

HISPANIC-AMERICAN RELATIONS
WITH THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE AGE OF TRANSITION IN HISPANIC AMERICA

The racial elements in Hispanic America—The organs of colonial administration in the Spanish Indies—Commercial and immigratory policy—The Church—The Inquisition—Philosophy of Revolution—The administration of Brazil—Portuguese colonial policy—The Portuguese-Spanish boundary in South America—Napoleon's usurpations in Portugal and Spain—The Spanish *juntas*—The Separatist movements—The Mexican Revolution—The independence of Venezuela—Bolívar at Boyacá and Carabobo—Pichincha—The independence of Paraguay and Uruguay—San Martín at San Lorenzo—Chacabuco—Maipú—Peruvian independence proclaimed—Ayacucho—The Spanish-American nations—The separation of Brazil from Portugal—Boundaries of the Hispanic-American states

After the discovery of the New World there flowed to America two distinct currents of emigration from the Iberian Peninsula. A current from Portugal went to the eastern portion of South America—that vast domain which was eventually designated Brazil—while a current from Spain proceeded to the extensive territories in America which stretched from Cape Horn to California. The Portuguese settled along the coast of Brazil, where conditions favored the development of colonies of the plantation type. The conquering Spaniards planted colonies upon the ruins of the most advanced aboriginal civilizations: in Mexico, which had been under the sway of the Aztecs; in New Granada where the Chibchas had flourished; and in Peru, the seat of the extensive empire of the Incas.

In some parts of America the Portuguese and the Spaniards soon began to use the aborigines as slaves upon the plantations or in the silver mines. Against the enslavement of the Indians some humane colonists raised their voices in protest. Responding to the anti-slavery propaganda of Antonio Vieira, the Portuguese Jesuit, and of Bartolomé de las Casas, the Franciscan monk, the governments of Spain and Portugal tried by protective laws to check or to prohibit the enslavement of the Indians.

It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which those laws shielded the aborigines; but it is clear that the agitation against Indian slavery was partly responsible for the spread in Hispanic America of negro slavery. Negroes were brought from Africa to the Indies in the sixteenth century to replace the aborigines as laborers on the plantations. Negro slavery gradually spread over certain parts of South America. As the negroes, who were occasionally emancipated, sometimes intermingled with the lower classes another element was thus added to the population. European emigrants and their descendants kept distinct from the other races in some portions of Hispanic America, but elsewhere an admixture of whites, negroes, and Indians took place which produced many varieties of man.

Let us notice briefly the organs of colonial administration which developed in the Spanish Empire. To replace the *conquistadores* the Spanish monarch sent to the Indies officials who were denominated governors, captains general, or viceroys. By a series of royal decrees the Spanish dominions in the New World were divided into administrative areas, the most important of which were the presidencies, the captaincies general, and the viceroyalties.¹

The viceroys—who were in charge of the districts designated as viceroyalties—were the most important agents of the Spanish king. In 1777 there were four viceroys in America. A viceroy in the city of Mexico controlled the viceroyalty of New Spain; one who resided at Bogotá was in charge of the north-western part of South America, which formed the viceroyalty of New Granada; another viceroy in Buenos Aires directed south-eastern South America, which was included within the viceroyalty of la Plata; and another in Lima administered a large portion of western South America, the viceroyalty of Peru.

Captains general controlled areas which were smaller than viceroyalties. Residing at Habana was the captain general of Cuba, who was in charge of the Spanish West Indies and also of Florida. At the city of Guatemala was located the captain

¹ Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics as Told in the Lives of their Liberator*, pp. 3-8.

general of Guatemala, who controlled the region known as Central America. The captain general of Venezuela was in charge of the northeastern section of Spanish America with his capital at Caracas. At Santiago was the captain general of Chile, who was in charge of a long, narrow strip of land which stretched along the Pacific coast southward from the desert of Atacama to Cape Horn. By the end of the eighteenth century those captains general had been released from the control of the viceroys.²

Presidencies were areas which were placed under the direction of officials who were designated presidents because, like viceroys and captains general, they sometimes presided over the meetings of the administrative and judicial councils which were known as *audiencias*. In 1778 there were presidents at Guadalajara, Quito, Cuzco, and Chuquisaca—the last mentioned city being the seat of the *audiencia* of Charcas. Although the *audiencias* located in those cities were under the jurisdiction of their respective viceroys, yet they were vested with governmental authority in certain affairs. Especially was this true of the presidencies of Quito and Charcas which were in a more or less semi-independent position respectively with regard to the viceroyalties of New Granada and la Plata. It was within the lines which were more or less vaguely traced by the boundaries of the presidencies, captaincies general, and viceroyalties that independent nations were later formed.³

The laws and regulations for the administration of Spanish America, which were commonly designated the "Laws of the Indies," were framed at Madrid by the Council of the Indies,—a council presided over by the king in whom was vested the title to the colonies. In this council the colonists, as such, had no representation. Except in so far as the transplanted Spanish *cabildo* (town council) was occasionally enlarged by the addition of other citizens to form a *cabildo abierto* (open council) for the discussion of important problems, the Spanish system of colonial administration made no provision for the exercise of local

² Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp 3-6

³ *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

self-government.⁴ Again, there were no institutions in Spanish America which corresponded to the colonial legislatures in British America. Further, at the opening of the nineteenth century the practice of occasionally convoking a colonial *cortes*, or congress, for a portion of Spanish America had fallen into disuse. It should therefore be clear that there was in Spanish America an almost total lack of institutions which might furnish the colonists training in self-government.

For a long period the commercial policy of Spain toward her colonies was animated by a spirit of monopoly and paternalism. Agents of the Spanish crown in the Indies were directed to take measures to discourage the production or manufacture of articles which might compete with the products of Spain. The privilege of trading with the Spanish colonies was for many decades restricted to the merchants of Seville or Cadiz. In the middle of the eighteenth century direct trade might legally be carried on only between a few ports in Spanish America and certain ports in Spain. On October 12, 1778, however, an important law was promulgated which radically modified the commercial regulations that had prevailed in the Spanish colonial system. That reform law permitted other ports in Spain to trade directly with the Spanish Indies. Similarly it opened several ports in the Indies to Spanish trade. But this law still aimed to encourage the Spanish shipbuilder and shipowner by providing that vessels used in the trade with America should be Spanish built and Spanish owned.⁵ By subsequent laws the privilege to engage in direct trade with the Indies was extended to additional ports in Spain and other ports in the Indies were opened to that trade. In 1797 a royal decree was issued providing that neutral vessels might engage in the carrying trade with the Spanish colonies.⁶ However, the Spanish Government still adhered to the policy of a protective tariff which was designed to favor the manufacturers and merchants of Spain at the expense of her colonists and of foreigners.⁷

⁴ *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias*, libro 4, título 10, ley 1; Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, *passim*.

⁵ *Documentos para la historia argentina*, vol. vi, pp. 12-128.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 134.

⁷ Pons, *Travels in South America*, vol. II, pp. 23-25.

There is little evidence available concerning emigration or immigration to Spanish America. However, frequent mention of foreigners in regulations concerning the Indies indicates that, in spite of repeated prohibitions, they occasionally ventured into those extensive dominions. On the eve of the revolution aliens were allowed to reside in Spanish America upon the payment of a tax, but they were subjected to many restrictions and viewed with great suspicion.⁸ Undoubtedly certain residents of the Indies took advantage of the laws and customs permitting the naturalization of foreigners; for a naturalized citizen of Spain was ordinarily allowed in the Indies the rights and privileges of a natural-born citizen. But, according to the Laws of the Indies, a native Spaniard might only embark for Spanish America when granted a license and after presenting evidence that he was an orthodox Catholic.⁹ So many vexatious restrictions were enacted concerning emigration that the number of colonists who proceeded from Spain to the Indies was small. At the opening of the nineteenth century François de Pons, an observant Frenchman who resided some years at Caracas, estimated that the number of Spaniards who annually emigrated to the captaincy general of Venezuela was not more than one hundred.¹⁰

By various regulations Spain attempted to prevent foreigners from engaging in commerce with her colonies. Originally the Spanish Government restricted the privilege of trading with the Indies to natives of Castile. Even after Aragonese and Navarrese were admitted to this privilege that government rigorously prohibited the citizens of other nations from engaging in commerce with its American colonies without a license. The restrictive laws were not always faithfully observed; for a royal order prohibited foreigners who might have been licensed to trade in colonial ports from proceeding with their merchandise into the interior of Spanish America.¹¹ In 1776 the king issued an order recapitulating previous orders to Spanish officials in

⁸ *Recopilación*, libro 9, título 27, ley 31; *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*, libro 6, título 11, leyes 2 and 3

⁹ *Recopilación*, libro 9, título 26, leyes 1 and 16

¹⁰ Pons, vol. 1, p. 112. See further Lannoy and Linden, *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens*, pp. 155, 156, 370-78.

¹¹ *Recopilación*, libro 9, título 27, ley 4.

the Indies about aliens and providing that no foreigners of whatever character should be permitted to reside in Spanish America upon any pretext or to trade with its inhabitants without a royal license. This order further provided that unlicensed foreigners should be immediately deported from Spanish America.¹² But those prohibitions and restrictions were evaded in various ways. English merchants abused the *asiento* clause of the Treaty of Utrecht which granted them the privilege of sending annually to Spanish America one vessel of five hundred tons laden with goods.¹³ The English colonies in the West Indies became the entrepôts of smugglers who traded with the adjacent Spanish colonies. Despite prohibitory laws, as early as 1787, vessels from the United States were engaged in commerce with the Spanish West Indies.¹⁴ Still, in 1807 the king of Spain issued an order strictly prohibiting the admission of foreign consuls into Spanish-American ports.¹⁵

In the Spanish dominions the church establishment clearly revealed the dominant authority of the monarch. The Pope could communicate directly with the Indies only in special cases. Bulls, dispensations, and indulgences might ordinarily be sent to the American colonies only after being approved by the Council of the Indies. A share of the revenues of the church regularly belonged to the Spanish crown. Ecclesiastical as well as civil appointments emanated directly from the king; all questions concerning the patronage were decided by the Council of the Indies. Church courts took cognizance of cases concerning spiritual matters and also those dealing with legacies, wills, and marriages.

The religious zeal which the Spaniard had developed during the long crusade against the Moslems was applied in the New World to the conversion of the aborigines. Large numbers of secular and regular clergy were scattered throughout the Indies. There such orders as the Capuchins and the Franciscans were mainly engaged in converting and civilizing the Indians. Mem-

¹² *Documentos para la historia argentina*, vol. v, p. 375.

¹³ Scelle, *La traite nègre aux Indes de Castille*, vol. II, p. 553.

¹⁴ Channing, *A History of the United States*, vol. II, p. 422, n. 1.

¹⁵ *Documentos para la historia argentina*, vol. VII, p. 364.

bers of the clergy played an important part in the educational life of Spanish America. Churches, convents, and monasteries came into the possession of extensive landed properties.¹⁶ The only religion that was tolerated in Spanish America was Roman Catholicism.

The church in the Indies was eventually reenforced by the Inquisition. At the opening of the nineteenth century there were tribunals of the Holy Office at Lima, Carthagená, and the city of Mexico. In Spanish America the Inquisition devoted considerable attention to the suppression of sorcery, witchcraft, bigamy, blasphemy, and heresy. Of heretics, however, there were few: apostate friars, Jews, and Protestants were rarely mentioned in the records of the Inquisition in the Spanish dependencies. The influence of the Inquisition upon the Roman Catholic faith in Spanish America was evidently very slight. There its main political significance was in the fact that it sometimes engaged in quarrels with secular officials and often exercised a restrictive influence upon intellectual development.¹⁷

During the colonial regime books could ordinarily be printed in the Spanish Indies only by consent of the government. About the middle of the sixteenth century a law was enacted providing that colonial officials should not permit the publication or sale of any book concerning Spanish America without a special license from the Council of the Indies. This law prohibited publishers or booksellers from surreptitiously printing or selling such books under penalty of a fine and the confiscation of the printing press.¹⁸ Apparently Protestant writings found their way to the Spanish colonial possessions; for in the sixteenth century a law was enacted providing that civil and ecclesiastical officials in the Indies should seize the heretical books which might have been introduced by pirates.¹⁹ In the latter part of the eighteenth century the University of San Marcos in Lima was warned that not even the panegyrics ordinarily de-

¹⁶ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America," in *American Historical Association Report*, 1907, vol. 1, pp. 216-17.

¹⁷ Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, pp. 452, 511-13.

¹⁸ *Recopilación*, libro 1, título 21, ley 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, libro 1, título 21, ley 14.

livered before the viceroys might be printed without the examination and license of the government.²⁰

After tribunals of the Inquisition were established in America, the censorship of the press became a special function of the Holy Office. The Inquisition regularly published edicts that prohibited the importation of particular books. It strove to prevent the circulation of literature which might be inimical to the existing regime.²¹ Pons stated that certain volumes could circulate only when expurgated, other volumes might be read only on permission, while some were absolutely proscribed. In a list of books which that author mentioned as being prohibited in South America about 1804 are found works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Montesquieu, Diderot, Helvetius, Hume, Addison, and DeFoe.²²

Although the efforts of the Inquisition were seconded by the civil authorities, yet seditious literature found its way into Spanish America. In 1809 the mattress of Camilo Henríquez, a Peruvian priest, was found to be stuffed with prohibited books.²³ A French traveler named Count Ségur stated that in Venezuela a physician led him to the most secluded part of his house, where he showed him in concealment the works of Raynal and Rousseau.²⁴ Antonio Nariño, an enterprising scholar of New Granada, translated the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme* into Spanish and printed it at Bogotá. That translation was circulated clandestinely in northern South America.²⁵ Some Spanish colonists thus became acquainted with the philosophy of the French Revolution. Through the perusal of such writers as Raynal, certain Spanish-American leaders acquired a knowledge of doctrines which had been cherished by men who participated in the Revolution of the English colonies in North America.

The political regime in colonial Brazil resembled somewhat the administration of the Spanish colonies. At the opening of

²⁰ Fuente, *Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú durante el tiempo del colonato español*, vol. v, pp. 83, 86

²¹ Lea, pp. 470-72

²² Pons, vol. 1, pp. 318-25.

²³ Lea, p. 446.

²⁴ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda," *loc. cit.*, 1907, vol. 1, p. 223.

²⁵ Posada and Ibañez, *El precursor*, pp. xii, xiii, 63-65; Blanco, *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del libertador de Colombia, Perú y Bolivia*, vol. 1, p. 287.

the nineteenth century the most important administrative official in Brazil was the viceroy, who resided at Rio de Janeiro. This colony was divided into captaincies which were in charge of captains general and minor officials. Viceroy and captains general were under the control of the government at Lisbon. In their respective subdivisions those officials directed administrative affairs; and they presided over various tribunals of justice and finance. They also supervised the partition of lands and were in charge of the military forces.²⁶ The rules and regulations for the administration of Brazil were formulated by the Portuguese Council seated at Lisbon. That council also carried on the correspondence with colonial officials.²⁷ The defect which we noticed in the political organization of the Spanish Indies also existed to a considerable extent in Brazil: with the exception of the town councils, there were no Brazilian institutions which might furnish the colonists with proper training in the art of self-government.

Toward Brazil the motherland pursued a policy of monopoly and paternalism. The Portuguese Government tried to encourage the culture of indigo, rice, and sugar in Brazil, while it restricted the marketing of sugar, tobacco, and wheat. It prohibited the cultivation of the grapevine and aimed to permit no manufactures except coarse linens and cottons.²⁸ Portugal's policy with respect to emigration into her colonies was perhaps hardly as restrictive as that of Spain; but apparently few foreigners settled in Portuguese America. Emancipated negroes and their descendants, however, composed a large part of the population. Considerable admixture took place between the colored people and Europeans of the lower classes. The tendency in Brazil was toward the formation of a new type of mankind.²⁹

Agents of the Portuguese Inquisition did not play a conspicuous rôle in the annals of Brazil.³⁰ Still the Portuguese Government did not pursue a liberal policy with regard to the press.

²⁶ Pereira da Silva, *Historia da fundação do imperio brasileiro*, vol. 1, pp. 98-100

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65, Lannoy and Linden, pp. 85, 86.

²⁸ Lannoy and Linden, pp. 160-65

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-56, 180, 181.

³⁰ Pereira da Silva, vol. 1, pp. 66, 140.

Although, about the middle of the eighteenth century, a printing press was established in Rio de Janeiro which published books or pamphlets that occasionally bore the impress of Lisbon or Madrid, yet that press was soon suppressed by the absolute government of Portugal. Not until the flight of the Braganza dynasty to Rio de Janeiro was a press permanently established in that capital. From this court press there soon appeared books, brochures, and pamphlets. In September, 1808, there was printed upon it the first number of the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*. At that time, however, censors were appointed to examine works which were intended for publication.³¹ This narrow policy apparently led to the rigid inspection of certain vessels which arrived at Brazilian ports, in order to prevent the introduction of objectionable literature.³²

The boundaries between the dominions of Spain and Portugal in the New World were originally based upon the Treaty of Tordesillas of June 7, 1494, which superseded the famous bulls of Pope Alexander VI. This treaty provided that a straight line should be drawn from the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands: the territories discovered east of that line should belong to Portugal, while the territories discovered west of that line should be the property of Spain. On January 13, 1750, a treaty was signed at Madrid between Spain and Portugal which sketched a new demarcation line between the territories of those two nations in America and which recognized the right of Portugal to a vast extent of territory west of the line drawn by the Treaty of Tordesillas. The Treaty of Madrid stipulated that the contracting powers should select commissioners to survey the boundary line.³³ Shortly afterwards the two governments selected commissioners, who encountered great difficulties, however, in surveying the boundary.³⁴ Partly because of those difficulties, on February 12, 1761, another treaty

³¹ Verissimo de Mattos, "A Instructão e a imprensa, 1500-1900," in *Livro do centenário*, vol. 1, pt. IV, pp. 31-37.

³² Oliveira Luna, *Dom João VI no Brazil*, vol. 1, pp. 193, 199.

³³ Calvo, *Recueil historique complet des traités, conventions, capitulations, armistices et autres actes diplomatiques de tous les états de l'Amérique Latine*, vol. II, pp. 244-60.

³⁴ Southey, *History of Brazil*, vol. III, pp. 450, 501-3.

of limits was signed between Spain and Portugal,—a treaty which annulled completely the Treaty of Madrid and all adjustments arising therefrom.³⁵

On October 1, 1777, a new treaty of limits between Spain and Portugal was signed at San Ildefonso. Twenty articles of the Treaty of San Ildefonso contained provisions which attempted to specify, more or less exactly, the boundaries between the South American colonies of the contracting parties. That treaty drew boundary lines between the American dominions of Spain and Portugal with considerable attention to their frontier settlements. To the west the boundary followed, in the main, the line that had been sketched by the Treaty of Madrid. Stipulations were made for the choice of commissioners who should determine the boundaries exactly and prepare a map of the frontiers.³⁶ Those boundary lines, however, were not definitely surveyed.

Although there were crying economic and political evils in Hispanic America during the colonial régime, yet the immediate cause for the separation of the Spanish-American colonies from the motherland was the usurpation of the French Emperor in Spain. Influenced by the desire to isolate England from the European continent and to close the ports of that continent to her merchandise, Napoleon undertook a policy of intervention in the affairs of the Iberian Peninsula.

A clause in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which was framed by diplomats of France and Spain in 1807, stipulated that Napoleon's soldiers should be allowed to march freely to the frontiers of Portugal. To escape those soldiers, in November, 1807, the Portuguese dynasty of Braganza sailed from Lisbon for Rio de Janeiro, escorted by an English squadron. Shameful intrigues at the court of Madrid furnished the French Emperor with a plausible pretext for intervention in Spanish affairs. Early in 1808 French soldiers took possession of Pamplona. Soon afterwards Napoleon appointed his brother-in-law, the dashing cavalry commander, Joachim Murat, his lieutenant in Spain.

³⁵ Calvo, *Recueil historique complet des traités*, vol. II, pp. 349-55.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 128-67.

On March 19 Charles IV abdicated the Spanish crown in favor of his eldest son and heir, Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias.

On the following day Ferdinand announced to Murat that he had received the Spanish crown from his father; and he expressed an ardent wish to strengthen the bonds that connected France and Spain. But Murat—who entered Madrid with a French army on March 23—did not recognize King Ferdinand. Even though the ex-king soon asserted that his abdication was null, yet the Council of the Indies addressed to the viceroys, presidents, *audiencias*, governors, and cities of Spanish America a communication declaring that the Spanish crown had been transferred to Ferdinand VII.³⁷

Napoleon thwarted that policy. After luring Charles and Ferdinand to Bayonne on May 5 the French Emperor induced the ex-king to renounce by treaty his right to the throne of Spain. This treaty was soon embodied in a decree by which Charles formally announced that he had ceded to Napoleon his sovereignty over the Spanish dominions and by which he ordered officials and corporations in those dominions to obey the French Emperor.³⁸ On his part Ferdinand agreed to a convention which declared that he endorsed his father's act of renunciation in favor of Napoleon, and that he relinquished his rights as heir to the Spanish crown. On May 20 the Council of the Indies dispatched to important civil and ecclesiastical officials in the Spanish Indies documents transmitting the news of the renunciation of the crown of Spain and the Indies by Charles IV and Ferdinand VII.³⁹

Meantime Napoleon convoked a general deputation of Spaniards at Bayonne. He issued a decree proclaiming his brother Joseph king of Spain and the Indies; and when the Spanish deputies assembled at Bayonne, they acknowledged Joseph as their king. They adopted, with a few changes, a Napoleonic statute as the Constitution for their nation. By various measures the French Emperor and his agents transmitted to Spanish

³⁷ Blanco, vol. II, pp. 126, 127. ³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 145.

America the news of the dynastic change in Spain.⁴⁰ But in the Indies, as well as in Spain, this startling news provoked movements which were destined to alter the face of politics.

Reports of the deposition of King Ferdinand precipitated the formation in Spain of local *juntas* (councils) which assumed the functions of government. A few of those *juntas* soon essayed to send to the Indies the news of their opposition to French usurpations. Reports and rumors of the startling events which were taking place in the Iberian Peninsula had significant results in the New World. Manifestations of loyalty to Ferdinand VII, coupled with denunciations of Napoleon, were made in some parts of the Spanish Indies.⁴¹ In certain cities the news of the establishment of *juntas* in Spain stimulated some colonists to emulate that example.⁴² On July 28 the *cabildo* of the city of Caracas presented an address to the captain general asking that a *junta* should be established there similar to the *junta* at Seville.⁴³ In the city of Mexico a learned monk named Melchor Talamantes urged that the deposition of Ferdinand VII had destroyed the link which connected Spain and the Indies,—⁴⁴ an argument which was voiced by other Spanish Americans who aspired to independence.⁴⁵ It is evident that the revolutionary tinder which lay scattered throughout the vast dominions of Spain in America was lighted by Napoleon's hand.

The series of movements which culminated in the independence of the Spanish continental colonies in America from the motherland took form in 1810. On April 19—incited by the news that the central *junta* which had been established in Spain had transferred its authority to a regency—an extraordinary *cabildo* in Caracas quietly deposed the captain general and established a *junta* to act on behalf of Ferdinand VII.⁴⁶ This pro-

⁴⁰ Robertson, "The Juntas of 1808 and the Spanish Colonies," in the *English Historical Review*, vol. xxxi, pp. 573-75.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 578, 581-84.

⁴² Blanco, vol. II, pp. 171-74; García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, vol. II, pp. 104, 105.

⁴³ Blanco, vol. II, p. 171.

⁴⁴ García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, vol. VII, pp. 393, 394.

⁴⁵ Amunátegui, *Vida de don Andrés Bello*, p. 83; *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, December 6, 1810.

⁴⁶ Blanco, vol. II, pp. 391, 407, 408.

visional government soon issued a manifesto audaciously disavowing the authority of the Spanish regency.⁴⁷ In reality the creation of this government in Venezuela was a revolution in disguise.

The revolutionary leaven soon produced a ferment in other parts of Spanish America. On May 25, 1810, in the city of Buenos Aires the viceroy was peacefully replaced by a provisional *junta*.⁴⁸ A similar *junta* was established on July 20 of the same year at Bogotá.⁴⁹ An audacious and versatile curate, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, on September 16, 1810, started a revolt at Dolores against the rule of Spain in the extensive viceroyalty of Mexico.⁵⁰ Two days later, in the city of Santiago, the captain general of Chile was replaced by a *junta* which loudly proclaimed its allegiance to the deposed monarch.⁵¹ In each of those movements protests of loyalty were made to King Ferdinand VII. Nevertheless it appears that in every insurrectionary region there were daring spirits who dreamed of independence.

Let us first notice how the Spanish colonists in North America eventually separated themselves from the motherland. To the revolutionary standard which was raised at Dolores by Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla there flocked a large number of Mexicans who belonged mainly to the lower classes. Under the leadership of Hidalgo, the revolutionists sacked Guanajuato, captured Valladolid, and defeated a small force of royalist soldiers near Mexico City. But Hidalgo's revolt encountered the sturdy opposition of many persons belonging to the upper classes. Further, the viceroy, Francisco Javier Venegas, ordered the royalist commander, Félix María Calleja, to suppress the revolution. At Aculco on November 6, 1810, Calleja defeated Hidalgo. At the bridge of Calderón on January 17, 1811, Spanish soldiers overwhelmingly defeated the revolutionists; and

⁴⁷ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda," *loc. cit.*, 1907, vol. i, pp. 429, 430

⁴⁸ *Días de Mayo, actas del cabildo de Buenos Aires, 1810, Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. I, pp. 22-24.

⁴⁹ Posada, *El 20 de Julio*, pp. 159-66.

⁵⁰ García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, vol. VI, pp. 11, 12, 527-29

⁵¹ *Colección de historiadores y de documentos relativos á la independencia de Chile*, vol. I, p. 7; Vicuña Mackenna, *Historia general de la república de Chile desde su independencia hasta nuestros días*, vol. I, pp. 203-8, 246-48

soon afterwards Hidalgo and other revolutionists were captured, tried, and executed by the royalists.⁵²

Even after Hidalgo's ignominious death some of the revolutionary embers still continued to burn. José María Morelos led the revolutionists in brilliant campaigns against the royalists. Under his inspiration, on November 6, 1813, a congress at Chilpancingo framed a Declaration of Independence from Spain.⁵³ On October 22, 1814, at Apatzingan the Mexican congress adopted a provisional Constitution.⁵⁴ But, about a year after that Constitution was promulgated, Morelos was captured by royalist soldiers, summarily tried, condemned, and executed. The prestige of the Mexican revolutionists consequently declined, and some of their leaders accepted pardon from the restored Spanish king.

Strange though it may seem, the independence of Mexico from Spain was ultimately consummated through a revolution which was almost bloodless. In the end of 1820, when only one prominent Mexican, Vicente Guerrero, held aloft the revolutionary banner, the viceroy of Mexico, Juan Ruíz de Apodaca, entrusted the soldiers operating against Guerrero to Colonel Agustín de Iturbide, a valiant royalist commander, who in 1816 had been removed from his command. Instead of subjugating Guerrero, however, Iturbide soon entered into an agreement with that revolutionary leader. That agreement was the Plan of Iguala, which was published by Iturbide at Iguala on February 24, 1821—a plan that included both a proclamation of independence from Spain and a rudimentary constitution for the Mexican state. This unique plan has sometimes been designated as the plan of the three guarantees because it proclaimed the independence of Mexico from Spain, adherence to the Roman Catholic religion, and the abolition of caste distinctions.⁵⁵ A sagacious plan which provided that Mexico should be ruled by a

⁵² As a history of the Spanish-American revolution is found in Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, the writer will equip this account with references only on points of outstanding importance.

⁵³ Bustamante, *Cuadro histórico de la revolución mexicana*, vol. II, pp. 406, 407.

⁵⁴ Hernández y Dávalos, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia de México de 1808 á 1821*, vol. V, pp. 700-20.

⁵⁵ [Rocafuerte], *Bosquejo ligerísimo de la revolución de México*, pp. 66-71.

scion of the Spanish dynasty,—it soon won the adherence of revolutionists and royalists, priests and peons throughout the viceroyalty. The hapless viceroy was deposed by a mutiny of his own troops. His successor, Juan O'Donojú, arrived in Mexico with a small company to find Iturbide triumphant; and on August 24 he signed a treaty with the revolutionary leader at Córdoba—a treaty which embodied the main provisions of the Plan of Iguala.⁵⁶ Iturbide led his victorious army into Mexico City on September 27, 1821. Upon the following day a *junta* signed an act which proclaimed the independence of the Mexican empire.⁵⁷ After news was received that the Spanish Government had refused to sanction the Treaty of Córdoba, on May 19, 1822, the Mexican congress proclaimed Iturbide as constitutional emperor of Mexico with the title of Agustín I.⁵⁸

The successful revolution in Mexico had a profound influence upon the neighboring captaincy general of Guatemala. In September, 1821, a *junta* which had been convoked by the captain general in the city of Guatemala declared that there was a general desire that Guatemala should be proclaimed independent. A Mexican military force was sent into Central America, and subsequently Agustín I was proclaimed emperor there. In 1822 Agustín thus became the titular ruler over a vast empire.

From the revolutionary movement in South America there can not be separated the name of Francisco de Miranda. A native of Caracas who had frequently tried to promote the cause of Spanish-American independence at the court of London, he returned to Venezuela soon after the *junta* at Caracas, as has been indicated, had taken the first step toward independence from Spain. It was largely as a result of the arguments of Miranda, who was a member of the revolutionary congress, that delegates from the provinces of the captaincy general of Venezuela who had assembled at Caracas adopted a Declaration of Independence from Spain on July 5, 1811. After some discussion, a constituent congress at Caracas, on December 21, 1811,

⁵⁶ *Tratados y convenciones concluidos y ratificados por la república mexicana*, vol. 1, pp 284-88.

⁵⁷ Bustamante, vol. v, pp 333, 334.

⁵⁸ [Rocafuerte] *Bosquejo ligerísimo*, p. 232.

adopted a Constitution for the Venezuelan republic. But, during the following year,—largely as the result of an earthquake which dispirited the patriots and encouraged the royalists—General Miranda, who had been made dictator of Venezuela, capitulated to the royalist commander, Domingo Monteverde. The captaincy general of Venezuela again fell under the sway of Spain, Miranda was betrayed to the Spaniards, and eventually died in a Spanish dungeon.⁵⁹

But the crusade for liberty in northern South America found an implacable leader in Simón Bolívar. After Miranda's downfall Bolívar fled to the West Indies and soon joined the revolutionists in the viceroyalty of New Granada. There the revolutionary movement had already started; for on November 11, 1811, the province of Carthagená in that viceroyalty had adopted a Declaration of Independence from Spain.⁶⁰ Early in 1813 Bolívar entered the service of the revolutionary *junta* which was established at Carthagená. In a short time he became the energetic and masterful commander of the revolutionary soldiers. Despite enormous physical obstacles, bitter disappointments, and several bloody defeats by the Spaniards, after years of heroic struggle Bolívar succeeded in expelling the royalists from Venezuela and New Granada. In a battle at the bridge of Boyacá on an elevated plateau in New Granada, on August 7, 1819, the soldiers of Bolívar decisively defeated the Spanish forces under General Barreiro—a victory which virtually completed the liberation of the viceroyalty of New Granada from Spanish rule. At the head of an army recruited in New Granada and Venezuela, on June 24, 1821, Bolívar overwhelmingly defeated the royalist soldiers under General La Torre upon the plains of Carabobo:—that victory ensured the independence from Spain of northern South America. Shortly after the victory at Carabobo a congress of delegates from the former viceroyalty of New Granada and the former captaincy general of Venezuela that had assembled at Cúcuta passed a "fundamental law of union" which announced that those two regions were

⁵⁹ Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda," *loc. cit.*, 1907, vol. 1, chaps. 12, 13, 14.

⁶⁰ Blanco, vol. III, p. 360.

united into the republic of Colombia.⁶¹ In August, 1821, this congress adopted a constitution for the new republic. That republic, whose capital was at Bogotá, has often been designated "Great Colombia."⁶²

Some statesmen of Great Colombia wished to promote the liberation of the presidency of Quito, which in colonial days had partly depended upon the viceroy at Bogotá. To promote the independence of that presidency Bolívar sent there a capable Venezuelan commander, General Antonio José de Sucre. On May 24, 1822, General Sucre defeated the royalist army under General Aymerich in the battle of Pichincha. In consequence the Spaniards agreed to evacuate the presidency of Quito. A short time after Bolívar entered the city of Quito he proclaimed that the presidency was annexed to Colombia.

Let us now turn to the viceroyalty of la Plata to notice the progress of the revolution which ultimately merged with the revolutionary movement that had swept southward from Colombia. The provisional *junta* which was established in 1810 in the city of Buenos Aires vainly tried to extend its authority over all the provinces of the viceroyalty of la Plata. Far up the Paraná River, in June 1811, a *junta* at Asunción declared that it would not recognize the Spanish Government.⁶³ In October, 1813, a congress in that city approved a scheme of government which provided that the supreme authority should be vested in two men who were to be styled consuls of Paraguay.⁶⁴ About a year after this Constitution was adopted, another congress made the first consul, José de Francia, dictator of Paraguay. In June, 1816, a congress at Asunción declared that Francia should be the ruler of the republic for life. Under the sway of a dictator the province of Paraguay thus assumed the status of an independent nation.

⁶¹ Blanco, vol. VII, pp. 663-65.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, pp. 21-40. Great Colombia, 1821-30, included what later became the republics of Ecuador, Venezuela, and New Granada. In 1858 New Granada assumed the name of the Granadan Confederation. Four years later it took the title of the United States of Colombia. In the text the term Great Colombia has been applied to the republic of Colombia, 1821-30, while the term Colombia has been used as the name of the smaller state that emerged in 1862.

⁶³ Garry, *La revolución de la independencia del Paraguay*, pp. 158-68.

⁶⁴ *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, November 10, 1813.

Another section of the vast viceroyalty of la Plata which ultimately separated from the provisional government at Buenos Aires was *la Banda Oriental del Uruguay*. When the uprising against Spain began some revolutionists in that section cooperated with the revolutionists at Buenos Aires; but in 1814 under the leadership of José Artigas, the Uruguayan hero of this epoch, the people upon the eastern bank of the Uruguay River began a separatist movement. After establishing his authority as "the Protector of Free Peoples" over a considerable portion of the former viceroyalty of la Plata, Artigas declined in power, and in 1820 he became an exile in Paraguay. Five years later Juan Lavalleja and his companions renewed the contest for the emancipation of *la Banda Oriental*. On August 25, 1825, an assembly at the town of Florida adopted the Uruguayan Declaration of Independence.⁶⁵ In truth, the movement to establish the modern state of Uruguay was not terminated successfully until August 27, 1828, when her great neighbors, Brazil and the Argentine republic, mutually agreed to recognize her independence.

While Uruguay was being hewn out of the side of la Plata, San Martín was winning the independence of southern South America from Spain. Early in 1812 Colonel José de San Martín, who had gained distinction under the Spanish banner in the Iberian Peninsula, undertook to train the citizen soldiers of the *junta* of Buenos Aires. He struck an important blow for the independence of the future state of Argentina on February 3, 1813, when at the head of his grenadiers he defeated a small royalist force at San Lorenzo. In August, 1814, he was placed in command of the frontier province of Cuyo, near the foothills of the Andes. There he prepared to carry out his design to organize an army with which to attack the royalists upon the Pacific coast. While San Martín was training "the Army of the Andes" at Mendoza for an attack upon the royalists who had subjugated the Chilean patriots, on July 9, 1816, a congress of delegates from certain provinces of the former viceroyalty of la Plata who had assembled at Tucumán adopted a Declaration

⁶⁵ De-Martín, *Compendio de la historia de la república o. del Uruguay*, vol. v, pp. 127-29

of Independence from Spain. The state thus brought into existence was often styled the United Provinces of la Plata.⁶⁶

Early in the following year San Martín's army made an heroic march over the Andes into Chile by mountain passes that were thousands of feet higher than the pass of St. Bernard by which Napoleon crossed the Alps. The soldiers of San Martín defeated the royalist forces at Chacabuco on February 12, 1817. A year later the independence of Chile was proclaimed in Santiago.⁶⁷ After administering another defeat to the Spaniards at Maipú, San Martín proceeded to Buenos Aires to perfect arrangements for an attack upon the royalists in Peru.

In August, 1820, an expedition for the liberation of Peru which was composed of soldiers from the army of the Andes and soldiers from Chile, besides some European officers, sailed from Valparaiso in vessels belonging to the Chilean navy. After landing upon the coast of Peru, San Martín carried on a propaganda for the promotion of Peruvian independence. When the Spanish viceroy, La Serna, evacuated Lima, San Martín took possession of it: there on July 28, 1821, he proclaimed the independence of Peru.⁶⁸ But the royalists still held the Peruvian highlands, as well as the presidency of Charcas. Hence in July, 1822, San Martín, who had proclaimed himself protector of Peru, sailed from Callao in order that he might discuss the destiny of South America with Bolívar.

The upshot of an interview between Bolívar and San Martín at Guayaquil was, in brief, that San Martín relinquished the leadership in the war for independence to his Colombian rival.⁶⁹ Shortly afterwards Bolívar followed his lieutenant Sucre to Peru where those commanders prepared for a final campaign against the royalists. The army of liberation under the command of Bolívar defeated the Spaniards under General Canterac on August 6, 1824, upon the plains of Junín. On December 9, 1824, that army under General Sucre decisively defeated the

⁶⁶ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, vol. 1, p. 366.

⁶⁷ *Colección de historiadores y de documentos relativos á la independencia de Chile*, vol. XI, pp. 11-14, n.

⁶⁸ San Martín, *Documentos del archivo*, vol. XI, pp. 372, 373.

⁶⁹ Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 253-60

royalists upon an ancient battle field at Ayacucho. This battle was Spain's Armageddon upon the continent of America. On August 6, 1825, delegates from the presidency of Charcas who assembled at Chuquisaca formally declared their independence of Spain.⁷⁰ Out of gratitude for Bolívar's services to the cause of independence those delegates soon christened their republic Bolivia.

After the establishment of independent governments in Mexico, Great Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, other new states appeared upon the map of America. This took place by the disruption of existing states. Upon the downfall of Emperor Agustín I, the provinces of Central America separated from Mexico and established a Federation. After the death of Bolívar, three states resulted from the disintegration of Great Colombia. In September, 1830, an assembly of representatives from the former captaincy general of Venezuela adopted a Constitution for the republic of Venezuela.⁷¹ About the same time a convention of delegates from provinces of the former presidency of Quito adopted a Constitution for Ecuador.⁷² A constitutional convention at Bogotá announced in November, 1831, that the provinces which had composed the central part of Great Colombia would thenceforward form the state of New Granada.⁷³

The scene now shifts to Portuguese America. While the continental Spanish-American colonists were freeing themselves from the rule of their Spanish masters, the vast colony of Brazil had by successive steps been transformed into an independent nation. The Brazilian agitation for independence from the motherland dates from the flight of the Braganza dynasty from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1807-1808. By that dramatic flight Brazil immediately gained her autonomy, for Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the Portuguese dominions. Another move toward independence was a decree issued by Regent John on December 16, 1815, announcing that the colony of

⁷⁰ Blanco, vol. x, pp. 62-65.

⁷¹ *Documentos para los anales de Venezuela desde el movimiento separatista de la unión colombiana hasta nuestros días*, primer período, vol. vii, pp. 135, 136.

⁷² Blanco, vol. xiv, p. 44.

⁷³ Pombo and Guerra, *Constituciones de Colombia*, vol. ii, pp. 878-81.

Brazil was a kingdom, thus placing it upon the same constitutional basis as the Algarves and Portugal.⁷⁴ After the death of Queen Maria I on March 20, 1816, her son John, who had been acting as regent, was formally proclaimed king of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves.⁷⁵

A further stimulus was given to the movement for the independence of Brazil by events that occurred in Portugal. In 1820 a regency which had been established there under English auspices was overthrown by revolutionists, a new regency was proclaimed, and a constituent *Córtes* was convoked to frame a constitution. In Brazil, as well as in Portugal, there appeared a party which favored the choice of Lisbon as the capital of the Brazilian-Portuguese Empire. King John VI evidently fell under the influence of that party; for on February 24, 1821, he issued a decree declaring in favor of the constitution which was being elaborated by the Portuguese *Córtes*.⁷⁶ When, on April 26, 1821, John VI sailed from Rio de Janeiro for Lisbon, he addressed a letter to his eldest son Pedro, whom he appointed regent, advising him to secure the Brazilian crown himself rather than to permit an adventurer to appropriate it.⁷⁷ Reports of decrees of the Portuguese *Córtes*, which apparently aimed to reduce Brazil to the status of a colony, aroused the spirit of Brazilian separatists.⁷⁸ In September, 1822, upon the banks of the Ypiranga River near São Paulo, Regent Pedro announced the independence of Brazil from Portugal. Amid the enthusiasm of the populace, on October 12, 1822, Pedro was acclaimed constitutional emperor of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro.⁷⁹ With the aid of Lord Cochrane, a brave Englishman who as a revolutionary naval commander had aided Chile and Peru to establish their independence of Spain, the Brazilian revolutionists soon succeeded in subduing the Portuguese that opposed the separation of Brazil from the motherland.

⁷⁴ *Collecção das leis do Brazil*, 1815, pp. 62, 63.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1818, p. 11.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1821, pt. II, p. 22.

⁷⁷ Castro Carreira, *História financeira e orçamentaria do Brazil desde su fundação*, p. 62.

⁷⁸ Roure, *Formação constitucional do Brazil*, pp. 37-40.

⁷⁹ Pereira da Silva, vol. III, pp. 122-29.

With regard to the boundaries between the independent states which appeared upon the map of America during the early decades of the nineteenth century, it should be noticed that Spanish-American publicists have generally considered that the territories belonging to their respective states were the lands included within the corresponding colonial divisions at the opening of the Revolution. Certain leaders of the Revolution in Spanish America indeed held that the boundaries of the new states should coincide with the boundaries of those colonial divisions which in 1810 had been under the control of a viceroy, a captain general, or a president. This doctrine became known in the international law of Hispanic America as the *uti possidetis* of 1810. The doctrine that national boundaries should be based upon colonial boundaries was also entertained by certain Spanish Americans in regard to their boundaries with the empire of Brazil.

The transformation of the continental colonies of Spain in America into independent nations was characterized by John Quincy Adams as the most important event in modern history. Some historical scholars would doubtless consider that statement as an exaggeration. It would probably be more accurate to say that the dissolution of the Spanish colonial empire in America and the separation of Brazil from Portugal jointly constituted an event worthy of being named with the Revolution of the English colonies in North America. In regard to the Spanish-American Revolution, Secretary Hamilton Fish rightly said that that movement opened a vast field to the influence of the United States. It is little else than a paraphrase of his forgotten words to say that this event afforded an opportunity to the people and the publicists of that country peacefully to influence Hispanic America by ideals of democratic government, of a more liberal commercial policy, of a system of religious freedom and toleration, and of a political system distinct from the dynastic system of Europe. The following chapters which describe the relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American nations will necessarily devote some attention to the influence exerted by the United States upon Hispanic America.