CHAPTER XVII

BOLIVAR IN PERU AND BOLIVIA, 1825-26

BOLIVAR was now practically free from anxiety on the score of the Spanish forces, though Upper Peru still remained to be subdued. He at once set to work at the civil reorganisation of the country. Recruiting was stopped, an amnesty was proclaimed for deserters, a Supreme Court of Justice was established, and a Constituent Congress was summoned to meet on the 10th February 1825. A proclamation was issued on the 25th December 1824, in which Bolivar told the Peruvians that, the liberating army having accomplished its task, he would now, as he had promised, resign into the hands of the Congress his powers as Dictator.[1]

The Liberator, considering America practically free from Spanish dominion, now proceeded to suggest, in a circular to all the governments of America, his idea of an assembly of plenipotentiaries at Panama, as a sort of court of general reference and consultation for all disputes and common interests.

He also wrote to the President of the Colombian Senate, again begging to be allowed to resign his office of President. The letter seems worth quoting *in extenso*, as illustrating the views which Bolivar publicly expressed.

LIMA, *22nd December* 1824.

"MOST EXCELLENT SIR,—The peace of Peru, which our arms have procured by the most glorious victory of

[1] O'Leary, Docts., 22, p. 601.

the New World, has ended the war of the American continent. Colombia thus has no longer any enemies in all her territory, or in that of her neighbours.

I have fulfilled my mission; consequently, the time has come for me to complete the offer, so often made to my country, to cease to continue my public career when there were no more enemies in America.

All the world sees, and says, that my remaining in Colombia is no longer necessary, and no one knows this better than I. I say more, I believe that my glory has reached its zenith, that, seeing my country free, well constituted and tranquil, it is time for me to leave her glorious coasts. This result has been attained by my arrival in Peru, and I flatter myself that, in the future, the liberty and glory of Peru will be infinitely greater. The Legislative Body, the Vice-President, the army, and the people have shown in the first years of their career that they are worthy to enjoy liberty, and most capable of maintaining it in the face of the greatest difficulties. I will say once for all, Sir, I desire that Europe and America should be convinced of my horror of supreme power, whatever aspect or name it may bear. My conscience suffers under the weight of the atrocious calumnies which the liberals of America and the slaves of Europe assail me with. Day and night I am tormented by the idea of my enemies that my services are directed by ambition. Finally, I make bold to say to Your Excellency, with the utmost frankness, and hoping that I shall be pardoned for doing so, that I believe that the glory of Colombia will suffer by my remaining on her soil; because she will always suppose herself threatened by a tyrant, and because the injury she thereby does me dims the brightness of her virtues, since I am a part, though a small one, of this Republic. Most Excellent Sir, I implore you to submit to the wisdom of the Senate the renunciation which I tender of the Presidency of

Colombia. Its acceptanee will be the recompense of my services in these two Republics."[1]

In this place it will be convenient to anticipate somewhat by briefly describing to their conclusion Sucre's operations subsequent to the battle of Ayacucho.

Immediately after the battle he marched on Cuzco, where he arrived on the 24th December 1824, the very day before Bolivar at Lima issued his proclamation to the Peruvians. There Sucre found that, on hearing of the defeat of Ayacucho, a local Junta had assembled and had elected as Viceroy of Peru, Brigadier-General P. Tristan, then at Arequipa. He had appointed as his *locum tenens*, Antonio M. Alvarez, President of the Royal Audiencia.

Resistance to Sucre's victorious army being clearly impossible, the Spanish garrisons scattered about the neighbouring towns dispersed, and Tristan, the so-called Viceroy, Alvarez, and the rest gave in their adhesion to the capitulation of Ayacucho. There remained only Upper Peru, which was still held by Olañeta.

From Cuzco, Sucre marched to the Desaguadero, the population everywhere raising the Republican standard. Olañeta, abandoning Potosí, was attacked by Mediñaceli, one of his own lieutenants who had gone over to the republicans, at Tumusla, on the 1st April 1825, where he met defeat and death. Three days later Sucre was in Potosí and the Spanish flag had been lowered throughout Peru, except in the fortress of Callao, where Rodil still obstinately held out.[2]

[1] Larrazabal, ii. 278.

[2] A return signed by Sucre's chief of the staff gives as follows the numbers of Spaniards disposed of by death, wounds, capture, or dispersion :—

Defeated at Ayacucho	9,510
Garrisons of Cuzco, Arequipa, Quilca, and Puño .	3,280
Army of Olañeta	4,630
Generals and officers killed or captured . . .	342
Prisoners south of the Desaguadero	836
Total,	18,598

(O'Leary, ii. 377*n*.)

We now return to the doings of Bolivar, whom we left at Lima in the end of December 1824.

On the 25th January 1825, a great ball was given in his honour by the Municipality of Lima. In the court-yard of the Municipal Hall his portrait was hung, with the inscription: "He created Colombia, restored Peru, and gave peace to America." As he entered, the Liberator was greeted with hymns of praise, and his path was strewn with flowers by members of the Cabildo. On this occasion he inhaled the incense of flattery in quantities phenomenal even for him.

Three days later, Monteagudo, who had returned from banishment, was murdered in a back street of Lima. It was asserted that the murder was political, and indicative of a reactionary conspiracy; but, on the whole, it appears probable that its motive was either private revenge or robbery. Monteagudo's tyrannies, during San Martin's absence at Guayaquil, and his evil living, are quite sufficient to account for his assassination, without seeking to attribute political motives to it.

On the 10th February 1825, exactly a year after he had taken up the reins of supreme authority, Bolivar met the Peruvian Congress.

To the deputation sent to invite his attendance in the Chamber he replied with those expressions of his horror of supreme power in the hands of a single man which every South American Dictator uses as a matter of course. The more loudly he proclaims these virtuous sentiments the more completely one is convinced that he means to exercise the power he condemns. The words have become a mere formula of hypocrisy.

The Dictator now adjourned to the Assembly, preceded by all the chief functionaries, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, through streets everywhere decorated, and crowded by the populace.

As he entered the Chamber, he was greeted by shouts

of "Long live Bolivar! Long live the Redeemer of Peru!" Then he proceeded to address the Assembly.

The liberating army, he said, had broken the fetters which Pizarro had rivetted on the sons of Manco Capac. His own administration during the past year had amounted to little more than a campaign, though he had found time to carry out some essential reforms. Notwithstanding his ardour in the cause of liberty, he was still unable to say that the cloud of political disruption had passed away. It would require all the wisdom of Congress to organise a good government. (In this one can hardly help recognising a strong hint that his own services were still necessary.)

Then, after dilating on the debt of gratitude due by Peru to Colombia, and alluding to his scheme for a general Congress at Panama,[1] he proceeded to congratulate the Peruvians on being liberated from the two greatest of evils, "from war by the victory of Ayacucho, from despotism by my resignation." He added that his destiny called him to aid in the liberation of Upper Peru and the reduction of Callao. After that, he would return to his own country to render an account of his mission. Then the President of the Congress replied, saying that past events,

[1] This was an old idea of Bolivar's, to which he gave much thought in the Jamaica days of 1815. It was to be a sort of Amphictyonic League, at which were to be represented all the late Spanish colonies, Brazil, the United States, and even Great Britain and Holland It would be a sort of Federal Congress for the whole of America, in which would be discussed all great questions concerning the states constituting the Confederation, and their relations with other nations. The idea never came to much. Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, and Peru sent representatives, who met in 1826, after many delays. Brazil formally agreed Buenos Aires and Chile would have nothing to do with it. Great Britain, Holland, and the United States merely agreed to send representatives to watch the proceedings.

The Congress, such as it was, in no way realised Bolivar's expectations, and he finally damned it by comparing it to "that mad Greek who, from a rock in mid-ocean, pretended to direct the ships sailing around him" (O'Leary, ii. 345).

the insecurity of the present, and the general opinion of all were against the acceptance of Bolivar's resignation.

The Liberator again spoke, repeating that, now that Peru was practically free, there was no place in it for a foreigner like himself, at any rate once Upper Peru was freed and Callao taken. He would serve Peru with his sword and heart as long as a single enemy remained on her soil; after that, "let the Republics of Peru and Colombia, hand in hand, give the example of the great confederation which must fix the future destinies of this new universe."

He then left the Congress, which at once set to work to prepare a decree for the continuation of Bolivar's power until the assembly of the Congress of 1826. As soon as the decree was completed, a deputation waited on Bolivar with it.

The Liberator, no doubt, fully expected this, and was graciously pleased to yield to the reiterated demands of the Congress. On the same day, the Assembly passed a resolution of thanks to "Simón Bolivar, Father and Saviour of Peru," and to the army. A statue and a medal were decreed, Sucre's title of "Grand Marshal of Ayacucho" was confirmed,[1] with a grant of 200,000 pesos added, and finally, a reward of one million of pesos was granted to Bolivar, with a second million for distribution by him among the officers and men of the army. He accepted all but the personal endowment, which he refused, though later on he agreed, at the suggestion of Congress, to accept it for works of beneficence in his native city of Caracas. Personal avarice was certainly not one of Bolivar's faults; he entered on his career a rich man, he died, notwithstanding all the opportunities he had to enrich himself, a poor one.

[1] It was at this time that Bolivar wrote his "succinct epitome of the Life of Sucre," which is reproduced in O'Leary, Docts., 1, 9-15. All these decrees are in O'Leary, Docts., 23, p. 29, etc.

The Liberator, seated once more firmly on the Dictatorial Chair of Peru, again set to work at the organisation of the administration. There were a thousand urgent matters to be attended to. Civil and criminal laws had to be codified, the army to be reorganised, education to be attended to, in fact, every branch of administration called for creation or reconstruction. For the organisation of education Bolivar employed his old tutor Simon Rodriguez, who had at last returned to Colombia, and, on a special invitation from his former pupil, had gone to Lima.[1]

Having set all these matters in motion, he entrusted the government, during his absence, to a council consisting of La Mar, Sanchez Carrion, and Unánue, with whom he left full instructions for their guidance. Amongst their duties were promulgation of the constitution and preparation for the elections to the constituent Congress, reform of the army and navy, the remittance of 2,000,000 pesos from the English loan, when received, to Upper Peru, to pay no one before settling the arrears of the army and navy, to send envoys to England and other countries to open relations, and many other matters.

Bolivar reached Arequipa by land on the 14th May, 1825. On the way he heard of the death of Olañeta and the pacification of Upper Peru. Everywhere he was busy with reforms and the redress of grievances, into details of which it is impossible for us to enter.

Leaving Arequipa on the 10th June, he was in Cuzco on the 25th. Wherever he passed on this long journey he was enthusiastically received. At Cuzco, especially, the welcome assumed forms of flattery such as had dis-

[1] In his letter to Rodriguez, dated 24th January 1824, Bolivar fully admits the influence of the tutor in forming his political opinions.

Rodriguez and Bolivar were both firm believers in the educational system of Joseph Lancaster, which they adopted, and founded normal schools in accordance with it. Of the million pesos voted to him by the Congress, Bolivar sent 20,000 to Caracas for the foundation of schools on this system.

gusted the more simple-minded San Martin at Guayaquil. Bolivar's capacity for swallowing such nauseous stuff seemed to be as unlimited as his readiness in making speeches. Here a thousand young women, headed by the prefect's wife, presented him with a golden civic crown. This, however, he destined to Sucre, saying of the Grand Marshal of Ayacucho: "He is the man to whom are due all the honours of Peru; it is he who is the conqueror of Ayacucho, and the true Liberator of the Republic." One cannot help wondering whether all these demonstrations were purely spontaneous or were, to some extent at least, made to order. From Cuzco, Bolivar continued his progress to Puño, visited the great lake of Titicaca, and reached La Paz on the 18th September.

He was now in Upper Peru, the future position of which had been a matter of some anxiety.

It had become a tacitly recognised principle in the revolted colonies that the new republics should be based on the divisions of territory recognised in the days of Spanish rule. It was on that principle that Bolivar had treated Quito as part of the late Viceroyalty of New Granada, of which it was certainly an apanage. The province of Upper Peru had occupied an analagous position in the Spanish time towards the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires. Therefore, on Bolivar's own principle, it should, when liberated, belong to the United Provinces of Argentina. Chile was different, for she had been independent of Peru.

Sucre's first measure after the death of Olañeta was to order the convocation of a general assembly to decide the destiny of Upper Peru. He set aside the claims of Buenos Aires in a somewhat summary manner which Bolivar disapproved. He told Sucre that, as matters stood, Upper Peru should belong to the Federation of La Plata, just as Quito belonged to Colombia. If it was to be otherwise, that must be the result of negotiations.

Under the circumstances, he considered the unconditional convocation of a popular assembly to be a mistake. All Sucre should do was to maintain a military occupation of the province and await orders. This Bolivar wrote from Lima on the 21st February, adding that he was awaiting the decision of the Peruvian Congress.[1] Sucre was somewhat offended by these orders, pleading, amongst other things, that he should have had instructions earlier, before he had been compelled by the disturbed state of Upper Peru to convoke the Assembly.

On the 16th May, at Arequipa, Bolivar was in a position to speak more definitely. In his decree of that date he records in the preamble that the Peruvian Congress, by decree of the 23rd February, had admitted the rights of the Republic of La Plata and the provinces of Upper Peru. That disposed of any claim Peru might have had.[2] Bolivar said that he had been officially informed by Arenales that "the executive power of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata had informed him that it had granted to the provinces (Upper Peru) the power to pronounce as they should choose on their interests and form of government." He now had a free hand both from Peru and La Plata. He therefore issued a fresh order for an assembly as proposed by Sucre.[3] Its decisions, however, were to be subject to sanction by the Peruvian Congress of the following year.

The Assembly of Deputies of Upper Peru met in Chuquisaca[4] on the 10th July 1825. On the 6th August, it declared Upper Peru an independent republic under the title of the "Republic of Bolivar."[5] Bolivar's protection was sought, and the usual honours and flattery were lavished on him. At La Paz he was met by a

[1] O'Leary, ii 384.

[2] It could hardly have been a strong one, for it could only be based on the position previous to the creation of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires.

[3] O'Leary, ii. 393*n*.

[4] Now known as Sucre.

[5] The name was afterwards changed to Bolivia.

deputation of the Assembly, demanding immediate recognition by him, on behalf of Peru, of the independence of Bolivia. That, he said, he could not give, but promised to use his influence with the Peruvian Congress, a promise which was recognised probably as tantamount to the grant of their request. He was then invited to draw up a project of constitution for the Republic. Pleading his want of a legal education, he yet agreed to draft a constitution.

Five deputies were then appointed as an advisory council *ad interim*, the 25th May 1826 was fixed for the meeting of the national representatives, commissioners were despatched to request recognition of the new Republic by La Plata, Peru, and Colombia, and then, on the 6th October 1825, the Assembly dissolved.

After setting the administration in order, Bolivar left La Paz, on the 20th September, for Potosí, which he reached on the 5th October. There he was met by a mission from La Plata which was to congratulate him, and convey the recognition by the Republic of the independence of Upper Peru. With this mission there was a great deal of diplomatic fencing over the question of war with Brazil regarding the annexation to the new Empire of the Banda Oriental. Brazilians had invaded the province of Chiquitos in Upper Peru at an earlier date. Sucre had wanted to employ strong measures, but Bolivar wisely offered the Brazilian Government a bridge for retreat by disowning the action of their subordinates. That settled the dispute as regards Upper Peru.

We cannot allow ourselves to be drawn into wearisome details of the dispute between Buenos Aires and Brazil regarding Montevideo and the Banda Oriental. It seems difficult to resist the conclusion that Bolivar would dearly have loved to intervene—on his own terms—just as he had gone to Peru, also on his own terms. But the Buenos Aireans did not see it in this light. They had

long seen that Bolivar's ambition was pushing him on to establish himself as the arbiter of the destinies of the whole of the new Republics of South America. Mitre tells how, at Quito, in 1823, Bolivar had said at a public dinner: "The day is not far distant when I will carry the flag of Colombia triumphant to Argentina." An Argentine officer, who was present with San Martin's contingent, promptly rose to propose a toast, "To the independence of America, and of the Argentine Republic."[1] Another incident had occurred at Arequipa, when Bolivar again spoke of shortly treading Argentine soil. Again an Argentine officer replied: "My countrymen do not welcome Dictators to their soil." Bolivar, in a fury, sprang upon the table, crushing the glasses and plates under his heel, and shouting: "Thus will I trample upon the Argentine Republic."[2] Even if these incidents are exaggerated, there is ample evidence, in the vituperations of the liberal press of Buenos Aires, that Bolivar's advent in Argentina would not be welcomed. He was very cautious at Potosí, and later at Chuquisaca, in dealing with the Argentine envoys, whom he declined to treat with officially, on the ridiculous ground that his Minister for Foreign Affairs was in Lima. Possibly this might have been some excuse in the case of an ordinary President, but it was none with Bolivar. The negotiations came to nothing, though at one time there was imminent danger of an armed conflict between Bolivar and Argentina. The Liberator had already tried to take a hand also in Chilian affairs. He had offered to help the Chilian Government to expel the Spaniards from the island of Chiloe, which they still held. Chile was willing to accept a subsidy, but did not want Bolivar's soldiers. Nothing came of this, for a subsidy, without his own interference in Chilian affairs, was not at all what the Liberator wished to give.

[1] Pilling, 420. [2] *Ibid.*, 462.

Foiled in his desires to impose himself upon Chile and Argentina, Bolivar left Chuquisaca on the 10th January 1826 for Arica, whence he sailed to Chorillos, reaching Lima on the 10th February. He was still hankering after fresh laurels, and had begun to meditate the liberation of Cuba. He had hoped to find the Cuban Iznaga at Lima, but he was gone before the Liberator's return.

When Bolivar reached Lima he was greeted with the news of the recent surrender of Rodil at Callao. The place had been blockaded by sea and land for sixteen months, during which time Rodil had shown much activity, and inflicted heavy losses with his guns on the besiegers under Salom. The garrison had been reduced to desperate straits by hunger, but it was only when there was not left another dog, or cat, or rat for food that Rodil would surrender. Further resistance in any case would have been hopeless, as there could be no expectation of a relief expedition from Europe, and the Spaniards had been practically obliterated in South America.

Bolivar had promised to resign his position once this end had been attained. It is difficult not to agree with Restrepo [1] that he would have acted wisely, both for the country and his own reputation, had he at once left Peru. He had announced, from La Paz, his intention to do so, and had even ordered the return to their native land of some of his Colombian troops. It should have been manifest to him that both he and the Colombian troops would presently wear out their welcome in Peru, and become as hated as they had once been popular.

But he had stayed on in Upper Peru, carrying on his negotiations with Argentina, and revelling in the incense of flattery which was offered at his shrine. His continued stay was bad for him, and worse for his soldiers, who naturally began to look upon themselves as arbiters of the

[1] iii. 477.

destiny of the country on which they were living. Such ideas they carried back with them when eventually they returned home, and the whole circumstances of their stay in Peru were such as to tend to their corruption and to foster the idea of prætorianism.

In Peru there had long been a tendency towards monarchical government, the result, doubtless, of its long experience of the splendours of the Spanish Viceregal Court. Some of the more influential people now began to put forward a project for the coronation of Bolivar under the title of "Emperor of the Andes," or of "Emperor of Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia." One cannot altogether put aside the suspicion that the scheme may have been a trap. If it was, Bolivar did not fall into it. Whatever his ambitions may have been, the Liberator was wise enough to see that his whole past career of republicanism was inconsistent with a change of front in the direction of monarchy pure and simple.

He entered Lima amidst all the usual outward demonstrations of enthusiasm, but these did not represent the real state of affairs. So early as the end of February a plot was discovered to be aiming at the expulsion of Bolivar and his Colombian troops from Peru. In it were involved Necochea, Alvarado, and several other notables. Though the plot was a feeble one, aiming at a definite end without any definite means of attaining it, it should have warned Bolivar that the time for his departure had come. He allowed himself to be deceived by outward demonstrations, and to be lulled into security by the charms of Lima, which to him and his army became a Capua, just as it had been to San Martin and his men. The Congress had assembled, and Bolivar, according to all his promises, was bound to surrender his power as Dictator to it. The deputies began now to enter upon discussions as to the validity of their own election and powers, and Bolivar referred the question to the High

Court. Then there was an agitation in favour of the departure of the Liberator and his Colombians from Peru. Annoyed at this, Bolivar, at the end of March, threatened to clear out at once with all his troops. That at once produced an alarm of anarchy, and the Liberator was besieged by deputations begging him to stay. Some of the petitions, notably one presented by fifty-two deputies, proposed the dissolution of the Congress, pending a fresh appeal to the people for an expression of their opinion as to the future government. This met with the approval of Bolivar, who was now intent on introducing into Peru the constitution which he had framed for Bolivia according to the request preferred to him at Chuquisaca.[1] This constitution he desired to have adopted not only by Bolivia, but also by Peru and Colombia. As it throws much light on his views of his own future position, it will by well to state concisely the leading provisions of this anomalous constitution.

The Legislature was to consist of three chambers instead of the ordinary two. They were the chambers of the Tribunes, the Senators, and the Censors. The idea was that the Censors were to act as a sort of referee in cases of difference between the other two. They were also to safeguard the observance of the constitution and to scrutinise the conduct of the superior officials. The office of censor was tenable for life.

The Tribunes were to initiate financial measures, to fix the strength of the naval and military forces, and vote the budget. They were elected for four years, and half their number retired every two years.

[1] *Supra*, p. 352. The drafting of the Constitution was really completed before Bolivar left Chuquisaca, but it was only sent to Bolivia in May 1826. It was adopted in the autumn of that year. The life Presidency had been conferred on Bolivar, but Sucre became the first actual President, with powers subject to Bolivar, when the latter should be in Bolivia. Sucre accepted this Presidency for two years only, and that solely on the condition of being allowed to retain in Bolivia 2000 Colombian troops.

The Senators, elected for eight years, and half of them retiring every four years, were to initiate measures relating to judicial, ecclesiastical, and commercial matters, to present, for the choice of the Censors, three names of proposed officials, judicial and ecclesiastical, and to decide on the choice of subordinate magistrates from amongst the names submitted by electoral colleges. The executive was to consist of a President for life, a Vice-President proposed by him to the chambers, and three secretaries of state, appointed and removable by the President. The functions of the President were similar to those of the President of the United States, but he had no judicial or ecclesiastical patronage. He was free from responsibility for the acts of his administration. That rested on the Vice-President or the secretary countersigning an order. In case of death or illness of the President, the Vice-President filled his place. The President could thus practically nominate his own successor.

The judicial power was entirely independent of the executive. The electorate presented candidates for judicial employment to the Legislature, which selected from the candidates so presented.

The suffrage was universal manhood, subject to the qualification of being able to read and write, and exercising some science, art, or industry; one elector was chosen for every ten citizens. The electorate thus included one-tenth of the whole adult male population. The electorate chose the members of the three chambers, and proposed to the executive candidates for the principal offices of the departments, provinces, and cantons. They also proposed to these chief officials candidates for the lower offices. To the Senate they proposed candidates for judicial appointments.

Slavery was abolished, and the press given full liberty.

This extraordinary constitution was subjected to much criticism in the three republics to which the Liberator de-

sired to apply it. It was adopted by Bolivia and Peru, probably under compulsion; indeed, Mitre says plainly that the Peruvian electoral college voted it "within a hedge of Colombian bayonets."[1] Bolivar and his Colombians had not long left when the Bolivian Constitution was abrogated in Peru. As we shall see presently, Bolivar was obliged to abandon the idea of forcing it on Colombia, which had already rejected his proposal of a President for life, and was still less likely to accept a constitution under which the Presidency was practically either hereditary or assignable to whomsoever the President might nominate as Vice-President.

The whole thing was one of Bolivar's dreams, which now began to grow more and more extravagant. Amongst them was that of uniting Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, each with the same constitution, in a confederation of which he himself would be the controlling authority. This idea he presently developed still further.

There were to be seven states[2] in the Confederation, viz., Bolivia as one state, Peru divided into two, and Colombia into four, again with Bolivar at the head of all. Each of the constituent states would have its life President. A treaty was actually signed (15th November 1826) between Peru and Bolivia for the creation of a Federal Congress representing them both. On the death of the Liberator each state was to be at liberty to secede from the union.[3] Bolivar appears to have expounded these views to Santander in a modified form, without very clearly indicating himself as head of the Confederation. Santander's reply is indicative of the opposition such a scheme was likely to meet with in Colombia. He writes,

[1] Mitre, iii. 132.

[2] Baralt and Diaz, "Resumen, etc.," ii. 160 and 263.

[3] Mitre, iii. 133, etc. Bolivar is said to have remarked, with reference to the end of his personal government, "My obsequies will be as bloody as those of Alexander." Gutierrez Posada, Memorias, etc., p. 140.

on the 6th July 1826, in reply to Bolivar's letters of the previous April and May, as follows: "The idea of a federation of Buenos Aires, Chile, and Bolivia is very fine; but as Buenos Aires and Chile are so little friendly to Colombia, it would be a power always menacing us. The federation of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia seems to me somewhat impracticable. . . . I believe that an Empire extending from Potosí to the Orinoco would be very strong and important, and would reconcile us with Europe, though it would be a perpetual germ of war between monarchists and democrats. I am going to speak to you with my heart in my hand, with all the sincerity and frankness of my character and of your generous friendship.

"Who is to be Emperor or King in this new Empire? A foreign prince? That I do not wish, for I have always been a patriot, and have striven continuously, during sixteen years, for the establishment of a legal Government under republican forms. In my position, and since I have gained some moderate reputation, it would be the greatest iniquity to betray my principles and belie my protests.

"Is the Emperor to be yourself? I obey willingly and will never be a conspirator, for you are worthy to govern us, because you would always rule us according to the laws, because you would always respect the reasonable opinion of the people, because you are disinterested, philanthropic, etc., etc.

"And after your death, who is to be your successor? Paez? Montilla? Padilla? I will have none of them as a crowned supreme chief for life. I would cease to be a Colombian, and would sacrifice all my fortune rather than live under such a rule. I will never give my vote for an Empire in your hands, even if you were capable of desiring to be Emperor, because I am not disposed to sacrifice my principles; but, on account of my devotion to you, on account of the love and gratitude I owe you,

and for all the other reasons I have already stated, I should be your most faithful subject and servant.

"I do not believe you capable of entering into such a plan; for it would be to hold a poor opinion of the greatness, the immensity of your glory and reputation. Moreover, you have told me a hundred times that you would die a republican, and that you would leave America rather than embrace such a part, and I believe it firmly, because no one can appreciate better than yourself all the loss you would, in such a case, suffer in the opinion of the world, or all to which you would expose your unfading glory and your immaculate reputation. Yes! General! be ever a republican, the same Bolivar who has given us our country, and you will live for ever in the free hearts of posterity, raised above all the heroes whom history recognises and the world admires."[1]

On the 1st June 1826, José Maria Pando, Bolivar's Minister of the Interior, and the backer of many of his chimerical schemes at this time, issued a circular offering to the Peruvian nation, as represented by the electoral colleges, the Bolivian constitution which had just been transmitted to Chiquisaca.

Meanwhile, Bolivar's unpopularity and that of his troops had been growing, despite the outward manifestations in favour of him, which were probably engineered by his friends. The arrogance of the Colombian troops, Bolivar's refusal to commute the death sentence passed on Berindoaga and Teron for alleged connivance with the Spaniards in 1824, and many other things, all contributed to this. There were mutterings of complaint at his failure to carry out his promised resignation. Another conspiracy to drive out him and his Colombians, perhaps even for his assassination, was discovered, and followed by executions and other punishments.

[1] O'Leary, Docts., 3, pp. 271, 272.