LETTER FROM GEN. PAEZ,

In Reply to the Strictures of The Tribune.

VENEZUELA.

STAPLETON, Staten Island, Wednesday, Oct 23, 1850.

To the Editors of The N. Y. Tribune:

GENTLEMEN: In my letter of the 15th inst. to you I promised to publish a vindication of myself from the charges contained in your article of the 14th inst. I now proceed to fulfil that promise.—Your article, which I have before me, faithfully translated, I believe, contains several charges of a general nature, extending over a long period of time, and without specifications. One portion of the charges consists of imputations against the motives of my acts. The difficulty of a defense from accusations of such a character must be evident to every reflecting mind. But I need not, and I do not desire, for this reason, to excuse myself from making a frank, though concise, defense of my public acts and character.

I must begin by thanking you for that portion of your article which exonerates me from defending that period of my life which embraces the War of Independence. You say that the sword, the presentation of which has given rise to your article, "is not unworthy of being accepted by the Corporation of your City;" and you add that this weapon "is a relic of the time when its wearer (meaning myself) served his country with honor and *we may believe with sincerity.*" You also call me, by implication, the Liberator of my country, when you say, "But General Paez is not merely the Liberator of Venezuela. Time has long since brought that office to a close," &c. I sincerely thank you, gentlemen, for the high character with which your article clothes a very eventful period, which has not always escaped the assaults of my own and my country's foes. This period, which meets your approbation, and which, of course, I am not called upon to defend, begins with the year 1810, the commencement of our Revolution, and ends with the year 1823, when, on the 8th of November, I was fortunate enough to put an end to the War of Independence of Colombia, having taken by assault the town of Puerto Cabello, the last strong-post of the royalists in Venezuela. My defense must then cover a space of time commencing with 1824, and ending with the presentation of my sword to the Honorable the Corporation of New-York; for even this act is impugned by your article upon the ground that the motive which induced it is not a laudable one.

The substance of the charges brought against me is contained in the following extracts from your article. "But Gen. Paez is not merely the Liberator of Venezuela. Time long since brought that office to an end, *and since then he has acted in other functions of a less commendable character.*"

"When Gen. Paez left Venezuela to come to the United States, it was not as a Liberator applauded by his fellow-citizens and by the world. He came as an exile, who had left his country for his country's good. He was banished by the representatives of the people for having treasonably attempted to destroy the legitimate Government. Three times he had made that attempt; three times he was put down, not by soldiers fighting for masters who paid them, for there is no standing army in Venezuela—but by the spontaneous rising of the inhabitants. He was put down contending not to overthrow tyranny but to establish his own personal domination; not in behalf of democracy, but against it; not for free institutions but that he might confiscate the Republic to his own profit," &c. &c.

"Though banished from Venezuela, where he and his party are in a small minority, it is now plain that Gen. Paez aims to keep up an agitation there. He would fain have it thought that he has the support and admiration of the people of this country, not for what he was in his youth, but for what he is now, and that he may here find backers who will help him to make a triumphant return. This is his purpose in this sword presentation. In his published letter accompanying it, he shrewdly congratulates himself that he has obtained the approbation of the great people of the United States and of the enlightened City of New-York.

"We do not believe that the people either of New-York or the country at large wish to be accessories to any plot to foment disturbance in Venezuela. Nor do we think that, ready as their approbation may have been for Paez, the Liberator, they can have any satisfaction in Paez, the intriguer, rioter and assailant of his country's freedom. They may admire the beginning of his career, but not the deep stains which sully its subsequent stages."

The above literal extracts from your article contain, as I understand them, substantially the three following grounds of complaint: 1st. That since the office of Liberator of my country was ended, I have been *acting in functions of a less commendable character*, as an intriguer, rioter and assailant, of my country's freedom. 2d. That since the events of the 24th January, 1848, I have treasonably attempted to destroy the legitimate Government, and have contended not to overthrow tyranny but to establish my own personal domination; not in behalf of Democracy, but against it; not for free Institutions, but that I might confiscate the Republic to my own profit. 3d. That I now aim to keep up an agitation in Venezuela, and am endeavoring to find here backers who will help me to make a triumphant return; and that this is my purpose in the sword presentation.

The first ground is exceedingly vague and general, containing no specification whatever, and embraces more than a quarter of a century. There is no other possible way of answering this charge and the others than by showing, as far as possible, my political conduct and principles, as evinced by a constant and uninterrupted series of acts in favor of Liberty and good Government.

The proofs that I shall present will be principally drawn from the published history of Venezuela and from public and official documents.

The two first years succeeding the conclusion of the war of Independence were passed in endeavors to consolidate the political principles proclaimed in our declaration of Independence, and in strengthening the union of the departments composing the Republic of Colombia. During the war my conduct had been always approved of by the Government, and it had been my constant policy to gain over citizens to the country by treating our vanquished enemies with humanity. In 1821, immediately after the memorable battle of Carabobo, I was appointed Commandant General of the Department of Venezuela, by the Liberator Simon Bolivar, the President. Five years of continued efforts on my part had quieted the agitations of the department under my command. The enemy having been defeated, our citizens were allowed freely to express their opinions and to exercise their respective callings, and though they occasionally censured the errors of the administration and the policy of certain laws, order and respect toward the constituted authorities had been uniformly maintained. The decree of the Executive power of the 31st August, 1824, for a general enlistment of citizens in the militia, from the age of sixteen to fifty, passed in consequence of a threatened renewal of hostilities against the Republic by the Spanish government, became a source of dissatisfaction and discord. This decree was issued by General Santander, Vice President of the Republic, acting as President during the absence of General Bolivar in Peru. It was violently attacked by the press and produced universal alarm and dissatisfaction. I considered that there was serious danger in carrying its stringent provisions into effect, but in order to avoid the great responsibility imposed by it on the Commandant General, I gave the necessary orders for its execution. Some companies were organized, and I immediately informed the General Government of the great dissatisfaction shown against the decree. I received several communications from the Vice President assuring me that the decree was according to law, and would be approved of by Congress, and this assurance inspired me with confidence. The decree was not repealed, and I endeavored to assuage the public excitement by executing the same only partially. In this state of things I was informed by the military Commandant of the province of Caracas, that symptoms had appeared in that city of a revolution, of such a nature and importance that the public authorities deemed it necessary to investigate the matter judicially; that jails had been prepared to detain persons who might be implicated, the number of whom he stated would probably be large. He informed me also that the city was without defense, and that he had no troops to protect the other towns. He required me to send such force as I might deem necessary to support the authorities. I transmitted the original communication to the general government, and after having consulted and seriously weighed what means I might employ to secure public tranquility without producing unnecessary alarm, I determined to carry into effect the decree relative to the enlistment of the militia, rather than increase the garrison with veteran troops, which were destined to perform other important duties. The citizens were publicly summoned according to law and the provisions of the decree, on two distinct occasions, to present themselves for enlistment, and they openly disregarded the summons. I could not permit the law to be thus set at defiance, and prudence and necessity required me to cause the law to be respected. Accordingly I caused a third summons to be published for the 6th January 1826, at 9 o'clock in the morning. The appointed hour passed and there was a very thin attendance. I then ordered patrols to go into the streets and to bring to the place of meeting all the men they met. I sent at the same time time one of my aids to inform the Intendant of the measure, and the latter requested me to call back the patrols, promising that he would see that the citizens attended. I complied with his request and the patrols came back to the barracks, without having offended or inconvenienced any of the persons they met, further than having notified and caused them to come to the place of meeting.

The 13th article of the decree provided "that those citizens comprehended within its provisions, who should not be enlisted in the militia, through their fault, should be made to serve in the regular army, and the civil and military authorities were required to see this provision carried into effect, under the *severest responsibility.*" Thus it will be observed that in this matter I acted decisively, but temperately and humanely under the difficult circumstances in which I was placed. All this was afterward fully established by most conclusive and abundant testimony of witnesses whose depositions were taken. Notwithstanding, the Intendant, who was my enemy, as is truly stated in the History of Venezuela, written by Messrs. Baralt & Dias, published in Paris in the year 1841, wrote a communication to the Executive, complaining of my conduct and misrepresenting it throughout.

The Municipal Council of Caracas addressed also a memorial to the House of Representatives, dated January 16, 1826; but it is to be remarked that the Council does not attribute to me any intention to attack the rights of the citizens, but complains of the nature of the decree, which the Council considered contrary to those rights; they did not ask any proceeding to be instituted against me, but that a new law on the subject should be passed. Upon this memorial of the Council, however, a motion was made by one of the members of the House, calling upon the Vice President to furnish whatever information he might have relative to the occurrences at Caracas; and subsequently the Executive was required to furnish the information, together with the communication sent to him by the Intendant, and other documents relative to the matter. The Vice President complied with the request, and in a long message sent to the House with the documents required, gave it as his opinion that the complaint made against me by the Intendant was not substantiated, and was informal, and questioned the propriety and legality of any proceedings being instituted against a Commandant-General in any other tribunal than a court martial.

The Vice-President further added that in the then critical condition of affairs, and under the threatened renewal of hostilities by the enemy, he considered it highly imprudent that proceedings should be instituted against me. The House, however, presented an accusation against me, before the Senate, for the measures taken by me on the 6th January, 1826, to carry into effect the enlistment of the militia. I was, by resolution, summoned to appear and answer before the Senate, and suspended from the office of Commandant-General of the Department. The Vice President then appointed as Commandant General, *ad interim*, the same Intendant Escalona whose charges against me he considered unfounded and hasty. On receiving, however, official information of these proceedings, I resolved at once to submit and obey the constituted authorities, whatever might be the legality of the proceedings. As soon, therefore, as I received in the city of Valencia the order of the Executive, I caused the Intendant Escalona to be recognized and installed in legal form as my successor *ad interim*, and made preparations to proceed to Bogota, the capital. The people, however, no sooner saw me suspended from the command than they became alarmed and much excited. The Municipal Council of Valencia passed resolutions approving of my conduct and expressive of their sorrow at my intended departure, and a copy of the resolutions was sent to me. The people mutinied, the army became dissatisfied, and on the 30th April the Municipal Council met again. A great crowd of people rushed to my house and carried me before the Council, and I was reinstated as Commandant General by the acclamation of the people and the votes of all the members of the Council. I submitted to the necessity of the case, and to avoid greater evils. The example of Valencia and its Council was followed by Caracas and its Council, and by many provinces and towns of Venezuela, as appears from the public declarations or *actas* inserted in the Collection of Documents relative to the public Life of the Liberator Simon Bolivar, published in Caracas. It was a popular movement, based upon the great dislike experienced throughout Venezuela against the administration of Vice-President Santander, and upon the alarm and general dissatisfaction created by my removal. I was appointed by the Municipal Councils, Civil and Military Chief, and by them invested with ample powers.

On the 24th May, 1826, I wrote an official communication and letter to the President, the Liberator Simon Bolivar, informing him of all that had occurred in Venezuela in the end of April and the beginning of May of the same year. In that communication, I requested and urged Bolivar to come to Venezuela to secure order, and explained to him the difficulty of my position. I sent him two special Commissioners, Colonel Diego Ibarra and the Licentiate Diego B. Urbaneja to impress him with the importance of his return. On the 26th of the same year I addressed a communication to the Vice President of the Republic, giving him an account of all that had transpired.

All the documents mentioned by me above are found inserted at length in the Collection of documents relative to the public life of the Liberator, Simon Bolivar, a work of twenty-two volumes published at Caracas.

Bolivar left Peru as soon as he found it possible, and on his way to Venezuela wrote to me a communication dated at Bogota, November 15th 1826, fully approving of my conduct during the trying period which I have described. The following is a literal extract from Bolivar's communication: "You have done for me more than could have been expected in such tremendous circumstances. You could with one or two words have gained an immense party, and you have not done it, in order to wait for my resolution. This service and this goodness on your part deserve an eternal gratitude from me and from all. To you we are indebted for having escaped a multititude of evils: I mean to say we owe to you a multitude of negative benefits—the preservation from a civil war. You have not broken either the social compact of Colombia, nor the fraternity *(fraternidad)* which kept it together; and you have only repelled an iniquitous and base act, *(un acto inicuo y torpe.)* This is all." This original communication of the Liberator Simon Bolivar is now in my possession.

Bolivar arrived at Puerto Cabello on the 31st December 1826, and published a decree on the day following, granting an amnesty and confirming me in the office of Civil and Military Chief conferred on me by Municipal Councils and the people of Venezuela. On the 2d January, 1827, I issued at the City of Valencia a proclamation recognizing the authority of Bolivar as President of the Republic. On the 3d January of the same year I addressed an official note to Bolivar, demanding an investigation of my official conduct and a trial of the charges that had been made against me.

The answer of Gen. Bolivar through the Secretary of State, who was also his Secretary General, is as follows:

"Headquarters at PUERTO CABELLO, Jan. 3, 1827.

To his Excellency the General-in-Chief José A. Paez, Supreme Chief of Venezuela, &c:

SIR: The Liberator has just received with indiscribable joy the submission of your Excellency to the Government of the Republic. By this distinguished testimony of devotion to Colombia and of respect to the laws, your Excellency has filled the measure of your own glory and of the national happiness. The Liberator has said to me: 'Yesterday General Paez has saved the Republic and given to it a new life. By gathering together the remnants of the forces of Colombia, Gen. Paez preserved the vessel of State which had been wrecked through the disasters of the war, the convulsions of nature and intestine divisions; and he has bravely risked his life in a hundred battles to liberate the people, who, regaining their sovereignty, have established their fundamental laws. These are the offended laws; this is the people who owe to him gratitude and admiration. To-day he has given us domestic peace. Let us, like Scipio, go and return thanks to Heaven for having destroyed the enemies of the Republic, instead of hearing complaints and lamentations. On this day sounds of joy and sentiments of generosity should alone be heard. Gen. Paez, far from being guilty, is the savior of the country.'

His Excellency, therefore, directs me to say to your Excellency, that agreeably to the decree of the day before yesterday, there are no guilty persons in Venezuela by reason of the reforms, and that all trials relative to the past are a violation of a sacred law, which guarantees the safety of all.

With perfect respect, I am your Excellency's very obedient servant. The Secretary of State and the Secretary General of the Liberator. J. R. REVENGA.

The last four documents are published at length in the above cited Public life of the Liberator, vol. 8, from page 348 to page 356 inclusive.

In the year 1828 and 1829 rumors prevailed throughout the Republic of an intended plan to change the form of Government of Colombia from Republican to Monarchical. The press spread still more the general alarm; influential citizens, and citizens of all classes, became discontented and distrustful. The popular feeling ran high and an outbreak appeared inevitable. I then published a manifesto to the Venezuelans dated February 7th, 1829, calling upon them to preserve order. I reminded them of the eminent services of the great Bolivar in favor of Liberty, reviewing his public life and acts at length, and quoting his oft repeated declarations in favor of Liberty. In this state of things General Bolivar issued the circular, or decree, dated Oct. 16th, 1829, inviting and authorizing all citizens freely to express their opinions and wishes relative to the form of government. See vol. 20, page 325, Collection of documents relative to the public life of the Liberator. All Venezuela declared unanimously for freedom and for immediate separation from the rest of Colombia. The people of Caracas drew up on the 26th November, 1829, a public declaration of grievances and of their solemn determination to separate. The action of Caracas was followed by all the other cities and towns of Venezuela, that likewise drew up and published their solemn declarations. It was impossible to stem the torrent of popular feeling. No living man could have changed the condition of things. The state of the public feeling throughout the republic is thus depicted in the published History of Venezuela by Baralt and Dias who, in this particular, have given a faithful account. "In fact the vote of Caracas spread rapidly, and was warmly supported by the inhabitants of the territory anciently composing the Captain-Generalship of Venezuela, to such a degree, that before the end of the first month of the following year there was not a single town that had not explicitly engaged to defend the principles and resolutions proclaimed. This popular and generally spontaneous movement was not stained by any violence or excess." See vol. 2, page 280. For all the declarations or actas of the different cities and towns, see vol. 21, Collection of Public Documents, &c.

A Deputation from the Public Assembly of Caracas went to Valencia, where I then was, to deliver into my hands a resolution appointing me Superior Civil and Military Chief, and inviting me to proceed to Caracas to organize the Government. I refused to comply with the request. (History of Baralt and Dias, vol. 2, page 280.) On the 8th of December 1829, I sent to Bogota an official communication to the Government, informing them of all that had occurred, of the resolution of the Assembly and the conciliatory course I had adopted by recommending that the authority of Bolivar should be acknowledged and respected. (See vol. 1, page 88 of the Collection &c.) The state of things rapidly became more and more alarming, and a few days afterwards I found it necessary to proceed to Caracas to quiet the public excitement, and, if possible, to prevent serious disturbances. I convened a general meeting of citizens on the 24th of December of the same year, in order to ascertain calmly and deliberately the state of public opinion. The result of the meeting was an expression of a fixed determination to run all risks and hazards in the cause they had espoused; and a declaration of the general will of the people for a separation was drawn up and addressed to General Bolivar, requesting him to use his influence that the same might take place peacefully. (Collection of Public Documents, &c. vol. 21, page 91.) Nothing short of a successful armed invasion could have changed the resolution of the people of Venezuela. The union to Colombia was an object of deep, universal and unalterable hatred; political independence was the universal desire; and any public man who should have attempted to oppose the popular feeling, would inevitably have fallen an unnecessary victim to his temerity.

My first and immediate act as Superior Chief of the nation was to publish a Decree, dated January 13, 1830, for the election of Deputies of the people to the Convention or Congress that was to frame a Constitution according to the Republican principles solemly proclaimed by all Venezuela. The Constituent Congress did meet on the 6th of May 1830, and I then sent in a Message surrendering into their hands all power and authority vested in me. The following are extracts from the Message:

"I return to the sovereignty of the people the powers with which it had invested me, and there only remains to me the joy of presenting Venezuela united, her authorities respected, her wishes protected, and a numerous force armed to guard them, sufficient to act on the defensive or on the offensive, is it should be necessary."——"From this day I consider myself, with pleasure, reduced to the condition of a private citizen, and I await with anxiety the resolution of the sovereign power of the people designating a person to succeed me, both to surrender into his hands the direction of the State and the command of the army, and to give, on my retiring from office, an affectionate embrace to my old companions in arms, as a token of my sincere esteem and friendship, earnestly recommending to them, at the same time, obedience as their first duty, bravery as the foundation of their glory, and liberty as the ultimate object of their triumphs."

Immediately after the meeting of Congress I was appointed by that body President *ad interim* until an election could take place. Twice I refused to accept the appointment, but I finally consented to serve and took the oath of office.

On the 22d of September 1830, the most free and republican Constitution of all the Spanish American Republics was adopted and sanctioned by Congress. It met with a strong opposition from a considerable number of the military officers, who were dissatisfied because the Constitution deprived them of their military priviliges and immunities. During the sittings of Congress, and while the adoption of the Constitution was under debate, the most exciting language and violent threats were employed by the disaffected military against that body. They crowded in great numbers armed, and with their uniforms on, around the place where Congress was assembled. It required all my influence and decision to protect Congress in its deliberations. On one occasion I sent my uniform and my lance with my aid Rola to be presented publicly to Congress, as a token of respect and of submission from the military to the civil authority. My constant efforts succeeded, and the representatives of the people freely and deliberately adopted a democratic republican Constitution. But from that moment I became a marked victim. I was then called and accused of being a Democrat and an enemy to the cause of the military.

In 1831 the first election for President was held under the new Constitution, and I was elected by the electoral colleges; that is, by the people. I must be permitted to observe here, that on the two occasions when I have been elected President, it has been by the popular vote.

In 1831 the first attempt was made by a very large portion of the military to subvert the Constitution of Venezuela., General José T. Monagas was the master spirit of this revolution. The first public declaration against the legitimate government, the free choice of the people, was signed in the city of Aragua de Barcelona, the residence of Monagas, on the 15th January 1831. This written declaration sets forth as the grounds of the revolution, among other things, that the Constitution attacked religion, that it subjected the Clergy to the payment of taxes, and that it deprived both the military and the clergy of their privileges and immunities. It proclaimed the integrity of Colombia, and appointed General José T. Monagas Civil and Military Chief. Monagas published to the world a proclamation dated January 25th, 1831, in the same city of Aragua, upholding the revolution and its principles, and, among other things, declaring himself in favor of the reorganization of Colombia. Yet this same Monagas signed, as President of the Assembly, the declaration or *acta* of the city of Barcelona, dated January 6th, 1830, for the dissolution of Colombia, and attacking the authority of General Bolivar! See Collection of Documents relative to the Public Life of the Liberator.

I was authorised by Congress to take command of the army, and to quell the revolt, with power to grant a full pardon. The result of the campaign was, that on the 24th of June of the same year I granted in Valle de la Pascua a full pardon to Monagas and all others concerned with him in his guilty attempt to subvert the Constitution.

During my administration several liberal laws were passed, and approved of by me. Among others may be mentioned the law of the 15th June, 1831, regulating the procedure in cases of conspiracy, subjecting persons accused of treason to the ordinary civil jurisdiction; without exceptions or special tribunals; the law of the 18th February, 1834, establishing freedom of religious worship; the law of the 20th March, 1832 abolishing the monopoly of tobacco and declaring the cultivation of this article free; the law of the 2d April abolishing tithes.

In 1835, the distinguished, patriotic, and eminent civilian Dr. José M. Vargas, well known in Europe and America for his services in the cause of science, was elected President of the Republic. Another revolution against the government broke out. This time the conspirators openly proclaimed and demanded a Military Government, the reorganization of Colombia, the establishment of a religion of State, and of the military privileges and immunities. I was again authorised and empowered by the Government to support the free Constitution and laws of my country. I responded to the call by accepting the noble mission at a time when I was living in retirement on my estate of San Pablo. One of my first acts was to send a Commissioner to General José T. Monagas, inviting him to aid me in defending the Constitution, and tendering to him the appointment of Commandant General of the Eastern Provinces of the Republic. The answer of Monagas was a written declaration directed against the legitimate Government and advocating the principles of the conspirators. See History of Venezuela by Baralt and Dias, Vol. 2, p. 360. I was invited officially in writing by the conspirators to join them and to put myself at their head, and they informed me in their notes that all the military chiefs concerned in the revolt acknowledged and proclaimed me as Supreme Chief of the Republic. I have now with me the official communications to this effect, signed by General Diego Ibarra and other leaders. I, however, had the good fortune to assist my countrymen to support their Constitution and laws. The legitimate Government was restored, and the lawful President, Dr. Vargas, who had been expelled the country by the rebels, returned to Venezuela to assume the duties of his office. On this occasion, likewise, under the power vested in me by Congress, I granted an amnesty or pardon, dated at Pirital, November 3, 1835, to General José T. Monagas and his followers, securing him and them in the possession of their respective ranks and emoluments in the army. After the country was pacified and order had been completely established, I returned again to private life. On the 12th April, 1836, Congress passed a law recompensing the army that had fought for the Constitution and the laws, and bestowing on me the appellation of *Illustrious Citizen*, and a golden sword with an inscription expressive of its being presented as a reward for my defense of the laws and Constitution of my country. Funeral honors were also decreed to those who had died fighting for the Constitution and the laws.

The feelings and pride of a great number of the military chiefs had been wounded by the results of the rebellions of 1831 and 1835. I felt that it was necessary to sooth their feelings and to gain them over, if possible, to the cause of law and order. I determined to show them, even at the sacrifice of my feelings, how much was due to the majesty of the law, and how much I regretted the events of 1826. Accordingly, in an address I published to the nation, dated at Caracas, Oct. 20, 1837, I used the following language:

"I have committed a thousand errors producing bitter regrets, that have been diminished by the indulgence of my fellow-citizens. The events of 1826, to which an accusation unjust in itself, and worse interpreted by some, presented against me in the Senate of Colombia, conducted me, fill me still with bitterness and repentance. The opinion in favor of the separation of Venezuela from the General Government of Colombia was already very general, and the occurrence of Valencia, seconded by other cities, was the first step toward the great change which finally took place afterward. This separation was indicated by written declarations issuing from several corporations and by the press, the vehicle of public opinion. The protest of the honorable the Municipal Council of Caracas upon taking the oath to support the Constitution of 1821, and the public press in 1824 and 1825 had prepared those events, which bore me along as a light straw is carried away by the impetuous gusts of a hurricane. The dread of a civil war, my love of order and of my country's happiness, made me submit those events to the consideration of the Liberator of Colombia, willing to make myself the victim and to sacrifice my life and honor rather than a single drop of blood should be shed on my account. The Liberator heard my entreaties; he perceived that his country stood on the border of a precipice and he hastened to interpose his policy and his powerful influence to save it; his presence reëstablished public confidence and to a certain extent appeased those longings for a separation."

In 1839 I was again called to the Presidency by the votes of my fellow-citizens. I devoted all my efforts to promote the intellectual and material condition of the country. Many useful reforms were carried into effect. Without having, or requiring, an army, I succeeded in maintaining the internal peace of the Republic, and established a friendly intercourse with foreign powers. I devoted my serious attention to the settlement of our foreign debt, and I succeeded in my endeavors. The credit of the nation was advanced at home and abroad, and on my retirement from office, on the 20th January, 1843, a considerable portion of our foreign and domestic debt had been paid, and there was a surplus in the National Treasury of nearly three millions of dollars.—Venezuela had been more prosperous than ever before or since, and was respected abroad. The rights of citizens were fully guaranteed; there were no persecutions; the liberty of the press was exercised to the fullest extent; and even the necessity for an army seemed to have disappeared forever. Such was the spectacle which Venezuela presented to the world during the period of my second administration.

In 1843 Gen. Charles Soublette was elected President of the Republic, and his Administration lasted the appointed Constitutional term of four years.

A new election for President was to take place in 1846, for the next succeeding term. Many citizens again brought my name forward as a candidate, but I had made up my mind firmly and irrevocably not to accept the office for the third time. I thought this was a salutary example, that ought to be established. I, therefore, immediately hastened to proclaim publicly my firm resolve never again to accept the office. My letter to that effect, dated at Maracay Sept. 14, 1845, was published in the newspaper entitled *La Revista*, published at La Guayra. Still several citizens persisted in bringing my name forward, and I then addressed a letter, dated at Maracay, January 25, 1846, to Mr. Rafael Acevedo, Editor of a public paper, entitled *El Amigo del Pueblo*, in which letter I stated in unequivocal terms that I had irrovocably resolved not to accept the Presidency for the third time, "*even though I should receive the unanimous support of my fellow-citizens.*" All hope of my accepting the office was lost.

Having been requested by several friends of General José T. Monagas to give my support to him as a candidate for the Presidency, I replied by letter that it would be a satisfaction to me to see that chief serving his country at the head of the Government. I thought then that as Monagas had experienced the inutility of his former attempts against the Constitution and the legitimate Government, and as he was a most extensive and wealthy proprietor, and a father of a family, he would be contented to occupy the highest post in the gift of the nation. Three candidates were presented for the people's choice; none obtained the requisite majority, and the election was to be made by Congress in January, 1847. General José T. Monagas wrote a letter to me dated at Aragua, January 10th, 1847, in which he gave the strongest assurances of his devotion to the true interests of the country. This original letter is now in my possession. I supported his election with whatever influence I possessed among my fellow-citizens. He was elected President of the Republic by a two-third vote of Congress, and was sworn into office. Shortly after his installation he commenced performing openly a series of acts against the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, and it was evident that his object was to put the country upon a military footing under soldiers and leaders devoted to himself. He removed all the officers of the militia, and substituted in their place his own creatures, many of whom had not the requirements of law; refused to appoint as Governors of provinces the persons designated by law, and appointed those addicted to his principles. These appointments were generally of officers and persons who had been concerned with him in the revolutions of 1831 and 1835. He collected and took possession of all the arms and ammunitions belonging to the State and placed them in the hands of his own partizans. He disarmed the *active* or ordinary militia and called into service the *militia of reserve*, without the previous authority required by the Constitution. The ordinary or active militia is similar to that of the United States; it is composed of private citizens who are required to furnish their own arms; the *militia of reserve* are not required to furnish their own arms and *are paid* when called into service.

There was a general alarm, and the press commenced, as usual, to attack the Administration. It was supposed that Monagas had thrown off the mask and was carrying into effect his favorite principles of Military Government.

The Provincial Deputation of Caracas, the Capital, in accordance with Article 161 of the Constitution, drew up in writing an information dated 10th of December, 1847, against the arbitrary acts of the President, and, immediately after the meeting of Congress, sent it into the House of Representatives. I had already before prepared myself to leave the country and go into New Grenada under a leave of absence previously obtained from the last Administration. On the 3d January, 1848, I left my residence at Maracay, and commenced my journey into New Grenada under a mingled feeling of sadness and disappointment which may be more easily imagined than explained.

You, Messrs. Editors, and the whole world know the bloody and heart-rending scene exhibited on the 24th of January, 1848, in the capital of the Republic. It was witnessed by all the Foreign Ministers and Consuls, by natives and foreigners generally, and many descriptions have been published to the world, by impartial spectators and by some of the very members of that unfortunate Congress. I find in your valued paper of the 28th February, 1848, a description of the event from a friend of yours of whom you say that "*he was a mercantile friend at Laguayra, whose long residence in the country qualified him to give a just opinion in relation to its affairs.*" In a letter addsessed to you, this friend of yours, and competent judge, under date of the 28th January, 1848, describes the horrors of the 24th, and attributes them directly to President Monagas and his soldiers. He says: "*The Constitution and laws are trampled under foot by the President, whose duty it was to guard and uphold them, and the Representatives of the country have been driven from their seats and either murdered by a brutal and ferocious soldiery, or compelled to sanction by their votes the will of a despot more unscrupulous than a savage chieftain.*" These words, gentlemen, are not mine; they are used by a judge, unknown to me, and whom you consider so well qualified to give a just opinion.

It will be sufficient for me to say that Caracas, the capital, when Congress met, was occupied by an armed force, and that the 23d January 1848, the day where Congress assembled, the House of Representatives passed a resolution to transfer the sittings of Congress to Puerto Cabello, where they might deliberate with greater freedom and more safety. On the following day the information or *exposicion* of the Provincial Deputation against the President, was read in the House, and it was referred to the Standing Committee on Infractions of the Constitution and the Laws. On that same day, and before any further action could be taken, the House was invaded by the armed militia of reserve, who fired upon the representatives of the people, killed and wounded several of them, and dispersed the House. It must be observed here that the Constitution of Venezuela, article 59, provides that as soon as the House determines that there is cause to put the party accused on his trial, he is *ipso facto* suspended from office. Of course President Monagas found it dangerous to wait the further action of the House.

On the same 24th January, 1848, Gen. José T. Monagas wrote and sent a letter to me, ascribing the horrid deed to the people of Caracas, and asking my advice. On the 26th, at Calabozo, on my way to New Granada, I received the first information of the horrid and appalling crime committed against the sovereignty of the people. I saw my country's liberties, which I had for eighteen years been constantly endeavoring to protect against military aggression, prostrated at one blow under the rod of a military despot. I received the letter of Monagas, and on the 31st January I replied to him by letter, giving him to understand that I well understood the nature and origin of the crime. In answer to his request to aid him with my advice, I wrote:

"I propose that your Excellency should peaceably submit to the trial to which public opinion has summoned you for many of your acts which are regarded as being clearly against the Constitution. I propose that you withdraw all the armed force from the capital, and that you allow both Houses to change their sittings to another place, as one House has already resolved, in order that they may deliberate dispassionately and freely upon the state of the Republic."

On the 25th, Gen. Monagas published an address or circular, in which he termed the occurrence of the 24th, "*a scandalous and lamentable crime.*" One year afterward, in 1849, a Congress assembled under the influence of the bayonets—passed a law declaring the 24th January a glorious day, and a day of festivities and rejoicings, and Monagas signed the law! On the 25th January, 1848, Gen. Monagas compelled the members of Congress to meet again. The next day, the 26th, Congress was compassed by an armed force, and Monagas himself went into the building pending their deliberations and watched the members.—On that day, and under such circumstances, on motion of one of the partizans, Congress passed a law pardoning all political crimes committed since 1830!

Several members of Congress who escaped the butchery, and the still more dreaded and awful presence of the tyrant, protested against the usurpation and the coercion under which Congress was kept, and published their written protests to the world. I have now before me some of these published, printed protests; those of the Hon. Pedro J. Arellano, Rafael Losada, A. M. Soteldo, members of the House of Representatives, and the Honorable Francisco Carrera, Senator. There are now living in the city of New-York five of the members of the House of Representatives in 1848, and they can attest if I have here stated the truth or misrepresented any of the occurrences of 1848.

I determined at once to take up arms at all risks in defense of the Constitution, and issued my address to the nation on the 4th February, 1848, avowing this determination. As the news of the horrible crime spread through the country, the people rose up in arms. The Cantons of Calabozo, of Chaguaramas, of Orituco, of San Fernando de Apure; the Provinces of Merida, Maracaybo, Trujillo and Coro declared at once against the usurpation of Monagas, as soon as the news reached them, and they called upon and authorized me to defend the institutions of the country. Congress, surrounded by bayonets, under the influence and fear of Monagas, passed an act, declaring me a rebel. The war commenced. Monagas had a large armed force under pay, composed both of the standing, or *permanent* army, and the *militia of reserve.* The people at large were unarmed; a system of embargo of the property of those who took up arms was put in force by Gen. Monagas; the prisons were crowded by hundreds of citizens. Terror took the place of patriotism, and the liberties of Venezuela succumbed, in spite of my efforts and those of many brave and patriotic citizens.

I have, Gentlemen, made a concise narration of all the prominent acts of my political life for the last 25 years, and I trust that the documentary and historic proofs I have here presented may be considered by an intelligent people a sufficient vindication

I will now, in conclusion, make a few brief remarks. Either the majority of the Congress of 1848 were my friends and partizans, or they were the friends and partizans of Monagas; or, thirdly, they were impartial and indifferent. If the majority were friendly to me, how came they to declare me a rebel? If they were friendly to Monagas, or impartial and indifferent, why did not General Monagas follow the reasonable and peaceful advice I gave him, when he consulted me, and submit to the trial before a lawful and impartial tribunal?

Is it lawful or not to take up arms in defense of the Constitution and laws of one's country, when a despot has murdered and dispersed the national representatives and trampled the Constitution under foot, or must there be an unqualified submission until three years afterward, when a possible chance may present itself of remedying the evil *through the ballot-box?* Who will insure in such a case the freedom necessary effectually to exercise this high prerogative of a free people? What is the Constitutional doctrine universally entertained on this subject in the United States and in England? I am contented to abide the solution of these important questions by a free and intelligent people.

As to my motives, pardon me for remarking that they must be gathered from my actions fairly interpreted, after a full knowledge of all the attending circumstances, or they are exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Searcher of all hearts.

I am now living in retirement. I have not, since I quitted Venezuela, written or received any letter or letters on political subjects, and I can assure you that I have not, and shall not, attempt, directly or indirectly, to find backers in this or any other land to assist me to make a triumphant return to Venezuela. I sincerely regret that I have been forced to appear before the public, and shall endeavor hereafter to abstain from defending my public or private character, relying, as I do, upon the impartial judgment of mankind, and leaving the future to an all-wise Providence.

I am, Gentlemen, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant, JOSE A. PAEZ.

HEAVY DAMAGES FOR SEDUCTION.—The Circuit Court in Van Buren, Arkansas, lately tried the suit of Wm. Ward *vs.* James Cougar, for seducing plaintiff's daughter, a girl 15 years old. The Jury gave a verdict for Mr. Ward $5,000 damages, and expressed their regret they could not legally lay the damages at $10,000.

☞ Captain Roberts, of the schooner Charity, was robbed of $300 at Boston on Friday last. The money was taken from a chest on board the schooner.

PROPOSALS.

PROPOSALS FOR INDIAN GOODS.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Office of Indian Affairs, September 28, 1850.

SEALED PROPOSALS will be received at the Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at Washington City, until 10 o'clock on Saturday, the 23 day of November next, for furnishing the following Indian goods, viz:

Class No. 1.—Blankets.

9100 pairs 3 point white Mackinac blankets, to measure 50 by 72 inches, and weigh 5 pounds.
1908 pairs 2½ point white Mackinac blankets, to measure 54 by 66 inches, and weigh 6 pounds.
1175 pairs 2 point white Mackinac blankets, to measure 48 by 66 inches, and weigh 5½ pounds.
980 pairs 1½ point white Mackinac blankets, to measure 36 by 56 inches, and weigh 4½ pounds.
900 pairs 1 point white Mackinac blankets, to measure 32 by 46 inches, and weigh 3½ pounds.
408 pairs 3 point scarlet Mackinac blankets, to measure 60 by 72 inches, and weigh 8 pounds.
900 pairs 2½ point scarlet Mackinac blankets, to measure 54 by 66 inches, and weigh 6 pounds.
100 pairs 3½ point green Mackinac blankets, to measure 66 by 84 inches, and weigh 10 pounds.
300 pairs 3 point green Mackinac blankets, to measure 60 by 72 inches, and weigh 8 pounds.
850 pairs 2½ point green Mackinac blankets, to measure 54 by 66 inches, and weigh 6 pounds.
100 pairs 3½ point gentinella blue Mackinac blankets, to measure 66 by 84 inches, and weigh 10 pounds.
400 pairs 3 point gentinella blue Mackinac blankets, to measure 60 by 72 inches, and weigh 8 pounds.
300 pairs 2½ point gentinella blue Mackinac blankets, to measure 54 by 66 inches, and weigh 6 pounds.

Class No. 2.—Dry Goods.

1,005 yards scarlet strouds. 800 yards blue strouds
1,806 do fancy list cloth, blue. 760 do fancy list cloth, scarlet
360 do fancy list cloth, green. 3,000 do saved list cloth, blue
3,000 do saved list cloth, scarlet. 900 do saved list cloth, green
925 lbs worsted yarn, 3 fold. 100 doz cotton flag handkerchiefs
980 do cotton Madras handkerchiefs. 175 do black silk do
90 do 3-4 cotton shawls. 80 do 6-4 cotton shawls
65 do 4-4 cotton shawls. 40 do 8-4 woolen shawls
430 ℔ linen thread. 80 do sewing silk
700 pieces ribbon, assorted. 180 gross worsted gartering
24 pieces silk handkerchiefs, bark and bandannas

Class No. 3.—Domestic Goods.

38,000 yards domestic calico. 10,000 yards Merrimac calico
3,500 yards bl