# CHAPTER XIII

## GUAYAQUIL AND QUITO, 1821-22

HERE we return to the south and to the movements of Bolivar and Sucre in that direction. It has already been related[1] how the revolt in Quito was suppressed in 1812, with the result that, for eight years, the province submitted quietly to Spanish dominion.

On the 9th October 1820, revolution again broke out, this time at Guayaquil, the port nearly south of Quito on the Pacific. The usual Junta was formed and the surrounding province joined in the movement. But Quito itself had been too completely crushed in 1812 to dare even now to break out again, and the Guayaquileños were left to face alone the wrath of Aymerich the Spanish Captain-General. That officer dealt promptly with the rebels, whom he utterly defeated at Guachi, as they moved on Quito, on the 22nd November 1820. Guayaquil itself was threatened by the victorious royalists, and any ideas of revolution entertained by the Quiteños were nipped in the bud. It was at this juncture that Bolivar, on the signing of the armistice of Santa Ana with Morillo, had sent Sucre to Guayaquil, with the double object of helping the new republic, and gathering it into the Colombian fold.

Sucre, whom Bolivar described as possessed of the "best organised head in all Colombia,"[2] succeeded in

[1] *Supra*, p. 77.

[2] Mitre, iii. p. 547, giving reference to La Croix. "Diario de Bucaramanga," p. 70.

collecting 1000 troops at Popayan. With these he reached Guayaquil by sea in May 1821. He found the people, alarmed by the defeat of their forces at Guachi, only too ready to accept the welcome reinforcement he brought. But there was not the same readiness to accept the condition which Bolivar attached to his offer of assistance, namely, the annexation of Guayaquil to the Republic of Colombia and its absorption into it. The weight of public opinion in Guayaquil was on the side of union with Peru, its southern, rather than with Colombia its northern neighbour. There was a small party in favour of Bolivar, and a third which was for entire independence alike of Peru and of Colombia. This latter party was headed by J. J. Olmedo, perhaps the most important personage in Guayaquil at the time.

San Martin, the Protector of Peru, was as desirous of getting hold of Guayaquil for his state as Bolivar was of absorbing it into Colombia, and had already despatched Tomas Guido to press his views in Guayaquil. Of the three parties, probably, that of Olmedo was the strongest, that of Sucre the weakest. But Sucre's troops were an important factor. He was wise enough not to insist, for the moment, on complete compliance with Bolivar's wishes for the incorporation of Guayaquil in Colombia, though he was able to induce the Junta to put the infant republic under the protection of Colombia as against Spain.

In the middle of July 1821, Sucre being at Samborondon,[1] there occurred a revolt of some of the Guayaquil troops, and of the flotilla, in favour of Spain. The Junta, in desperation, sent for Sucre, who, returning promptly with some troops, rescued it from its difficulties by putting down the mutineers.

Sucre now took command of all the troops, Guayaquileños as well as Colombians, and advanced to meet

[1] Sanboramban on the map.

Aymerich, who was descending from Quito with 3000 royalists. The republican had scarce half this strength, but he was able to take advantage of Aymerich's grave error in dividing his force into two columns marching from different directions. When Sucre fell upon and severely defeated one at Yaguachi (27th August 1821), the other also retired.

Sucre now again pressed for union of Guayaquil with Colombia, but the Junta temporised by affirming that, though the provincial vote was in favour of union, no final resolution could be passed till the electoral college had been convoked. Sucre, flushed with his victory of Yaguachi, had moved on to Ambato[1] on the way to Quito. There he was attacked by Colonel Gonzales with superior forces, and driven down again to his old position, after losing a large part of his force, and being himself wounded (12th September 1821). Fortunately he was reinforced by 500 fresh Colombians, and 300 more were promised shortly. This enabled him to show a bold front, and, on the 20th November, an armistice for 90 days was concluded with the Captain-General. It saved Guayaquil, but also gave time to Aymerich to make fresh preparations for the defence of Quito.

On the 24th December 1821 there arrived at Quito the new Viceroy, Murgeon, whose reign was but a short one. He died on the 3rd April 1822. During the armistice, Sucre heard of the revolt against the Spaniards of the Venezuelan battalion "Numancia"[2] and, being in quest of troops, he requested San Martin to send it to

[1] Hambato on map.

[2] The "Numancia" battalion was originally formed in 1813 by the Spanish General Yañez and consisted solely of Venezuelans. We have already heard of it at Calzada's action of Cachirí in 1816, and again on the royalist side at Boyacá. After that battle it went southwards to Peru and now, incited by some patriots serving in its ranks the battalion had changed sides and placed itself under the orders of San Martin. We shall hear of it again.

him, as the men were Colombians. San Martin, however, sent him instead a Peruvian contingent of 1100 men which was quartered closer at hand, at Piura. They marched by land.

During the armistice, also, there arrived at Guayaquil fresh emissaries, both from Bolivar and San Martin. Diego Ibarra, Bolivar's aide-de-camp, brought to Sucre orders to march on Quito as a diversion in favour of Bolivar's march by Pasto. He also carried Bolivar's offers to San Martin of assistance in completing the liberation of South America. About the same time San Martin's envoy, Salazar, also arrived. His mission was nominally to welcome Bolivar on his expected arrival at Guayaquil. In reality he was charged with the task of pressing his master's claim for the union of Guayaquil with Peru.

When Sucre returned to Guayaquil from Babahoyo, where he had been organising the defence against Aymerich, he found the city more torn by factions than ever, and nothing could be done towards the desired union with Colombia. His own influence in Guayaquil had diminished considerably after his defeat at Ambato. Taking with him most of the troops in Guayaquil, he marched, in compliance with Bolivar's orders, for Quito towards the end of January 1822. He left behind him, at Guayaquil, La Mar, whom the Junta had appointed to the command of the troops other than Sucre's army. La Mar was a strong partisan of San Martin and an advocate of the union of Guayaquil with Peru. He was, moreover, an intimate friend of Salazar, San Martin's envoy to Guayaquil.

We must now return to Bolivar, whom we left starting from Bogotá for the valley of the Cauca His intention was to unite his army at Cali, in the Cauca valley, to march thence over the Western Cordilleras to the port of Buenaventura, and there to take ship for Guayaquil.

Looking at an ordinary map of Colombia, it seems but a simple matter to go from Bogotá to Cali. In reality it is no such thing. From Bogotá the traveller has to descend from an altitude of 9000 feet to the Magdalena valley, only 1400 or 1500 feet above the sea; then there is a long journey up that valley to Neiva, and up the La Plata river to La Plata itself. There the real difficulties begin, as the route turns west over the pass of Guanacas, 12,000 feet or more above sea level. Mollien, who crossed this pass in 1823, has left a terrible account of its desolation, and of the corpses and skeletons of wayfarers, of the broken-down mules, and other signs of the passage and re-passage of troops and travellers, which strewed the freezing "paramo." From the summit, the path (road there is none) descends again to the Cauca valley, 4000 feet above the sea. There indeed there is genial warmth and fertility exceeding that of most valleys. It is easy to write that a force marched from Bogotá to Cauca. Let us remember, at the same time, the privations it must have undergone on the way.

Leaving Bogotá on the 13th December 1821, Bolivar was at Cali on the 5th January, where he issued (17th January 1822) a proclamation announcing to the peoples of the south of Colombia, of the Cauca valley, of Pasto, and of Quito his own advance to free them from the chains of Spanish servitude.[1] He had by this time changed his plan; for, after starting his troops off over the western Cordilleras for Buenaventura, he received information from Sucre that Murgeon, the Spanish President, had reached Quito by sea from Panamá viâ the port of Esmeraldas, with reinforcements, and had left a squadron cruising on the Pacific coast from Buenaventura to Guayaquil. In these circumstances, the transport of troops by sea had become far too dangerous to be risked. Murgeon had been sent out from Spain

[1] O'Leary, Docts., xix. p. 129.

to replace Aymerich; for the moment, the new commander was to take the title of President of Quito, which was to be raised to that of Viceroy of Santa Fé when he had succeeded in reconquering two-thirds of the kingdom of New Granada. Bolivar, therefore, resolved to go by land to Quito, whilst Sucre, from Guayaquil, made a diversion drawing away the Spaniard's attention from himself. Marching up the Cauca valley, the Liberator reached Popayan on the 26th January, passing through an easy and well supplied country. Thence he sent forward J. P. del Castillo and Antonio Obando, nominally to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, really to get information as to the state of the country to the south. They had got to within thirty miles of Quito when Murgeon wisely[1] ordered them back out of the country. The Liberator was more successful with the guerrilla chieftain José Maria Obando,[2] commanding the Spanish advanced forces. He was first induced to sign a month's truce, and then to visit Bolivar at Cali. There he was gained over to the republican side. He was a person of considerable enterprise, and, as his influence was great in the valley of the Patia on the road to Pasto, he was a very valuable acquisition.

If the march from the Magdalena to the Cauca was difficult, that from Popayan to Pasto was even worse. The Bogotano of to-day will tell you that, in the dry season, you can march by land from the Colombian capital to that of Ecuador in about five weeks, that you

[1] Larrazabal (ii. 118) inveighs against Murgeon's barbarity, though only a few lines before he has admitted that espionage was the real object of the mission.

[2] José Maria Obando was born near Popayan in 1797. He served the Spaniards loyally till Bolivar gained him over. Later, in 1828, he rebelled against the Liberator. He was accused of participation in the murder of Sucre in 1830. His life after that was a stormy one. He was twice banished, and in 1852 was President of New Granada. He was assassinated in 1861.

cannot do it at all in the rainy season, and that, unless you wish to be in misery all the way, you had much better go round by Cartagena to Panama, and thence by sea to Guayaquil, whence you can complete the journey by rail. Roads worthy of the name there are none over the desolate, fog-bound, mud-flooded "paramos" of Pasto. Mule-tracks running, where they have not been washed away, along precipices, thousands of feet deep, alternating with levels obstructed by thickets and undergrowth, are met with all along. The country is sparsely populated and provides little food. When you descend into the valley of the Patia you encounter one of the worst climates in the world, where fever will probably work more havoc than even the privations of the high level route.

In 1822 matters were still worse; for the fierce mountaineers of Pasto had ever been, and still were to be for some years, staunch supporters of the Royalist cause, who would harass the republican advance at every step.

Jiménez de Padilla, bishop of Popayan, was another ardent supporter of royalism whose influence was great with the people of Pasto, living under his jurisdiction and following the lead of their priests with blind ignorance.

Bolivar, having no wish to disturb this hornet's nest at Pasto, proposed to pass it by at a safe distance, leaving its subjugation until he had subdued Quito and joined Sucre. Accordingly, he turned off the road about Beruecos and proceeded down the right bank of the river Juanambú which he crossed near its inflow into the Patia. Between the Juanambú, the Patia, and the Guáitara is a great mountain mass extending south-eastwards to the volcano of Pasto, on the eastern slope of which lies the town of the same name. Bolivar's idea was to cross the Guáitara also near its junction with the Patia, and then to march up its left bank to rejoin the road which he had left at Beruecos.

He had left Popayan with 3000 men on the 8th March, 1822; on the 24th he crossed the Juanambú with only 2000, the rest having died or been incapacitated by privations and disease. His passage of the Juanambú, though difficult owing to the nature of the country and the bridge, was unopposed. But the Guáitara he found it impossible to pass near its mouth, as even the rope bridge had been destroyed, and the river flows in appalling gorges. There was nothing for it but to march up its right bank to rejoin the road from Pasto to Quito, and pass the river by its crossing at Yaquanquer, instead of only regaining the road beyond the Guáitara. This entailed marching across all the spurs of the mountain mass stretching down to the river. Opposing this march were 2000 Spanish troops, including a large number of Pasto mountaineers, who knew every inch of this difficult country. Their commander, Colonel Basilio Garcia, had promised the destruction of Bolivar with small loss to his own troops. Aymerich, who, in consequence of Murgeon's death, was now again President of Quito, had replied to Garcia's boasts that "that is not difficult, for Garcia has forces equal to Bolivar's and holds impregnable positions." The Liberator reached, without serious opposition, Consacá, on one of the spurs of the volcano. In front of him, beyond a deep ravine, was the plain of Bomboná on the next spur. Beyond that, behind another ravine, Garcia was drawn up, about two and a half miles from Consacá, facing north-west. The plain of Bomboná was unoccupied. Garcia's right rested on the volcano, his left on the tremendous gorge of the Guáitara; his front was protected by the ravine in front of him, over which there was but one bridge, and that commanded by his artillery. A thick wood and abattis still further protected it. It was the evening of the 6th April.

Bolivar, returning next morning from a reconnaissance

of this apparently impregnable position, remarked — "Well, the position is formidable; but we cannot remain here, nor can we retreat. We have got to conquer, and we will conquer!" Then he ordered Valdés to move to the left with the "Rifles" over the slopes of the volcano, above the head of the ravine, and so outflank the Spanish right. The centre and right attacks were to be made by two battalions and a squadron in first line, with one battalion and the rest of the cavalry in reserve. In this part of the field an unfortunate mistake was made; for Torres, who commanded, set his men to eat their breakfast, misunderstanding Bolivar, who said they were to attack first and breakfast afterwards. Bolivar was furious, for he saw the delay would give the Spaniards time to move troops to their right to meet Valdés, who was steadily moving forward over the slopes of the volcano. He ordered Torres to hand over the command to Barreto. Torres, thereupon, dismounted, and seizing a musket said, "Liberator! if I am not worthy to serve my country as general, at least I will serve her as a grenadier." Touched by his devotion, Bolivar embraced him and restored him to his command. Then Torres advanced, endeavouring to cross the ravine and break in the enemy's right by a frontal attack. But the ravine was filled with abattis, and the republicans could make no way. The losses were fearful. Torres fell and was succeeded by Paris,[1] Paris by Barreto, Barreto by Sanders,[2] Sanders by Carvajal; both battalions of the

[1] Joaquin Paris, born in Bogotá in 1795, took part in the earlier events in New Granada with Mariño. Captured by the Spaniards in 1816 in Popayan, he was sent in chains to Maracaibo, and later, when on board a Spanish vessel, was set free by a Colombian privateer. He did not go to Peru with Bolivar, whom he had followed in Guayana. He passed through the troubles after Bolivar's death with varying fortune, and died in 1868.

[2] Notwithstanding his surname, Arturo Sanders was a native of Venezuela (Valencia). He followed Bolivar to Peru, but was sent home by the rebel troops under Bustamente. He was with Sucre in that general's campaign against La Mar in Ecuador.

first line were almost exterminated. Meanwhile, Valdés and the "Rifles," scrambling as best they could over the rocky side of the volcano, drove in the Spanish right. In places they had to make ladders by sticking their bayonets into crevices of the rocks. The weather being calm, the hanging clouds of smoke long prevented Bolivar from noting Valdés' progress. At last he saw it and launched his reserve battalion against the Spanish centre. It was his last hope, and, as the battalion "Vencedor en Boyacá"[1] moved forward, he shouted to the men—"Battalion Vencedor! your name alone suffices for victory. Forward! and assure our triumph!" Night had already fallen, and the field was illuminated by a brilliant full moon, when the Liberator received from Valdés the welcome news that the enemy was retreating. There was no pursuit, for Bolivar's troops were about at the end of their tether, and moreover, he feared a disaster in a country full of precipices and unknown to himself or his men.

Despite his hard-earned victory, Bolivar was still not across the Guáitara for the position of Bomboná was a considerable distance short of Yaquanquer. He had lost over 500 killed and wounded out of his 2000, whilst Garcia, fighting with about equal forces, but behind entrenchments, had not lost more than 250 altogether.

On the 8th March, Garcia tried to induce Bolivar to retreat, but nothing resulted from the eight days spent in negotiations. All the time the inhabitants of Pasto kept urging Garcia to a fresh effort. They promised that every man, and many of the women, would join him in destroying Bolivar. The latter would have been glad of an armistice till he could get up fresh men to supply his losses, but at least he was not attacked by Garcia, who had had enough fighting for the present.

Bolivar remained at Bomboná till the 16th April,

[1] "Victor at Boyacá."

when, as no reinforcements had arrived, he retired to take up a strong position at El Peñol, near the Patia, in the angle between it, the Guáitara, and the Juanambú. He was obliged to leave behind 300 sick and wounded,[1] in charge of an officer, who had a letter recommending him and his charge to Garcia's consideration.

Bolivar was fully alive to the fanatical hatred borne by the Pastusos towards the republicans. In urging the Colombian Government to send him men and supplies he writes :—"These people (the Pastusos) are the worst enemies of liberty; in their hatred of us there is no distinction of sex, or age, or quality; we are opposed by every rational being in the country." He gives a miserable description of the trials of his men, of the dearth of food, and of the terrible character of the country they were in.

Leaving Bolivar at El Peñol, let us trace the march of Sucre in the early part of 1822.

We left him marching from Guayaquil in the latter part of January 1822. At the same time, the Peruvian contingent, sent by San Martin from Piura, was advancing through the province of Loja under General Santa Cruz.[2] Sucre moved south to meet them. Sucre's troops had a terrible march from Guayaquil, over freezing "paramos" and through dense forests, to reach the great line of valleys running northwards from Loja to Quito. Their transport was wretched, and cold and disease carried off many of them before they reached Saraguro early in February. There they were joined by Santa Cruz and his Peruvians, who were to be under Sucre's orders. This raised the total of Sucre's force to something less than 2000 men, but the country rose as he advanced,

[1] Among them Torres, who soon after died of his wounds.

[2] Andres Santa Cruz was born at La Paz (Bolivia) in 1792. His career, in so far as it was connected with Bolivar, will appear presently. He died in Europe, as Peruvian Minister, in 1855.

and he gathered in a good many recruits. He also received some reinforcements from Colombia on his march. The Spaniards under Tolrá, at Cuenca, were only about 900, many of them recruits. They had retired to that place before the advance of Sucre, and, on the 20th February, again retreated to Riobamba to await reinforcements, which Murgeon, threatened also on the north by Bolivar's advance, could ill spare.

Sucre, occupying Cuenca immediately Tolrá left it, remained there for some time to rest and reorganise, sending out detachments to seize Alausí and other places. He had already fulfilled his prescribed mission by drawing southwards troops which, otherwise, would have operated against Bolivar in Pasto.

At Cuenca there were difficulties with Santa Cruz, who announced that he had been recalled to Peru. After some correspondence, Sucre induced him to stop. When he had been about a month at Cuenca, Sucre recommenced his advance on Quito, a few days after Bolivar's battle of Bomboná. On the 3rd April Murgeon died and was succeeded by Aymerich. On the 19th, Sucre met and defeated the Spaniards south of Riobamba, which he occupied on the 22nd. He was at Lactacunga on the 2nd May, and on the 4th he turned the Spanish position beyond it by marching to his right over the slopes of Cotopaxi. On the 16th, he was in the fertile valley of Chillo, only ten miles south of Quito. The Spaniards were still in front of him, and he was about to endeavour, by a fresh turning movement, to get between them and the capital when, divining his intention, they retreated the same night to Quito. On the 21st they were driven from their position on the hill of Puengasi. The next two days were spent in manœuvring. On the night of the 23rd Sucre undertook another of his bold turning movements, marching to his left over the rugged slopes of the volcano of Pichincha, which rises above the west

side of Quito. It was a night of trial as the men, in pouring rain, stumbled and scrambled in the darkness, over the rocky and wooded slopes of the volcano By dawn on the 24th, the little army was gazing on Quito spread out like a map below their feet in the open valley, separated from them by forest-clad slopes, up which the Spaniards were pushing to fight for the salvation of the capital.

Presently the royalists issued from the forest, threatening the left of the republicans. Both sides fought with the fury of despair, for to the Spaniards defeat meant the loss of the whole province with the fall of its capital, whilst the republicans, if beaten, could only look forward to captivity, or to a miserable death amongst the snows and rocks of the mountains. Things were going badly for Sucre's men, especially on the left, which bore the brunt of the attack. The Peruvian contingent had almost run out of ammunition and had to charge with the bayonet. Then they were driven back and threatened on their left by three Spanish companies. At that moment three companies of Sucre's battalion "Albion"[1] charged and turned back the flowing tide of Spaniards. Two more companies of the "Magdalena" battalion, led by Cordova, one of the most gallant of the Colombian commanders, also charged. At noon the Spaniards were fleeing in disorder down the slope to Quito, which Cordova entered on their heels. The remains of the Spanish infantry took refuge in the fort of Panecillo. Their cavalry, four hundred strong, was still intact, standing to the north of the city. Aymerich hoped, with their aid, to be able to fall back towards Pasto, but, seized with panic, they fled before a very inferior Colombian force.

Next day (25th May 1822) Aymerich, in reply to Sucre's summons, agreed to surrender Quito and all that

[1] The remains of the English of Boyacá had been formed by Sucre into a battalion bearing this name.

it contained. The prisoners were 160 officers and 1,100 men; 400 had been killed, and 190 wounded in the battle of Pichincha, against 200 killed and 140 wounded on Sucre's side. Besides the prisoners, Sucre captured 14 guns, and all the military resources of the capital. Aymerich himself was a prisoner, and the province of Quito had passed for ever from the hands of Spain, a few years less than three centuries after Benalcazar had first carried thither the banners of Castille.

When Quito thus fell to Sucre, Bolivar was again north of the Juanambú which he had been compelled to recross on the 10th May, when there remained only three days' provisions at El Peñol. Reinforcements now began to come up, but only in sufficient numbers to raise Bolivar to his old strength of 2,000 men. With these he again advanced and summoned Garcia to surrender. The Spaniard in his reply of the 28th May was inclined to yield. Then he veered round again under pressure from Pasto. In despair he sent Padilla, the bishop, to try to reduce the Pasto fanatics to reason. But a far more effectual sedative had arrived in the news of the capture of Quito.

Bolivar, hearing by chance of Sucre's successes, but without any details, was nearing the Juanambú with the Colombian "guard." As he approached the river he met Garcia's envoys, on their way to settle with him the terms of capitulation. The Spanish commander agreed to hand over the whole of the territory occupied by his division, in return for an unconditional guarantee of the persons and property of all within the command.

The capitulation was hardly signed when Garcia sent to say that the city of Pasto was in a ferment. Bolivar at once formed a column for its subjugation. Garcia, coming out with his staff to meet him, the two entered the city together and proceeded to the quarters prepared for Bolivar which, for more than an hour, were guarded

by Spanish troops, until they were relieved by the arrival of the Liberator's personal guard. It was the 8th June, and Sucre had already been nearly a fortnight master of the capital. On that date a proclamation was issued by Bolivar to the Colombians of the South. "From the banks of the Orinoco," it said, "to the Andes of Peru, the liberating army, marching in triumph, has covered with its arms the whole extent of Colombia. Only one place[1] still resists, and it will fall. Colombians of the South! the blood of your brothers has redeemed you from the horrors of war. . . . Colombians! share with me the ocean of joy which inundates my heart, and raise in your own altars to the liberating army which has given you honour, peace, and liberty."[2]

The province of Quito had been wrested from Spain; but by whom? Surely the glory belongs largely to Sucre, who, with less than 3000 troops, had driven the Spaniards back from Loja to Quito, had defeated them at Riobamba, and in half a dozen other actions, before the final victory of Pichincha laid Quito at his feet.

Bolivar, on the other hand, had vainly endeavoured to break into Pasto, until the way was opened for him by Sucre's successes. He had, indeed, gained a Pyrrhic victory at Bomboná, but had been so weakened by it that he was compelled to retreat and wait for reinforcements. Even with them, it was only when he heard of the fall of Quito that he dared to advance again on Pasto; it was only that news which had determined Garcia to surrender, and had deterred him from another battle on the Juanambú, which might not have had so happy a result for Bolivar as that of Bomboná. Restrepo[3] calls Bomboná a costly and barren victory. Larrazabal, able only to see right in his hero, combats this view. But it certainly was, as a matter of fact, both costly and barren. It was, moreover, unnecessary;

[1] Puerto Cabello. [2] O'Leary, Docts., 19, p. 300. [3] iii. 216.

for Sucre would have got Quito whether Bolivar had fought at Bomboná or not. The Liberator would have played his part sufficiently had he been content to hold Garcia at Pasto, and prevent his going to the relief of Quito. That was a subordinate part which Bolivar would never have consented to play. After all, however, he cannot be seriously blamed for fighting at Bomboná, for he was then ignorant of the successful advance of Sucre, which, indeed, had scarcely begun when Bomboná was fought.

On the 9th June there reached Pasto, from Quito, a Spanish battalion which had escaped from before Sucre. Salgado, its commandant, finding to his surprise that Garcia had surrendered, also capitulated.

Aymerich, Garcia, and the other Spanish generals embarked for Spain when Bolivar entered Quito on the 16th June 1822. The Republic of Colombia was now beginning to be officially recognised by foreign nations. Brazil had already done so, and now, in the spring of 1822, the United States recognised the independence of the American nations, formerly Spanish provinces. The Spanish Minister in Washington vehemently remonstrated, but naturally in vain.

This was a good beginning, and, on the 8th April, Zea, from Paris, addressed a circular to the European Cabinets, other than Spain, begging for recognition of Colombian independence by them also. Great Britain did not go further at present than to allow the entry of Colombian ships into her colonial ports, though she afterwards recognised Colombia, and sent a minister to Bogotá in 1825.

Sweden and France[1] sent envoys to inquire into the state of affairs in South America. Even in the Spanish Cortes the question of recognising the independence of the colonies was discussed. Envoys

[1] The French envoy was Mollien, to whom we have already referred.

were sent to treat with the Colombian Government, though nothing came of the mission.

When Bolivar entered Pasto, he organised the neighbouring territory as the "Province of the Pastos." Antonio Obando[1] was appointed governor, and the Pastusos were assured that "the beneficent laws of Colombia were the guarantee of their liberty." This organisation took him some time, and, meanwhile, he only sent Salom with a small force to Quito.

Whilst he was at Pasto he received a letter from Padilla, the bishop, his bitter enemy, and the staunch supporter of the royalist cause, in which the writer asked for a passport to Spain, where he expressed his intention of retiring into a monastery. Bolivar, in a friendly reply, pointed out to him that he would be deserting his flock. Eventually, the bishop returned to his bishopric of Popayan, and thenceforth honourably worked in support of the *de facto* republican government.

On the 11th June, Bolivar, with 200 infantry and a squadron of cavalry, started for Quito. Everywhere on the way he was favourably received. He reached Quito on the 16th June. That city he entered in triumph, the whole population turning out to welcome him, and the municipality decreeing the erection of a pyramid on the field of Pichincha, with an inscription setting out that it was erected "by the sons of Ecuador to Simon Bolivar, the angel of peace and Colombian liberty." Sucre's name was to follow, with the words, "Quito free the 24th May 1822." Other honours were at the same time decreed to Bolivar, but Sucre, the real victor, received no further acknowledgment.

[1] Antonio Obando was born in Socorro in 1790. He was a mover in the revolt of Socorro in 1810, and afterwards followed Nariño. In 1816 was with Serviez in Casanare, served in Venezuela in 1818, with Bolivar from Pore in 1819, and followed him to Bomboná. In 1828 he took charge of Bustamente's rebel troops at Riobamba. After Bolivar's death he was for a time Minister of War, and died at Tocaima in 1849.

Bolivar was again busy organising his latest acquisitions. The provinces of Quito, Cuenca, and Loja became the Department of Ecuador, with Sucre as governor, holding the rank of General of Division. Education received Bolivar's attention, and he favoured the construction of a road to the port of Esmeraldas. In conferring honours on the Peruvian division which had fought at Pichincha, Bolivar wrote to San Martin, that "the war in Colombia is ended, and my army is ready to march wherever its brothers require, especially to the country of our neighbours of the south." [1]

The question of Guayaquil was still on the *tapis*, always menacing the maintenance of peace between Colombia and Peru. No doubt Bolivar had in his mind the possibility of not getting Guayaquil when he turned his eyes in the direction of Esmeraldas as the seaport of Ecuador.

Thanks to the presence in Guayaquil of La Mar and Salazar, San Martin's cause had continued to make progress there in Sucre's absence. Mosquera, Bolivar's envoy in Peru, was at the same time negotiating in Lima, with San Martin's minister, Monteagudo, for a confederation between Colombia and Peru. The negotiations always broke down over the question of Guayaquil. On this subject San Martin felt so strongly that, at one moment, when Bolivar had called on the Guayaquil Junta to sanction union with Colombia, the Protector actually got the Peruvian Council of State to decide on war with Colombia.[2] Nothing, however, came of this, as San Martin's hands were otherwise full.

Bolivar, having settled matters at Quito, the inhabitants of which had agreed to union with Colombia, decided that affairs at Guayaquil must be arranged by

[1] O'Leary, Docts., 19, p. 307.

[2] It was this decision which had nearly caused Santa Cruz to leave Sucre at Cuenca in March 1822.—*Supra*, p. 286.

himself on the spot. At present the place was almost in a state of anarchy, and the general feeling was apparently in favour of Olmedo's party of absolute independence. At that idea the Liberator openly scoffed. He had already declared the whole of Quito, including Guayaquil, to be part of the great Republic of Colombia, and it would have been a terrible blow to his prestige to have allowed a fragment like Guayaquil to set up on its own account, or to go over to Peru. Besides, the port was of great value to Quito, and in those days was the only place on the Pacific coast with a dry dock. The Peruvian troops at Quito would have been a danger to Bolivar's scheme if they had occupied Guayaquil before his arrival.[1] Therefore he sent off, in advance of himself, Salom, with three Colombian battalions, to occupy the port, and kept back Santa Cruz and his men. On the 11th July, Bolivar entered Guayaquil, arriving there by boat down the river, at the mouth of which it stands.

From the conflicting accounts of events in Guayaquil during the next few days, given by the partizans of San Martin on the one hand and of Bolivar on the other, it is difficult to arrive at exactly what happened. The broad features can, however, be made out, and that is all that is necessary. The Liberator was certainly received with much outward cordiality and enthusiasm. Triumphal arches were erected for him to pass under, and he was received everywhere with cheers and salutes. But there were more loud cries in favour of Peru, or of complete independence, than in favour of union with Colombia. Olmedo,[2] at the head of the Junta, was

[1] A Peruvian squadron, commanded by Blanco Encalada, was waiting there to embark them on their homeward journey.

[2] José Joaquin Olmedo, born in Guayaquil, was deputy for that province in the Spanish Cortes of 1812. In 1820 he took a lead in the Guayaquil revolution, and became President of the Provisional Government; went on a mission to Europe in 1824, and in 1827, being at Paris, he strongly

hostile to the Colombian idea; Roca, the second member, was a furious opponent of it, and the third member, more or less of a cipher, was on the whole in favour of Peru.

What was about to happen was foreshadowed in Bolivar's proclamation of the 12th July. He told the Guayaquileños plainly that the idea of an independent republic was absurd. He offered them union with Colombia, and was sure that they would accept it.[1]

All the Junta would do was to convoke the electoral college for the 30th July. On the 13th, Bolivar finally settled the disturbances, which were still going on, by informing the Junta that he had taken over supreme power, civil as well as military, as the only means of putting an end to the prevailing anarchy.[2] The Junta, thereupon, resigned and went on board the Peruvian ships in the harbour.

Except for the formal vote of the electoral college, the result of which, with Bolivar's troops in possession of Guayaquil, could not be doubtful, the annexation to Colombia was complete. Nothing more remained to round off the republic, as designed by Bolivar to include the whole territory formerly ruled by the Viceroy of New Granada and the Captain-General of Venezuela.[3]

opposed Bolivar's Bolivian constitution. In 1845 he was elected to the triumvirate forming the government of Ecuador. He died at Guayaquil in 1847. His literary attainments were considerable. Amongst other things he translated Pope's "Essay on Man," described in poetry the Battle of Junin, etc.

[1] O'Leary, Docts., 19, p. 333.

[2] *Ibid.*, 19, p. 334.

[3] Quito as a whole, including Guayaquil, had been a dependency of New Granada since the creation of that Viceroyalty in 1739. During the first outbreaks in Quito in 1809-12, the Peruvian Viceroy had occupied Guayaquil. The arrangement had been terminated in 1819 by order from Spain. (Pilling, p. 416.)