Spring 2021

Pedagogies of Latin American Independence: an English-Speaking Analysis

Abigail Townend
Bard College

Pedagogies of Latin American Independence: an English-Speaking Analysis

By Abigail Townend

Bard Masters of Art in Teaching
Academic Research Project
May 25, 2021

Table of Contents

Synthesis Essay

The independence of Latin America is often credited to the fall of the Iberian empires after the Napoleonic invasion in 1807. While Spain and Portugal's economic investment in the Napoleonic Wars would ultimately play a hand in the downfalls of the empires, the creation of sovereign and independent nations in Latin America has a complex history with varied influences from many different historical actors. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, imperialism in Latin America transformed immensely, and by the end of the 1700s the social, political, and economic standing of Latin American peoples was completely different.

Colonial reform designed to change the economic and political administration of the colonies occurred rapidly throughout the second half of the 1700s and the early 1800s in order to unify a greater Spain and similarly a greater Portugal. This was done in most part to provide continued and strengthened support to the empires' metropoles in Lisbon and Madrid. For example, reformations were especially enforced during Spain's involvement in the Seven Years' War, and after 1763 in order to correct the balance in Europe and the Americas.

While still very reliant on the government systems and cultural structures of imperial Iberia, Latin America had made a large movement in a new—though not automatically independent—direction. For example, under the reign of King Charles III from 1759 to 1788, Spain and Spanish America underwent large political, cultural, and economic revivals, essentially creating a new imperialism in America. This was due to Spain's need for greater economic outputs from the colonies in order to sustain overseas commerce and maintain political standing within Europe and the Americas.

By the mid 1700s, cultural systems inherent from the empires were well established. Creole elites, populations made up of European descendents whose families had lived in the

Americas for generations were well invested in the economic and social standings of their communities and businesses within the audiencias structure.[1] Additionally, Creoles gained a significant amount of power from the intricate racial classifications that had occured under imperial rule. Though they were not Spaniards, and often did not want to be considered as such, they held social standing over the populations classified as Black, Mulatto, or Indian. With their ties to the economic growth of the American colonies, Creoles held an upper hand against the empires' need for revenue, which would eventually allow these groups to build effective forms of resistance.

Active revolutions against the empires occurred between 1808 and 1830. During this time, leaders (many of whom were influenced by ideas of enlightenment and independence coming from Europe, the United States and Haiti) were actively leading battles and conquering juntas in order to gain political control. In Spanish America these movements took place in New Granada and Venezuela, as well as in Rio de Plata, and eventually inward toward Peru. Part of Upper Peru would eventually become Bolivia named after the revolutionary leader, often referred to as the father of the revolution, Simón Bolívar. By 1833 there would be no territories in the Americas, except for Cuba, still under Spanish Imperial control.

In Brazil, similar revolutionary tactics as well as colonial reform occurred in order for Portugal to maintain control. There was, however, a significant difference in Spanish and Potuguese-American histories as the Portuguese royal court relocated to Rio de Janeiro in 1808. Under the imminent threat of Napoleon's invasion King João VI moved his court to Brazil for nearly two decades, leading to the question of which city was the new metropole of the empire. Ultimately João VI would leave Brazil and the control to his son, Prince Pedro I, in 1821. In less

[1] Audiencia refers to the high courts of justice with administrative functions that existed all over Spanish America as a means of Spanish rule.

than a year he would name Brazil an independent empire, therefore liberating the nation from Portugal.

As historians study topics with incredible breadth their analysis will naturally become more and more specific in order to follow the nuances that a singular historical topic may have to offer. Over time, historians tend to look deeper and deeper into the minutia of a single historical field. And yet, in the past forty years, historians' interest in the singular and very broad topic of Latin (or Spanish)[2] American independence has grown in publications, with historians looking to address the complexity of social and political factors that influenced Latin American independence. Well established historians in the Latin American field—more specifically those who live and work in either the United States or Britain, and who are writing in English—are taking the opportunity to survey the broader scene of independence across central and south America.

Prior to John Lynch's book *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808-1826*[3] (1973) there were very few monographs looking to address Latin American independence. Instead, as one looks farther back into history, the more localized the topics become. But the question stands, why has the topic become broader in the most recent wave of studies?

It is an easy correlation to show that all of the monographs analyzed in this essay were written around the bicentennial of the Latin American revolutions, which may have motivated more historians to write on the topic. But a less obvious reason is the growth in global historical writing since the 1990s. Though in popular culture the term globalization has been largely politicized to refer to governmental access and goods, in historical writing it refers more to an

[2] The reason for the parenthetical is that some historians chose to write about Spanish American history, while others investigate the entire Latin American continent. Throughout this paper I will interchange Latin American and Spanish American to identify how historians are addressing the topic.
[3] John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions: 1808-1826*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Norton, 1986).

intensified connection between nation states, in which the ideas of nationalism are relatively minimized and cities emerge as the "hubs of global interaction."[4] In *Conceptualizing Global History* by Bruce Mazlish, he writes:

> Global history can be thought of as a diagram, in which a process called globalization gives rise to global consciousness or perspective, which, in turn, gives rise to global history; this then informs the globalization process itself, further heightening global consciousness, ad infinitum.[5]

This diagram can also apply to the growing historiography around Latin American independence.

It is as if the historiography itself has taken on a global factor—these historians have found resources to support their claims from international archives, bringing together global sources. The way the history of Latin American independence is discussed is not through a global light, but the way that it is researched inherently is; and as this enormous topic continues to grow, so will the global nature of its research. In Claus and Marriot's book *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method, and Practice*, they claim that global cities that act as global hubs are a defining feature of globalization.[6] In the case of Latin American independence, it is important to recognize that the Latin American cities in question were not yet global cities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—they were only linked through their common empire. It is in today's archives where these cities throughout Central and South America as well as Europe have become interconnected through historical thought and research.

Most historians discussing Latin American independence are not claiming to take part in conversations of global history. But as English speaking historians, taking part in a conversation

---

[4] Peter Claus and John Marriott, "Global Histories," in *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method, and Practice*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 236.
[5] Bruce Mazlish, *Conceptualizing Global History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 5.
[6] Claus and Marriott, "Global Histories," 236.

looking to encompass an entire continent, they are inherently joining a globalized history. Historian Mark Berger writes,

> By contrast, it is argued here that the growth of 'Latin American studies' can only be understood as part of the rise and expansion of US politico-military and economic hegemony in Latin America. 'Latin American studies' appeared as a complement to the rise of US hegemony in Latin America.[7]

Within the study of Latin American independence, English speaking historians from the United States and Europe will inherently also be taking part in this discourse.

That being said, I believe most of the historians under consideration in this essay would not consider Latin American independence a global history. Especially Brian Hamnett, Jeremy Adelman, and Jaime Rodríguez, who are removing the notion of international differences from their arguments by including all of Latin America through interconnected kingdoms, therefore disconnecting the notion of global history. Instead, these historians are actively arguing that independence struggles were not actions taken against European empires, but instead a civil war taking place within an empire.

There are different ways in which historians address the nature of Latin American independence, but rarely does that involve acknowledging a global history. Several historians deny that Latin American history even falls into the category Atlantic history. In fact, in the conversations that surround any notions of independence in Latin America from the Iberian empires during the eighteenth century, historians seem to fall on one of two sides of the conversation. One side focuses on popular participation in what are commonly referred to as the revolutions. This means mostly looking deeply into the actions of Creoles (European descendent Americans), such as Simón Bolívar, against royalists and eventually the empires themselves. This conversation is also easily broken into specific topics that can help integrate the diverse

[7] Mark T. Berger, "Civilising the South: The US Rise to Hegemony in the Americas and the Roots of 'Latin American Studies' 1898-1945," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 12, no. 1 (January 1993): 1, JSTOR.

populations of Latin America. On the other side of this conversation, historians have chosen to view the topic from the perspective of ending empires, asking what weaknesses may have occurred in the final fifty years of the empires that eventually allowed independence to happen. In short,, the two sides of this conversation concern either nationalist revolutions or the fall of empires. Both conversations are essentially two different sides of the same coin: concluding with the end of imperial rule and independence in Latin America.

In the past century, the discourse surrounding Latin American histories has undergone an overhaul as these conversations have transitioned away from the nationalist ideals that emerged out of the French revolution and eventually apexed as a central cause of World War I. Through global history, these nationalist ideals have faded, which can be reflected in the growing field of Latin America independence. That being said, in the dual sided conversation that has occurred, historians who focus heavily on popular sovereignty also take part in an older conversation with nationalist ideals occurring throughout the twentieth century. In contrast to this, historians who are viewing the independence of Latin America through the fall of the Iberian empires are considering a more modern and global historical analysis.

On the side of the revolution-based discourse falls the thinking of John Charles Chasteen in his book *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence*[8] and Peter Blanchard in his book *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America*.[9] Though Chasteen is looking at the whole of Latin America and Blanchard is solely exploring Spanish America, they both focus almost solely on historical actors in America,

[8] John Charles Chasteen, *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008).
[9] Peter Blanchard, *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008).

and look heavily on the relationship between social and political history, taking into account the actions individuals took in order to further the revolutionary struggles.

In his book *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence*, published in 2008, Chasteen attempts to make a comprehensive analysis of Latin American history through his definition of the term "Americanos." In his introduction he writes, "The purpose here is to weave together patriotic names to know with a balanced assessment of events in a unified narrative covering the whole region colonized by Spain and Portugal."[10] The story-like appearance of his book would seem concerning to other historians, but it has been given its credit for the way Chasteen uses such a small definition to provide a full image of Latin American revolutions in a rather short book. For all intents and purposes his book is a monograph, but it would probably best serve thinkers new to the topic and historical discourse, perhaps even among high school students. The book itself reads like a collection of stories: groups of narratives of historical actors, addresses their actions, and the complicated nature of their motives, which brings a nuanced and diverse view toward Latin American history. This, coupled with the additional ways he has organized the information in his book—a chronology of events, a list of relevant figures, a glossary of their images—has allowed Chasteen to make an accessible introductory text.

Despite this, Chasteen has been critiqued for his attempt to oversimplify the situation. For example, Peter Blanchard's review of Chasteen notes that "Chasteen's picture of a shifting loyalty marked by the Americanos on one side and the 'Europeos' on the other is not always supported by the evidence." Blanchard notes that by the end of the war, many of the royalist soldiers were American-born, indicating a continued support for Spain and Portugal. And while Chasteen uses the commitment to popular sovereignty as evidence for the eventual movement toward unified nation-states, Blanchard points out that, "it is an argument that not all will

[10] Chasteen, *Americanos*, 5.

support, as that commitment to popular sovereignty might be seen more as a desire to protect self-interests and the liberalism that was espoused was often introduced at the expense of the lower orders of society and was anything but progressive."[11]

Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America, published in 2008, was written by Peter Blanchard, a historian at the University of Toronto. The premise for Blanchard's argument is that despite having been traditionally overlooked by other historians who may only mention them in passing, Black soldiers in South America were an integral part of the fight, for both revolutionaries and royalists, and "as a result, in many instances slave recruits determined the difference between military success and failure."[12] This book pays almost exclusive attention to the role of racial classifications and dissonances that played large hands in the goals of historical actors including European governments (in juntas or audiencias), Creole revolutionaries using their racial classification to maintain higher social status over other citizens, and the goals of people of color wanting freedom, autonomy, and equal citizenship under the law.

Each monograph discussed in this paper examines, to some degree, the intense racial awareness and divisions that existed in South American culture. Each author acknowledged the complicated ways in which race played into the outlooks of everyone in Latin American society, and how in older historiography the actions of Black and Indigenous actors have been sorely overlooked. In the introduction of his book, *The Independence of Spanish America*[13], Jaime E. Rodríguez O. notes that previous historiography would argue that poor individuals were unaware and unengaged in politics. In a citation, he reveals how historians viewed "Indian communities

---

[11] Peter Blanchard, review of *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence*, H-Diplo, last modified January 2009, http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=23700.
[12] Blanchard, *Under the Flags of Freedom*, 3.
[13] Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence in Spanish America* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

from the highlands of southern Peru and Upper Peru," who, "remained the Monarchy's most devoted adherents," as individuals willing to die for no true cause as they did not stand to gain any socioeconomic status from those they fought for. Rodríguez argues that it is the ignorance of historians who failed to see that these communities did not fight for King Fernando VII because they were deceived, instead "They rebelled to defend the rights and status which, as Indians, they had received from the colonial system and which the Creole republic threatened to eliminate."[14] Rodríguez's text, published in 1996, makes a concerted effort to take part in this conversation on racial significance, though this is slightly negated as much of his writing on this topic (including what is quoted above) occurs solely in his footnotes.

Though done through different lenses, Blanchard and Chasteen's monographs pay similar attention to the Americans in their push for independence and the nuances in existing racial classifications. Blanchard, however, also seems to be, if subtly, in conversation with many postcolonial historiographic ideas as presented in the book *The Houses of History* by Anna Green and Kathleen Troup. Despite traditionally talking about the removal of colonial structures after the end of WWII, there are a few key characteristics that allow one to categorize Blanchard's work as belonging to this postcolonial "house" as well.

First, he is largely continuing a conversation that began in the 1980s, which was when a lot of historiographic writing on postcolonialism took place. Second, though Latin American independence does not technically fall into the traditional definition of anti-colonial history, the history of independence in Latin America is a conversation of postcolonial pursuits, as it questions the lasting implications of imperialism and challenges notions of western historiography. It is more so the fact that Blanchard is clearly in conversation, even if subtly, with these conversations of autonomy and sovereignty from the 1980s.

[14] Rodríguez O., *The Independence in Spanish America*, 4.

While none of the houses of history in the book *The Houses of History* really claim or discuss actions of anti-slavery[15], postcolonialism does, in theme, intend to discuss the interests of non-European historical actors in their work toward national identity. Though enslaved black people in South America were ultimately unrepresented in their governments and abolition would not come until decades after independence, Blanchard is bringing light to the narratives of black men in Spanish Latin American independence, which has often been overlooked (or at least only briefly given attention) by other authors. Despite this, the evidence Chasteen and Blanchard provide cause the books to remain based in a Eurocentric history. By basing their arguments in primary sources written entirely by Europeans or European descendants (Creoles), the arguments of their monographs will have an inherent Eurocentric tilt.

However, there is a bit of a contradiction in this statement, as many Creoles would have been considered and would consider themselves non-European. Therefore, claiming that conversations based around Creole history are Eurocentric is dismissive of the goals and actions of revolutionaries in Latin America. At the same time, Creoles were American born people of European descent, and often used their whiteness and the status they were afforded by the European governmental systems they lived under as a means of gaining power and maintaining a closeness to the Spanish (and Portuguese) governments while keeping degrees of separation between themselves and other populations.

Returning to this metaphorical coin of the historiographic conversations, the monographs *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*[16] and *The End of Iberian Rule in the American*

[15] Oral history (in Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, "Oral History," in *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in History and Theory*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).) does inherently do some of this work, but seeing as Blanchard relied almost entirely on archived letters and written accounts even by some Black soldiers, he is clearly not using oral histories.

[16] Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Continent, 1770-1830[17] written by Jeremy Adelman and Brian Hamnett, respectively, easily fall to the contrary side of Blanchard and Chasteen, wanting to acknowledge the importance of revolutionary actors, while challenging their role as sole contributors. Hamnett and Adelman's arguments meet this discourse with the expectation that both Spain and Portugal should be discussed in tandem. The basis of this argument being that both empires had similar systems of growing metropoles, which were gradually supported more through their own protoindustrial growth than by the empires' capitals Lisbon or Madrid. Though their books were written ten years apart, Adelman and Hamnett have virtually the same argument and goal for their monographs. They both attempt to retrace the economic, social, and political actors throughout the fall of the Iberian empires, and ultimately look to answer the following questions: "why the empires lasted so long, why there was such strong identification with them, and how Spain and Portugal finally lost their continental-American territories."[18]

The End of Iberian Rule in the American Continent, 1770-1830, published in 2017, was written by Brian Hamnett, a British historian of Mexican and Latin American history. Though his book is centered around the Iberian empires, Hamnett uses evidence found in archives almost entirely in Spanish South America and Spain, relying on sixteen different archives in Spain, Mexico, and Ecuador, and only one Portuguese based archive in Brazil. This may stem from challenges in the archival of Portuguese documents after the movements of the King and royal court from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro from 1808 to 1821. To counter this issue, Hamnett seems to provide evidence from Spanish (meaning Spanish spoken countries) histories, and then showing how Portugal paralleled this history through evidence largely found in secondary sources. That being said, I believe due to his use of mostly Spanish archives, the narrative of this book is

[17] Brian R. Hamnett, *The End of Iberian Rule on the American Continent, 1770-1830* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
[18] Hamnett, *The End of Iberian Rule*, 1.

almost entirely centered around Spanish South American histories, even focusing entire sections of chapters around different cities in Mexico and Peru, but never doing the same in Brazil.

On the other hand, Adelman's book relies almost solely on archival information from Brazil and Europe. In fact, the largest critique of Adelman's book when it was first published was how it largely ignored much of Spanish South America. When read together, however, Adelman and Hamnett's accounts create an extremely thorough analysis of the building of sovereign nations in Latin America through the lives and deaths of the Iberian empires. Unlike Blanchard and Chasteen, Hamnett and Adelman dive deeply into economic and political sources found in archival materials and secondary sources. In doing so, they do not shy away from the effective interplay between social, economic, and political historiography.

Through exploring these economic and political histories Hamnett and Adelman also fall into the system of Eurocentric thinking, which is ultimately inevitable considering these historians' access to archival materials and the amount of time that has passed since the events took place. Since oral histories and eyewitness accounts are no longer available, historians on this topic are limited to what is available in writing, which means having access only to thoughts of those capable of writing. This also means largely investigating the thoughts of those educated by the political systems they lived under. Though the historiography in the past couple of decades has clearly worked to disrupt Eurocentric narratives, there will inherently be biases made by historians, especially North American and European authors. Additionally, though historians are trained to read primary texts for subaltern histories, critiques of archival information should be understood. This is especially true in this case where historians have retrieved almost all primary information through national archives. John Tosh raises this critique in his book *The Pursuit of History*, stating: "the critique goes further, to encompass the nature of

the archive as an institution. Archives were not created for the convenience of historians; they were established to assist the task of government. Hence what the researcher is able to read may be distorted by political concerns."[19] This is especially relevant when considering the nationalist movements that occurred throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

This is in fact a large part of the argument provided by multiple historians. In fact, historian Gabriel Paquette articulates the complexities of Latin American independence historians have exemplified in his article "The Dissolution of the Spanish Atlantic Monarchy." Paquette also explains the metaphor of the two-sides historiography that has occurred in discussions around Latin American independence.

> Those who study Spanish America's 'revolutions' stress complex, long-term social, intellectual, political, and military processes which culminated in the rejection of Spanish rule and its expulsion from the Americas. 'Emancipation' is a term chosen by those interested in the coalescence and diffusion of separatist, protean national or even sub-national identities, which preceded the overthrow of a deleterious Spanish yoke, and the formation of fully fledged nation-states. 'Independence' is the concept preferred by historians who emphasize the severance of institutional bonds linking Spain and America and the protracted formation of new polities, often in wider geopolitical and economic context.[20]

Paquette's article largely aims to discuss the notion that independence and revolution in Latin America is a very complex history, and that several notions need to be rethought.

The most important issue is that the end of the Iberian empires meant the end of social, cultural, and political systems previously in place. Furthermore, Paquette explains how historians including Hamnett, Lynch, Rodríguez, and Chasteen are looking to disrupt the notion that revolution in Latin America inherently meant the automatic upheaval (or desire thereof) by those pushing for independence. Instead, all of the texts discussed here are claiming that a very complex mix of circumstances allowed eventual independence to occur, in which the sovereign

[19] John Tosh, The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History, 6th ed. (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 117.
[20] Gabriel Paquette, "The Dissolution of the Spanish Atlantic Monarchy," *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 1 (March 2009): 181, JSTOR.

nations would inherit Spanish political systems and allow South America to take part in the European economy. What several authors have noted in their monographs, however, is that this had been occurring throughout the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. Interestingly, because of this, these authors were actively removing this conversation of independence from postcolonial conversations. This is largely due to the fact that several authors, most notably Rodríguez, have argued that Spanish (and Latin) America were not colonies under the Iberian empires, but active kingdoms within the monarchies. It is this idea that Rodríguez has put forth that Hamnett and Adelman have really used to enforce their arguments.

It also appears that the arguments that these historians are trying to counter is not necessarily occurring among other historians investigating the specific natures of Latin American independence. Instead, they are looking to correct the use of Latin America history in historiographic conversations addressing independence in a general sense. They are looking to counter seemingly uninformed claims such as this: "…while patriots in parts of Spanish America took even longer to sever ties to Spain and the Bourbon monarchy. Regardless of the circumstances, declaring independence was a step that colonial patriots took reluctantly. When they did, they assumed the decision was theirs to make,"[21] which remove any nuance from the situation, and as to the numerous circumstances affecting such colonial patriots.

This is the premise for all of the monographs I am exploring here, but all of them are based in some way around the writings of John Lynch and Jaime E. Rodríguez O., who were earlier writers in this field of the Spanish American independence. Both books are relatively vague when it comes to making a clear and concise thesis, but they are clearly early thinkers in this historiographic field, and are often the first to be cited in the introductions of other

[21] Eliga Gould, "Independence and Interdependence: The American Revolution and the Problem of Postcolonial Nationhood, circa 1802," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (October 2017): 733, JSTOR.

monographs. John Lynch's book *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808-1826* was first published in 1973, and with seemingly few changes, the second edition was published in 1986.[22] Though Lynch's book was one of the first comprehensive historical accounts of independence in Latin America, it is not a case of his work paving the way for the rest. Instead, these are clearly cyclical conversations as Lynch cites early works by Hamnett and Rodríguez. In his preface, however, Lynch acknowledges the enormity of the topic. He then organizes the book by geographic location, in order to support his notion that "the revolutions culminated in national diversity rather than American unity."[23]

Jaime E. Rodríguez O. brings a very important voice to this conversation as he is the only author among this group who was born into Latin American heritage; in fact, Rodríguez notes that his father was an Ecuadorian nationalist, who would have largely disagreed with his interpretations of history.[24] Rodríguez's book *The Independence of Spanish America* was originally written in Spanish and published in 1996 by Fondo de Cultura Económica, a Spanish-language, non-profit publishing group funded by the Mexican government. This makes this text one of few that was written in Spanish and English and solely meant to explore independence in Spanish America.

Both Lynch and Rodríguez make the argument that Spanish American independence was really initiated by the collapse of the Spanish monarchy after the Napoleonic invasion into Spain in 1808. This is an argument reiterated throughout the historiography of Spanish American independence. It is an argument that Adelman and Hamnett actively disputed, as they argued that

[22] This is the edition of the book I am working with.
[23] Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions*, ix.
[24] Rodríguez does not specifically explain why his father would not agree with his interpretation of history, other than through the hint that his father was an Ecuadorian nationalist, meaning that his father's writings (*Ayacucho, la batalla de la libertad Americana*) would most likely argue for nationalist revolutionary interpretation of history.

the onset of Latin American independence was a cumulative process that gained momentum in the late eighteenth century.[25]

Paquette's description of the historiography uses these two texts to set up much of the premise for the historiographic piece he has written on the topic. Paquette also wrote,

> Nevertheless, in the historiography of the Spanish Atlantic monarchy's demise, just as in France, enlightenment and revolution long remained 'two terms joined together in recurrent cycles of retrospective polemic'. Whereas conservatives bewailed the disastrous impact of enlightened ideas, liberal historians arrived at the opposite conclusion while sharing central assumption: enlightenment ideas, derived from France, catalysed Spain's modernization and, subsequently, hastened the end of the old regime.[26]

Lynch, Rodríguez, Adelman, and Hamnett all wrote their arguments in favor of the long term political, social, and economic changes that would lead to the eventual expulsion of the Spanish monarchy. But in addition, their arguments support the notion that foreign concepts of autonomy and sovereignty, born from recent thoughts in Western enlightenment, were abound in Latin America.And yet all of these authors support Paquette's claim that while they were influential, it was ultimately the existing Spanish and Portuguese American systems of government and autonomy that would initiate the existence of new nations.

It is hard to predict how the topic of Latin American independence will grow in future historical studies. Nonetheless, it would be irresponsible to argue that the topic will not continue to grow among English and Spanish-speaking historians in the coming decades. I predict that the arguments of Adelman and Hamnett concerning the ending of empires will be expanded, especially as we near the bicentennial of the Spanish-American War.[27] As populations of Latin American descendents in North America grow and interest in Latin American studies in college

---

[25] Hamnett, *The End of Iberian Rule,* 1.
[26] Paquette, "The Dissolution of the Spanish Atlantic Monarchy," 189-190.
[27] The Spanish-American War marks the official end of Spanish Imperialism as Cuba gained its independence during this war.

and (hopefully) high school courses broaden, the exploration of the topic will only expand with future generations of historians.

Primary Source Documents

The documents in this section are organized chronologically.

Manuel José de Lavardén was a lawyer, teacher, and writer from the Río de la Plata region of South America, in what is today Argentina. He lived from 1754 to 1809. In 1801 he wrote the poem "Oda" meaning ode, which is a poem meant to praise something. In the poem he compares European-born nobles to creole merchants. Creole, when discussing South America in the 1700 and 1800s, means people of European descent but born in South America. Though nobles and creoles were both white, there was a big class distinction between them.

"Oda"

El bien común. No es cierto, Que es la única base Sobre que funda el noble Todas sus veleidades? Pues, quién será más útil, Dime noble arrogante, Tus ocios, tus locuras El útil Comerciante, Que pegasus tributos, Que arriesga sus caudales, Que trata, compra, vende, Que el dinero reparte Poniendo en acción todos Los Oficios, las Artes?	The common good. Is it not well-known, That it is the only base Upon which the noble bases All his frivolities? What, then, would be more useful, Tell me, you arrogant noble, Your vices, four flights Or the useful Merchant Who pays his dues, Who risks his rewards, Who trades, buys, and sells, So that money might spread To put in motion all The Professions and Arts?

Source: Lavardén, Manuel José de. "Oda." April 8, 1801. In *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, by Jeremy Adelman, 167-68. N.p.: Princeton University Press, 2006.

This 1804 map of South America was originally published in an English atlas. The altas was most likely printed for educational purposes in London, England. The map includes borders of territories, settlements of European and Indigenous peoples, and rivers. The borders outlined in color indicate the separation of territories, though these appear to have been added with markers, presumably well after the original printing of the map.

Source: Patteson, Edward. South America. Map. Surrey, UK: Patteson, 1804. https://www.davidrumsey.com

A *viceroyalty* is similar to a state--it is a smaller territory under the control of a larger government, and it is governed by officials called *viceroys*. Because the empire was so far away, it was much more beneficial to have officials who could rule the smaller territories on his behalf. The viceroyalty of New Granada was the name of a territory in northern South America under the control of the Spanish Empire. New Granada later became Gran Colombia, which is now Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador. The United Provinces of New Granada was a country from 1811 until 1816, when it was reconquered by Spain. In 1811 leaders from five provinces in New Granada convened a congress and declared New Granada an independent country, calling it the United Provinces of New Granada. At this time they wrote the "Act of the Federation of the United Provinces of New Granada," which outlined the rules of their pact.

"Act of the Federation of the United Provinces of New Granada"

Spanish Original	English Translation
En el nombre de la Santísima Trinidad, padre, hijo y espíritu santo. Amén, Nos los representantes de las provincias de la Nueva Granada que abajo se expresarán, convenidos en virtud de los plenos poderes con que al efecto hemos sido autorizados por nuestras respectivas provincias, y que previa y mutuamente hemos reconocido y calificado, considerando la larga serie de sucesos ocurridos en la península de España, nuestra antigua metrópoli, desde su ocupación por las armas del emperador de los franceses Napoleón Bonaparte; las nuevas y varias formas de gobierno que entretanto y rápidamente se han sucedido unas a otras, sin que ninguna de ellas haya sido capaz de salvar la nación; el aniquilamiento de sus recursos cada día más exhaustos, en términos que la prudencia humana no puede esperar un buen fin;... cumpliendo con este religioso deber y reservando para mejor ocasión o tiempos más tranquilos la Constitución que arreglará definitivamente los intereses de este gran pueblo; hemos acordado y acordamos los pactos de federación siguientes:...	In the name of the Holy Trinity, father, son and holy spirit. Amen, We the representatives of the provinces of New Granada that will be expressed below, agreed by virtue of the full powers with which we have been authorized by our respective provinces for this purpose, and that we have previously and mutually recognized and qualified, considering the long series of events that occurred in the peninsula of Spain, our ancient metropolis, since its occupation by the arms of the French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte; the new and various forms of government that have meanwhile and rapidly succeeded each other, without any of them being able to save the nation; the annihilation of its increasingly exhausted resources, in terms that human prudence cannot hope for a good end;... fulfilling this religious duty and reserving for a better occasion or calmer times the constitution that will definitively fix the interests of this great people; We have agreed and do agree to the following federation pacts: …
Artículo 5.- Todas y cada una de las Provincias Unidas y que en adelante se	Article 5. Each and every one of the United Provinces and that from now on join from

unieren de la Nueva Granada, o de otros Estados vecinos, desconocen expresamente la autoridad del Poder Ejecutivo o Regencia de España, Cortes de Cádiz, Tribunales de Justicia y cualquiera otra autoridad subrogada o substituida por las actuales, o por los pueblos de la península, en ella, sus islas adyacentes, o en cualquiera otra parte, sin la libre y espontánea concurrencia de este pueblo. Así, en ninguna de dichas provincias se obedecerá o dará cumplimiento a las órdenes, cédulas, decretos o despachos, que emanaren de las referidas autoridades; ni de ninguna otra constituida en la península de cualquiera naturaleza que sea, civil, eclesiástica o militar, pues las dichas provincias sólo reconocen por legítimas y protestan obedecer en su distrito a las que sus respectivos pueblos hayan constituido con las facultades que le son privativas; y fuera de él a la Confederación de las Provincias Unidas, en las que por esta Acta le son delegadas y le correspondan para la conservación y desempeño de los intereses y objetos de la unión; sin que por esto se rompan tampoco los vínculos de fraternidad y amistad, ni las relaciones de comercio que nos unen con la España no ocupada, siempre que sus pueblos no aspiren a otra cosa sobre nosotros y mantengan los mismos sentimientos que manifestamos hacia ellos.	New Granada, or from other neighboring States, expressly ignore the authority of the Executive Power or Regency of Spain, Courts of Cádiz, Courts of Justice and any other subrogated authority or replaced by the current ones, or by the peoples of the peninsula, in it, its adjacent islands, or in any other part, without the free and spontaneous concurrence of this people. Thus, in none of said provinces will the orders, certificates, decrees or dispatches emanating from the aforementioned authorities be obeyed or fulfilled; nor of any other constituted in the peninsula of any nature whatsoever, civil, ecclesiastical or military, since the said provinces only recognize as legitimate and protest to obey in their district those that their respective towns have constituted with the powers that are exclusive to them; and outside of it to the Confederation of United Provinces, in which by this Act they are delegated and correspond to it for the conservation and performance of the interests and objects of the union; This does not mean that the bonds of brotherhood and friendship are broken, nor are the commercial relations that unite us with non-occupied Spain, as long as its peoples do not aspire to something else about us and maintain the same feelings that we express towards them.
Artículo 6.- Las Provincias Unidas de la Nueva Granada se reconocen mutuamente como iguales, independientes y soberanas, garantizándose la integridad de sus territorios, su administración interior y una forma de gobierno republicano. Se prometen recíprocamente la más firme amistad y alianza, se juran una fe inviolable y se ligan con un pacto eterno, cuanto permite la miserable condición humana.	Article 6.- The United Provinces of New Granada mutually recognize each other as equal, independent and sovereign, guaranteeing the integrity of their territories, their internal administration and a republican form of government. They promise each other the strongest friendship and alliance, they swear an inviolable faith and bind themselves with an eternal pact, as much as the miserable human condition allows.

Source: Fundación Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. "Acta de la Federación de las Provincias Unidas de Nueva Granada" [Act of the Federation of the United Provinces of New

Granada] 27 November, 1811. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com
Venezuela declared its independence in 1811, but by 1813 Spanish royalist force--those that fought for Spain to remain in power--had crushed the revolution and reconquered the territory. A large part of Venezuela's failure came from internal fighting among citizens. Simón Bolívar wrote "the Cartagena Manifesto" in 1812 during the Venezuelan and Colombian wars for independence. Bolívar, who was originally from Venezuela, wrote this document as a warning to New Granada to not suffer the same fate Venezuela had. In this document Bolívar provides a detailed plan to allow the United Provinces of New Granada (Colombia) to remain independent.

"The Cartagena Manifesto: Memorial Addressed to the Citizens of New Granada by a Citizen from Caracas"

My purpose in writing this memorial is to spare New Granada the fate of Venezuela and to redeem Venezuela from the affliction it now suffers. Please deign, fellow citizens, to accept it with Indulgence out of respect for such admirable intentions.

I am, Granadans, a son of unhappy *Caracas* who, miraculously escaped from amid her physical and political ruins and ever faithful to the just and liberal system proclaimed by my country, now follow the banners of independence fluttering so gloriously in these states.

Allow me, inspired by a patriotic zeal that emboldens me to address you, to sketch for you the causes that led Venezuela to her destruction and to flatter myself that the terrible and exemplary lessons proffered by that extinct Republic will persuade America to improve her own conduct, correcting the failures of unity, strength, and vigor manifest in her several governments….

...is there a country anywhere, no matter how sensible and republican it is, capable of ruling itself during times of internal unrest and external warfare by a system as complicated and weak as a federalist government? It would not be possible to maintain order during the tumult of battle and internal factionalism. The government must necessarily adjust itself, so to speak, to the context of the times, men, and circumstances in which it operates…

I am of the opinion that until we centralize our American governments, our enemies will gain irreversible advantages. We will be inevitably embroiled in the horrors of civil dissension and ingloriously defeated by that handful of bandits infesting our territories.

The popular elections conducted by the rustic inhabitants of the countryside and the intriguers living in the cities pose an additional obstacle to the practice of federation among us, because the former are so ignorant that they vote mechanically while the latter are so ambitious that they turn everything into factions.. Therefore, we never experienced a free, correct election in Venezuela, so that thee government ended up in the hands of men who were incompetent,

corrupt, or uncommitted to the cause of independence. The party spirit prevailed in all matters, causing more chaos than the events themselves. Our division, not the Spanish forces, reduced us to slavery…

Nothing can stop this emigration from Spain. It is likely that England will facilitate the exodus of a group whose departure will weaken the strength of Bonaparte in Spain and strengthen and stabilize their own power in America. France will not be able to prevent this; neither will North America; and neither will we, because since none of our countries possesses a respectable navy, our efforts will be in vain…

Another advantage is that soon as we show up in Venezuela, thousands of brave patriots who are anxiously awaiting our arrival to help them shake off the yoke of their tyrants will join their forces to ours in defense of freedom...

Let us take advantage, then, of such a propitious moment; do not let the reinforcements that could arrive from Spain at an moment totally change the strategic balance; do not let us lose, perhaps forever, the happy opportunity to assure the fortune of these States.

Caracas- A large city in Venezuela

Source: Bolívar, Simón. "The Cartagena Manifesto: Memorial Addressed to the Citizens of New Granada by a Citizen from Caracas." 15 December, 1812. In *El Libertador: Writings of Simón Bolívar,* edited by David Bushnell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

In 1804 Napoleon Bonaparte led the French army into Spain in order to gain control over the Iberian peninsula, which contains Spain and Portugal. This led to the Peninsular war, in which Spain, England, and Portugal fought against invading French forces. The war lasted from 1807 to 1814. During this time the Spanish empire lost much of its control over South America as it had to focus its efforts on fighting France. Many South American revolutions began at this time. After the end of the Peninsular war, Spanish forces returned to South America in 1816 and reconquered many of the territories. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes was a Spanish painter who lived from 1746 to 1828, and painted several paintings that depicted Spain's history. In this painting Goya shows a group of men being executed after an uprising against the French occupation of Madrid.

"The 3rd of May 1808 in Madrid"

Source: Goya y Lucientes, Francisco de. The 3rd of May 1808 in Madrid. 1814. Oil on Canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain. https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-3rd-of-may-1808-in-madrid-or-the-executions/5e177409-2993-4240-97fb-847a02c6496c.

In 1821 Ecuador's independence movement began when revolutionaries declared the city of Guyaquil independent. Guayaquil is a port city in modern day Ecuador. Throughout the Spanish colonization of South America, Guayaquil was part of both the Viceroyalty of Peru and later the Viceroyalty of New Granada. José de San Martín was a general who helped liberate much of the southern parts of South America. Martín led military forces through Argentina, Chile, and then Peru. Simón Bolívar on the other hand, led military campaigns through northern South America, liberating Venezuela, and Colombia. Neither man had an official role in the initial revolutionary actions that took place in Guayaquil, but both felt a responsibility to see the territory become independent. In 1822 José de San Martín wrote this letter to Simón Bolívar to discuss the fate of Guayaquil. In July they met at a conference in Guayaquil. There is no record of what was discussed during this meeting, but shortly after, Bolívar took over the liberation movement and Martín resigned. Under Bolívar, Ecuador became a part of Gran Colombia until 1830 when it separated as an independent country.

"General José de San Martín to the Liberator President of Colombia"

Lima, March 3, 1822.

Most Excellent Sir:

From copies of the communications sent to me by the government of the province of Guayaquil, I regret to observe the serious recommendation which Your Excellency has directed to it respecting that province being united to the territory of Colombia. I have always felt that in so delicate a matter the spontaneous desire of Guayaquil should be the principle determining the conduct of the bordering states, neither of which is entitled to influence the deliberation of the people through force. I have held this belief so sacred that, from the first day that I sent my deputies to that government, I refrained from influencing it in any matter not essentially related to the prosecution of the war on this continent. If Your Excellency will permit me to speak in terms worthy of the brilliance of your name and in keeping with sentiments, I will take the liberty of saying that it is not our object to employ the sword for any purpose other than to reaffirm the right that we have acquired in battle to be acclaimed that liberators of our country. We must permit Guayaquil to examine her future destiny and reflect upon her own interests, in order that she may, of her own accor join the country be suited to her purpose, for she cannot remain isolated without injury to both sides. I cannot, nor do I desire to, abandon the hope that the day of our first meeting, our first exchange of greetings, will signify the settlement of all our existing difficulties; that it will be an assurance of the bond which united our two countries, and that we shall find that there is no obstacle which cannot ultimately be removed. Meanwhile, I beg Your Excellency to be assured that the glory of Colombia and Perú constitutes but one identical object for me, and that, as soon as that campaign into which the enemy is about to throw all his united forces in one final attempt is over, I will to meet Your Excellency and seal our glory, which in large measure now depends on no one but ourselves.

May it please Your Excellency to accept my sentiments of esteem and high regard I remain your respectful servant.

José de San Martín

Source: San Martín, José de. Letter to Simón Bolívar, "General José de San Martín to the Liberator President of Colombia," March 3, 1822. In *Selected Writings of Bolivar*, Edited by Harold A. Bierck, Jr. New York, NY: Banco de Venezuela, 1951.

The first revolutionary movement in Colombia arose in 1810. The revolutionaries sought independence from Spain. There were revolutionaries active all over South America, and they claimed control of some territories. Spanish military forces quickly moved through South America to retake any lost territories, and in doing so successfully suppressed many patriotic movements for independence, including in Colombia. In 1819 Simón Bolívar began a military campaign to retake Colombia, and by 1822 the revolutionaries under Bolívar had successfully defeated the Spanish forces. In this document from June 1822, Bolívar proclaims that Colombia is now free from Spanish control. Colombia at the time was also known as Gran Colombia and included what is today Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Panama.

Original Spanish	Translated English
Colombianos: Ya toda vuestra hermosa patria es libre. Las victorias de Bombona y Pichincha han completado la obra de vuestro heroísmo. Desde las riberas del Orinoco hasta los Andes del Perú, el ejército libertador marchando en triunfo ha cubierto con sus armas protectoras toda la extensión de Colombia. Una sola plaza resiste, pero caerá.	Colombians: Your entire beautiful homeland is now free. The victories of *Bombona* and *Pichincha* have completed the work of your heroism. From the banks of the *Orinoco* to the *Andes* of Peru, the liberating army marching in triumph has covered the entire extension of Colombia with its protective weapons. A single square resists, but will fall.
Colombianos del Sur: la sangre de vuestros hermanos os ha redimido de los horrores de la guerra. Ella os ha abierto la entrada al goce de los más santos derechos de libertad y de igualdad. Las leyes colombianas consagran la alianza de las prerrogativas sociales con los fueros de la naturaleza. La constitución de Colombia es el modelo de un Gobierno representativo, republicano y fuerte. No esperéis encontrar otro mejor en las instituciones políticas del mundo, sino cuando él mismo alcance su perfección. Regocijaos de pertenecer a una gran familia, que ya reposa a la sombra de bosques de laureles, y que nada puede desear, sino ver acelerar la marcha del tiempo para que desarrolle los	Colombians of the South: the blood of your brothers has redeemed you from the horrors of war. She has opened the way for you to enjoy the most holy rights of liberty and equality. Colombian laws establish the alliance of social prerogatives with the fueros of nature. The constitution of Colombia is the model of a representative, republican and strong government. Do not expect to find a better one in the political institutions of the world, but when he himself reaches his perfection. Rejoice to belong to a great family, that already rests in the shade of *laurel* forests, and that can wish nothing but to see the march of time accelerate so that it develops the eternal principles of good that our laws contain.

principios eternos del bien que encierran nuestras leyes. Colombianos Participad del océano de gozo que inunda mi corazón; y elevad en los vuestros altares al Ejército Libertador, que os dado gloria, paz y libertad.	Colombians Participate in the ocean of joy that floods my heart; and raise on your altars the Liberation Army, which has given you glory, peace and freedom.

Bombona- A battle that occurred while fighting for independence

Pichincha- A battle that occurred near Quito, Ecuador on the side of the Pichincha volcano

Orinoco- A river that flows through Venezuela and Colombia

Andes- A mountain range that runs through Peru and down the Western side of South America

Laurel- A type of tree, used to symbolize triumph or success worn at a wreath or crown on the head

Source: Bolívar, Simón. A Proclamation of the Freedom of Colombia. June 8, 1822. http://www.archivodellibertador.gob.ve

The war for Bolivian independence first began in 1809. At that time the territory was known as Charcas and was under the viceroyalty of Lima in Peru. Over the next 15 years the territory was conquered and reconquered by both royalists and patriots several times. *Royalists* were people who fought to remain a part of the Spanish empire, while *patriots* fought for independence. Though the country declared independence in 1821, Bolivia did not gain full independence until 1825. After liberating the territory there were the options to either join the land with Peru or Argentina. Antonio José de Sucre, the first president of Bolivia, decided to instead leave the territory as an independent nation, naming it after Simón Bolívar, who is considered the liberator of Bolivia. Bolívar wrote the constitution for the country and presented it to the Bolivian congress in May, 1826. The constitution was adopted and remained until it was replaced in 1831.

The Bolivian Constitution

I. Address to the Constituent Congress...
[Simón Bolívar's personal address to congress.]
II. Draft of a Constitution for Bolivia

In the name of the God, the General Constituent Congress of the Bolivian Republic, named by the people to form the constitution of the state, decrees the following:

Title I Of the Nation

Chapter I Of the Bolivian Nation

Article 1. The Bolivian nation is the union of all Bolivians.

Article 2. Bolivia is and will be forever independent of all foreign domination and cannot be the patrimony of any person or family.

Chapter 2 Of the Territory

Article 3. The territory of the Bolivian Republic comprises the departments of Potosí, Chuquisaca, La Paz, Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, and Oruro.

Article 4. It is divided into departments, provinces, and cantons.

Article 5. One shall be legislated to make the divisions more convenient, another to establish boundaries, with the consent of adjacent states.

Title 2 Of the Government

Chapter I Form of the Government

Article 6. The government of Bolivia is a representative democracy.

Article 7. Sovereignty emanates from the people, and its exercise is vested in the powers that this Constitution establishes.

Article 8. The Supreme Power is divided for its exercise into four sections: Electoral, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.

Article 9. Each section shall exercise the powers stipulated for it in this constitution.

Chapter 2 of the Bolivians

Article 10. Bolivians include:

1. All those born in the territory of the Republic.
2. The children of a Bolivian father or mother, including those born outside the territory if they manifest legally their wish to reside in Bolivia.
3. The liberators of the Republic, identified as such by the law of 2 August, 1825.
4. Foreigners who obtain a letter of naturalization or who have three years of residence in the territory of the Republic.
5. All those who have until now been slaves and who are liberated as a consequence of the publication of this Constitution; a special law shall be enacted to determine the amount of compensation to be paid to their former owners.

Article 11. All Bolivians have the following obligations:

1. To live according to the Constitution and the laws.
2. To respect and obey the constituted authorities.
3. To contribute to the public revenue.
4. To sacrifice their property and even their lives, when the well-being of the Republic so requires.
5. To be vigilant in the preservation of public freedoms.

Article 12. Bolivians who are denied the right to vote shall enjoy all civil rights granted to citizens.

Article 13. To be a citizen, it is necessary:

1. To be a Bolivian.
2. To be married, or older than twenty-one years of age.
3. To know how to read and write.
4. To have some employment or trade, or to profess some science or art, without subjection to another person as a domestic servant.

Article 14. The following are citizens:

1. Liberators of the Republic (Article 10, item 3).
2. Foreigners who obtain a letter of citizenship.
3. Foreign men who are married to a Bolivian woman and who satisfy the conditions of item 3 and 4 of Article 13.
4. Unmarried foreign men who have four years of residence in the Republic, subject to the same conditions.

Article 15. The citizens of the nations of America formerly ruled by Spain shall enjoy the rights of citizenship in Bolivia, according to the terms of any treaties entered into by those nations.

Article 16. Only those who are active citizens can obtain public employment and offices.

Article 17. The exercise of citizenship is suspended:

1. For insanity.
2. For the crime of debt fraud.
3. For those under criminal indictment.
4. For being notorious drunkard, gambler, or beggar.

5. For buying or selling votes in elections or for interfering with the electoral process.

Article 18. The rights of the citizenship are forfeited:

1. For treason of the public cause.
2. For taking citizenship in a foreign country.
3. For having been convicted of an infamous or serious crime by a court.

Source: Bolívar, Simón. "The Bolivian Constitution." 25 May, 1826. In *El Libertador: Writings of Simón Bolívar*, edited by David Bushnell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

This is an 1827 print made by Charles Turner derived from a painting by José Gil de Castro of Simón Bolívar made. José Gil de Castro painted several portraits of Simón Bolívar, and though many artists also made their renditions of Bolívar. Bolívar believed Gil de Castro painted the most lifelike representation of himself. In this full length portrait of Bolívar, he stands in a military uniform complete with a sword and spurs. In the background two soldiers converse in front of the South American landscape. At the bottom of this print the phrase "Libertador de Colombia y del Perú; y Fundador de Bolivia," which translates to "The Liberator of Colombia and Peru; and the Founder of Bolivia."

Source: Gil de Castro, José, and Charles Turner. Simón Bolívar. *Libertador de Colombia y del Perú; y Fundador de Bolivia*. 1827. Mezzotint Print. John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. https://jcb.lunaimaging.com

This 1832 map of South America is from an English atlas of the world. The colorful borders allow the viewer to tell one region from another. For example, Gran Colombia is blue while Brazil is yellow and Peru is red. In this map Venezuela, Panama, and Ecuador are all still part of Gran Colombia. This is slightly incorrect as Venezuela became independent in 1831. In the atlas, along with this map is information about South America, such as the climate and geography, and the people that live there. Despite this book being made in 1832, the authors do not talk about the political unrest or independence movements happening at the time. To see the accompanying text of the map you can look here and here.

Source: Dower, John, and W.M. Higgins. South America. Map. London: W.S. Orr, 1832. https://www.davidrumsey.com

Textbook Critique

I have chosen to review a chapter from the 2003 textbook *History of Our World: People, Places, and Ideas.* The chapter is titled "Revolution in Latin America," in which the author has written a three page explanation of the Latin American revolutions at what appears to be a middle school level. The chapter is undoubtedly historically informed, as the chapter discusses historical background information about the class systems and alludes to the role of enlightenment ideas in the revolutions. The chapter relies heavily on text for explaining the events, using minimal images, maps, or timelines to provide supplemental information. This information provided does not necessarily bridge the gap between important historical context and important underlying ideas.

The chapter begins with a quick bit of background information that explains Latin America being almost entirely under the control of Spain and Portugal. To continue setting the stage, the chapter provides a lengthy couple of paragraphs that explain the racialized class system that occurred. Whether it is a textbook, monograph, or historical article, all publications rightfully discuss the importance of the class system and the structure it took. Unfortunately, in this textbook (as well as most others) the author uses language meant to express the extreme hierarchy that existed. The author begins by explaining the peninsulares, then the creoles, then mestizos and mulattos, and finally Blacks and Native Americans. This is absolutely a challenging task, especially because you want to make it clear to the unfamiliar reader that this social order played a big role in how the revolution unfolded, but by using language like "below these upper classes were the mestizos and mulattoes," there is also a negative effect. I feel that the role people of color had as historical actors easily becomes belittled or overlooked, especially as this is coupled with the idea that creoles, like Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín, led the

revolutionary movement. This however ignores the fact that Bolívar and Martín both utilized the large population of Native Americans, Mestizos, and Black folks who used the revolution as a means to more freedoms. By giving a simple top down view of the class system, it ignores the stakes that different groups had in the revolutions.

Under the heading "Revolution Begins," the next paragraph seems to switch tracks altogether as the Haitian revolution is explained. While this is very important information for multiple reasons, the paragraph ultimately appears out of place. I believe the goal with the paragraph was to explain that the Haitian revolution was the first successful revolution in the Americas, which it does successfully. But after setting up the chapter to explain specifically Spanish and Portuguese Latin America, the paragraph suddenly hops to a revolution in a French colony, which I imagine could have a confusing effect on a reader. The work of Toussaint-Louverture, the Haitian revolution, as well as the French revolution had an important role in the revolutions that occurred in South America. With the chapter including this short paragraph on Haiti, it alludes to these themes and could potentially be an opening for discussion within a class, but the reader is not given this information.

There are other organizational errors that make this chapter confusing and even misleading. For example under the heading "Independence for Brazil" there are three paragraphs. The first two explain how Napoleon's invasion of Portugal threatened the crown and eventually led to Brazil's independence in 1822. The next paragraph then states

> More Latin American countries began seeking independence. Jose de San Martin [sic] led creoles in a fight for the independence of modern-day Argentina. He also won independence for Chile. Other nations won independence under the leadership of Simón Bolívar. By 1830, the Spanish Empire in Latin America had been divided into several independent countries.[28]

[28] Henry Billings, "Revolution in Latin America," in History of Our World: People, Places, and Ideas (Austin, Tex.: Steck-Vaughn, 2003), 362.

This paragraph was misleading for several reasons. First, its placement in the chapter paints an odd timeline in the reader's imagination. It puts the revolution and independence of Brazil before those of other Latin American countries, almost as if to say Brazilian independence led to the independence of other countries. It also places Spanish American revolutions later in time, as if they all existed solely in the 1820s. In reality independence movements in Latin America were happening simultaneously, and largely began in the early 1800s.

Second, this paragraph again gives immense credit to creoles in their roles in the revolution and ignores the role people of color had in fighting. José de San Martín specifically used emancipation as a tool to fill his armies in Argentina, promising freedom to enslaved men who turned on their owners.[29] But by writing "Jose de San Martin [sic] led creoles in a fight for the independence of modern-day Argentina," these facts have been oversimplified to the point of erasure.

Finally, this chapter completely omits any information about the peninsular war after the French invasion of the Iberian peninsula in 1807. In the peninsular war, Spain, Portugal, and England fought against France as it tried to expand its empire across Western Europe. It is briefly mentioned in the paragraph on Brazil, but this does not give enough weight to its effects. The peninsular war in Europe was very significant for the Latin American revolutions because it was, simply put, a distraction for Spain and Portugal. In their need to fight against French invasion, these empires lost significant control over their colonies in Latin America. This gave revolutionary movements across the continent a significant foothold, and explains why they all seemed to happen right at the beginning of the nineteenth century even though they were not a singular movement. By removing the peninsular war from the discussion about Latin American

[29] Peter Blanchard, *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008).

independence, the reader loses a lot of important cause and effect contextual information. Instead, these revolutions simply appear to have just happened, rather than being tied to specific times and events.

Textbook Entry

[This section would come after an initial explanation of colonization of Latin America.]

People of Latin America

After the colonization of Latin America by European countries, there were many people with different identities living on the continent. While Latin America was under the control of the Spanish and Portoguese Empires, a class system developed. This system gave certain groups power over others. The groups in power treated the others unfairly, which helped to create revolutionary conditions.

The biggest group of people were the Native Americans who had lived in empires that existed before colonizers arrived. After the Spanish empire took over much of the continent, Native Americans became subjects under Spanish rule. The other large group of people were Africans, who had been brought to Latin America as slaves to work on plantations. These plantations were known as **Haciendas**. Because of the class system, Native Americans and Black people held the least power in Latin American society.

People of mixed race held a little more power. These people were known as **Mestizos** or **Mulattoes**. Mestizos were people whose ancestors were white and Native American. Mulattoes were people whose ancestors were black and white. Because they were mixed race they had more freedoms in society, but they still did not hold a lot of power.

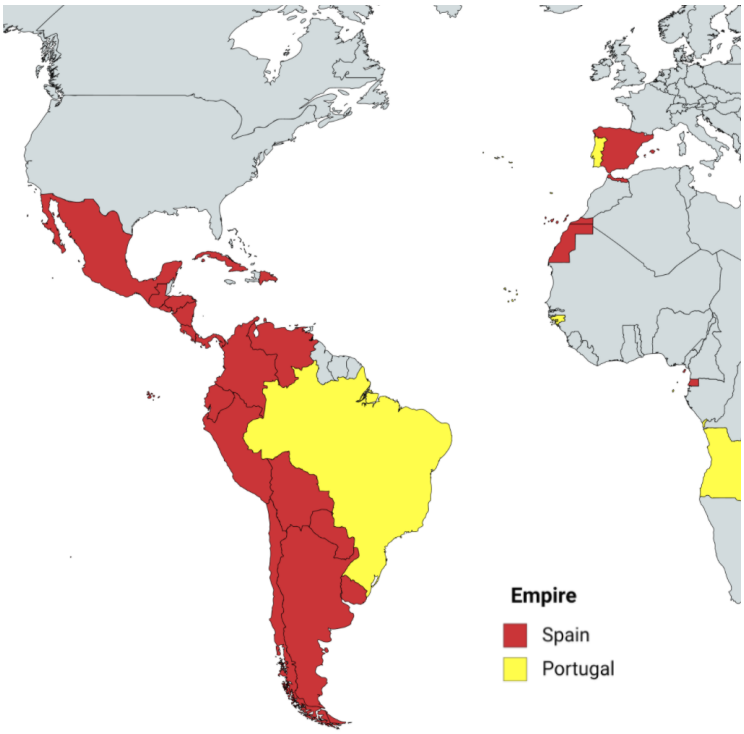
The people that held the most power were known as **Peninsulares**. This means they were people, though mostly men, who were from Spain or Portugal, but now lived in Latin America. They would hold government positions and had direct contact with the royal governments in Europe. Because they worked directly for the European governments, and because they were European themselves, they were considered above everyone else. They also had control over laws that would affect everyone else.

Creoles were people with European ancestors, but who were born in Latin America. They are white, but called themselves American rather than Spanish or European. Creoles were not as powerful as Peninsulares because they did not hold roles in the governments. They still held a lot of power because many of them were merchants or owned plantations. This meant they had a big role in the **economy** of Latin America. Economy means the wealth and resources a country has and produces.

Each of these groups played a role in the revolutions that would happen in the 1800s in Latin America. Peninsulares fought for Spain and Portugal against the revolutions; this was because the revolutions threatened their power in society. Many Creoles fought and even led the revolutions. They had a lot to gain when the European empires were no longer in place. People of color like the Native Americans, Mestizos, Africans, and Mulattoes also played a role. Many saw the revolutions as a way to gain more freedoms in society.

Peninsular War

The **Iberian Peninsula** is a peninsula in Western Europe where Spain and Portugal are located. This area of land is important because the countries there control who has access to the Mediterranean Sea from the Atlantic ocean.



Iberian Peninsula Map

In 1807, French leader Napoleon Bonaparte and his army invaded Spain. Bonaparte wanted control over the Iberian peninsula. This was the beginning of the **Peninsular War**. In the war, Spain, Portugal, and England fought against France, which was trying to expand its empire and take over their countries. This war lasted from 1808 to 1814. This war had a big effect on Spain and Portugal and their empires in Latin America.

Fearing French invasion, the Portuguese King left Portugal and moved his **Royal Court** to Brazil, making it the new capital of the empire. When the Court moved back to Portugal in 1822, the King left control of Brazil to his son, Dom Pedro I. Dom Pedro I declared the country's independence, which led to Brazil becoming an independent nation.

The Peninsular War also played a big role in revolutionary movements in Spanish-controlled Latin America. While Spain and Portugal were distracted with having to defend their home countries, revolutionary leaders took the opportunity to take control of the empires' territories in Latin America. These revolutionary leaders are known as **Libertadores**.

The peninsular war ended in 1814, which allowed Spanish forces to return their attention to the revolutionaries in Latin America. Instead of letting the new nations in Latin America keep their independence, Spain reconquered all the territories, returning control to the Spanish **Peninsulares**. Even though this effectively stopped the revolutionary movements in their tracks, it did not end them completely.

Bibliography

Adelman, Jeremy. *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Archer, Christon I. "Review: Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic." *The Americas* 66, no. 3 (January 2010). https://muse.jhu.edu/article/368753.

Berger, Mark T. "Civilising the South: The US Rise to Hegemony in the Americas and the Roots of 'Latin American Studies' 1898-1945." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 12, no. 1 (January 1993). JSTOR.

Billings, Henry. "Revolution in Latin America." In *History of Our World: People, Places, and Ideas*. Austin, Tex.: Steck-Vaughn, 2003.

Blanchard, Peter. Review of *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence*. H-Diplo. Last modified January 2009. http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=23700.

———. *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008.

Blaufarb, Rafe. "The Western Question: The Geopolitics of Latin American Independence." *The American Historical Review ,* 112, no. 3 (June 2007). JSTOR.

Cañeque, Alejandro. Review of *The End of Iberian Rule on the American Continent, 1770–1830*. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 70 (November 1, 2018). https://muse.jhu.edu/article/711410.

Chasteen, John Charles. *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008.

Claus, Peter, and John Marriott. "Global Histories." In *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method, and Practice*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

Dym, Jordana. "Review: Jeremy Adelman, Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic." *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (April 2009). SAGE Journals Online.

"Global History and Globalization." In *The New World History: A Field Guide for Teachers and Researchers*, edited by Ross E. Dunn, Laura J. Mitchell, and Kerry Ward. N.p.: University of California Press, n.d.

Gould, Eliga. "Independence and Interdependence: The American Revolution and the Problem of Postcolonial Nationhood, circa 1802." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (October 2017). JSTOR.

Green, Anna, and Kathleen Troup. *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in History and Theory*. 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

———. "Oral History." In *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in History and Theory*, 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Hamnett, Brian R. *The End of Iberian Rule on the American Continent, 1770-1830*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Historia Mexicana 69, no. 1 (Summer/Fall 2019). JSTOR.

"Iberian Empires." Map. Wikimedia Commons. April 6, 2016. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Iberian_Empire.png.

"Iberian Peninsula Map." Map. World Atlas. https://www.worldatlas.com/peninsulas/iberian-peninsula.html.

Lynch, John. *The Spanish American Revolutions: 1808-1826*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Norton, 1986.

Manning, Patrick. "Defining World History." In *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global past*, Repr. ed. New York, N.Y: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Mazlish, Bruce. *Conceptualizing Global History*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.

Paquette, Gabriel. "The Dissolution of the Spanish Atlantic Monarchy." *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 1 (March 2009). JSTOR.

Rodríguez O., Jaime E. *The Independence in Spanish America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*. 6th ed. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015.

Venkovits, Balázs. "Review: A New Perspective on Warring Latin America." Review of *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence*. *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 15, no. 1 (Spring 2009). https://www.jstor.org/stable/41274469?seq=4#metadata_info_tab_contents.