis, and also that General Urdaneta wished to retire because of poor health. Historia Contemporánea, III, 122.

- 22 Jackson died on June 8, 1845. J. S. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, 722.
- 23 James Watson Webb (1802-1884), a New York journalist, acquired the Morning Courier in 1827 and in 1829 acquired and merged with it the New York Enquirer. He continued as editor and proprietor until he sold out to the World in 1861. In that year he was made minister to Brazil. He went to that country by way of France where he presented the Union cause to Louis Napoleon. During his eight years in Brazil he "had the satisfaction of seeing the unfriendly British envoy sent home in disgrace, fought tirelessly against aid extended to Confederate privateers, protected the interests of Americans during the Paraguayan War, and secured the settlement of several long standing maritime claims." Dictionary American Biography, XIX, 574-575; Joseph Thomas, Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology (Philadelphia, 1930), 1826. Editors of the Courier and Enquirer were Webb, James Gordon Bennett and Major M. M. Noah. Webb was for Adams, but his associates were for Jackson and fixed the policy of the paper. Bassett, Life of Jackson, 626.
- 24 Nordeani Manuel Noah (1785-1851) of Portuguese-Jewish

ancestry, was born in Philadelphia. In 1817 he edited the National Advocate of New York, a daily journal founded by the Tammany faction of the Democratic party. He established the New York Enquirer in 1826 and merged it with the Morning Courier in 1829. Dictionary American Biography, XIII, 534-535; Thomas, Universal Dictionary of Biography, 1826.

[CHAPTER XIX]

[NOVEMBER 30, 1839 To FEBRUARY 2, 1840]

Saturday 30th Nov^r 1839.

Rained much last night--this morning pleasant, sun warm, and weather looks unsettled--The mail from the South not further than Valencia--no news--Called on the Sec.Y. to day he appears greatly absorbed in business, perhaps more perplexed--The Sec.Y. of the Interior has retired; Something has occurred in some way in the Council House no doubt--

The Sec.Y. of Foreign Relations it would seem from the drift of his conversation to day was disposed to retire likewise, that the President may form an entire [155] new Cabinet--A most difficult affair--It would seem ever since Senor A. L. Gusman went into an office attached to that of Foreign relations, (and created against Law so say his enemies), there has been a general shaking in the Ministry, and upon a recent discovery by the Ministers of a kind of leaning of the Council of Gov^t to a return of confiscation and other Church rates to the Seillage, to be of course under the management of the Clergy, which has been opposed by Smith, Ubeneja, & Urdenata, they have all been disposed¹ to go out--the two latter have now retired-- Smith only

remains, and I think (and should regret) he will not remain long-----There is another fact at this moment agitating the Gov^t, it is the various claims of minors & others under decrees of the Tribunal, giving them their portions of property, confiscated long since by these Tribunals & under Law--It seems Gen^l Paez himself holds some of the most valuable properties in the Country, confiscated by his own decrees or those of Bolivar, special as to the particular property which he holds, for his benefit, which injustice the Courts are at a distance touching the cord, but which vibrate deeply to his ears, of a return of Justice, which he does not like-- He therefore does not like appearances and is therefore in favour of the Gov^t acknowledging as a debt done by it, all the properties (the ant.) which have been confiscated during the revolution-----which should the Congress act on it will at one sweep close the whole affair without any further investigation, only as to am^t ----

There are many cases of confiscations that have been most cruel and unjust, and there is now living in Caracas, an old man (Spaniard by birth I believe) whose property in the plains (Cattle Estates) was confiscated and seized by Gen^l Paez, under the following [156] circumstances-- Gen^l Paez at one period during the war held under his command almost if not entirely the llanos

or plains, in which were then as now located the large and extensive Cattle Estates, the owners generally of which resided in Caracas--Many of these estates contained from 5 to 50 thousand head of cattle; cows, bullocks, horses mares, Jacks & Jennys----

While thus in possession of the Plains and the Spanish forces in possession of Caracas and almost all the adjacent country--he (Gen^l Paez) issued an order, (knowing it could not & would not be fulfilled by the owners) that all owners of cattle estates should come and take possession of their property and reside on it, under pain of confiscation--² Many of these owners owned property to a considerable am^t in Houses &&& in Caracas and perhaps some coffee estates near to it--to comply therefore with Gen^l Paez decree, would no doubt place their property under confiscation by the Spanish authorities--and in this way between the two parties, many families in Caracas have been reduced to great poverty and even begging--That the property of the adhering individuals to Spanish authority and who took up arms against the patriots, should have been confiscated is according to the usage of nations, however cruel it may have fallen on families or individuals--

Sunday 1st Decem^r 1839

Day fine--paid off with my wife many owing visits--

called on the new bride and bride Groom Alexander
 Ibarra,³ married to Mercedes Rivas Tebar--a lady with
 rather a fine face, but one lump of flesh & blood the
 shape of a bag of cotton, and weighs no doubt 240^{lb}
 net--about 28 years old. She is rich, illiterate uninformed
 & uneducated, but as proud as the queen of Sheba-----

No news--Showery---cool in the evening---hear
 that two vessels are off the port--- [157]

Monday 2nd Decem^r 1839

My birth day, how many pleasing and sad recollections
 does to day give birth to--I have completed to day my
 46th year of pilgrimage on earth--and wish in turning
 to review them they had been better, more worthy of a
 miserable service to his god, than I fear mine has been---
 We may weep for the past, but should endeavor to look
 more happy for the future--the first has past and its
 read, the future is all in the dark, and but for the
 light of mind reason & reflection, our pathway for the
 future might truly be said to be dark indeed---

I hope however my actions heretofor will throw
 a shadow on the pathway of the future---

This passed without any thing material occurring---
 wether still unsettled---

rd e

Tuesday 3-- Decem. 1839

I have never, and the oldest inhabitants say the same,

seen such changes of wether; rain every day--cold Catia Winds, which if they have occured 1 month since would have been called Nortes, but it is now out of season--- Re^d to day newspapers and letters from Phil^a to the 12 ult--New York still holds out to pay specie as well as Boston, but it seems there is a general suspension South and West--I hear New York and Boston will adhere at all events and under all circumstances to pay specie-- Do little business, dont extend discounts and confine circulation to the immediate wants of the merchants-- and not allow themselves under any representation, to be moved from their purpose and good faith to the Public.

There is now a discount or Exchange between Phil^a & New York of 10 to 15 P Ct. against the former-- It seems from the papers the "Great Regulator", the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, has been the first to suspend and with it, after a meeting of the stockholders & directors of all the other Banks decided by a plurality of votes against suspension. [158] The President next day sent a message to the Banks informing them that the U.S. B of P. would suspend whether they would or not; thus carried vi et armis all the other minor institutions--I do not think there can be the shadow of a doubt, but the U.S. B is in a most crippled state, and this suspension tho' not possibly a Bankruptcy smells very much like a rotten concern---The

predictions of its enemies may have killed it---but I have always thought the Bank when it closed its engagements with the States as a partner, could not then wind up without great loss if not a failure---Its stockholders in this predicament would have accepted a charter of any State in the Union, rather than have been forced to close its concerns; as by such an exposure the Great Financier Nick Biddle would have lost all his credit as such and his veracity as a man---he however looked ahead for the Breakers, saw them, and scudded before the storm to a tranquil haven and retired upon the purchase of the princely establishment of the late Mr Blight in Chestnut above Broad Street---

If the Bank shall be forced by adverse circumstances now impending upon her, to wind up, the secrets of the "Marble Palace" will be worth knowing for the present as well as the future---and Stamp the foresight, firmness and wisdom of Gen^l Jackson with a character of light, a Roman Grandure and a Grecian Eloquence---The rise and fall of this Bank is the history of the States in monetary affairs, and might have been its political but for the President, as it wished to rule instead of him--- It forced a war on the Gov^t and its stockholders will now find it out to its cost----- [189]

Wednesday 4- Decem^r- 1839.

The year is fast drawing to a close---

A^d papers & letters from New York--not so late as from Phil^a --no further news, of much interest--some letters to the 18th ult^h, New York still holds out to pay specie--I wish she may continue, but the whole burden of the Whig papers, it would seem are endeavoring to force a suspension by alarming the Banks--let them not be afraid--as honest men they will meet with their reward---

No news in Caracas Gen^l Paex leaves here tomorrow for Maracay & the plains on a visit to his Estates of Cattle---There is not a more personal interested man in the Country than the Gen^l --and his wife or woman with whom he lives and has many children, is perhaps one of the hardest fisted women in the nation--and no doubt has a very large sum laid by---she is a great incubus upon the Generals society--she is not visited by any person of respectability--and yet occasionally great efforts have been made for the purpose, but the good sense and character of the Caribianians so far cannot be coaxed into this measure of degradation.

Thursday 5 Decem^r 1839.

I have not been able to look at my diary until this morning the 12 --from indisposition, not positively with fever, but indications of a high bilious state of

my system--together with a bile on my right cheekbone, that has been both painful and troublesome--There does not appear to be any news stirring--Gen^l Paes I believe has gone to the Country--the Sec. Y. of State indisposed--in fact in all Caracas there seems a predisposition to sickness--the Weather however seems settled down to a bright & fine sky good air and pleasantly cool, which I trust will [180] continue--the British packet arr^d yesterday as yet have not understood she has brought any news--

Friday 13^d Decem^r 1839

There seems but little movement in the city tho' we have various rumors, at one time at revolution [and] at another of a rising of the Blacks-- There has been certainly some ground of suspicion against the negroes and for some days, some excitement in the matter--god only knows what is to be the result of things ultimately here, whether the Country at large will by a gradual amalgamation slide into colour, or whether an open violence will be committed against the whites. That the Country is destined to be gov^d by the col^d class here there cannot be a doubt, for there is not one white according to the degree of what is now called white, in 40, and what may be truly white not more than 1 in 80--Such is the state of Society with which we are

surrounded, and such are those materials out of which this Gov^t is to advance in the scale of nations--obstacles in my opinion incompatible to its ever becoming a great nation or a desirable one to reside in--

It is rumored there is some expectation of some movement against the Gov^t, this I do not believe, but that there is no want of discontented spirits enough throughout the Country to create some action of hostility there can be no doubt.

The dissolute state of morals, will always keep a certain class of people moving about to create distrust, disconfidence that some revolt may take place to benefit their condition, is certain--and in no country are they as numerous as here, climate, immorality, want of character & dishonesty all have their [161] positive effect upon the Constitution, habits and customs of these people--and more so, where there is in truth so little distinction between man & man and in public society--Public reunions there is no such thing, private families unite among themselves, beyond it, it is difficult to bring together a society free of suspicion large enough to give any tone to manners or habits--To a foreign female accustomed to not only the formality but the purity of society in their own Country, cannot tolerate it here, scarcely in any circle, as it almost becomes

impossible to bring male and female together to the number of 2 dozen, that there is not a stain of deepest dye against some individuals in the Comp.Y., such as in other Countries would place them without the pal[e] of every decent or respectable society---

There is a pretense to distinction here, but it is all pretense, the reality contradicts all words upon the subject---The fact is, not one Creole in 50 knows or cares to know, the proper distinction between themselves and less among foreigners--any foreigner here speaking the language, and sharing in business a portion of experience, is considered just as good as any other foreigner.

nd e
Sunday 22 Decem^r 1839

To my great astonishment to day about 2 o'clock rec^d notice to attend the funeral of William Little, he died as I learn about 7 o'clock this morning---yesterday up to 12 o'clock of the day understood he was much better and out of danger--such in truth is the situation of us poor mortals, in life we are in the midst of death---

Mr Little could not be over 23 or 24 years old, intelligent and cleaver, a native I believe of Liverpool, and connected with W^m Ackers Es^{qr} of this City---Death is insidiously scouting over this City--- [162] This (pest) feaver has already made sad havoc throughout

Caracas, scarcely a family or their connections who have not been visited by this enemy of mankind---Col^l Smith told me to day, that two cases had actually this morning taken place directly in his vicinity.

I have not heard any thing new--The Gov^t has at length consented and agreed and have nominated Jose J. Romero (commonly called Romanity) to meet me to examine into the pretensions of Jacob Idlers claim--as it is pasqua times, shall defer a meeting until after Christmas.---- This young man (say 40 years) has perhaps more reputation for talents than perhaps any man in the Country, I trust I shall find it true, and as honest & Just as this reputation for talents---

rd e
Monday 23 Decem- 1839.

Weather has undergone a favorable change, it is now cool if not cold, Still I learn, there are many cases of fever, as much among foreigners in proportion as creoles--- ---The middle packet in, gives alarming intelligence of the influence of the Chartists in England, the Military has been called upon to defend the peace (rather despotism of the Gov^t) of the Country. ⁶

England must bite the dust, and when this shall happen, none so poor as to do her reverence--the name of Englishmen politically will be a bye word of reproach, but as an Enlightened & fallen power, will remain ever

a between in the arts sciences & literature----

In Spain things do not seem quiet, Cabrera the head of the Carlist party is still formidable, & still presents a front to the Freason of Maroto, and the Queens Gen^l Espartero-----⁷

No news in Caracas--Still some talk of the Co^{ld} people-----[165]

Tuesday 24 Decem- 1839

The year is fast waning, and getting old, a new year near at hand, I scarcely believe I have ~~from any better~~ I trust however a change will come over me, that another year will not pass off a ~~land~~ ~~leave me~~ still in existence, but that I shall get to be a better if not a wiser man----- Caracas does not look much like the approach of Christmas, every thing is actually so dull, so heavy and lifeless---- The prevailing fever here has thrown an additional gleam over Society, it however did not require much in that way, as a mantle of shade always hangs over the lifes manners & habits of these people----that free frank & social existence which characterizes almost all other nations, is not found with Spaniards as natives of old Spain or her Colonies----

The man, the animal is different, and I scarcely know what to attribute it to more, than the general influence of their religion operating to produce a

continual gloom and sadness upon them--yet at the sametime, there are no people who so soon forget relatives kindred & friends, when the grave covers them, or who seem so indifferent to the shafts of affection which strike with so much sensability the hearts of others---

•
Wednesday 25 - Decem 1839

Rose this morning very early, found it very cold, (for Caracas) enough to produce a tingling sensation upon the ears, rather pleasant and agreeable---The Streets do not look lively or gay--a good deal of churching among the women---

This day passed extremely tranquil, a few friends dined with me to day--another Christmas and what have I done to be better or wiser--nothing--nothing---
--- [164]

•
Thursday 26- Decem 1839

I turn to my diary to day to close and bid farewell forever to the last year--it has not been either an enemy or friend particularly to me--- I have met a few robbers, and he who plays lifes games must expect them--- Man is not half so miserable, and [as?] he would under a thousand various shadings believe himself--it is only necessary to have a sufficient philosophy and Turkish resignation to events and things, to erase from the tablet of his life many things, which seem to cloud and obscure his horison----it is a mere shadow and vapour that will

disappear in a twinkling by the light of duty, the devotion of the creature to the creator. Another year closes to day (51st) and I look back as upon the decease of a friend, and with brighter hopes for the future---There are thousand of recollections on this occasion which crowd upon the memory and mind, some happy cheerful & bright and others melancholy and sad---

[5 lines inked out]

It has been a dull Christmas and Caracas was never more dull, cheerless or gloomy---The prevailing fever has added to the already sufficient gloomy character of this people, and it will take several generations, if ever they can become a free, enlightened, genuine or great nation---a thousand characteristics throw them years beyond the era, they cannot from their customs keep pace with them---Every thing old is new here and every thing new is an innovation not to be borne---May they grow better & bear better fruit. [165]

st
January 1 1840

Wednesday

The first of a New Year--the last has gone forever, and how many pleasing or melancholy ideas does this morning throw around many "poor, pensioners upon the bounties of an hour"--rose early and took a short walk, all the city is in motion, every man woman and child old

and young turn out here on this occasion to welcome the New Year--How many in extravagance for to day, will ⁸ [eat] garapitas tomorrow--all is vanity and show among these people. New dresses, silk stockings & satin shoes ruins many unfortunate vain woman or girl in this country where virtue is so little respected---Show, appearance and impudence constitutes the best stock of character or virtue--it is never a matter in what manner it may have been acquired, sufficient for the day is the glory of show thereof, is a solid fundamental axiom in morale and society in Caracas.

This morning is not very favourable cloudy and some indications of rain, last evening from 5 till 8 oclock at night we had a complete Scotch Mist---

The oldest inhabitants exclaim against Caracas weather, that such never before happened in Caracas---heat, moisture, rain, cold, cloud and sunshine, when usually at this season, in fact always, the weather is severe, cold mornings and nights, and without rain--occasional mists, very heavy and dense---

This day has closed without any thing particular, Doct^r Navarte, Conde de Adlercrutz Mr & Mrs Harrison & others called today--The Conde seems a very intelligent man & certainly in manners very gentlemanly---Doct^r Navarte I consider a personal friend, but a little too

fanatical, [166] however I consider him a conscientious man, which is much more than I can say of many of his good citizens-----

The New Year has entered with rather pleasant expectations--its results god only knows---may it be no worse than the last, and I may grow under divine help A better man and more fitted for the great change which in the cou[r]se of nature and things must come over me--- In a slight review of the past, many of my acquaintances have paid the debt of nature, and circumstances and fortune have scattered others to the four winds of heaven, on the earth-----

nd
Thursday 2 Jan.Y. 1840

I have not for several days even looked at my Diary, and have not felt resolution enough to note a single word-----

The the 13th met by agreement with Juan Jose Romero on the part of this Gov^t House, and at about 1/4 past we convened--The Expedientes were laid before us, and after a slight examination, Mr Romero presented me with a statement to exhibit the causes of difference or points, between the a/c upon which the Courts had decreed to be due Jacob Idler upwards of Seventy thousand Hard dollars, and the a/c of the Gov^t from its Treasurers showing that Jacob Idler was doing [indebted?] by their

liquidation upwards of Thirty eight thousand Dollars---
 In this state of the question we commenced a general chat
 upon the subject---Contending on every part that first as
 the Courts had [167] given Mr Idler a judgment, he had
 an undeniable right to require the Gov^t to comply with
 their decisions, because in the progress of the Law
 suit pursued at the instance of the Gov^t against Idler,
 the Gov^t had been duly represented by her Fiscal and
 assessor, both of whom had given their opinion in favour
 of the pretensions of Mr Idler, and subsequently by the
 Superior & Supreme Courts---

This Mr Romero did not deny, but contended that
 the Gov^t had a right to Restitutio in Integrum (which
 if conceded goes to annul all previous proceedings &
 place the question as it stood when the a/c was first
 presented by the Gov^t); as asked by their newly appointed
 Fiscal Doc^t Aranda and conceded by the assessor Doc^t
 Urbana, and which has been confirmed by the same Superior
 Court & Supreme Courts---Against which I contended that
 the Gov^t was not entitled to any such right, tho accorded
 by the Court; because this right was a personal one
 belonging to a despotic King---that by the revolution
 all rights belonging to the King as such did not survive
 in the Republican institutions growing out of a successful
 conflict of the Colonies against the mother country---

If the Right existed of Restitution in Integrum as he pretended he should point out the clause in the Constitution or the Laws of the Congress that maintained this right in the Gov^t --- otherwise nothing of the kind survived the Revolution, but perished with it---Mr R contended in opposition to this, that all the rights of whatever nature or kind belonging to the King, was of right after the revolution belonging to the Supreme power of the Country, that revolution only produced separation of the dependence of the Colony on the Mother Country, only in her political capacity and not in the existence of the Laws & rights--- [168] I then instanced to him the situation of my own Country, and stated that the King of England as such in his private as well as political rights, lost all by the revolution, and that none survived in either a legal or moral way in our courts of Justice, in the established authorities, but such as had been constitutionally or by Legislative enactment restored to them---.

Mr Romero then insinuated that there was a strong probability of bribery or a complete blindness on the parts of the Fiscal & assessors in the first instance that confirmed Mr Idiers claims---I remarked in answer that he certainly could not apply that to the Courts likewise--he said there was great want of attention to

the matter in these tribunals and great and culpable neglect---I remarked these were heavy charges to make against the jurisprudence of the Country and those whose duty it is to administer the Laws honestly & faithfully--- and that such a communication from him came badly to me as the agent of my Gov^t, and of course to be communicated to it---We closed for this day-----

Tuesday 14- Jan.Y. 1840

Met Mr Romero again by appointment, made up no Protocol, he stated it was Consejo day and [as] one of the Presidents Council he begged, as there was important business before it, in the absence of the President, that I would dispense with his concurrence and left me to examine the Expediente, with [out?] any reference to the principal Sec.Y. of State---Remained 2 1/2 hours examining the Expediente, which gives me great hopes of establishing the Justice of Mr Idlers pretensions---

Wednesday 15 Jan.Y. 1840

Mr Romero from press of business did not meet to day--- Examined further the Expediente---still more satisfied that Mr [169] Idler has at least Equity on his side----

Thursday 16 Jan.Y. 1840

Mr Romero did not meet to day, but referred me to a further examination of the Expediente---Still think Mr Idlers claim an Equitable one---left the office at 3

oclock-----

Mr De la Palen French Consuls party in disfrax took place last night, [4 lines inked out]---Went off well---some very good parts played, more in dress than manner---all seemed to be combined in the first, and that the latter was of no importance, when it is important to the success of such attempts, the character assumed should be as well represented in a knowledge of the character as in the dress---

st
Mr De la Palm was dressed as Francis I -- of France & his Vice Consul Mr LaForest as a Sultan, both well dressed, but in every thing else deficient---Mr Palm looked his character very well, but his manners certainly not of the chivalric captive of Pavia---The Ladies some dressed very well, more as fancy than real costumes. A Mr Delpache, as a Greek Abanian was well dressed and looked his character well---Young Rhienholdt a German played his part as a flower seller in good taste and well in character, perhaps better sustained than any other---We left at 4 oclock-----

Friday 17 Jan.Y. 1840

Still examining Expediente in case of Jacob Idler and have agreed to meet on Monday next to discuss the question of Tobacco, Muskets, damages &c.--I am rather of an opinion that we shall not agree to any one point--

as it is my deliberate [opinion] that this Gov^t is
determined to pay nothing [170] but rather to claim of
Jacob Idler---We shall see---no news---no British
Packit---

Saturday 18 Jan.Y. 1840

No news---no packit --engaged in looking over the points
in contest with the Gov^t relative to the Claims of Jacob
Idler, and reading Harris amusing hunting Trip in
Southern Africa---

Wether fine---but rather warm

Sunday 19 Jan.Y. 1840

Tomorrow is the Constitutional day designated for the
meeting of the Venezuelan Congress---I am of an opinion
it will not form a house on that day nor in many
subsequent---in Consequence of the alarm spread throughout
the Country of the Peste in Caracas---There certainly
has existed a very violent fever of rather the Typhoid
character for some months, but it cannot be said that
it has entirely disappeared---fever of a violent character
is still existing but of a more isolated character.

The most important business that can come before
Congress must be in the arrangement of their national
debt, and it is a business of so delicate a character
that I doubt whether any thing can or will be done, unless
to injure the present rising character of the Credit of

the Country---Should the present consolidated debt be at all disturbed I cannot then prognosticate evil to the whole system---one single falt on the business will bring us again to the same paper & worthless system of value in 1827 & 28---

Several visitors to day---no news & no packet from England---much is said of the French Consuls disfranch Ball---Mrs W. says here is for the 22 Feb.Y., uncertain, it may be however--- [171]

Monday 20 Jan.Y. 1840

Have understood several congressantes ¹⁰ have arri^d it is possible in the Course of 10 or 15 days---Its meeting or not meeting is in my opinion not very important for the nation---the making of Laws is nothing, their execution every thing---

In this country there are Laws or every thing and for nothing, they are executed and they are not executed--- a Debtor laughs at his creditor, and the fraudulent scoundrel if successful is as much a Cabellero as the most honest debtor---

There is no price as there is no distinction for the honest man and the rogue if only the latter is a successful one---Society is the same to him, and is open to his reception, as much as any other---

I have had regular interviews with Senor Romero

relative to Idlers claim and every day I am satisfied the Gov^t of Venezuela is determined to admit of no compromise to pay him any thing.

We have at length agreed upon action---first as to the decrees of their Courts---second the items of charges depending upon a difference of time and in calculations, which can be adjusted by reference--- Second the Musket Contracts, third, injuries claimed for not delivering the Tobacco (Barinas) according to contract--- fourth the claim for detention of the Endymion in Phil^a, 5 the loss sustained in Shipment of Tobacco to Amsterdam on a/c of the Gov^t, and have put off until Monday next to receive his objections---

Friday 24 Jan. Y. 1840.

Still engaged in conversation with Senor Romero about Idlers claim--am more satisfied every day that it will all eventuate in nothing, as I am induced to believe he has positive instructions to admit nothing on the part of the Gov^t --I have therefore determined to day to commence at once upon the merits of the question, and have proposed on Monday [172] next with my first proposition, which is a transcript of all the decisions of the Courts in favour of Mr Idler, and we have fixed that day for the purpose---

No news, no Congress, no packet yet--- ----

Saturday 25 Jan.Y. 1840

To day is the sale of Venezuelan Consolidated & consoldable debt of Venezuela.

This debt amounts to 500000 \$--\$50000 appropriated to pay interest and amortize as much as 25000\$ will buy so much at the lowest price is again permitted to come in and draw interest--The debt sold from 45 to 55\$ p the Hundred--and the entries below 25\$ p the Hundred--it is low for the latter and a good price for the former, Sold myself upwards of 9000\$ at 50 & 55 \$, the best sales yet made---

No Congress yet, it is believed on Monday next it will be organized--doubtful--the alarm of great sickness in Caracas, has extended itself far & near, and these people are very careful of self---but of Gov^t and its necessity and importance, not much. No Middle Packet yet---no late arrivals from the States---in the dark as to the Presidents message at Washington & the movements of Congress.

Talk of giving a Ball of Costume, Bayle de Fantazia--doubtful, as a recent death in a family of the Gov^r Tevar, will perhaps cut off a dozen of his connections from such a thing, trust however it will be over in time, as here there a[re] grades and time of mourning so many months for father or mother, so many

for sister or brother, uncles & aunts, and so many days for the rest---Gov^r Tevar from the death of his daughter Mrs Rivas on Friday last, has I learn kept up the old Custom in the Mantuana families, to wit, a large dinner party of the family [173] and immediate friends the day afterwards, where all the dishes on the Table were baked or as it is termed in Spanish asada, roasted or baked-- To me a most revolting custom, a little too material and barbarous for my feelings--yet I am aware that some such custom prevails to some extent in some parts of the United States, of eating & feasting, but it must give way under the influence of civilization or refinement---

Sunday 26 Jan.Y. 1840

Mr Juan B Dalla Costa called on me yesterday, he is from Angostura by the way of S^t Thomas, and visits Caracas to be at the nuptials of his daughter Teresa to Leandro Miranda a (bastard) son of the celebrated Gen^l Miranda whose history is intimately connected with the earliest attempt at revolution in Caracas against Spanish Colonial despotism.

Miss Dalla Costa was educated in Phila. her father is an Italian and his first wife, her mother the sister of Gen^l Carlos Soublotte Vice Pres^t of Venezuela. Mr Miranda is one of the London Colonial Bank agents in Caracas associated as second with W^m Ackers Esq^r.

No news, no packet, & no Congress.

Monday 27th Jan. Y. 1840

To day by appointment met Mr Romero on Idlers Case and presented him my first argument in the Case, to wit, the Decisions of the Courts in his favour---rec^d by him, asked time to consider them, being in English, and a proposed absence to the Country for a day or two, & will inform me when we can again meet---Had considerable conversation with Mr Romero upon indifferent subjects, and I am now satisfied he intends generally no other reply, but a printed document issued by the Council of Gov^t in 1834; and which in my opinion has mainly influenced the subject acts of the Courts, in conceding the absolute doctrine of the right of "Restitutio in Integrum" in this case to the Gov^t -- [174] A doctrine in my opinion completely exploded by the single fact of Revolution;

That such a principle may have by Law belonged to the Spanish King as an absolute Monarch, but could never survive as a right to a Free Independent Republican Constitutional Government---Because no despotic rights could survive such a contest, unless revived by a Constitutional or Legislative enactment---

Met Mr Miranda to day who informed [asked?] me to be disengaged for Saturday evening next---I have since learned he is on that evening to be married---

I suppose I am to be a Witness---no news, no Congress & no Packet----

Tuesday 28 JanY 1840

This day has passed without any thing of a particular character--wether rather unsettled--not so cool as we could wish it at this season--There is still some sickness in the City of rather an Eppidemic character---

Congress is still without a quorum. called on Gen^l Paez to day, found him at home, in Jacket, shirt, & pantaloons & slippers, without vest or neckcloth--- He exhibits but little of the President of a nation, and it is certainly circumstances have made him so, without any of those great characteristics of a great civil man---He has tallents, but rather of the fero
[fierof?] ¹¹ nature kind instead of the Enlightened acquirements of the age---He however suits the Country and the state of things that govern it---

No Packet yet---Some talk of Balls & parties-- we are thinking of giving one on the 22nd Feb.Y., fancy or disfrag, or pretty much as the invited may choose to come in---My wife has been complaining, but I am glad she is up.---no news Caracas pretty much as usual. [175]

Wednesday 29 Jan.Y. 1840.

The middle British Packet is in, and in European intelligence brings nothing of importance---In local

news of England it is of the Worst in Politics and commercial and monied interests--It appears that the marriage of the Queen will not give satisfaction to a very large portion of the British Public, that (they) it had felt much more affection [for] the Royal Branch of the Cumberland side of her Majesty's house, than the SaxCoburg Branch on her mothers side---It will certainly give the opposition full power after her marriage (and only delicacy now for a young virgin Queen has prevented much abuse of her Majesty) to attack her and his Government through the ribs of her rib--¹² and it will be done without gloves on--"uneasy is the head that wears a crown," and Victorias crown will be one of thorns--much indeed of the future happiness and security of the British people and crown, will depend upon this move upon the chessboard of her life.--The Good Londoners, money changers, and Bond holders have recently undergone quite a refrigerating effect from the devellopment from the diplomatic bag of Mr Fortique Minister from Venezuela, in his espere of the capability and views of this Gov^t in regard to the English loans, is a proof of divission among the then Governments that once composed that of Colombia--¹³ It seems that Mr Fortique, proposed no payment of back interest, but out in round numbers, to reduce the principle 2/3, that it might then come within

the capacity of the Gov^t to pay on that amount 6 P Cent interest---or let the capital stand and pay on it 2 P Cent---if the greatest enemy of a Bolivar had just made good its entry in their sanctums could not have produced a greater sensation [176] upon sensibilities of the good Londoners---it astounded them, it deceived the best calculations among them---The stock had reached £ 34 to 40 L P the 100 L---it at one sweep came down to nothing, not an offer for it but at such a price, as to range within the propositions made.

The Papers cry out, and the abuse that has been since heaped upon the people and the nation, are worthy of the best slang of their Billingsgate neighbours.

The whole fact is, the Gov^t cannot pay any more, this proposition has been made so as to embrace the entire capabilities of the Nation, that a future compliance may be certain & positive---and I have no doubt that the impression of the great and rapid advances of the country in prosperity wealth &c, is entirely imaginary, in the Vacuity of the Cities, it is possible it has much improved, but while this may be truth, the interior has retrograded---The great want of labourers, population &c has and ever will in my opinion prevent a rapid advance in Venezuela---Estates here without a slave population is worth nothing, in the time of crops hands

cannot be obtained, and even to take care of becomes almost impossible, and but for the benignity of the climate, and its various productions without labour, even the very small population would starve for bread--- There is an indolence, immorality, and such a want of individual and national pride and honesty, that will never be moderated--nothing but an unprecedented immigration can cure the evil, but they should be of a much better class than those that have arrived here in the last 3 or 4 years. It will be long before a population can be raised upon the soil---all the habits of the people are opposed to the moral character that produces & sustains the source from which it [177] should flow, and from which it arises in other better and more morally regulated countries.

The very dissoluteness and unchastity of the people throws a barrier for ever to a large and moral increase of population---

Thursday 30 Jan.Y. 1840.

To day rec^d upwards of 5000\$ for some Gov^t consolidated debt sold to the Gov^t on Saturday, at an average of 52 1/4 \$ P the 100\$ it is said (to) be a good sale---no news---

Mr Julian S^t Maria called to day to confirm Mr Mirandas request of Monday last inviting me to be present at the wedding of Miss Teresa Dalla Costa to Mr Miranda,

at 8 1/2 at night, stating that the Company would be very (escejida) select & few.

Of course to a wedding, must go---good eating and drinking --perhaps a little fun---it seems no women are invited--her family connections alone are sufficient to fill any house on such an occasion.

at
Friday 31-- Jan.Y. 1834.

It has afforded a theme of general conversation since the arrival of the middle Packet bringing the intelligence of the manner in which the British Bond holders of the Colombain debt rec^d the propositions made by Venezuela through her agent and Minister at a meeting in London, through his agents, Mess^{rs} Reed Joving & Co---If it will have no other tendency, it will at least to the thinking part concern them, they are neither so great nor so rich nor so powerful, nor so important a nation as their own vanity would induce them to believe.---It is a great national misfortune to Venezuela, that her good citizens should have so very exalted an opinion of their good selves--For it is an undeniable fact, that their overweening vanity would induce them to believe, in their character and as a nation they are not second to any nation, and that in their productions, they can supply the world [178] and that in whatever article they cultivate they can raise or fall the price in all markets.

Their absurd general egotism and vanity, make them a most important people in their own conception--- In fact Venezuela, if well considered and her state compared with the years of Spanish Colonial rule, it will be found, that even in amount and value the productions of the Country are not as great now as then.-----

Every thing is against this part as I believe every other part of South America so long as the great body of the people, are Spaniards or their descendents ----The province of Texas has advanced more in 7 years, than any part of South America, and with a population not reaching 100000, her actual exports and imports have nearly equalled those of Venezuela.

The Anglo Saxon race are destined ere long to give Laws, Gov^t & customs to all North America, and at no very long date, her sons will be found knocking at the gates of Mexico and extending their dominion and power to the Isthmus of Darien.

st
Saturday 1 Feb.Y. 1840

The arrival of the Southern mail brings many letters, but I believe nothing of importance. Nor have I been able to discover any thing of interest stirring in the City----

I have waited several days to hear from Mr

Romero, since monday, but as yet, not a word from him about Idlers claims, the decisions of the Courts presented to him on Monday he yet retains without an answer to them, and our next meeting depends upon his calling it---- These decisions of the Courts are rather posers no doubt, because they require a mere catagorical answer, which he cannot give without compromising the Gov^t and this is the very thing he wished to avoid & the Gov^t---- And I think I have caught him, as it must be spread upon the Protocol---nous veron---- [179]

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XIX

- 1 When Páez assumed the presidency in 1839, he formed his cabinet as follows: Diego Buatista Urbaneja, Interior y Justicia; Guillermo Smith, Hacienda y Relaciones Exteriores; and Rafael Urdaneta, Guerra y Marina. Antonio L. Guzmán was the chief secretary (oficial mayor de la Secretaría) of the department of Interior and Justice. When Urbaneja and Urdaneta resigned, for the reasons given by Williamson and also because amnesty was not granted to political exiles, Páez offered the cabinet post of Interior and Justice to Doctor Angel Quintero, a lawyer of Valencia who was much interested in agriculture. Quintero's blunt reply has become famous: "Where Angel Quintero seats himself, Antonio Leocadio Guzmán can not be seated." González Guinán, Historia Contemporánea, III, 97, 122-123.
- 2 In 1819 Bolívar was planning the crossing of the Andes as part of his campaign for the conquest of New Granada. It was imperative for the success of this campaign that Páez maintain the army and Bolívar sent him detailed instructions about maneuvers and supplies. Páez was to procure all the cattle he could possibly get and take them to Cúcuta. Perhaps

the possession of cattle estates by Paéz came as a by-product of Bolívar's instructions. Daniel F. O'Leary, Bolívar y La Emancipación de Sur-América Memorias del General O'Leary traducidas del Inglés por su hijo Simón B. O'Leary (1783-1819) (Madrid, 1915), 650-655.

- 3 Alejandro Ibarra, later rector of the University of Caracas, was the grandfather of Tomas R. Ybarra. Letter from T. R. Ybarra, February 3, 1945.
- 4 Biddle resigned as president of the Bank of the United States of Peuna March 29, 1839. He "took leave of his colleagues in a brief valedictory, marked not only by his usual felicity of expression, but singularly characterized by an eloquent pathos, which was wholly irresistible among his old and tried friends--his fellow-laborers for the last twenty years." Niles Weekly Register, LVI (April 6, 1839), 64.
- 5 These rumors of uprising centered in the province of Apure where a guerrilla chieftan, Domingo Chacon, threatened action. Gonzalez Guinan, Historia Contemporanea, III, 120.
- 6 The chartist movement came into existence in England after the breakdown of earlier attempts by the

labouring poor to improve their condition. William Lovett and Francis Place drew up a list of the political demands of the working class in the form of a parliamentary bill. These demands were the basis of the 'People's Charter' which was published in May, 1838. The six points of the charter were: annual parliaments, universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, the removal of the property qualification for membership of Parliament, secret ballot, and payment of members. This charter became the battle cry of those who were suffering from the increasing competition of machinery, the long months of trade depression, and the hardship of the poor law. A Convention of the Industrious Classes was held in February, 1839. It recognized the right of the people to arm themselves, and accepted the plan of a general strike if parliament rejected its petition and charter. Commons refused to consider the national petition in July, and the general strike called for August 12 was called off since there was no chance for it to succeed. In November, 1839, there was an attempt at armed rebellion in Monmouthshire. Fourteen chartists were killed and ten died of wounds.

Woodward, Age of Reform 1815-1879, 120-133.

? Civil war began in Spain in 1833 when Ferdinand VII

died and left the throne to his small daughter. When Ferdinand's third wife died in 1829, Ferdinand was childless. His brother Don Carlos hoped to succeed to the throne. Ferdinand married a fourth wife, Maria Christina of Naples, and in October 1830 the queen gave birth to a daughter. When Ferdinand died, the Carlist faction refused to recognize the regency of Maria Christina for her daughter Isabella. The Carlist Wars lasted until Espartero brought about the collapse of the opposition and Don Carlos fled to France, September, 14, 1839. Ibid., 220. For the military actions of Cabrera, Moreto, and Espartero see Annual Register, 1839, 384-394; Martin Hume, Modern Spain (London, 1923), 304-359.

8 caracotas--beans.

9 Of. infra, entry for January 17, 1840.

10 congresantes--members of congress.

11 fiero--wild, savage. O'Leary has left us his description of Paez as he was in 1818, when O'Leary first met him. Paez was then thirty years old. "Son of humble parents, he owed nothing to education. In the presence of persons whom he supposed to be well educated, he was silent, even timid, abstaining

from taking part in the conversation; but with his inferiors he was loquacious, addicted to coarse jests and showing his legerdemain. . . . Entirely illiterate, he ignored the theory of the [military] profession that he practiced so much; but even had he received a good military education, he would never become a great captain because the least contradiction or emotion produced strong convulsions that deprived him of his senses for the moment, followed by physical and moral weakness. . . . As a guerrilla chieftan he was without equal. . . . Without being cruel, he did not economize blood, and I have seen it shed on many occasions when humanity, patriotism and politics counselled saving it. He was revengeful only when his self love was wounded or his political interests. His ambition was excessive, but it was not the sublime ambition of elevated souls who seek the aggrandizement of their country. He was ambitious for power, absolute power, the power of caprice and abuse. This ambition and greed were his dominant passions." Memorias del General O'Leary (1783-1819), 531-533. Chanier gives an example of Páez' "legerdemain" at a banquet in 1827: after dinner Páez amused himself by rolling up pellets of bread, and flipping them with great

dexterity into the faces of his neighbors. It excited a considerable degree of merriment, if the general pitched his shot into the mouth or ear or nostril, of the unconscious person attacked, who of course started with amazement at finding himself so unexpectedly contributing to the amusement of the company. Life of a Sailor, II, 164.

- 12 The question of Prince Albert's annuity created a great deal of interest and debate. Lord John Russell advocated 50,000 pounds a year. Brougham had already reminded the house of the deplorable condition of the people. Now members pointed out the danger of "setting a young man down in London with so much money in his pockets," "the impossibility of the country to meet so great an additional expence without imposing severe burthens on the people," and that there were better ways of spending money. Strong contrasts were drawn; such as 30,000 pounds a year for education and 70,000 pounds for the royal stable. Eventually, 30,000 pounds was agreed upon as the extent of the annuity. Annual Register, 1840, 1-15. Victoria and Albert were married on February 10, 1840. Niles Register of May 2, reported that "her most gracious majesty, from all appearances, will perpetuate

the Brunswick line." Hiles Weekly Register, LVIII (March 14, 1840), 17; (May 2, 1840), 144.

Williamson makes no mention of the previous gossip about the widower Van Buren and Victoria. The Red River Gazette (Vol. II, No. 10), dated August 12, 1837, contains this reprint: "Bennett of the New York Herald has the following paragraph in his synopsis of English news: 'A singular report prevailed at Portsmouth. It was that Mr. Martin Van Buren, president of the United States, had made a proposal of marriage to Victoria, the queen of England, through his minister, Mr. Stevenson. Mr. Van Buren is a little too slow on the trigger for that matter.' We would recommend that Marty doff those claret colored whiskers of his and wear a whig, if he would hope to unite the ancient house of Kinderhook with the royal house of Hanover." John G. Belisle, History of Sabine Parish Louisiana (Sabine Banner Press, 1912), 199-200. Van Buren's son, John, danced with Queen Victoria when he was twenty-two and to the end of his interesting and eventful life, was known as "Prince John." DeAlva Stanwood Alexander, A Political History of the State of New York, 5 vols. (New York, 1906), II, 128-129.

13 Fortique was instructed to make a new treaty with England which would modify the previous treaty of April 18, 1825. González Guinan, Historia Contemporánea, III, 142.

[CHAPTER XX]

[FEBRUARY 2, 1840 To APRIL 5, 1840]

Sunday 2^d Feb.Y. 1840.

Having been invited formally to be present at the marriage of L. Miranda Ex^t to Miss T Balla Costa, went at 9 o'clock & found very unfortunately the wedding just concluded. about 5 minutes before my entry--I regreted it much as it is first ceremony I have had an opportunity of witnessing in Venezuela, after a residence of 13 years---But I learn it is word for word almost with the Church of England ceremony---ring &&&, but not put on until ever, giving away &&&&.

We had a good supper but not a very costly one---the number present was very small for the family connections--the entire Foreign diplomatic core were present after supper, about 11 o'clock we all left for the house of the Bridegroom, which was lighted up and handsomely furnished.

There was no wedding cake &&& nor pressing it through a ring &&&.

Was introduced to Gen^l Daniel O'Leary husband of [one of] Gen Soublette's sisters, just returned from 6 years absence in Europe---He is one of the fortunate Irish who landed at Angostura in 1817; and in his later

years say 1829 is the reputed author as Gen^l of the order for the assassination of (Gen^l) Cordova, who created a party against the pretensions of Bolivar in Bogota, and it is said a gay, chivalrous, valiant and honest Patriot & opposed to all Bolivars plans of aggrandizement and change of the institutions of the Country to those of monarchy, aristocracy, &c.

It appears after an engagement with Bolivars Troops in the province of Popayen under the command of OLeary [and] Gen^l Castelli, Cordova & his party were routed & he left on the field desperately wounded & was found by OLeary in a small house in this state, where he directed Gen^l Castelli to dispatch him, who answered he was a soldier and not an assassin [180] and to comply with such orders he became the latter and lost the character of the former--Upon which Gen^l OLeary ordered Cap^t Rand an Englishman to do the foul and cowardly deed--he did his bidding and passed his sword several times through the mangled bleeding & wounded Cordova--OLeary of course reaped his reward--Bolivar promoted him--and he followed his fortunes until Bolivar went to Carthegena, from there OLeary went no doubt on a secret mission to Jamaica & to communicate with Cuba, as Bolivars views at this time was a reconquest of Venezuela who in 1831 disowned his Gov^t & authority,

but at S^t Martha [Bolívar] closed his earthly career and all his ambitions--his partisans from there scattered-- but the principle part came into Venezuela and have found themselves placed in office, protected, and quartered upon the public chest--O'Leary, Udenata, M. Montilla, Silva, & others.

Sir Rob^t called to day with Mrs Harrison left under his protection by her husband, who is connected in some way with the copper mines of Arica--Mrs H--had better look out--it is not the oldest [who] are the best guides to young women, it is only a good cloak for virtuous pretences--nous veron--No Congress yet 4 members are wanting in the lower house

rd
Monday 3 Feb.Y. 1840.

No Congress yet--Domingo Lespenne (Lespenne) died last night about eleven o'clock, with fever, and was buried at at 8 o'clock this night--no news Caracas, is as dull as heart can wish--climate fine, but rather warm for the season---

Not a word from Mr Romero yet about Idlers affairs, our negotiation is paralyzed--I rather expect, my presentations of the decrees of the Court--has taken them by surprise--nous veron----- [181]

Tuesday 4 Feb.Y. 1840

There seems a great difficulty in forming a Congress--

the news that Carreus was very sickly has had its effect to produce this state of things---the city is very quiet and Gen^l Paez as President seems devoted to his station, but with what effect it is difficult to say, as I do not consider the affairs nationally considered are much better than years ago---it is true near Caracas improvements are visible but at a distance it is very doubtful.

No Packet yet she is however only due on the 6th---My wife continues indisposed with a continual pressure upon the urinary secretions---however I trust quietness will restore her---#

Wednesday 6 Feb. Y. 1840

I have scarcely a notice sufficient to put upon paper---Mr Romero seems to hold himself off in our negotiation---it is probable the evidence presented to him some days since has rather come unexpected, and the Gov^t find itself in a quandary! none veron-----

The Novena from Phil^a in, and the Ann & Leah---no news I have not yet seen the President's Message---my papers it seems are quarantined with the former---She touched at Barbadoes & brought no Bill of health---#

Thursday 6 Feb. Y. 1840

Not a word yet from Mr Romero---No Congress yet---Caracas very still, weather warm---nights cool---do not

hear so much of sickness--my wife continues the same,
bled to day by order of Doc^t Lacombe, he himself
bleeding, very expertly done, no pain, took 13 or 14
oz of blood---he says a predisposition to inflammation---
dont believe it---must however agree with the doc^t, at
least for the present--she seems some better--- [182]

Friday 7 Feb. Y. 1840

Called to day to return a visit from Gen^l Daniel OLeary
an Irishman by birth and came to this Country among the
recruits of Gen^l Devereaux and landed at Angostura in
1817. by good fortune and sticking close to Gen^l Bolivar
he has found himself a Gen^l in the service of Colombia,
and now quartered on Venezuela where he resides, having
married a sister of Gen^l Soublottes---Gen^l OLeary
returned by the last British packet from England, after
closing his business as charge d, affaires from Venezuela
to the Pope---In 1830 he was appointed by Gen^l Bolivar
minister to the UStates, but which never took effect in
consequence of Venezuela seceding from the Confederacy
and the subsequent death of Gen^l Bolivar. I found the
Gen^l a "pretty considerable slick" and diplomatic
man---rather good manners and intelligent, more disposed
I think disposed to provoke conversation than a desire
to say a great deal himself, that is if he can get you
to talk--but if not, his Irish modesty will not allow

him to be silent. Take him all in all, he is rather a clever man, and will always "peas and porridge", in what ever situation of life he may be placed in.²

Called likewise to day on M Miranda & lady, found him at home but not her, She was on a visit to her father who was taken ill this morning---

The British Packet not in---No Congress yet--- Have not heard from Mr Romero yet---called on Sec.Y. Smith could not give me an answer to my application about the 50 Barrels of Flour seized at Maracaybo---much engaged on his memorias to Congress---all the officers closely engaged in preparatory duties for Congress---

To day a very pleasant one---and very cold--- Catia wind blowing all day---night very cold. My wife continues still indisposed, but I think her phisician Lacoste, alarms her for nothing. [183]

Saturday 8 Febrero de 1840

This morning has commenced showery, cloudy and very damp---rather warm---with the atmosphere very close and dense--- Southern mail day, no news, no congress;

There is great effort making by various powers on the subject of the election or rather selection by congress of an individual to be presented to the Pope for ArchBishop of Caracas---Bishop Mendez died in his expulsion near Bogota on his way to that city from S^t

3

Martha--- Fortique, Peres, & Pena & Romero seem the leading candidates, all high in the Church--the latter is now acting as Previsor--the issue is very doubtful; the city party and commercial incline to Fortique--the Gov^t rather to Romero, & Gen^l Paez to Peres, and the Country party rather to Pena---The object it would seem to me, should be to elect a man who is entirely for supporting the Constitution and the principles of the revolution, a perfect independence in all matters, without absolutely breaking from the Pope in Church matter, but unequivocally in all political---I am acquainted with all except Pena, and am rather induced to believe that Fortique should be the man--none of them however in my opinion are tolerant on the subject of another church, and any one of them, under any circumstances but existing, would be for the utmost rigour of catholic Tyranny & persecution---

Tolerance is a virtue that hardly can belong to Catholicy & the Pope, and less so in Spanish colonies than perhaps any where else--one idea advanced in favour of any principle that does not follow in the wake or lead in opposition to the supremacy of the Pope, is enough to be Stigmatized as Jews & heretics--There is evidently some improvement however here on this subject---but much is yet to be done, towards virtue & morality.

Sunday 9 Feb.Y. 1840.

The wether has undergone a great change, wind from the North, high, cold and dry, with a heavenly firmament over head.

Congress will be formed tomorrow, however I perceive a quorum was made yesterday in both houses, and forthwith business will commence.

Met Mr Romero to day, he excused himself for his delay in informing me of the time of another interview on the subject of Idler, he stated my document presented was being translated--but that I should hear from him shortly--I have given him a passer, we shall see what answer he will give after 15 days consideration---No Packet yet---

Monday 10 Feb.Y. 1840

Congress is at work---many various projects of Laws before it---mountains in labour---much upon paper, but little in the execution of any thing.

An arrival from Liverpool bringing later intelligence than the Packet can--hear of no news---
How quiet the great powers of Europe are, and but for
the Chinese opium affair⁴ and all Pasha & the Port in Egypt and a small East India Company business, there would be little to talk about---However the East India affair tho' at a great distance and is but little heard

& less felt here, seems as "a grain of mustard seed"---
 It may involve an European and an Asiatic Contest---
 Russia on this question cannot be quiet---She may seem so,
 but it is a quietness that in all probability forbodes
 a Storm---

The China affair I really do wish may induce
 Great Britain to make a blow at her---to make a road &
 an inroad into that "Terra Incognita."-- Things look
 well enough here--nons veron--- [185]

Tuesday 11 Feb.Y. 1840

From this day to the 6 March I have neglected my diary--
 indolent I am I must confess, climate has a great effect
 upon the energies of both body and mind, and under equal
 exercise they must fail sooner in warm latitudes than
 cold.

On the 14 sent out cards of invitation for a ball on
 the 27, disfrag or fancy--the evening proved fine, our
 company large say some 55 ladies & 70 or 80 Gentlemen.
 It went off very well, but has cost me more than any
 two Balls I have ever given at least 400£--a small hole
into a charge d, affairres salary---

Congress is discussing various and many projects,
 but as yet have not touched their national debt--to
 such Legislation is as bad as too little, but frequent
 (yearly) meetings of Legislative bodies insures in a

greater degree than less frequent the liberties of the Citizens.

Juan Jose Romero the Consejero and commissioner to meet me in the negotio of Jacob Idler has not for the last 20 days tho under a promise to do so sent me notice to meet him and receive his answers to my presentation of the decisions of the Tribunals in favour of Idler-- I am waiting to hear from him.

The vether of Caracas has been rainy, warm, and disagreeable for the last month and indicates a continuance---the rainy season if it has really set in has done so two month earlier than common.

Invited to dine at Sir Rob^t to meet Gen^l Pass, but declined to meet the "Generals friend" as he calls him in his note, a certain absconding debtor Vincente Benedetti, an Italian and a great & notorious scoundrel--- but the intimate friend of the old woman Sir Rob^t ----

[186]

Saturday 7 March 1840

I have been waiting some days to hear from the Commissioner J. J. Romero on the part of this Gov^t to meet me in the case of J. Idler--On Tuesday rec^d a notice to meet him, meet him personally and appointed the 11th at 12 o'clock, arrived a few moments after the hour did not find him, waited near half an hour, when Mr. Romero appeared---

The document which I had personally presented him for consideration, containing a transcript of the dates and various decrees of the tribunals in favor of Mr Idler until the last decree of the Court in 1833--To which instead of confirming them as a true transcript, he presents me in answer with a general arguments of the merits of the questioner, arising from subsequent acts of the Gov^t and the Courts in the matter---

My object has been to present all the facts first and then receive the arguments upon them and the decrees of the Courts in conclusion---my reasons first in presenting the document or transcript was to establish in the protocol all the facts & decrees to date---when Mr Idler considered his case concluded---next his application to the Gov^t for payment under those decrees---Then the reasons or objections why it did not comply---Then the appeal of the Govt to the Court claiming the right of Restitution in Integrum; it is granted by the Court, and a decree is passed in favour of the Gov^t, and the case is placed in the situation it was in and ordered to Bogota to be laid before the Commissioners---The report on the Commissioners---by which we come to the present actual state of the case, before a new liquidation is made [187] and subsequently the argument of the Gov^t through their commissioner against the validity of the

rights of Mr. Idley to the pretensions he sets up, and my reply--- Thus [Chief] in my humble opinion is the only way that the whole matter can be reached, and by which I should be enabled to present the full and entire state of this claim to my Gov^t -----I refused the argument of Mr. Romero at the time and place he presented it, as an anticipation entirely of facts and irrelevant [sic.] to my questions or a rather a transcript of decrees, which he should affirm, or deny; the merits of the question is not at issue as put [by] myself, therefore the argument is before all the facts are presented and in anticipation.

I directed him there to form a protocol embodying my questions, which I would sign tomorrow, denying his arguments, and close the negotiation, or at least break it off; He did not seem in good humor, tho I felt nothing on my part---He seems to be a very confident and consequently dogmatical in his opinions---that they are infalible as well as the course he wished to pursue---and seemed to exhibit a disposition to believe I wished to trick him into measures, to take the advantage of him---but there was not, is not and never has been any disposition to do so even if I could, in this matter my object has been to collect and embody all the facts, and then receive his arguments, with my answer that in

this Shape I could present the same to my Gov^t in a form to cover all the difficulties at a view that it might take what sense would in its wisdom seem best---

I shall call again on the Sec. Y. of State in the matter tomorrow [188]

Thursday 12 March 1840

Up to Wednesday the 25th inst have not observed any thing particular enough to record.

The news from Bogota not very satisfactory evident symptoms of a movement of a revolutionary character---

I have not been able to do any thing with the Commissioner in the case of Jacob Idler---he presumes upon a general answer to facts in the Expediente before we have arriv^d at a point of discussion and insists, tho he embraces questions subsequent to the points presented him by me for his consideration, and wishes them embodied in the protocol---to this I object & shall continue still to object---I shall call to meet him to day on the subject and can we not agree I shall close the affair at once---The conduct of Romero is not such as I expected, he is full of cunning, art and stratagem and if you give him the least intimation he will regardless of your confidence take advantage of it---It is impossible therefore to treat with him with frankness---I shall meet him to day on his own ground---

§
Wednesday 25 March 1840

Left this morning for the Silla de Caracas, the highest point of land on the range of mountains between the vally of Caracas & the ocean and hangs directly over the village of Chacao & Dos Caminos in the valley---accomp^d by R. Graham Esq^r merchant 2 psons Gayetano & Gabriel & my boy Pedro---left my house at 1/2 past 4 and passed the Bridge of La Candelaria and about 3 hundred yards beyond turned off to the left direct for the base of the mountains on a plateau of Land [189] between the country residence of the Marquis del Toro and the old Hospital of San Lazaro with a deep Ravine on each side---here the mountain presents a barren and parched up appearance and the small trail up which we commenced to ascend, red and rocky and deep worn by the rain---our ascent here was very rapid & difficult and commenced at about 6 o'clock, the air pleasant and agreeable---after ascending about 1800 feet came to a rather winding level found the base of the point or mountain called el papaton, here one of our men descended to the head waters of a small stream of water called Gamboa which waters the Garden of the Marquis del Toro and a small coffee property belonging to Teribio Mendes, to fill his demijohn for our voyage, ascended the Papaton in a zigzag manner until reaching the plain on the top---a

very precipitous ascent, but not dangerous—covered with
 a viry grass and seemed to be good grazing for cattle,
 as we observed many hanging on the sides feeding—From
 this point we had a beautiful view of the surrounding
 country in front, vally of Garzas to Antenuco above &
 Petare below embracing the whole vally, a beautiful
 Landscape, soft as Claude could have wished it; the
 Guayra river that waters the entire vally seemed in many
 places as a thread of light margined by the softest and
 most beautiful shade of green of every variety of deep-
 ness and richness. Here our course was near due East,
 and upon what seemed an old beaten path way, tho' our
 ascent of the papaton scarcely indicated any tract
 whatever, in a short time we reached a point exhibiting
 the growth of timber, but the mountains on the right—
 where it precipitately descended, nothing but grass; the
 air here seemed very agreeable and pleasant—our pathway
 now became [180] obscured by heavy timber and underwood
 and rich, soil black & soggy—not knowing much about the
 Trees of the Country could not make any observations—
 but the growth was large various and looked fit for
 any purpose—at half past 10 stoped to breakfast—a good
 deal fatigued—made up a large fire—started at 1/2 past
 Eleven still ascending, the land heavily timbered, at
 about 12 commenced our first descent, and on this

inclination observed signs of the Darte [1] in large deposits of dung in the path--here we had a view of the slopes of the mountain to the ocean, rising to a place or point called Gallapan, to our right could observe nothing--descended to a small level, on each side of which the waters flow into the ocean on the left & vally of Caracas on the right---This being the dividing ridge of the Gordillera we continued on it to the base of the peak of the silla, over a rocky cone at one time and others covered with a species of strong wiry grass--- Here I found the whortleberry of the Swamp species, which our guides told us were poisonous, but regardless of their opinion, Mr Graham and myself eat all that we found ripe, and on our return, the guides gave up their prejudices or rather ignorance and eat them likewise--- I gathered a large pocket full on the path side green, with them my wife on my return made excelent tarts, and with more of a foreign taste about them than any thing of the Sweetmeat kind I have tasted [of] the growth of the Country---the mountain ridge upon which we here passed must have been at least elevated above 7 thousand feet--- We found in some places after leaving the forest range of timber, the little vallys, ooves, & slopes, where the [191] rocky and barrenness of the soil did not presulde it, a hard wiry species of grass as high as our heads

covering our path molesting us much, and its deposit of leaves dry and hard, which tended to render the bottom of our shoes slippery, in the extreme, and produced much difficulty & some danger by slipping. In ascending & descending this range of glades---before reaching the base of the alps we passed natural basins formed as it were for deposits of water on the vally side from which it filtered into the vally below, while on the sea side, the mountain was very abrupt, with some knobs & small levele embracing that side of the ridge called Delapan---on reaching the base of the highest peak, it presented a grassy and smooth exterior and but a few degrees from a perpendicular, as we looked to the lofty point, our arrival on which was to crown our labours, and it would seem from this point to be at least 1500 to 2000 feet, towering over our heads---the path lead in many places almost straight up, with occasional variations from a direct line---I became extremely fatigued and water seemed to be the only restorative to my exhausted nerves & sinews, I took the precaution to use about 2 thimble full of Brandy to each tin cup of water when I used it, which I think had a good tendency, and prevented in some measure, the sudden effect which cold water might have upon the system, Mr Graham here ascended with more rapidity than myself---the grass mentioned before

here encountered and in some degree endangered every step
 we took, as it evidently increased the difficulties of
 ascent by its slippery & dry nature & its leaves being
 under feet & our shoes the bottoms [192] of them having
 become horny and as smooth & hard as glass.---However we
 accomplished this last ascent in about one hour or a
 few minutes over my fowling piece, became here quite a
 load.--- we reached the top at about 1/2 past 4
 o'clock on the evening of the day we departed from Caracas
 say the 25 March 1840; The thermometer stood at 52 on
 our arrival.---the vally was covered with a white fleecy,
 snowy cloud, and the distant & surrounding hills
 presented small islands on a surface that seemed a bed
 of snow.---Night closed in early and we had occasional
 glimpses of the beautiful vally of Caracas & the city
 before darkness shrouded them from our view.---
 Counted 20 vessels in the harbour of Laguayra.---set my
 thermometer and made my observations throughout the
 night periodically at each hour.---The coldest point or
 lowest of Fahrenheit was 42 degrees & highest until 10
 o'clock next morning 52.---at 9 at night it was 42.---rained
 a little at 11 & 12 but never lower, remained till four
 at 42.43 & 44.---a rose to 52 by 8 to 10 o'clock in the
 morning.---at 7 o'clock let off 2 large star rockets, at
 9 to 1/2 past let off 6 more, which ascended very high

and produced a most brilliant effect---several ascended though a fleecy but damp cloud burst above them and illuminated the upper surface spreading a glow of heat and light through the cloud---a beautiful effect---they were seen in Caracas from several points---lighted a large fire which we kept up, all night, and as we learned to the astonishment of the good people of the vally--- [193] believing that a volcano had burst out on the top of the Sylla---There are not the slightest indications of any volcanic eruptions on any point on the top or sides of the Silla---the highest point is covered with grass a few rocks, some plants a few flowers and the only shrub is the incense tree, which grows very greenly and about 10 feet high; The leaves form on the extreme end, of the limbs, are long, narrow, brittle, dry & hard, and underneath white---Took the bearings by Compass of various known points in the vally & distance & City, as well as various points on the side of the ocean----- From my notes, Caracas bears by Compass from the highest point, South West half West---LaGuayra Nowest---the high conical point of the chain of the Sylla, due east---the cone or ridge runs due South East---Niquita on the coast North East---the perpendicular rock described by Baron Humbolt nearly north & several hundred yards from the perpendicular base of the top--- Caravallada due North----

Casari Grande N^o East---From the sharp Sugar loaf point,
 their bearings do not much if any vary---El Valle
 S^o East---Baruta East of South---Petare S^o East---

The distance from the highest point by the ridge
 to the top of the sharp or conical East point is near a
 league, over a most rocky uneven and several considerable
 descents & ascents to commence the ascent to the point---
 it looks nearly as high as the point from which I took
 the bearings of places, but evidently is not by several
 hundred feet---I made a small water level by which with
 the eye I decided this point (at least for myself &
 found the point we first arrived on, which the most
 Northern, is the highest---

We had occasional star light and clouds, and
 about 1. o'clock the moon rose, but the surrounding
 atmosphere [194] being heavy & damp, rendered it very
 cheerless---a profound silence reigned all night, with
 an occasional sweep of the wind rising as it would seem
 and gathering strength as it ascended from the valley---
 on the Ocean side it seemed quite calm---at 6 o'clock in
 the evening the wind was North, the rest of the night
 variable and seemed to come from no point, but to take
 its direction from the gorges of the mountains from
 which it came---The moon riding above threw a very
 singular halley of light through the flying mist or

clouds, and produced in appearance a cheerlessness & coldness, which in fact was not so---every thing at times locked by this effect milky---occasionally throughout the night the [sky] was clear and we had previously star light----

The morning ushered in mist & cloudy & cool, but at times clearing off in spots, that gave most lovely landscapes to the eyes from a thousand points---Clouds seemed running round the base chasing each other sometimes on the sides, sometimes up the ravines, sometimes descending, committing all the gambols that the true children of the Mist would love to admire and to enjoy----

And above all this we sat in silent wonder and astonishment at the works of nature, and the goodness of that god who has made nothing but for his glory and his greatness---I regretted very much that the atmosphere was not sufficiently clear to admit our seeing the higher mountains of the interior to the North South & East, as well as the Islands off the Coast---but we were in a measure compensated by the grandure & magnificence of the variety of change & scenes continually presenting themselves to us, at a thousand points and in [195] a thousand various shapes-----at one time the soft green carpet of verdure spread out before you in many places

in the vally, then covered with a fleece of snow, then through mist---here one part clear, another shrouded--- here the silver thread of the Guayra river---here a village, there an estate---the city one part obscured by clouds the other visible, here a steeple, there a Church peering out above the mist---all exciting wonder, joy pleasure and happiness, added to all which a climate soft and delightful from the very top where I stood to every point of the vally---a perpetual spring, and ever seeming life of production, pleasure & health---

We left at about 1/2 past 9 to 10 oclock and descended by the same Tract, on the whole did not find it equally difficult with the ascent---my companion however seemed more effected---it brought into play the sungles on the front of the thigh, and for several days this part was very sore and painful---reached the point of our commencement to ascend at 1/2 past 4 of the next day the 26 in a few moments our horses made their appearance and we reached the city and home, in good health and spirits---⁶ Remained in my house till monday following without going out---

Monday 30 March 1840---
Called on the Gov^t to continue my interviews of examination of Idlers case at 12 oclock did not find Mr Romero present---

Tuesday 31st March 1840

Called again at the Gov^t House at 12 on the same business, did not meet Mr. Romero, but met him in the Street and he appointed Wednesday next for an interview----- [196]

Tuesday 21st March 1840

The news from Bogota by last Saturday's mail, seems very unfavourable to a peaceable State of things---Gen^l Obando who it appears was deeply concerned in the assassination of Gen^l Sucre some years since had been accused before the nation of the fact, as a particeps criminis, concerning the testimony as well as public opinion seemed to be going against him, collected a few followers and joined the disaffected in the distrust of Pasto, a point in New Granada, which has always been volcanic unsettled and discontented but it is difficult to say at this distance from what causes---This province however had been in commotion for some time previous, and gave Obando an opportunity under the accusation against him of placing himself directly at their head--- Gen^l Santander in public opinion seems deeply concerned in these movements, perhaps erroneously, because he and his party were the strong advocates of The Election of Obando over Marques for President on the retirement of St^r Ander-----

Facts I think in New Granada will prove as it

has in Venezuela, that it is yet too soon to elevate to the Presidency a civilian, as separate and distinct from the military---Vargas in Venezuela proved it by the revolution of 1838 and Marques in New Granada by the present movement, but has she a Paaz to place in front against Obando who will if successful bring back things to constitutional Gov^t & order, and in default will there not be a general breaking up of principle, and some truly military man not fearing nor caring for Constitution [197] principles of Laws, rise up and strike down the very principles of civil liberty---
nous verong-----

Wednesday 1st April 1840

Called by appointment at the Gov^t House and met Mr Romero--- returned his answer to the questions I has previously put to him for his consideration, objecting on my part to that part of his answer which went into a discussion of the question & touching matters which we had not yet arrived at in negotiation---proposing to admit all in answer to the direct facts from the Expediente up to the date of the decision of the Supreme Court declaring Idlers Claims just against the Gov^t---He objected to this, I then stated to him that it was impossible in the present State of the negotiation to permit him in answer to discuss points not yet reached

by the questions on my part proposed---He insisted, & I objected--I then stated to him frankly my views, which were, to ask of him after admitting so much of his answer there presented because it referred to the Acuerdo of the Council of Gov^t, that that document be appended next with any additional matter he might think proper; and then as the Council had instructed the Gov^t to appeal to the Supreme Court claiming the privilege of "Restitucion in Integrum on a/o in their opinion of the notorious injustice done the Fije [Fijo] in the previous decrees--- I then would ask that the decision of said Court on this point be appended likewise in continuation in the protocol---I then would ask the opinion of the Commissioners at Bogota to whom it was sent after the decision of the Supreme Court granting the Right of Restitution in Integrum, to be likewise appended--- Then any observations he might choose to make, to all of which I [198] would then give my answer---I should then have been able to have placed the whole question before my Gov^t in the protocol, and it could have taken what steps it pleased. But Mr Romero objected to this plain straight forward way of doing a business, and no arguments I could use was sufficient to remove the difficulty, I then in conclusion told him I begged to withdraw my extracts from the Expediente of facts presented

For his consideration, and we would be compelled to terminate the Examination & conference, by one [?] general observation of disagreement, and Therefore could not proceed in the matter--that I regretted much his powers did not admit him to meet me upon half way ground to clear up & present the truths of the Expediente in protocol that my Gov^t might see the whole matter at least, its justice or injustice at a view. On This we parted, to meet tomorrow at 12 to close our conference---

nd
Thursday 2 April 1840

By appointment of yesterday called at the Gov^t House at 12 o'clock, but did not find Mr Romero--left word that I would call tomorrow at 12 o'clock.

No news--small pox brought from Liverpool by a vessel, Cap^t died at Sea, quarantined for 40 days--
Wether extremely hot--Caracas dull, dull.

Passed last night at Mr De la Palesa Soire--
stupid affair, and in the company a low set, fiddlers,
scamps & scoundrels one 1/6 of the men present---

Left at 12---- [199]

rd
Friday 3 April 1840

Called by appointment to meet Mr Romero upon the subject of Jacob Idlers claims--and after considerable discussion we were unable to agree upon the point of his answer to my questions, he insisting upon his previous positions,

that he had full liberty to answer the facts which I had presented in as full latitude as he pleased, that no limits in his answer could be fixed---I contending that a part of his answer was correct and admissable because it referred to the facts presented and attended to the course the Gov^t intended to take, but that the latter was inadmissable, because it touched upon points and questions not yet reached, and to which we had not arrived.---Mr Romero then produced a document, the object of which was to close the conference, and that such was the course, I proposed to take---On its examination I requested to retain it until tomorrow, to which and other matters I would give my determination---closed our Session at 1/2 past two----

Forsyth left Caracas to day after a residence of upwards of 6 months, breakfasting and dining with me during the time---no news---wether extremely warm---cool evenings---rainy season not set in yet---the Country in some points must be suffering for rain, in consequence of early rains in the last two months, pushing forward particularly the coffee crops---Recovered entirely from Silla Trip.-----

All Caracas seems preparing for the Semana Santa, which is approaching. An unfortunate Church feast in this Catholic country where there is so little wealth---

as many spend in 15 days during this time the hard earnings of a year---and which is encouraged by the heads of the Church to every possible extent--- [200]

Saturday 4 April 1840.

The morning has set in fine & pleasant but every indication of a very hot day, and that the rainy season is approaching.

Called by appointment to meet Mr Romero and presented him an answer to his insisting upon the privilege of answering generally and not specially to the extracts presented him of Judicial decrees from the Expediente of the claim of Jacob Idler---insisting on my part that such a course was not sound or correct, that he would have ample time thereafter to answer in any manner or way he may think proper, and should not be allowed to the extracts presented, to enter into particulars or arguments of questions which had not been presented or presented themselves. Mr Romero rec^d it, and stated, he would inform me when I could meet him again---

Do not learn that there is any very particular news from Bogota, the Sec.Y. of State however stated to me that the people seemed much in favour of OBando and his pretensions, which I took for granted he meant the Pasto part of New Granada--- ---As I cannot think generally

there exists a wish among the people properly speaking to create an internal war, when they themselves would have to bear the greatest brunt of the affair---

There is a party and I cannot doubt but Santander may be considered the head of it, to put down the Administration of President Marquis-- There is yet a small portion of old Military leaven that must be thrown off in New Granada & perhaps this movement may effect it---- [201]

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XX

- 1 Williamson's account of the death of Córdoba is similar to that of the following, except that he omits the fact that O'Leary asked Córdoba to surrender and be pardoned: Miguel Tejera, Venezuela Finteresca E Ilustrada Relacion Historica (Desde el Descubrimiento de la America Hasta 1876.), 2 vols. (Paris, 1876), I, 184; Gonzalez Guzman, Historia Contemporanea, I, 292; Baralt Y Diaz, Resumen de la Historia de Venezuela, II, 265-267.
- 2 The Frenchman, Peru de Lacroix, reported Bolívar's spontaneous description of O'Leary called forth by Bolívar's reading of O'Leary's La Cotorra y El Arlequin (The Parrot and the Harlequin). At the time (1828) O'Leary was incensed at Santander and the pamphlet was about Santander and his followers. "O'Leary is terrible with his pen and knows how to distill bile against those who have offended him. He has more self love and pride than vanity. I speak of this conceit, noble pride, high and sustained and full of dignity that Englishmen usually have. He has sweetness and suavity in his manners rather than in his character, but how deceptive is that sweet and kindly air. It is the asp hidden among the flowers and unfortunate

is he that offends him. He has an abundance of general knowledge, a good memory, skill and talent." Cornelio Hispano (ed.), Diario de Bucaramanga por L. Parra de Lacroix (Paris, 1912), 75-76.

- 3 Bishop Mendez was sentenced to exile by the Supreme Court in 1838 for not wishing to give church offices to candidates presented by the government. Gonzalez Guzman, Historia Contemporanea, III, 115.
- 4 Events of the Opium War (1840-1842) caused considerable interest in Parliament. Annual Register 1940, 82-104.
- 5 Cf., Thomasina Ross (tr. and ed.) Humboldt's Travels 1799-1804, I, 420-432.
- 6 Humboldt and his party made this same trip nearly forty years earlier. Williamsen's account is an imitation of Humboldt's. Cf., Ibid., I, 416-440.
- 7 General José María Obando (1795-1861) was one of the defeated candidates for the presidency in 1837. Congress elected as president the civilian Doctor José Ignacio Márquez, a "moderate, conciliatory, and able man who had shown his capacity during his short administration in 1832." When the 1839 congress suppressed four convents in Pasto (southern New

Grenada, and always a troublesome area), an uprising took place in which Obando had part but the government appointed General Pedro Alcántara Herrán to command the forces in the south and he soon dispersed the enemy. However, in January, 1840, Obando placed himself at the head of revolutionists in that area. Herrán appealed to Ecuador for help and General Juan José Flores came to his aid with over a thousand men. Obando's guerrillas were routed and Obando fled to Peru where he remained for seven years. He returned to New Granada in 1848, became president in 1853 but did not complete the term since congress impeached and suspended him on September 22, 1857. Again he went into exile but returned in 1860, only to lose his life after the bloody battle of Sabachoque in 1861. Henao and Arrubla, History of Colombia, 440-446, 467-472; Espasa Calpe, Enciclopedia, XXIX, 251.

- 8 General Herrán's clemency in 1839 was criticized by the press and partisans of the government. The debate on amnesty to end the revolt was violent in the lower house of Congress (March, 1839). Santander was the leader of the opposition to the government. He declared that he repented having voted for the suppression of the convents; because when he did so,

he could not foresee that it would result in a war.

Henao and Arrubla, History of Colombia, 444.

- 9 Marquez was an able administrator but the revolt in the South under Obando was the beginning of a terrible civil war. General Herran was elected president at the expiration of Marquez term and was inaugurated on May 2, 1841. By September the civil war was ended but the consequences were tragic. "The country needed only peace in order to make rapid progress, and the need was greater than ever now that the treasury was burdened with New Granada's portion of the debts of the war for independence. But the rebellion came and an epoch of ruin began. Revenues decreased and expenditures augmented, thus destroying the balance of public finances. Moreover, industry and agriculture came to a standstill, the value of exports decreased considerably, and the population was decimated by hunger and disease. Ibid., 446-447.

[CHAPTER XXI]

(APRIL 8, 1848 TO MAY 10, 1848)

Sunday 8 April 1848

This day has been warm and indicative of a change of seasons---

There seems in Carcass nothing stirring of a nature to excite any thing---

The character of these people is within doors and very quiet, but always conceiving stratagems, deceptions or intrigues--and all their vices lead to moral degradation and in no instance to elevation of character---associations are of the lowest, and with no disposition to draw a line between the bad and the good, success consecrates the end, and he who is successful is always applauded, and he who falls is a poor ¹ disable ---Vice, and even crime find kindred associates who pity and not condemn, and they very seldom drive a man from society---the result of which that society is neither refined nor select---

The associations of female society are to a refined and well raised foreigner disgusting and unpleasant, a dereliction from virtue is not uncommon in almost every family, and some one of them are ² unpleasant, yet they are forced into, or rather custom

& habits do not drive them from Society---no wonder that all decent foreigners of the female class become some disgusted and blame and condemn every thing in the Country---There is no apology for these things in no point of view, but they have grown up and are now so securely grafted upon the present Stock of better morality, that to apply the Knife to cut it off, would uproot the whole fabric of social relations throughout the country---I have no doubt however visitors and travellers are too harsh & judge too precipitately of the Society of the Country, there are some redeeming circumstances--- [232]

Monday 6 April 1840

Went to Mr Adams rooms to commence a sitting for my Portrait, sat about 3/4 quarters of an hour, did not see his sketch---he however told my wife it was very like---Mr A has been taking a portrait of my wife for the last 12 days, and sitting 2 hours each day---In his first he failed and in his second even worse, what he will make of it is doubtful to say---I fear a total failure---Have felt all day much inconvenience from an affection of my Stomach, gastritis, nothing seems to relieve me, and every thing I eat irritates and becomes, acrid, heating, and disagreeable to my stomach---I must resort to diet, neither eat much and

drink very little---Brandy produces less and seems to have a disposition to correct it [more] than any thing else---a dangerous remedy however---

Rain fell to day and indications of Hortes or perhaps the setting in of the rainy season---no news---no Packet---and I hear of no arrivals from the States that brings any intelligence

Tuesday 7 April 1840

Mr Adams to day changed my position in my portrait, he has not made a bad hit---my wife sat to him to day at least 2 hours and I do not think he has made a likeness nor a very good painting---There will have to be a very great difference yet---or it will be a failure---no news---wether looks unsettled, misty & cloudy---

Have re^d no intelligence yet from Mr Romero or when he will meet me in conferance about Idlers affairs---I clearly percieve the Gov^t is not disposed to allow him the benefit of the decrees of the Courts, but claim a new suit & liquidation--- [203]

Wednesday 8 April 1840.

I have felt very unwell for some days since, a heavy, dull inactive state of the system and frequently producing a vertigo state of the head---a gastritis affection has been persuing of me for many months

and I have suffered very severely in the last few days with it---medicine seems to give me only a temporary relief, not a permanent one, god knows what it may ultimately produce---To day has been very warm sat one hour to Mr Adams---called on the Secretary of State, with whom I had a long and free discussion upon the subject of immigration, and he stated what had always been my previous opinion, that these most anxious in the matter, which no population to come here but such as would always be their slaves de facto, serfs, mere labourers, without ever holding up to them the remotest idea of becoming free men, in fact a white set of slaves to supply those of Black they have given their freedom---which they never will succeed in, a man who changes his situation in the old world for a residence in the new, always goes with a belief and a hope of changing his condition in life, from being a serf in Europe, he comes to America to be a free man and under the enjoyment of equal privileges and protected by the Laws---There is not a habit or custom here that can unite them on their arrival with the people of the country, and instead of friendship and aid and even charity to aid them to a location, every species of hostility and annoyance is thrown at them---even the Spanish Islanders find a great

difficulty in remaining, and many so soon as they can scarp together 200\$ leave it immediately for their own country---- [204] This country, in climate and locality is fit for no other labours but Slaves.

The Congress of this Country like their citizens only think it is necessary to will a thing or pass a law, and it is done, and yet not one in 100 would raise his hand or advance a cent for any object that he himself was not personally and directly concerned in---To a foreigner and to foreign nations a most deceptive and untrue presentation of the actual state of things is made, in their Laws, publications & public documents, which fill their newspapers, but it is all upon paper, it is a false view of the Country & the people---To know the country & the people a person must reside among them, must study them, must have business with them, and in this manner even after a residence of years not one person in five will be able to give a sound opinion of these people---They have no views but what are personal and interested, there is no sound national patriotism, but much more prejudices than any people on earth---fanatical in religion, they are equally so in all the shades & walks of life---Among them a foreigner is a stranger forever---nothing can amalgamate him and

loose him in the great mass of the society of these people he stands isolated and alone---if he marries it is the same thing, convenience dictated the acceptance of his hand and his introduction into a family, not love, not affection, it may be money----- Morality is at so low an eb, that it scarcely enters into a consideration in the formation of society-- it is indeed here a perfect piece of mosaic---and to enjoy intercourse at all, we must lay our morality aside to be used merely as occasion require---and to make exceptions, the whole foundation is uprooted and destroyed---you must live alone---not to visit--

[205]

Thursday 9 April 1840.

Had another sitting to day to Mr Adams for my portrait, think it not a bad likeness---It has given him however a start, as to day three persons who had seen the picture of me, determined upon a portrait--- ---I have been quite unwell for the last & this day, the effects of bile, and I have besides a very unpleasant sensation at times over the region of my liver, from what cause, time alone will show---The sun to day has been excessively hot--mornings cool and evenings quite so with a strong Catia wind (or Northern). It seems this wind seldom reaches the lower part of the City, East

er South, and when it prevails it is not uncommon on the river side to find a pleasant soft current of air prevailing directly up it from the East—

The cause in my opinion of the persistence of Catia wind, is that during the prevalence of strong sea breezes on the coast, as night advances they dull and the land breeze sets in aided by the remains of the sea breeze pushes up the Catia bay on the coast, acting as a kind of suction, is drawn with its humidity throug [through] this gorge which seems the only one that opens from the head of the vally of Caracou to the Ocean—At times this wind is high, dry & cool, which throws strong and clear North winds on the ocean, it is then fine and agreeable, but it is more usually heavy misty, foggy & damp and
 3
 chilly—

I have as yet not a word from Mr Romero, and when I shall dont know, but we must ultimately come to a conclusion—If he would come to a determination and not upon it, I would better understand him, and therefor bring the affaire to a point at once—The delays have not been on my part—

No news—no packet—an arrival from Liverpool, bringing Mr Aldersons four daughters who have returned after a 4 years residence at Chester in England—

Friday 10th April 1840.

The British packet arriv^d last evening with dates to the 1st March, and brings intelligence that the London Bond Holders of Colombian loans have rejected in toto the propositions made by the agents of the Gov^{ts} 4 Venezuela, New Granada and the Ecuador to assume their equal proportions of said Loans---I am doubtful the movement is an unfortunate one, as in all probability it is and will be the best they can ever make, Tho I have no doubt the propositions were very unjust and I might say dishonest to their creditors, and yet it could only be considered as an offer within their capacities to perform.

I do not learn that she brings any political news of any importance---The Tory and out of power party are abusing with much violence the administration for their policy towards the Chinese, and attitude they have assumed with the Celestial Empire---

Weather continues very warm---and it has set in very dry---No particular local news---We may expect something tomorrow from the South--

th

Saturday 11 April 1840.

Caracas is as dull as the most solitary exclusive can wish it---However the first day of the Semana Santa comes in tomorrow, consequently a good deal of church

bellring is going on and some movements by the Clergy and pious and impious old and young women ----This is a time of general and extravagant expenses. Those that have not the means, will look out to obtain them in some manner or way, and they are not generally very particular male or female in what manner or way they are obtained, at a sacrifice of virtue or honesty. the more scrupulous, will borrow but never pay, and others beg under the garb of poverty, when in reality they have [207] means----There is perhaps no part of the world where wealth and poverty so unite themselves as in Caracas among the inhabitants, or where all the vices are so harmoniously blended in their mosaic colours.

There are families who to the eye and intercourse with you, will exhibit much pride and ceremony, and in five minutes thereafter will be seated cheek by heel with the slaves dressed in a loose bata, no stockings, slippers, hair plated, and you will scarcely perceive the shadow of a difference between them---- In fact many of their slaves are not infrequently of their own family----Without immigration in large numbers, a dark shade of mulatto & negro will be the prevailing colour----white will disappear----I have not heard a word from the South by the mail of to day-----

Sunday 12 April 1840.

Called to day on Sir Rob^t Kerr Porter, I think he has re-^d not the best kind of intelligence from home by the last packet; His hopes and prospects grow dimmer as his time approaches to leave (as he says) but I do not believe he will ever leave Caracas as long as he can hold his appointment unless he can do better, and beyond a doubt he has no hopes of that----- His Sec. Y. Moris Lievealy alias Moses Levy as they say here, will leave in the Spring for the States on a visit to his relations, the first time he has ever spoken of his family---He has many marks of the Jew about him---The wether is very warm and dry, but very healthy--

Monday 13 April 1840.

To day is the second in the processions of the Church, yesterday being Palm Sunday was the first--all the Tribunals closed on Saturday, and nothing is now thought of but religion, rather show gaiety, & extravagance---Black sayas and [208] mantillas are all the rage, on these occasions, and if it is possible the women will have them one way or another, if they sell them the day after the Show at half price.

The news from the South of the pacification of Obando with Gen^l Herran on the part of the Gov^t,

seems to reassure confidence in things.

We have not had a vessel from the States very recently our latest dates to 22 Feb.Y. It is becoming very interesting to know what the two great parties are doing----

The election for Vice President here excites some little movement--- Ubeneja seems to be the favourite---⁶ It would tend much to purify the political pot here, if fire enough could be placed under it to make it boil & foam, that a portion of scum might escape

Tuesday 14. April 1840

Without any thing particular occurring this day has passed---after 5 in the evening a religious procession, pretty much as I have before described; the only difference in [if?] any, is that of effort at getting up, or the more fanatical enlistment of the faithful to attend, and which is generally composed of 9 tenths of women----

The death of Bishop Mendez, and the recent election of a new Arch Bishop for Caracas from the Interior too, Merida Doo⁷ Penn, has not satisfied absolutely the jealous Caracanian---he however will not I presume take his seat until its admission and consagrator by the Pope, tho he may not discharge the religious duties of the church, he has proceeded to do several acts under the

Laws of the Nation---Arch Bishop Pena is spoken of well by his enemies to his election and by his friends---But I am satisfied all religious persons are the same thing in power, out of it the reverse, and no doubt when he finds himself firmly seated according [209] to the acknowledgement of the pope, he will no longer be Dec^t Pena, But Bishop Pena, with all the pride ostentation, fanaticism and illiberality that would constitute the character of a zealot and a bigot---No catholic it seems to me can look upon the rest of the world with any other eye out of his fold, than that of hatred and persecution---there are exceptions beyond doubt, but few in power have any charity for him who differs from him in his religion or the dogmas of his church. Religionists are by nature proselytists, and when they cannot overcome by argument almost resort to anathemas, thunders of the church, and eternal damnation---

The world however is in some measure overcoming this unchristian like conduct towards those who do not believe in their doctrines---Gods providence in my opinion is not so narrow as many teachers wish us to believe, nor confined neither by his goodness nor his greatness in so small a stream as to wash away only a portion of the sins of mankind---It is a sea of glory, righteousness, and inexhaustible to the world who will apply through

the glory of Jesus Christ in meekness & humbleness at his
feetstool.

Repentance and try and sin no more, should be
our walk & thoughts & actions in life.

The Gov^t intend to celebrate the 19th inst^t with
some pomp & show--it is the day of the first movement
against Spanish power, and is therefor their battle of
Lexington---I am invited to meet at the church (Cathedral)
at 9 o'clock in the morning to take my seat on the
diplomatic bench prepared for the occasion-----It would
seem something was to be done in the plaza, fire works
I presume-----all however seems as if the public had
nothing to do with it---There is no national public
here--- [216]

Wednesday 16 April 1840.

It would seem to me that the great body of the Catholic
public here and much of it may be attached to the
managers of the Church, each hold of the non essentials
of morality as well as of Religion, seeming to have
entire faith that a strict observance of ceremonies
constitutes the essence of religion, without regard to
the natural condition of the heart of man, or those
actions which in all other relations of life are the
foundations of goodness and virtue---Going to church
here and strict obedience to form & ceremonies,

observance of days of feasting and rejoicing is all sufficient, without regard to a moral or religious life within doors—it is proclaimed on the house tops, and in private there is no accordance with with virtue or morality----

The social condition of life in Caracas, and which may be considered a criterion for the whole country, is any thing but that dear & near and refined intellectual and moral intercourse which is observed in protestant Countries---yet I will not say, but there are many families who to the extent of their intellectual improvement enjoy much happiness & pleasure---but in general the extreme, nothing is thought of, but the moment, the gratifications of all the natural appetites of the beastly part of our nature, without any of the refinements, that render people wise and virtuous, and nations, great powerful and free----

This is next to the last procession which leads our saviour to the to the Cross, tomorrow he is crucified---strip the whole business of much of the pomp & circumstance of show, and the Spectacle is imposing, following implicitly the descriptions in the bible, it gives us some idea of the sufferings of our Saviour, and stript of the multitud which at this day is so different from the day of the crucifixion, it cannot fail to leave a kind impression

upon the human heart---but the memory and the [211] heart must be in union of the event, and we should view it faithfully as the true sacrifice of gods only son for the salvation of the world---

Here alas, it leaves no impression, when it is over, the heart of man is the same, it has produced nothing, the eye and external senses have been the whole that have been gratified---

I observe many arrivals from LaGuayra---

The Gov^t it seems will make the wind up on Sunday in celebrating the anniversary of the first movement made in Venezuela against the Spanish authority--- I do not know yet what will be done, The President will aim at something---We shall. [see]

Thursday 16 April 1840.

To day is held more sacred than yesterday, as exhibiting more of the passions & sufferings of our saviour in his approximation to his crucifixion---The procession numerously attended, and until late at night the Churches are lighted up, and all the women (not a great many men) reciting their Ave marias from Church to Church through the Streets in a low mumbling tone---many remain seated on their carpets in some one church for hours, occasionally reciting their prayers, and many females casting their eyes in my direction with much insinuation---

All business is suspended, And the Semana Santa embraces the whole attention of all.

Friday 17 April 1840.

All Caracas is out to see the procession of to day--- first a dark flag, Second the Cross, Third the body of our saviour inclosed in a beautiful bier composed of Mahogany inlaid with silver & tortoise shell (the wood not seen) and the sides & head & feet with plate glass, the figure lying on a cushion of white satin stuffed & embroidered in Gold---next the three Marys, then S^t John the Evangelist, and lastly the virgin mother---all of them on a platform surrounded below with curtains and seated on the heads & shoulders of men selected for the occasion---It is quite [212] an imposing representation, and to the vulgar eye, has great effect, tho they know the images are only wood---

It is a powerful way to create a momentary influence over the mind of an ignorant people, but makes them bigoted, in the extreme---At the time the impression is good, but it last only as long as it is (in) view--- the heart or head has little or nothing to do with it----

I have not a word from Mr Romero yet, or when he will meet me---it is possible he supposes he has discovered my views or object, I will not undeceive him, until the proper time---whatever I may have said to him

to draw him on or out, he may pocket as so much insight into my ulterior objects---he will be deceived, when he thinks he has deceived me-----he is a great jesuit he cannot go forward in any think straight.

Saturday 18 April 1840

No news further than the confirmation of the Paste affair under Gen^l Obando being closed by Treaty---I am invited for tomorrow to meet at the Cathedral to hear mass & unite with the officers of the Gov^t as the day on which the first movement in 1810 was made against power in Venezuela---a very severe Earthquake yesterday at 1/2 past 12 o'clock---

Sunday 19 April 1840

At 9 o'clock I left my house for the Cathedral, at half past the President officers Gov^t, municipality & arrived---heard a short mass, and from thence retired to the Gov^t House where the President rec^d the citizens---not a large concourse, little or no enthusiasm---less nationality than any North American could have believed. a refreshment offered of drinkables, of all sorts & kinds---there seemed a good deal of restraint---Mr Romero here [213] informed me he would meet me on Tuesday next at 1/2 past 11 o'clock---agreed to by me---just as we entered the House commenced a very [heavy] fall of rain, tho [to] some of the old people not so heavy as

fell on the 19th April 1840---at 2 o'clock left tired & fatigued---witnessed but little else than a dumb show of nationality---

In the Church our seats were pointed out to us, giving us precedence over the other two diploamtics, Sir Rob^t Ker Porter & Count Adlercrantz, being myself the first diplomatic agent re^d by this Gov^t---

Monday 20th April 1840

Commenced this morning at about 4 o'clock the hardest most steady & regular fall of rain I believe I ever witnessed in Caracas, and continued without intermission until 6 o'clock in the evening---such rains do much damaged to these houses when exposed by their bad unrepairod state, the walls of all being composed of dirt simply rased down, or beaten down in a frame to form the shape of a wall. No news---Gen^l Paex deeply engaged in a cockfight with Mr W^m Ackers & Mr Goaling & others, as he has been all the holy week.

at
Tuesday 21st-- April 1840

Met Mr Romero at 1/2 past eleven & found in my interview he insists upon his answer as made in the Case of Jacob Idler; That is to introduce questions and arguments upon facts & matter subsequent to the date of facts & extracts which I had previously presented him of Judicial acts of the Courts, and in conclusion proposes a closing of

our conferences from a difficulty in not agreeing--- which I admit, and I am to meet him tomorrow to close & sign our protocol of conferences---

He it appears has no instructions but to abide exclusively & only by the opinion expressed in a published one of the Council [214] of Gov^t made some years since, and which goes to deny Mr Idler has any claim whatever against the Gov^t, but that he owes the Gov^t-----I therefore have not been able to get him to acknowledge separate and distinct from a general argument, the decrees of the Courts and the admissions of the Gov^t in the progress of the Law Suit by her [itst] officers to the Law suit, and of course to their decrees---

He wishes to argue points subsequent to these, which in the present state of the question as presented me, are subsequent and therefore inadmissible---but I proposed they should be admitted afterwards to the fullest extent of his wishing, after all the facts were collected--- to all of which he objects & insists upon his previous objections & proposed in consequence the closing of our conferences, which I could not then otherwise admit---

We are to meet tomorrow for this purpose

No news---re-^d my papers p Rowena from Phil^a----

every question seems absorbed in the Presidential question of next November.

Wednesday 22 April 1840

Very unwell to day with my right side, my liver is not in good order, my bilious system is deranged---

Called at the Gov^t House found Mr Romero occupied in his Treaty with the Count Adlererentz handed him a correct copy of my last reply, taken yesterday for that purpose, and proposed tomorrow--he accepted it---

rd
Thursday 23 April 1840

Mr Romero sent me word early this morning that he was unwell, & begged me to wait a communication from him when he would meet---very rainy & cloudy & disagreeable wether

---"El Colegio de Independencia" under the direction of

its founder Montenegro de Colon, will move from its present place to the part given him [215] by the

Government, of the large Franciscan Convent, which he has at a very great & heavy expence refitted up in very appropriate style for the purpose of Education-----

Montenegro has been much opposed in his views by a certain class of old Spaniards or with old Spanish ideas, and the clergy, because he will not submit his institution to the visitation and under the direction of the National college, Church, or exploded wisdom of Spanish policy----

He deserves and I trust will receive his reward before his death, at least posterity will reward him great honor & glory-----

No news---and nothing from N Romero---I am quite indisposed---went however to the office of the Sec. . of States office, with a view of asking him to designate a day when I could call on him officially about Idlers claim---He replied he could not appoint a day until the documents in the hands of Mr Romero, our protocol of our conferences---until then it will not be under his direction at all---being now entirely in his hands.

Friday 24 April 1840

No news---wether extremely bad, such rain and an appearance of continuing---Have not left my house to day---

Saturday 25 April 1840

Commenced last night at 8 oclock the heaviest fall of rain which lasted until 6 oclock this morning I ever heard in Venezuela during my residence of near 14 years--- It has been I presume very general---many of the exposed dirt walls tumbling down---

Sunday 26 April 1840

I have nothing to record to day---Mrs Jove & 2 Miss Carinos & Mr Munson dined with me---suffered much last night of the Stomach produced from the effection in my right side---great acidity---gastritis & & &--- My health I am sensible is much effected---no news---damp rainy & disagreeable day---and very hot----- [216]

Monday 27 April 1840

Passed a most wretched night--indigestion, gastritis, together with cold sweats & perspiration must resort to the Blue Pill system--- This evening has opened with a fine day but very hot--the rainy season seems to have commenced--- ----

Called to day a little after 12 oclock at the Gov^t House, but found Mr Romero absent---understood he had been there,---very warm to day, showery---no news----

Tuesday 28 April 1840.

Called today at the Gov^t House and met Mr Romero, to sign the protocol of Conferances on the subject of Jacob Idlers claims, found it was not ready, Mr Romero then stated he would advise me when it should be ready.

No news---wether showery & rainy-----

Wednesday 29 April 1840

Hot wether, not a word to day worth noting---Caracas very still---the Gov^t quiet---Congress making a great deal of noise, but doing nothing---had better go home and aid the moral force of the community to put in force what has been done---But that these people will never do--- There is no morality from the Church down---Bad examples is the worst kind of teaching---It is all precept here, do as I tell you, not as I do---not a priest but has his mistress---many half a dozen, and lots of children---A

change as deep and as strong as an Earthquake is wanted, and it should continue from day to day until the victims of immorality here should not only fall down & worship virtue but not it---Here there is plenty of worshipping, going to church and all that kind of thing, but the heart has not a word in the question, it is form & form only in religion---The indiscriminate mixture has ruined all virtue, and left nothing to respect it in social life---there is no price for virtue, and no [817] stigma for the basest immoral offences---the Laws sometimes castigates, but Society protects the whore and the thief-----

Thursday 30 April 1840

Like the rest of this week rainy, damp and disagreeable---hot sun, then drisly---misty---

Congress will adjourn next month about 10 ---
the sooner the better--- ---

at
Friday 1 - May 1840

The British packet arriv^d yesterday had a very short passage of 27 days by the way too as usual of Barbadoes---news bad about business, politics I have heard nothing yet---Re^d letters from England from my wifes Aunt and sister---they are well, but the old lady is very aged, cant stay long---

Commenced on Tuesday taking a Blue pill night &

morning to endeavour to relieve my right side—a very painful bile has renewed itself upon my right cheekbone, I think produced by the pill, throwing off a small hardness left there by a bile, had in that place some months since---

Took tea last night at M^r OCallaghans found some 7 or 8 persons there--

nd
Saturday 2nd May 1840.

I have not heard a word of news from the South, but presume the pacification of OBando has quieted the party opposed to the Gov^t at Pasto.

To my great astonishment rec^d letters to day from Phil^a by the Brig Caracas, she has made a very expeditious passage, and has arrived some 10 days earlier than anticipated—My wife I regret to perceive has a great disposition to return in her, what can I say to it when she seems so discontented here, my feelings say stay, but I must remain quiet, neither to insist nor deny, but when she determines be governed by it.

If I did not hope to save a few thousand Dollars in the next year I would pull up stakes & be off in a twinkling, nothing but [218] the saving of a few dollars would induce me to remain one hour longer in this Country.

Our wether continues very rainy, dull and damp---

The Caracas I hear left P^oCabello for Phil^a the 24th March
and on the 1st day of May arri^d at LaGuayra---great
dispatch in Phil^a and very short passage going & returning

rd
Sunday 3rd May 1840

My wife this morning broke the subject of her return and
says she is determined upon it---I dont believe it yet,
however she has requested me to write to Cap^t Anderson
on the subject.----I know that she suffers more here
than I feel willing she should suffer, but god knows I
cant encourage her to leave me, I can only observe perfect
silence and submission to her own determination, and
prepare for the worst---

The Gov^t here has at last determined to
acknowledge the entire debt due the bond Holders in
London and to pay what they can---the best policy no
doubt---for certainly honesty is the best policy in all
things---yet Venezuela has not observed much or any good
faith towards her holders of the internal debt---

Monday 4th May 1840

Wrote to day to LaGuayra about my wifes passage in the
Brig Caracas Cap^t Anderson by her directions; She still
seems determined in the affair, my letters however were
conditional--- ---I have been satisfied to day that
the Gov^t here has given instructions to their agents as

mentioned yesterday relative to their national debt in London from a conversation had with Co^l Smith Sec.Y. of State. no news from any quarter---

Tuesday 5 May 1840/

Called to day on Mr P. Joaquin Ayres a naturalist and Botanist despatched by the Gov^t of Rio Janerio to explore and examine the upper waters & Tributaries of the great [219] river Amazons or Marigon; he brings a letter of introduction to me from Angostura in this Republic--- He informs me he has now been absent near 7 years from Rio Janerio---during which time he has visited Chile, Peru, Bolivia and a part of this Country on the head waters of the Amazons (proper), during which time he has explored the entire Country from British Guayana--- up to the Cordilleras that separate the Waters which flow in direction to the Pacific on the South, and those which separate the waters flowing into the river Laplate and that portion which throw their waters on the North & West into the Orinoko---The tribes of Indians are numerous and very distinct in all their habits & customs---one which he met with Approaching very near to white, and from their traditionary account he presumes they have descended from Spanish progenitors, particularly as their religion if they possess any, seems by a division of their origin and faith to consist in the Cabalistic number 3, as it would in this distance to have been

derived from the redness of christianity---He met with one nation in an absolute state of nature, without any dress or ornament save a piece of Brees round the ankles & wrists and a few feathers on their heads. Another tribe who had never seen a white man before, they were very curious to examine his skin, and their importunities and curiosity in this matter was very great---Mr Ayres states that in his belief the country which he has explored personally and the best information he could obtain of dietaries through which he had not passed, contained at least 4 four millions of natives (or Indigines)---They were generally very inoffensive, and exhibited no very great characteristics of Indian cruelty---some are Cannibals but feed only on their enemies taken in war---some live entirely on the Alligator, some on fish---and many have a great fondness perhaps above all other food, for the monkey---He states that his Indian Hunters, invariably when coming in contact [220] with monkeys, leave all other species of game & pursue that, and would bring it to him in preference to the finest birds of the woods, such as parangs, paye de Monte,⁹ and birds of that specie---The animals from Mr Ayres details, does not appear to be very ferocious, the Tiger seldom or ever making an attack on man---One species however in colour a Black Brindie, he states passes no animal but attacks

indiscriminately all and every thing---

He brings with him a great variety of seed and many birds, some very rare & curious.

On reaching the upper waters of the Rio Negro of the Amazons & from there to the head waters of several rivers falling into the Orinoko, he proceeded down the Maoua a very large river to the Orinoko, when his health became extremely delicate, and his Indian guides & Hunters left him, with only his three servants, he was thus forced to take the stream, and reached Angostura on the Orinoko in this Republic in 52 days passage down, much indisposed, from thence he proceeded to Barbadoes & from there to this City in the mail boat of 15 of last month.

Mr Ayres is a native of the city of Rio Janerio--- Speaks some half dozen language, 5 feet 10 in height, thin, and a countenance of good intelligence, having lost the teeth of the upper jaw gives him rather an old appearance, but he cannot exceed 35 years---Has been Educated as a naturalist & Botanist and I should suppose a man of general science---He wears a red ribbon in the button hole of his coat---is an officer in Brazilian Service; and no doubt a man of confidence & standing with his Gov^t-----He contemplates remaining sufficient time to recruit his health and proposes returning to Angostura and from thence

down to Para & the Lower Amazon----- [221]

I am however of an opinion from incidental conversation, that one of his objects here is to obtain a grant to some land in the high lands, or mountains between the Orinoko & the Amazon, for the purpose of pursuing a further discovery of gold which he has made there----He says it is not the washings but of ore and very rich--- ----I introduced him today to Co^l Smith Sec.Y. of State & Gen^l Paes, and shall introduce him to several others in the course of this week.

My wifes resolution has much damped my feelings, tho not yet determined upon going to the States, she has commenced packing and making arrangements for the voyage---- I am so delicately situated I am afraid to say a word, tho having frequently before advised her not to think of such a thing---Her determination I must submit to, tho painful however it may be to me her determination to go---

Wednesday 6- May 1840.

Mr Ayres sent me to day 21 birds of different species--- a present I must pay for because I requested him to select them for me---

I shall buy a lot of seeds for the Gov^t-----I am quite unwell to day, pain in my right side, and otherwise indisposed---

My wife seems very unhappy, it pains me much she cannot be satisfied to share her fate with mine, tho I know it is very natural she should wish to see her sister in Phil^a. I will not oppose her going, but I will not encourage her---if she was more determined in this matter I could then speak more freely---

No news---

Thursday 7[#] May 1840

I have not turned to my diary for several days from the uneasiness I feel on the departure of my wife, as she has determined at length to take the voyage, I must therefore make every thing for her as comfortable as possible---She seems very nervous and her feelings are easily fared---I scarcely [222] know what to say or do, for fear of some incidental word or action but would produce too much on her sensibility---She wants to go, but to leave me behind seems to try her feelings very much, like a pent up stream a little excitement would break its banks and run over, it would be best could it take this course, for then the current would soon run smooth, at least discharge its over pourings---I do not know how I can remain after her departure, go I must soon thereafter---my health & feelings will drive me, the will of the Gov^t or not.

I feel much irritation in my right side, great

pain in my shoulder & blade----evident symptoms I fear of diseased or at least effected liver----

No news---the mail from the South brings nothing---The Caracas in which my wife sails, will leave LaGuayra I learn on Saturday, I suppose sunday next----

Sunday 10 May 1840

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[British Legation, Caracas
August 9, 1840

Sir

I have the honor of addressing you in order to impart the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mr. J. G. A. Williamson, charge d'affaires from the U. States to this Republic--He died at 10 oclock on the night of the 7th instant in this City, and his remains were interred this morning in the British Cemetary with every honor, respect, and attention due both to his Public and his private Character.---

I believe a complicated complaint of Liver and dysentary, terminated his existence, after an illness of about eight days----

During one of the latter interviews I had with Mr Williamson, he requested me in the event of his death,

(not only as a Friend but as a Colleague) to take charge of the Archives of this Legation; (to which I consented) telling me at the same time that they would be delivered to me by his Friend Mr. S. Forsythe. This sad event having now occurred, I therefore fully expect in the course of a couple of days to have the archives, and all thereunto belonging safely deposited in the House of Her Britannic Majesty['s] Legation, where they shall remain, preserved with the greatest care, awaiting your official directions, as to whom they are to be delivered, or transmitted.

I enclose you the Gazeta de Venezuela, with the bereavement notice of Mr Williamson's death, as also one of the cards of invitation issued by order of the Vice President, for the Public authorities, and other persons, to attend his funeral. Independent of this, Invitations in the name of the diplomatic and consular bodies, and of Mess. Forsythe and Orea, were sent out to several hundreds in Caracas. Mr Renshaw, the U. States Consul resident in La Guayra, will I believe be the bearer of this communication from me.

Having the honor to remain

Sir

Your Most obedient

Humble Servant.

Rob- Ker Porter.]

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER XXI

- 1 ponerse diablo--to make oneself a poor devil.
- 2 cyprian--pertaining to the Paphian Aphrodite (Venus); hence, unchaste, lascivious.
- 3 The Modern Traveller wrote a similar explanation:
"In this narrow valley (Caracas), the atmosphere is in some sort balanced between two winds; one that comes from the sea-side, and is known by the name of the wind of Catia, because it blows from Catia to the west of Cape Blanco; and the other from the east, or the inland country. The wind of Catia is only apparently a western wind: it is more frequently a breeze originating in the east and north-east, which, rushing with extreme impetuosity, engulfs itself in the quebrada (ravine) de Tipe. It is loaded with moisture, which it deposits as its temperature decreases, and the summit of the Silla is consequently wrapped in clouds when the Catia blows in the valley. This wind is dreaded by the inhabitants of Caracas, causing headaches to those persons whose nervous system is irritable. I have known some who, to shun its effects, shut themselves up in their houses, as people do in Italy when the Sirocco blows. The wind of Petare, coming from the east and south-east by the

eastern extremity of the valley of the Guayra, brings from the mountains and the interior a drier air, which dissipates the clouds, and the summit of the Silla then rises in all its beauty." A Popular Description. Geographical, Historical, and Topographical, of the Various Countries of the Globe. Colombia. (London, 1825), 154-155.

- 4 By September 16, 1840 an agreement was reached as to interest on the debt owed England, the first payment to be made October 1, 1840. González Guinán, Historia Contemporánea, III, 164-166. These payments were faithfully made during the Presidency of Páez and up to the year 1848. A new agreement was made with England in 1859. Eastwick, Venezuela, 324.
- 5 sayas--skirts.
- 6 Soublotte retained the vice-presidency. González Guinán, Historia Contemporánea, III, 149.
- 7 Congress elected Doctor Ignacio Fernández Peña as Archbishop of Caracas and Venezuela, and Doctor Mariano Fernández Fortique, Bishop of Guayana. These elections (according to González Guinán) had the approval of public opinion. Ibid., III, 144.
- 8 Apparently Montenegro de Colon was much interested in

education, for not only did he direct and maintain El Colegio de Independencia but he also wrote text books as well. His geography is as much history as geography. Geografia General Para El Uso de la Juventud de Venezuela (Caracas, 1837).

- 9 ~~pavones--turkeys.~~ pavo de Monte--grouse.
- 10 Ker Porter's letter to the State Department, File Microcopy, 79, roll 2.

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BIOGRAPHY

Nancy Jane Lucas was born on December 27, 1905, at Red Roost, Boggs Township, Center County, Pennsylvania. When four years old she entered the first grade of the Bellefonte Public Schools. The next year her family moved to Philipsburg, Pennsylvania and enrolled her in the second grade. In due time she graduated from Philipsburg High School. After attending Lucy Webb Hayes in Washington, D. C. for three years, she taught for three years at Colegio Robinson, Santurce, Puerto Rico. Returning to Washington, she attended American University for one year and received her B. A. degree there in 1929. During the next thirteen years she taught in the Tyrone High School, Tyrone, Pennsylvania. She attended two summer sessions at the University of Pennsylvania and three at Pennsylvania State College before registering for graduate work at Louisiana State University in the summer of 1941. She received her Master's degree from Louisiana State University in 1943.

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Major Field: History

Title of Thesis: The Annotated Diary of John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson
of Person County, North Carolina, First Diplomatic
Representative of the United States to Venezuela 1835-1840

Approved:

Isaac J. Cox
Major Professor and Chairman

Wm O. Schaeff
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Date of Examination:

May 7, 1946