Access to History for the **IB Diploma**

Independence movements

Alan Farmer

HODDER EDUCATION

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Dedication

Keith Randell (1943–2002)

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Contents

Introduction

This book has been written to support your study of HL option 3: Aspects of the history of the Americas: Independence movements of the IB History Diploma Route 2.

This introduction gives you an overview of:

- the content you will study for Independence movements
- how you will be assessed for Paper 3
- the different features of this book and how these will aid your learning.

1 What you will study

From 1775 until around 1825, much of the Americas were under the control of several European powers. A series of independence movements arose and waged war against the colonial masters. How the USA and Central and South American nations won their independence is the focus of this book. The causes behind each independence movement are discussed, as are the immediate economic, social and political impacts of the successful wars.

The book:

- begins by discussing the various factors which led to independence movements in North, South and Central America (Chapter 1)
- traces the American quest for independence from 1775–83 and explores the impact of the Declaration of Independence, various military campaigns, foreign aid to the rebels and watershed battles such as Saratoga and Yorktown (Chapter 2)
- covers the various Latin American independence movements, including an investigation of the relatively bloodless Brazilian path to independence, as well as looking at how European events impacted on events in the Americas (Chapter 3)
- examines the roles played by a number of key political and military leaders such as George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Simón Bolívar, José de San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins (Chapter 4)
- looks at the roles the USA and Britain played in the Latin American wars of independence, and discusses the formulation and impact of the Monroe Doctrine (Chapter 5)
- analyses the results of the different independence wars on both the economies and societies of the Americas and concludes by examining how the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution helped shape political cohesion in the new USA (Chapter 6).

2 How you will be assessed

The IB History Diploma Higher Level has three papers in total: Papers 1 and 2 for Standard Level and a further Paper 3 for Higher Level. It also has an internal assessment that all students must do.

- For Paper 1 you need to answer four source-based questions on a prescribed subject. This counts for 20 per cent of your overall marks.
- For Paper 2 you need to answer two essay questions on two different topics. This counts for 25 per cent of your overall marks.
- For Paper 3 you need to answer three essay questions on two or three sections. This counts for 35 per cent of your overall marks.

For the Internal Assessment you need to carry out a historical investigation. This counts for 20 per cent of your overall marks

HL option 3: Aspects of the history of the Americas is assessed through Paper 3. You must study three sections out of a choice of 12, one of which could be Independence movements. These sections are assessed through Paper 3 of the IB History diploma which has 24 essay questions – two for each of the 12 sections. In other words, there will be two specific questions that you can answer based on Independence movements. For clarity's sake, this book also examines the creation of political structures in the new USA and you may well find a suitable question you can answer from the section immediately after Independence movements. This is called Nation-building and challenges.

Examination questions

For Paper 3 you need to answer three of the 24 questions. You could either answer two on one of the sections you have studied and one on another section, or one from each of the three sections you have studied. So, assuming Independence movements is one of the sections you have studied, you may choose to answer one or two questions on it.

The questions are divided up into the 12 sections and are usually arranged chronologically. In the case of the questions on Independence movements, you should expect numbers 1 and 2 to be on this particular section. Question numbers 3 and 4 pertain to Nation-building and challenges and you may well be able to answer one of these if it is concerned with the Articles of Confederation and the US Constitution. When the exam begins, you will have five minutes in which to read the questions. You are not allowed to use a pen or highlighter during the reading period. Scan the list of questions but focus on the ones relating to the sections you have studied.

Remember you are to write on the history of the Americas. If a question such as, 'Discuss the impact of one independence movement in the region' is asked do NOT write about independence in an African country. You will

receive no credit for this answer. It is also important to keep in mind that you should be writing about independence movements from 1775 to 1825. How the Cubans and Panamanians, for example, achieved independence should not be the subject of an essay for this topic because both fall outside this time frame.

Command terms

When choosing the three questions, keep in mind that you must answer the question asked, not one you might have hoped for. A key to success is understanding the demands of the question. IB History diploma questions use key terms and phrases known as command terms. The more common command terms are listed in the table below, with a brief definition of each. More are listed in the appendix of the IB History Guide.

Examples of questions using some of the more common command terms and specific strategies to answer them are included at the end of Chapters 1–6.

Command term	Description	Where exemplified in this book
Analyse	Investigate the various components of a given issue	Pages 93, 160, 182
Assess	Very similar to evaluate. Raise the various sides to an argument but clearly state which are more important and why	Pages 55, 95, 221
Compare and contrast	Discuss both similarities and differences of two events, people, etc.	Pages 52, 133
Evaluate	Make a judgement while looking at two or more sides of an issue	Pages 133, 159, 223
To what extent	Discuss the various merits of a given argument or opinion	Pages 55, 160, 180, 182
Why	Explain the reasons for something that took place. Provide several reasons	Pages 95, 131, 223

Answering the questions

You have two-and-a-half hours to answer the three questions or 50 minutes each. Try to budget your time wisely. In other words, do not spend 75 minutes on one answer. Before you begin each essay, take five to seven minutes to compose an outline of the major points you will raise in your essay. These you can check off as you write the essay itself. This is not a waste of time and will bring organization and coherency to what you write. Well-organized essays that include an introduction, several well-supported arguments, and a concluding statement are much more likely to score highly than essays which jump from point to point without structure.

The three essays you write for Paper 3 will be read by a trained examiner. The examiner will read your essays and check what you write against the IB mark scheme. This mark scheme offers guidance to the examiner but is not comprehensive. You may well write an essay that includes analysis and evidence not included in the mark scheme and that is fine. It is also worth remembering that the examiner who will mark your essay is looking to reward well-defended and argued positions, not to deduct for misinformation.

Each of your essays will be marked on a 0–20 scale, for a total of 60 points. The total score will be weighted as 35 per cent of your final IB History. Do bear in mind that you are not expected to score 60/60 to earn a 7; 37–39/60 will equal a 7. Another way of putting this is that if you write three essays that each score 13, you will receive a 7.

Writing essays

In order to attain the highest mark band (18–20), your essays should:

- be clearly focused
- address all implications of the question
- demonstrate extensive historical knowledge
- demonstrate knowledge of historical processes such as continuity and change
- integrate your analysis
- be well structured
- have well-developed synthesis.

Your essay should include an introduction in which you set out your main points. Do not waste time copying the question but define the key terms stated in the question. The best essays probe the demands of the question. In other words, there are often different ways of interpreting the question.

Next, you should write an in-depth analysis of your main points in several paragraphs. Here you will provide evidence that supports your argument. Each paragraph should focus on one of your main points and relate directly to the question. More sophisticated responses include counter-arguments.

Finally, you should end with a concluding statement.

In the roughly 45 minutes you spend on one essay, you should be able to write 3–6 pages. While there is no set minimum, you do need to explore the issues and provide sufficient evidence to support what you write.

At the end of Chapters 1–6, you will find IB-style questions with guidance on how best to answer them. Each question focuses on a different command term. It goes without saying that the more practice you have writing essays, the better your results will be.

The appearance of the examination paper

Cover

The cover of the examination paper states the date of the examination and the length of time you have to complete it: 2 hours 30 minutes. Please note that there are two routes in history. Make sure your paper says Route 2 on it. Instructions are limited and simply state that you should not open it until told to do so and that three questions must be answered.

Questions

You will have five minutes in which to read through the questions. It is very important to choose the three questions you can answer most fully. It is quite possible that two of the three questions may be on Independence movements, especially after mastering the material in this book. That is certainly permissible. After the five minutes' reading time is over, you can take out your pen and mark up the exam booklet:

- Circle the three questions you have decided to answer.
- Identify the command terms and important points. For example, if a question asked, 'With reference to **two** countries in the region, analyse the contribution of economic factors to the outbreak of the wars of independence' underline analyse, economic factors and outbreak. This will help you to focus on the demands of the question.

For each essay take 5–7 minutes to write an outline and approximately 43–45 minutes to write the essay.

3 About this book

Coverage of the course content

This book addresses the key areas listed in the IB History Guide for Route 2: HL option 3: Aspects of the history of the Americas: Independence movements. Chapters start with an introduction outlining key questions they address. They are then divided into a series of sections and topics covering the course content.

Throughout the chapters you will find the following features to aid your study of the course content:

Key and leading questions

Each section heading in the chapter has a related key question which gives a focus to your reading and understanding of the section. These are also listed in the chapter introduction. You should be able answer the questions after completing the relevant section.

Topics within the sections have leading questions which are designed to help you focus on the key points within a topic and give you more practice in answering questions.

Key terms

Key terms are the important terms you need to know to gain an understanding of the period. These are emboldened in the text the first time they appear in the book and are defined in the margin. They also appear in the glossary at the end of the book.

Sources

Throughout the book are several written and visual sources. Historical sources are important components in understanding more fully why specific decisions were taken or on what contemporary writers and politicians based their actions. The sources are accompanied by questions to help you dig deeper into the history of the independence movements in the Americas.

Key debates

Historians often disagree on historical events and this historical debate is referred to as historiography. Knowledge of historiography is helpful in reaching the upper mark bands when you take your IB History examinations. You should not merely drop the names of historians in your essay. You need to understand the different points of view for a given historiographical debate. These you can bring up in your essay. There are a number of debates throughout the book to develop your understanding of historiography.

Theory of Knowledge (TOK) questions

Understanding that different historians see history differently is an important element in understanding the connection between the IB History Diploma and Theory of Knowledge. Alongside some of the debates is a Theory of Knowledge-style question which makes that link.

Summary diagrams

At the end of each section is a summary diagram that gives a visual summary of the content of the section. It is intended as an aid for revision.

Chapter summary

At the end of each chapter is a short summary of the content of that chapter. This is intended to help you revise and consolidate your knowledge and understanding of the content.

Examination guidance

At the end of Chapters 1–6 is:

- examination guidance on how to answer questions, accompanied with advice on what supporting evidence you might use, and sometimes sample answers designed to help you focus on specific details
- examination practice in the form of Paper 3-style questions.

End of the book

The book concludes with the following sections:

Timeline

This gives a timeline of the major events covered in the book and is helpful for quick reference or as a revision tool.

Glossary

All key terms in the book are defined in the glossary.

Further reading

This contains a list of books and websites that may help you with further independent research and presentations. It may also be helpful when further information is required for internal assessments and extended essays in history. You may wish to share the contents of this area with your school or local librarian.

Internal assessment

All IB History diploma students are required to write a historical investigation that is internally assessed. The investigation is an opportunity for you to dig more deeply into a subject that interests you. This gives you a list of possible areas for research.

CHAPTER 1

Independence movements in the Americas

In 1783, what became the USA won independence from Britain. Between 1810 and 1825 South and Central America broke free from Spanish and Portuguese control. What caused the (North) American Revolution? Were the causes of unrest in Latin America similar to those in North America?

This chapter will consider these issues by examining the following key questions:

- Were there any indications pre-1763 that North Americans wanted independence?
- What caused the American Revolution?
- What caused the American War of Independence?
- What were the main causes of unrest in Latin America?

1 The North American colonies by 1763

Key question: Were there any indications pre-1763 that North Americans wanted independence?

In 1763 British North America ran from Hudson Bay to Florida. Few Americans or Britons expected that within twelve years they would be at war.

Why did the American population grow so quickly?

Population

By the mid-eighteenth century Britain controlled thirteen **colonies** on the American mainland. Most Americans lived along the Atlantic seaboard (see map, page 9).

Between 1700 and 1763 the thirteen colonies' population increased from 250,000 to 2 million. There were three reasons:

- a high birth rate (the average American woman had seven children)
- a low death rate (Americans lived longer than Europeans)
- immigration and the slave trade.

By 1770 Virginia, with some 500,000 inhabitants, was the largest colony, followed by Pennsylvania and Massachusetts each with about 275,000 people. Delaware and Georgia each had fewer than 40,000. There were only five towns of any size – all seaports: Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston. By 1760 their combined population was 73,000. Philadelphia had 23,750 people, New York 18,000 and Boston 16,000.

KEY TERM

Colony Territory, usually overseas, occupied by settlers from a 'mother country' which continues to have power over the settlers.

The Thirteen Colonies

The colonial melting pot

Some 400,000 people migrated to the thirteen colonies between 1700 and 1763. While most seventeenth-century settlers were of English stock, less than a fifth of the eighteenth-century migrants were English. Most white immigrants hoped to better themselves economically. The largest group (some 150,000) were Scots-Irish Protestants from Ulster. About 65,000 Germans also crossed the Atlantic. Large numbers of blacks from West Africa were brought across the Atlantic as slaves. By 1763 there were 350,000 slaves. By 1760 about half the American population was of English stock. Around 15 per cent was Welsh, Scottish or Scots-Irish. Africans comprised more than 20 per cent and Germans 8 per cent of the population.

KEY TERM

Proprietary colonies
Colonies in which the Crown had vested authority in the hands of certain families, for example, the Penn family in Pennsylvania.

Corporate colonies
Colonies with charters that gave them extensive autonomy.

Colonial government

To what degree did the colonists govern themselves?

All the colonies had a similar governmental structure.

Governors

In most colonies the governor was appointed by the British king. The exceptions were the **proprietary colonies** of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware, where the proprietors appointed the governor, and the **corporate colonies** of Connecticut and Rhode Island, where governors were elected.

Responsible for internal administration, the governors (in theory) had enormous powers. In reality their authority was limited.

- They could be dismissed at will by the British government.
- They were dependent for revenue (including their own salaries) on the colonial assemblies.

Colonial assemblies

Most colonial legislatures (usually called assemblies) consisted of two houses.

- Upper houses (or councils) were normally appointed by the governor. Chosen from the colonial elite, the members served as an advisory board to the governor.
- Lower houses were elected. Although they could be summoned and dismissed and their legislation vetoed by the governor, the assemblies' power was considerable:
  - They were responsible for initiating **money bills** and controlling expenditures.
  - They represented their communities in a way that neither the governors nor the councils did.

Assemblies met in the spring or autumn for four to six weeks. As well as dealing with money matters, they also made local laws. At least 50 (and in some colonies as much as 80) per cent of American white adult males could vote, compared with only 15 per cent in Britain. Nevertheless, the colonies were far from democratic.

- Not all white men owned sufficient property entitling them to vote.
- Women and slaves could not vote.
- High property qualifications for office ensured that great landowners, rich merchants or lawyers were usually elected.

KEY TERM

Money bills Measures (usually taxes) passed by the assemblies to raise money to ensure the colonies could be administered.

Charter A formal document granting or confirming titles, rights or privileges.

British rule

Charters were the umbilical cords attaching the colonies to Britain – the mother country. Although the charters tied the colonies to the Crown rather than to Parliament, responsibility for the colonies' supervision fell to the Board of Trade which advised on colonial appointments, drew up instructions and reviewed colonial legislation. The Secretary of State for the Southern Department also had some colonial responsibility, communicating with governors on policy and administrative matters. Given the difficulty of communications – North America was 4800 km (3000 miles) from Britain – the colonies were left largely to their own devices. Trade regulation apart, parliamentary acts rarely affected the colonies' internal affairs.

What influenced colonial economy, society and culture?

Colonial economy, society and culture

The colonial economy

Between 1650 and 1770 the colonial gross product grew annually by 3.2 per cent on average. This was the result of several factors:

- expanding inter-colonial trade
- increased trade with Britain and its empire
- the availability of capital from Britain
- the rapid increase in population
- the availability of new land
- increasing diversification – for example, the development of iron production, textiles and shipbuilding.

Farming remained the dominant economic activity, employing nine-tenths of the working population. There was great diversity from region to region:

- New England remained an area of small subsistence farms.
- The **Middle Colonies** were a major source of wheat products for export to other colonies, the West Indies and southern Europe.
- Tobacco was the great **cash crop** in the southern colonies, tobacco exports rising from £14 million in the 1670s to £100 million by the 1770s.

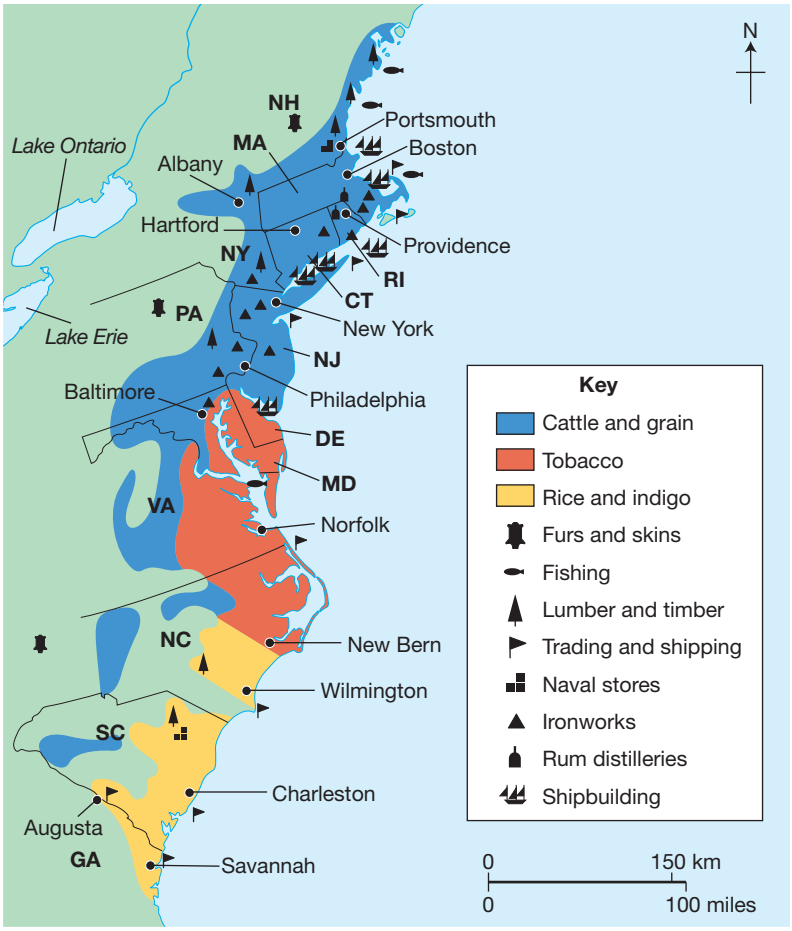
KEY TERM

Middle Colonies Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Delaware.

Cash crop A crop intended for sale, not for consumption by the producer.

SOURCE A

The colonial economy.



Examine Source A. What factors determined the economic development of the colonies?

KEY TERM

Mercantalism The belief that economic self-sufficiency is the key to national wealth and power.

Economic self-sufficiency The situation when a country or a community produces all it needs and is not dependent on others.

Mercantilism

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most European governments believed in **mercantilism** and **economic self-sufficiency**. Mercantilists assumed that colonies existed to serve the interests of the mother country, to supply it with raw materials and absorb its manufactures. Between 1651 and 1673 a series of Trade and Navigation Acts were introduced designed to establish a British monopoly of the colonial carrying trade, the colonial market, and certain colonial products:

- All cargoes to or from the colonies were to be carried in ships built and owned in Britain or the colonies.
- Certain commodities – sugar, cotton, indigo, dyewoods, ginger and tobacco – could only be exported directly from the colonies to Britain, even if their ultimate destination lay elsewhere.
- European goods bound for America had, with few exceptions, to be landed first in Britain and then reshipped.

British policy remained mercantilist throughout the eighteenth century. By 1763 virtually everything the colonies produced, except fish, grain and lumber, could be exported only to Britain. Laws were also passed to check colonial manufacturing, for example:

- The Woollen Act (1699) forbade the export of woollen yarn outside the colony in which it was produced.
- The Iron Act (1750) banned the export of colonial iron outside the British Empire.

Few Americans complained about mercantilist regulations. This was partly because the system was not well enforced. Smuggling was widespread, enabling colonies to avoid most of the trade laws.

Moreover, on balance, mercantilism probably benefited the colonies:

- American products enjoyed a protected market in Britain and its empire.
- American shipping profited by the exclusion of foreign ships from colonial trade.

Colonial society

In every colony an elite – great landowners and wealthy merchants – had emerged whose pre-eminence was evident in its possessions, lifestyles and in its control of politics. Below the elite were the professionals – ministers, lawyers, doctors and schoolmasters. Respected in their communities, they often held positions of public responsibility.

Eighty per cent of free males were farmers. Most owned and worked their own land – usually between 50 and 500 acres. In the towns two-thirds of the population were self-employed craftsmen.

Below the property holders were those who laboured for others. This was a diverse group ranging from sons of property holders (who could expect to

inherit land) to African slaves. In the towns, the property-less included apprentices, sailors, servants and labourers.

Black slaves were at the bottom of the social structure. Slavery was the normal condition for African Americans, 90 per cent of whom lived in the South. Most worked on plantations producing tobacco, rice and indigo.

Families

The basic unit of American life was the family. At its head was a male. Households were hierarchical. Children were subordinate to elders, females to males, servants to families, blacks to whites. Irrespective of wealth or condition, women were assigned a subordinate role and were denied the political and civil rights enjoyed by men.

American culture

Education

Education was strongly encouraged in the colonies. By 1770 three-quarters of white male adults were literate and there were nine colleges and universities. Printing presses and booksellers were common. More than 30 newspapers were in circulation by 1763.

The colonial intellectual elite were influenced by the **Enlightenment**, the ideas of which permeated every branch of thought from science to politics. Some Americans (for example, Benjamin Franklin) gained international notice for their work in natural history and physical sciences.

Religion

The majority of Americans were Protestants, a fact that shaped their cultural, social and political attitudes as well as defining their theological principles. Immigration, coupled with religious toleration and a tendency towards religious division, produced a multiplicity of denominations. A wave of religious revivals known as the Great Awakening swept the colonies in the early eighteenth century. Preachers emphasized the individual's personal relationship with God. While some scholars have claimed that the Great Awakening aroused an egalitarian spirit, its levelling tendencies may have been overstated. It does not seem to have resulted in a general challenge to traditional forms of authority.

KEY TERM

Enlightenment The name given to a school of eighteenth-century European thought. Those influenced by Enlightenment ideas believed in reason and human progress.

Native Americans The indigenous people of America (who were once known as American Indians).

The struggle with France

How did Britain win the struggle for control of North America?

Warfare was a fact of colonial life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To secure their foothold on the American continent the early colonists had to overcome resistance. Towards the end of the seventeenth century warfare between colonists and **Native Americans** merged with a larger struggle between Britain and France (which ruled Canada and Louisiana) for control of North America.

? Examine Source B. Why does the map not show the real strength of Britain, France and Spain in North America?

SOURCE B

European control of North America in 1713.

The Seven Years' War

Between 1689 and 1763 Britain and France fought four wars. The Seven Years' War – or the French-Indian War as it was known in America – was the last of these and developed into a worldwide conflict with fighting in Europe, the West Indies, Africa and India as well as North America.

Determined to expand Britain's imperial power, British Prime Minister William Pitt judged that defeat of the French in North America was the key to ultimate victory. He thus sent 25,000 troops to America under the command of Jeffrey Amherst and James Wolfe, and paid for raising a further 25,000 colonists. The British won a series of victories against the French in 1759, leading to French power being destroyed in Canada. Peace was eventually agreed in the Treaty of Paris (1763):

- Britain received Canada and all France's possessions east of the Mississippi.
- Britain acquired Florida.
- France ceded Louisiana to Spain.

Ironically Britain's triumph was to prepare the ground for the American Revolution. By eliminating France from North America, Britain had weakened the colonists' sense of military dependence on Britain.

The situation in 1763

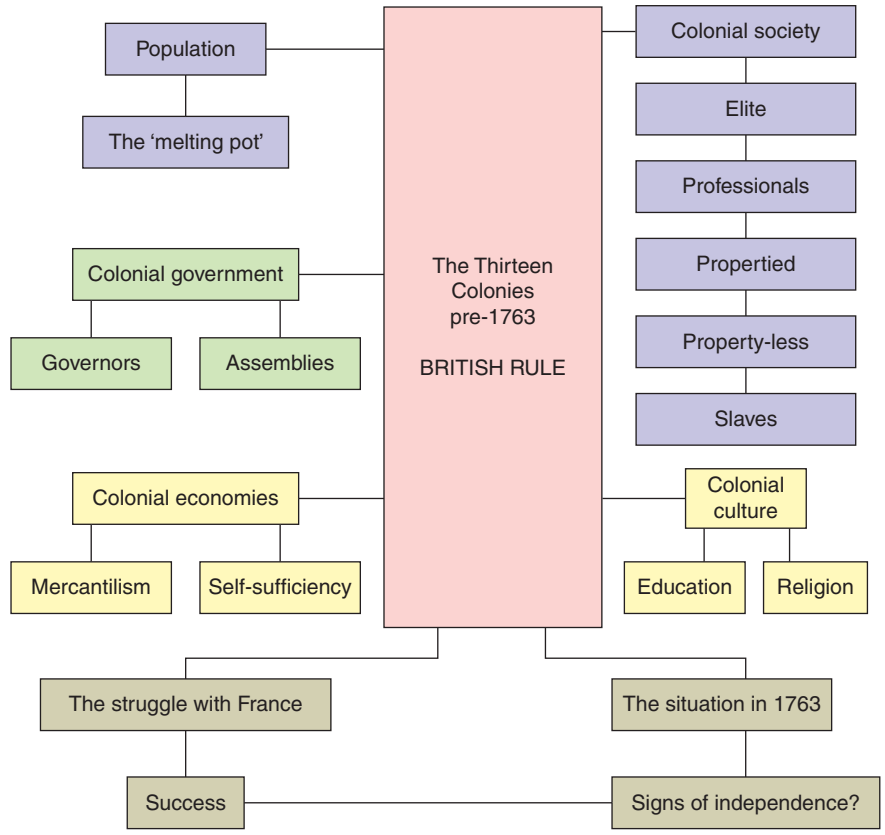
Was it only a matter of time before the colonies broke their ties with Britain?

Arguably by 1763 there were signs that the thirteen colonies would soon be independent.

- They were strong economically.
- They very much ran their own affairs.
- British governors complained that they were dealing with an incipient spirit of independence.
- The mixing of diverse peoples helped forge a new identity. By 1763 colonists were aware of being something other than Britons.
- Once France was eliminated from North America, the colonists were no longer dependent on Britain's armed forces.

However, in many respects colonial-British relations appeared strong in 1763.

- No other European nation conceded to its colonial subjects the degree of autonomy the American colonists enjoyed.
- The colonies were far from united. They had different governments and interests. The only common institutions were those derived from Britain – notably the monarchy, common law and the English language. There was a good deal of inter-colonial jealousy and squabbling.
- Pre-1763 colonies showed no desire to attain unity. Each colony had formal political ties with Britain but none with other colonies. Colonists did not think of themselves as one people. People's loyalties were confined primarily to their own colony and then to Britain.
- There were strong bonds of affection between Britain and the colonies. Most colonists were proud of their British heritage.
- It seemed that America's best economic interest lay in remaining within the empire. Mercantilism could hardly be called tyrannical when the colonists were more lightly taxed than Britons or when they were as prosperous as any people in the world.
- In 1763 virtually no colonist sought or predicted the likelihood of independence.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The North American colonies by 1763

2 The causes of the War of Independence

Key question: *What caused the American Revolution?*

KEY TERM

Whigs Members of the Whig Party, which usually upheld popular rights and opposed royal power.

Tories Members of the Tory Party, which usually opposed change.

In 1760 George III became king of England. He hoped to inaugurate a new era in British politics, breaking the dominance of the **Whigs** and ending the exclusion of the **Tories** from government. Angry Whig leaders accused George of plotting to enhance the Crown's power and reduce Parliament to subservience. While this was a gross exaggeration, George was determined to rule as well as reign. He thus did what he could to influence government policy. Headstrong and obstinate, his political prejudices helped cause

ministerial instability in the 1760s. Had he had greater perception, he might have steered Britain away from policies that led to confrontation with the colonies.

The situation in 1763–4

Why did Britain try to strengthen imperial control?

Britain emerged from the Seven Years' War with a vastly increased empire and a vastly increased national debt which almost doubled between 1755 and 1763. For the most part, the colonies had escaped paying for the war, although they greatly benefited from France's defeat.

Stronger imperial authority

It seemed evident to British politicians in 1763 that imperial control over the extended North American empire should be tightened.

- Defence was a concern. As boundaries moved westwards, there was the likelihood of Native American attacks.
- Government had to be provided for 80,000 French Canadians, alien in language and religion.
- A coherent Western policy was needed to reconcile the conflicting needs of land settlement, the **fur trade** and Native Americans.
- During the Seven Years' War it had become apparent that American smuggling was widespread.

In February 1763 the new Prime Minister, the Earl of Bute, announced that 10,000 British troops were needed as a permanent army in North America and that Americans should contribute something to the expense.

KEY TERM

Fur trade The skins and pelts of various animals (for example, those of deer and beaver) were valuable in the eighteenth century. Some fur-trading companies (for example, the Hudson Bay Company) became powerful organizations.

George Grenville

In April 1763 Bute was succeeded by George Grenville. Grenville's main concern was reducing the national debt, the annual interest of which was £4.4 million at a time when the government's annual income was only £8 million. The cost of colonial administration was a major concern: it had risen from £70,000 in 1748 to £350,000 in 1763. Still more money would be needed to maintain 10,000 troops in America. Grenville supported the notion that Americans should contribute to the cost of their own defence, particularly as they paid less in taxes than Britons.

Pontiac's rebellion

Fearing further encroachments on their lands, Ohio valley Native Americans, led by Pontiac, rose in revolt in May 1763, killing hundreds of settlers. Pontiac's success was short-lived. By 1764 he had been defeated by British soldiers. This seemed to confirm the view already held in London that the colonies were unable to provide for their own defence and that therefore there was need for British troops in America.

The 1763 Proclamation

In October Grenville's ministry issued the Proclamation of 1763. This declared that the boundary of white settlement was to be a line running along the crest

of the Appalachians. All land claims west of the boundary were to be nullified. The British government regarded the Proclamation Line as a temporary measure to minimize white-Indian conflict. The intention was not to permanently curb white expansion but to ensure that it was controlled.

Britain's seemingly pro-Indian policies angered some colonies (especially Virginia which had claims to western lands) and many **frontiersmen**. However, this did not spark serious discontent. It was one thing for Britain to draw a line on the map and proclaim that Native Americans should remain on one side and settlers on the other. It was quite another to enforce it. At least 30,000 settlers ignored the restriction and moved west in the five years after 1763.

KEY TERM

Frontiersmen People who lived close to the borders of the colonies or in Indian territory.

6d 'd' was the abbreviated form of an old English penny.

Grenville's anti-smuggling measures

Grenville hoped to use the trade laws (see page 12) to extract more revenue from Americans. The problem was that the colonial customs service was inefficient: smuggling was rife and customs officers were frequently corrupt. Americans thus evaded most duties. In 1763 Britain introduced measures intended to provide for a more aggressive customs policy.

- Colonial customs officials had to reside in America rather than delegating their duties to deputies.
- To counter the leniency of colonial juries towards smugglers, jurisdiction in revenue cases was transferred from colonial courts to a vice-admiralty court in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where the judge alone would hand down the verdict.

The 1764 Sugar Act

Under the terms of the Sugar Act of 1733 Americans were meant to pay a duty of **6d** per gallon on molasses and sugar imported from non-British Caribbean colonies. This duty, largely ignored by American merchants, had yielded only £21,652 over 30 years. Grenville's Sugar Act, passed in 1764, reduced the duty on foreign molasses from 6d a gallon to 3d. The Board of Customs Commissioners advised Grenville that the revised duty, strictly enforced, would yield £78,000 per year. Few British politicians anticipated much resistance to a measure that lowered duties. Moreover, it affected primarily one region – New England (where distillers turned molasses into rum).

The Currency Act

The 1764 Currency Act banned colonial paper money. The Act, aimed largely at Virginia which had issued a large amount of paper money during the Seven Years' War, appeased British merchants who insisted that colonial debts be paid in a more acceptable currency, for example British sterling or Spanish dollars.

The American reaction

Grenville's measures angered colonists. The Currency Act, which threatened some Americans with ruin, could not have been passed at a worse time. An economic depression had hit the colonies as the war ended and orders for supplies for the forces fell off.

New England merchants were also aggrieved. The Sugar Act reduced the incentive to smuggle, obliging merchants to pay sugar duty for the first time. Britain's right to regulate colonial trade had long been accepted as normal practice. However, the Sugar Act was a fundamental change in colonial-British relations. By imposing duties to raise revenue, Britain was essentially taxing Americans who were unrepresented in Parliament. Once it was accepted that Parliament could tax the colonies at will, where would it end?

By 1765 nine colonies had sent messages to London arguing that by introducing the Sugar Act Parliament had abused its power. While conceding Parliament's right to regulate trade, they did not accept its right to tax for the purpose of raising revenue in America.

Despite the objections of assemblies and **pamphleteers**, most Americans complied with the Sugar Act. Few were directly affected by it. This compliance gave Grenville the confidence to proceed with the Stamp Act.

KEY TERM

Pamphleteers Those who wrote pamphlets. Pamphlets were small, unbound books, usually on controversial subjects of the day.

The Stamp Act controversy

Why did the Stamp Act provoke such a violent reaction in the colonies?

In March 1764 Grenville let it be known that he was planning to bring in a stamp duty in America. The Stamp Act might have created less controversy had it been brought in more quickly. As it was, the colonies had time to prepare their opposition.

The Stamp Act

Ignoring messages of protest from American assemblies, Grenville introduced the Stamp Bill to Parliament in February 1765. The bill required stamps to be affixed to almost anything formally written or printed in the colonies. Fifty items ranging from newspapers, legal documents, tavern and marriage licences and even playing cards would be affected and the tax would impact on virtually all Americans. However, the American stamp duties were much lighter than those in Britain, where they had been levied for more than 70 years. The Treasury estimated the new duty would raise about £60,000 in its first year. The money, to be spent entirely in the colonies, would be only a quarter of the sum needed for colonial defence. The bill, which was to take effect in November 1765, easily passed through Parliament.

The American reaction

News of the Stamp Act produced an intense reaction in America. The first direct tax levied by Parliament upon the colonies, it was condemned as a dangerous and unjustified innovation. It again raised the issue of whether the colonists could be taxed by a body in which they were not represented. Colonists determined to:

- prevent the Act's implementation
- convince Parliament to repeal the measure.

? What are the values and limitations of Source C?

SOURCE C

An extract from a speech by Eliphalet Dyer of Connecticut, quoted in *Longman History of the United States of America*, by Hugh Brogan, published by Longman, London, UK, 1985, page 111.

If the Colonies do not now unite, and use their most vigorous endeavours in all proper ways, to avert this impending blow, they may for the future, bid farewell to freedom and liberty, burn their charters and make the best of thraldom and slavery. For if we can have our interests and estates taken away, and disposed of without our consent, or having any voice therein, and by those whose interest as well as inclination it may be to shift the burden off from themselves under pretence of protecting and defending America, why may they not as well endeavour to raise millions upon us to defray the expenses of the last, or any future war?

KEY TERM

Virginia House of Burgesses The Virginia assembly.

Members of Parliament (MPs) People elected to the House of Commons in Britain. Relatively few Britons could vote in elections in the eighteenth century.

On 29 May 1765 Patrick Henry introduced in the **Virginia House of Burgesses** seven resolutions attacking the Stamp Act and threatening resistance. Henry put forward his resolves at the end of the session when most members had left for home. The 39 burgesses remaining adopted the five most mild of Henry's resolutions:

- Colonists possessed the rights of Englishmen.
- Colonists' rights were guaranteed by royal charter.
- Colonists could only be taxed if they had proper representation.
- Colonists had the right to give their consent to their laws.
- The House of Burgesses had the sole right to tax Virginians.

Since Henry's resolutions were printed in their entirety in many colonial newspapers, the impression was given that Virginia had rejected the Stamp Act and sanctioned resistance if Britain tried to enforce it.

The Stamp Act Congress

In June 1765 the Massachusetts assembly suggested that an inter-colonial meeting be held in order to draft a set of resolutions which expressed a common colonial position. Accordingly, a Stamp Act Congress met in October in New York. Twenty-seven delegates from nine colonies attended. They denounced the Stamp Act as having 'a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonies' and claimed that only their own legislatures could impose taxes upon them. It was the duty of the colonies to seek the repeal of the Stamp Act, the abolition of vice-admiralty courts and 'of other late Acts for the restriction of American commerce'.

The ideological debate

Scores of pamphlets expressed similar views to the Stamp Act Congress. The colonists were not prepared to accept taxation without representation. This was a right that Americans, as Englishmen, believed was enshrined in the English Constitution. Direct American representation in Parliament was thought impracticable by most colonists because of the distance involved. A handful of American **Members of Parliament (MPs)**, some colonists feared,

would be worse than none. Their presence at Westminster would simply give Parliament the excuse to levy taxes on the colonies. The only proper way to raise money in America was through the assemblies.

Many Americans, influenced by early eighteenth-century British political writers, saw the political world in terms of an unending struggle between liberty and its enemies. They also believed that government was by its nature oppressive and corrupt, and that only constant vigilance could check its tendency to encroach on individual rights. Accordingly, the notion that the Stamp Act was evidence of a conspiracy to deprive Americans of their liberties was widely disseminated. Why, some asked, did Britain need a standing army in America unless it was to be used to force colonists to yield to such oppressions as unconstitutional taxes?

Popular protest

Popular resistance to the Stamp Act originated in Boston among a group of artisans and shopkeepers. The group's most important leader was Samuel Adams (see page 24) who focused resentment on purported supporters of the Stamp Act. These included Andrew Oliver, the designated Massachusetts stamp distributor, Thomas Hutchinson, the Chief Justice, and Governor Francis Bernard. Adams turned to the North and South End gangs for support. These gangs, comprising unskilled workers, sailors and apprentices, had fought each other for years. Both agreed to unite against the Act.

On 14 August 1765, effigies of Oliver and Bute were hung from the **Liberty Tree** in Boston. Men stood by the tree, collecting a mock stamp duty from passers-by. When Hutchinson ordered the effigies to be cut down, a crowd prevented the order being put into effect. Towards nightfall, a mob tore down Oliver's office and then destroyed his house. Oliver quickly resigned his post.

KEY TERM

Liberty Tree An actual (but also symbolic) tree in Boston, representing freedom from tyranny.

On 26 August another Boston crowd damaged the houses of two British officials. The goal was the same: to force the officials to resign. (One rapidly did.) The crowd then attacked Hutchinson's mansion. There was an element of class resentment in the destruction. Oliver and Hutchinson were unpopular, not just because they were seen as British minions, but because they were wealthy.

As news of events in Boston spread, so did crowd action elsewhere. Stamp distributors, fearing for their lives, resigned or fled in every colony. If no one was prepared to be a stamp distributor the duties could not be levied. Britain would have to use force if it was to maintain its authority. While Britain had 10,000 soldiers in America, most were stationed in Nova Scotia and on the western frontier. Moreover, the army could only be called out to deal with civil disobedience if a governor made a request to the military commander. None did so.

The Sons of Liberty

By the autumn of 1765 the men directing crowd action belonged to a semi-secret society known as the Sons of Liberty. The Sons included

members of the elite as well as new men like Harvard graduate Sam Adams. Although establishing useful channels of communication and keeping political consciousness high, the Sons' influence has been exaggerated.

- The organization was far from united.
- The Sons had limited influence in the southern colonies.
- The Sons orchestrated an urban movement. But townspeople were less than 5 per cent of America's population.

As the crisis deepened, the Sons of Liberty appealed to the public not to buy British goods. In October 1765 leading merchants in New York signed an agreement not to import goods from Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed. The boycott soon spread across the colonies.

The repeal of the Stamp Act

In July 1765 Grenville was replaced by a new ministry led by the Marquis of Rockingham. Like Grenville, Rockingham wanted to see Parliament's authority in the colonies upheld. But while Grenville believed Parliament's right to tax the colonies had to be boldly asserted to avoid being lost, Rockingham thought it best to exercise some discretion.

British opinion, inside and outside Parliament, was divided. Many MPs were against repealing the Stamp Act, convinced that this would seem an act of weakness. But merchants and manufacturers, alarmed by the colonial boycott, campaigned for repeal. Rockingham, informed by General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief in the colonies, that the Act could not be enforced without far more soldiers than he possessed, resolved to repeal the Act.

The Commons debated the issue in January 1766. Grenville defended his measure, asserting that taxation was part of the sovereign power. He wanted to declare the colonies in a state of rebellion. In contrast, William Pitt declared that 'this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies' and praised American resistance to the Stamp Act. The Act was repealed in March by 275 votes to 167.

The Declaratory Act

The British government did not surrender the constitutional principle of parliamentary sovereignty. At the same time that it repealed the Stamp Act, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act. This asserted that the colonies were subordinate to the 'Crown and Parliament of Great Britain' and that Parliament had authority to make laws 'to bind the colonies and people of America … in all cases whatsoever'.

The effects of the crisis

In America news of the repeal was rapturously received. Non-importation was abandoned. The Sons of Liberty virtually disbanded. Most assemblies sent addresses of gratitude to the king.

Nevertheless, the Stamp Act crisis marked a crucial turning point in British-colonial relations. As Grenville had recognized, there was more at stake in

the controversy than revenue. The fundamental issue was Parliament's sovereignty over the colonies. In 1765 most Americans still believed the Stamp Act was the problem, not British rule itself. Nevertheless, in denying Parliament the right to tax them, Americans were implicitly denying Parliament's right to govern them. If not yet demanding independence in principle, they were demanding independence – or at least self-rule – in practice.

Americans and Britons learned important lessons from the crisis.

- Americans believed they must be vigilant in defence of their liberties.
- The crisis suggested that British authority could be defied if there was colonial unity.
- Many British politicians felt that they must reassert authority over the colonies or they would become independent by default.

The Townshend crisis

Why did Townshend introduce his duties?

In July 1766 Rockingham was replaced by national hero William Pitt, now given the title the Earl of Chatham. A passionate imperialist, Chatham did not want to see Britain's empire undermined by provocative measures like the Stamp Act. However, in poor health, he passed responsibility to the inexperienced Duke of Grafton.

Townshend's duties

In this situation, Chancellor of the Exchequer Charles Townshend now came to dominate proceedings. In May 1767 he introduced new duties on colonial imports of glass, wine, china, lead, paint, paper and tea. During the Stamp Act crisis Americans (like Benjamin Franklin) had drawn a distinction between internal and external taxes, denying Parliament's authority to impose the former upon them but conceding its right to regulate trade, even if this produced revenue. Since Townshend's new duties were external (and relatively light), he reasoned that the colonists could not logically object to them. Some MPs realized that Townshend's measures, which would raise only £40,000 per year, were a mistake. Edmund Burke pointed out that it no longer mattered to Americans whether taxes were external or internal: if they were levied by Britain they would oppose them. Nevertheless, Townshend had gauged the anti-American mood in Parliament and his measures easily passed.

To tighten trade enforcement, Townshend established an American Board of Customs Commissioners. Stationed in Boston, it was to be directly responsible to Britain.

It was ironic that an administration nominally headed by Chatham, who was pro-American, approved Townshend's policies. It was also ironic that Townshend did not have to deal with the colonial response to his measures. He died in September 1767.

Colonial resistance

Colonial resistance to Townshend's measures developed more slowly than had been the case in 1765. Not all Americans were sure whether the new duties constituted a violation of colonial rights. Merchants, enjoying a period of economic boom, had no wish for another trade war. Nevertheless, it was soon clear that American resentment was widespread.

John Dickinson, a wealthy lawyer, wrote the most influential attack on Townshend's measures. His *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer* (1768) was printed in most colonial newspapers. Dickinson argued that while Parliament could regulate the colonies' trade, it did not have the right to tax them without their consent, either through internal taxes or external duties. Nevertheless, Dickinson was moderate in his criticisms. 'The cause of Liberty is a cause of too much dignity to be sullied by turbulence and tumult', he wrote. Colonial complaints should 'speak at the same time the language of affliction and veneration'.

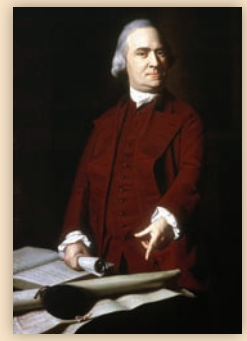
KEY TERM

Circular letter A letter, copies of which are sent to several persons.

In February 1768 the Massachusetts assembly sent out a **circular letter** denouncing the Townshend duties for violating the principle of 'no taxation without representation' and appealed to the other colonies for common action. The document, largely the work of Sam Adams and James Otis, a member of a prominent Massachusetts family, was branded as seditious by Governor Bernard. Seven assemblies quickly approved the letter. Virginia's House of Burgesses went further, issuing a circular letter of its own, advocating joint measures by the colonies against any British actions which 'have an immediate tendency to enslave them'.

At a lower level, the Sons of Liberty movement was revived in order to co-ordinate opposition.

Samuel Adams (1722–1803)



Sam Adams was a Bostonian. After graduating from Harvard, he was apprenticed to a merchant who decided he had no aptitude for business. In 1748, on his father's death, Adams took over (not very successfully) the family malt business. In 1765 he helped co-ordinate the Stamp Act resistance in Boston and three years later secured passage of the circular letter. In 1771–2 he played a major role in setting up the Committees of Correspondence (see page 27). Thereafter, he helped plan the Boston Tea Party (see page 28) and led the opposition to the Coercive Acts (see page 29). He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1774–81.

A radical idealist, Adams was also a skilled propagandist. He hated what he saw as the corruption of the British elite. In his view, this justified any misrepresentation that might shed the worst possible light on Britain. He was the man who sculpted the protest movement in Massachusetts, influenced resistance elsewhere and both openly and behind the scenes led the first Congress to embargo Britain and the second towards independence. More agitator than statesman and more prominent in Massachusetts than nationally, this may explain why he is not regarded as one of the great revolutionary figures. Nevertheless, he was a pre-eminent early rebel leader.

Economic resistance

Boston led the way in organizing a new economic boycott against Britain. Other towns followed, albeit slowly in some cases. Many merchants opposed non-importation so the boycott was never totally watertight. Nevertheless, by 1769 virtually every colony had organizations pledged to boycott British goods. Unofficial bodies – committees of inspection – were set up to enforce non-importation. Those merchants who did not comply faced the threat of violence, not least being **tarred and feathered**.

KEY TERM

Tarred and feathered
Victims were stripped naked, covered with hot tar and then rolled in feathers.

Some Americans were delighted to stem the tide of British luxury goods that were thought to be undermining the simplicity, virtue and independence of colonial life.

Unrest in Boston

In 1768 Grafton created a secretary of state for colonial and American matters. The Earl of Hillsborough, the first colonial secretary, lacked tact and judgement. One of his first acts was to order the Massachusetts assembly to rescind its circular letter upon penalty of dissolution.

When the Massachusetts assembly voted not to rescind the letter, Governor Bernard dissolved it. This only worsened matters. The Sons of Liberty organized demonstrations while newspapers carried on an endless campaign against the British government and its servants. By 1768 Boston had a disciplined cadre of men who spent so much time and energy countering every British move, they were virtually professional revolutionaries. Not surprisingly, crowd trouble continued. Royal officials were threatened and customs commissioners' houses damaged. Bernard was forced to ask for troops to try to restore order.

In September 1768, 600 British troops arrived in Boston. Far from ending the town's disaffection, they gave it another focus – themselves. The day-to-day presence of the troops became a constant aggravation. Radicals exploited civilian-military tensions. Boston newspapers reported, often fabricated, stories of British brutality.

The Boston Massacre

On 5 March 1770 a detachment of British soldiers, guarding the customs house, were attacked by a mob hurling hard-packed snowballs. The troops, under extreme provocation, opened fire, killing five Bostonians. Sam Adams' political machine gave the impression that there had been a deliberate massacre – a version of events that was accepted by most Americans. The American cause now had martyrs. Eight of the soldiers were eventually brought to trial. Six were acquitted after a skilful defence by their counsel John Adams, a cousin of Sam. Two, found guilty of manslaughter, were released after being branded on the thumb.

? Study Source D. Why is this a masterful piece of colonial propaganda?

SOURCE D

Paul Revere's engraving of the Boston Massacre, 1770.

The situation by 1770

The British government faced problems:

- There were insufficient British troops in the colonies to impose order.
- Relations between British authorities and the assemblies had broken down.

British MP Edmund Burke wrote:

The Americans have made a discovery, or think they have made one, that we mean to oppress them. We have made a discovery, or think we have made one, that they intend to rise in rebellion against us … we know not how to advance, they know not how to retreat … some party must give way.

However, colonial unity was not total. Conservatives were alarmed at the resort to mob action. Nor was non-importation uniformly observed.

Repeal of the Townshend duties

Townshend's duties, which had stirred up such a hornet's nest, made little financial sense. Not only were they failing to raise significant revenue, they were also penalizing British exports to the colonies. Grafton decided that the duties should be repealed. When he resigned in January 1770 the task of overseeing the repeal fell to the new Prime Minister Lord North. In March, North secured the repeal of all the duties save that on tea. The decision to retain the tea duty was taken in cabinet by a single vote, that of North himself. He saw the duty 'as a mark of the supremacy of Parliament'.

North's action divided American conservatives from radicals. New York quickly abandoned non-importation. As other ports followed suit, the crisis ended.

Years of calm: 1770–3

How far were the years 1770–3 a period of calm?

Three years of comparative calm followed. Anglo-American trade resumed. As colonial prosperity returned, there was something of a conservative reaction against the radicals. In 1772 Hillsborough was succeeded as Secretary for the Colonies by the Earl of Dartmouth who believed in accommodation rather than confrontation.

Anglo-American problems

There was still enough provocation and controversy to sustain a resistance movement.

- Bostonians were angered that the Massachusetts assembly, on Governor Bernard's orders, had been moved to Cambridge.
- In 1772 the new governor Thomas Hutchinson revealed that he and the senior Massachusetts judges were to receive their salaries direct from the Crown. Some saw this as evidence of a British design to impose arbitrary rule.

Committees of Correspondence

In 1771 the **Boston Town Meeting**, at Sam Adams' behest, created a **Committee of Correspondence** which was to communicate grievances throughout both Massachusetts and all the thirteen colonies. By mid 1773, 50 Massachusetts towns had committees and, by February 1774, every colony except Pennsylvania and North Carolina had a committee. Although the committees did not do a great deal pre-1774, they at least communicated with each other and were a focus for radical activity.

The Gaspee *incident*

Illegal trade persisted. Colonists smuggled in foreign tea rather than pay the duty on British tea. Customs officers continued to find it hard to enforce the law. In 1772 the **revenue cutter** *Gaspee* ran aground off Rhode Island, pursuing a suspected smuggler. Eight longboats boarded the *Gaspee*. The captain and crew were put ashore (violently) before the boat was burned. A commission investigated the incident but, lacking co-operation from locals, found insufficient evidence for prosecution.

KEY TERM

Boston Town Meeting A kind of town council in which all the voters in Boston were able to participate and vote.

Committees of Correspondence Groups of Americans who maintained contact with each other (by letter) and reported perceived British misdoings.

Revenue cutter A small boat employed by the government to apprehend smugglers.

Why was the Boston Tea Party so important?

The 1773 Tea Act

In 1773 the British government reopened old wounds by introducing a Tea Act. The Act was designed to save the near bankrupt **East India Company** rather than assert parliamentary sovereignty over the colonies. It aimed to relieve the financial problems of the company by permitting it to export tea to the colonies direct. The Tea Act abolished British duties on the Company's tea while obliging Americans to continue paying the duty levied under Townshend's legislation (see page 23). Nevertheless, the tea sold by the Company would be so cheap that it could undercut smuggled foreign tea. Consequently, it seemed:

- American consumers would benefit, for tea would drop in price.
- The East India Company would sell its vast stocks of tea.
- Britain would obtain increased duties.

But British Prime Minister Lord North had miscalculated. Regarded as another attempt at parliamentary taxation, the Tea Act was attacked in American newspapers and pamphlets. Violence was threatened against merchants importing East India Company tea. Tea sent to Philadelphia and New York was rejected and sent back to Britain. In all the major ports **tea agents**, facing severe intimidation, were forced to resign.

KEY TERM

East India Company A powerful company that controlled much of Britain's trade with India.

Tea agents Men responsible for collecting tea duties.

The Boston Tea Party

On 28 November 1773 the *Dartmouth*, bearing 114 chests of East India Company tea, entered Boston harbour. Bostonians demanded that the ship depart and thousands gathered daily to prevent the tea from being unloaded. On 2 December the *Eleanor* joined the *Dartmouth*. The *Beaver* arrived on 15 December.

On 16 December 60 Sons of Liberty men, crudely disguised as Mohawk Indians and directed by Sam Adams, boarded the three tea ships and threw their cargoes – 342 tea chests worth about £10,000 – into the harbour. A huge crowd watched in silence. John Adams, a cousin of Sam, wrote in his diary:

This destruction of the tea is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid and inflexible, and it must have so important consequences and so lasting, that I cannot but consider it as an epocha in history.

The British reaction

When news of the Boston Tea Party reached London the reaction was one of outrage. In 1766 and 1770 colonial protest had brought about a reversal of British policy. But now, confronted with defiance for a third time, North's government determined to take a hard line. North declared in Parliament:

The Americans have tarred and feathered your subjects, burnt your ships, denied obedience to your laws and authority; yet so clement and so forbearing has our conduct been that it is incumbent on us now to take a different course … We must control them or submit to them.

North was convinced that Britain faced a fundamental challenge to its imperial system, a challenge that could not be ignored. Parliament was either the supreme authority in the empire or it was not. Even staunch friends of the colonists refused to defend the Tea Party. Chatham said it was 'criminal'.

The Coercive Acts

In 1774 Parliament passed four Coercive (dubbed by the colonists 'Intolerable') Acts.

- The Boston Port Act closed Boston to all trade until the destroyed tea was paid for.
- The Massachusetts Government Act allowed the governor to appoint and remove most civil officials. Town meetings could not be held without his permission.
- The Impartial Administration of Justice Act provided for the transfer to Britain of murder trials.
- A new Quartering Act gave broader authority to military commanders seeking to house their troops.

Meanwhile, General Gage was made Governor of Massachusetts.

The Québec Act

Colonial sensibilities were further inflamed by the Québec Act. This ill-timed effort to solve the problem of governing Canada was seen by Americans as confirmation of evil British designs. The Act placed authority in the hands of a governor without an elected assembly and limited trial by jury. This suggested to colonists that Britain intended to put the whole of North America under **authoritarian** forms of government. Moreover the extension of the Québec boundary south and west to the Ohio and the Mississippi looked like an attempt to check westward expansion by the thirteen original colonies.

KEY TERM

Authoritarian A system where a small group of people govern, usually against the wishes of the majority.

The American reaction

Colonial assemblies, town and country meetings, newspapers and clergymen denounced Britain's actions. Propaganda, disseminated by the Committees of Correspondence, persuaded the colonists of the need for common action to defend American liberties.

The economic response

In May 1774 the Boston Town Meeting asked all colonies to boycott British goods until the Boston Port Act was repealed. The Boston Committee of Correspondence drafted a Solemn League and Covenant (5 June) calling for the non-consumption of British goods. Not all merchants were convinced. In Boston more than a hundred merchants, fearing that a boycott would harm America more than Britain, published a protest against the Solemn League.

The political response

On 24 May the Virginian House of Burgesses passed a resolution condemning the Coercive Acts. Two days later Governor Lord Dunmore dissolved the House. On 27 May, 89 of the 103 burgesses met at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg. This extra-legal body declared that 'an attack, made on one of our sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack on all of British America and threatens the ruin of all'. Accordingly, it proposed that an inter-colonial congress be called to seek redress of American grievances.

During the summer of 1774 seven other colonies, where governors had forbidden assemblies to meet, set up extra-legal conventions. Meeting in open defiance of British authority, they assumed the role of government.

The Continental Congress

In September all the colonies except Georgia sent at least one delegate to Philadelphia to a **Continental Congress** 'to consult upon the present unhappy state of the colonies'. Most of the 56 delegates were men who had played prominent roles in opposition to Britain over the previous decade, for example Patrick Henry of Virginia and John and Sam Adams of Massachusetts.

KEY TERM

Continental Congress An assembly of delegates representing all the American colonies.

The Congress supported the Suffolk Resolves. These declared the Coercive Acts null and void and called upon Massachusetts to arm for defence. Congress also called for non-importation of all British goods starting in December 1774. A ban on exports to Britain would begin in September 1775. To promote the trade embargo, Congress called on colonists everywhere to form a Continental Association so that non-importation would be a united effort rather than merely local initiatives.

On 14 October Congress agreed on a Declaration of Rights and Grievances. While acknowledging allegiance to the Crown, the Declaration denied that the colonies were subject to Parliament's authority. While Parliament could regulate trade for the good of the whole empire, it could not raise revenue of any kind from the colonists without their consent.

Another Congress was called for May 1775.

Committees of Safety

Committees of Safety were now established across the colonies in accordance with the Continental Association. Functioning as quasi-courts, they investigated suspected Tories. Persons found not abiding by the Association faced physical intimidation. By the spring of 1775 some 7000 colonists, many directly involved in politics for the first time, were serving either on committees of safety or in extra-legal conventions.

KEY TERM

Provincial Congress A convention of representatives that had replaced the 'official' Massachusetts assembly which had met in Boston.

The situation in 1774–5

By late 1774 British authority had broken down completely in Massachusetts. Outside Boston, effective power resided in the **Provincial Congress** and a host of committees. These bodies took upon themselves the organization of military

resources. Across Massachusetts, **militia** units began to prepare for war. General Gage found that his power extended only as far as British troops could march. Effectively besieged in Boston, Gage asked North for 20,000 extra troops.

Across the colonies, extra-legal conventions and committees replaced traditional authority. Arms and ammunition were stockpiled and militias drilled. Rhode Islanders and New Hampshire militiamen seized cannon, arms and munitions from British forts. However, some places, not least New York, remained predominantly loyal to Britain. Most Americans hoped that a solution to the troubles could be found.

KEY TERM

Militia A force, made up of all military-aged civilians, called out in time of emergency.

The outbreak of war

Why and how did war break out?

Over the winter of 1774–5 Gage sent spies to assess the strength of resistance and to discover where the rebels had stockpiled their weapons. In February 1775 he sent troops to Salem to seize munitions. Outnumbered by militiamen, the troops had to withdraw.

British determination

Neither Lord North nor the king had any intention of backing down. Both men recognized that the colonies were in a state of rebellion. In the circumstances, North's military measures were remarkably lax: only 4000 extra troops were sent to Boston. British ministers still failed to appreciate the scale of the military task facing them.

In February 1775 Parliament declared Massachusetts in a state of rebellion. In March it limited New England's commerce with Britain and the British West Indies. In April this restriction was extended to most colonies. Meanwhile in March Secretary for the Colonies, the Earl of Dartmouth, dispatched a letter telling Gage to move against the rebels, arresting 'the principal actors and abettors'.

A few politicians, such as Chatham, Burke and Lord Camden, still called for peace.

SOURCE E

An extract from a speech by Lord Camden, quoted in *Longman History of the United States of America*, by Hugh Brogan, published by Longman, London, UK, 1985, page 169.

To conquer a great continent of 1,800 miles, containing three millions of people, all indissolubly united on the great Whig bottom of liberty and justice, seems an undertaking not to be rashly engaged in … It is obvious, my lords, that you cannot furnish armies, or treasure, competent to the mighty purpose of subduing America … [and] whether France and Spain will be tame, inactive spectators of your efforts and distractions, is well worthy of the consideration of your lordships.

Study Source E. Why did the British Parliament ignore Lord Camden's warning?

Lexington and Concord

On 14 April 1775 Gage received Dartmouth's letter authorizing him to use force. On the evening of 18 April he sent 700 men from Boston to Concord (sixteen miles away) to seize rebel arms and arrest members of the Provincial Congress. Unfortunately for Gage, the Massachusetts militia were informed of British intent by Paul Revere, William Dawes and Dr Prescott – all members of the Boston Committee of Safety.

KEY TERM

Minutemen Men pledged to rush to America's defence at a minute's notice.

On 19 April the British troops found their path barred by 70 **minutemen** at Lexington. Shots were fired – it is still unclear who fired first – and eight colonists were killed. The British pushed on to Concord. Here they encountered a larger militia force and there was a heavy exchange of fire. After destroying the military stores but failing to arrest rebel leaders, the troops turned back to Boston. On the return, they were assailed by Americans firing from the cover of stone walls and woods.

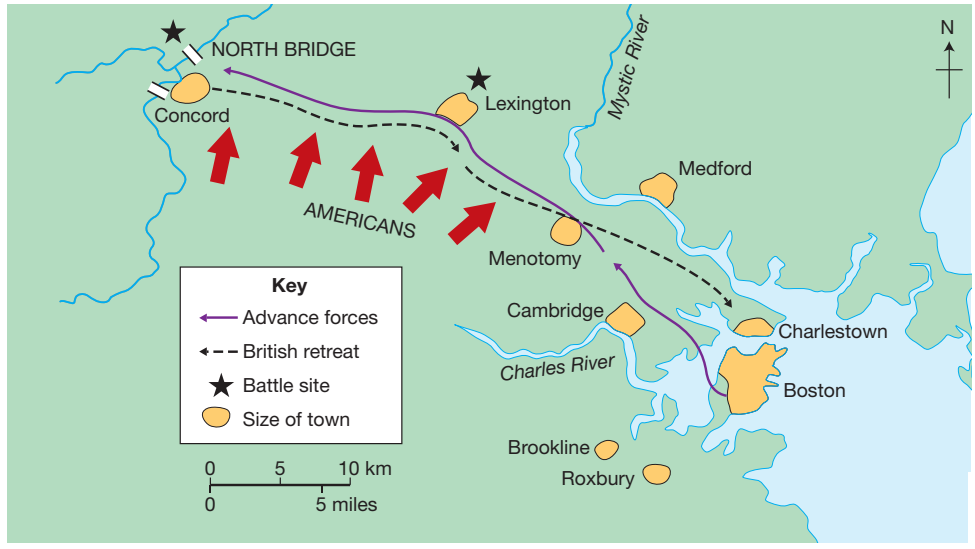
The troops might have had to surrender had it not been for the arrival of a relief force which helped hold the militiamen at bay at Lexington. The British then resumed the retreat as rebel forces continued their sniping. By the time they reached Boston, they had suffered 273 casualties. The Americans lost only 92 men. Within a week some 20,000 New England militia besieged Boston.

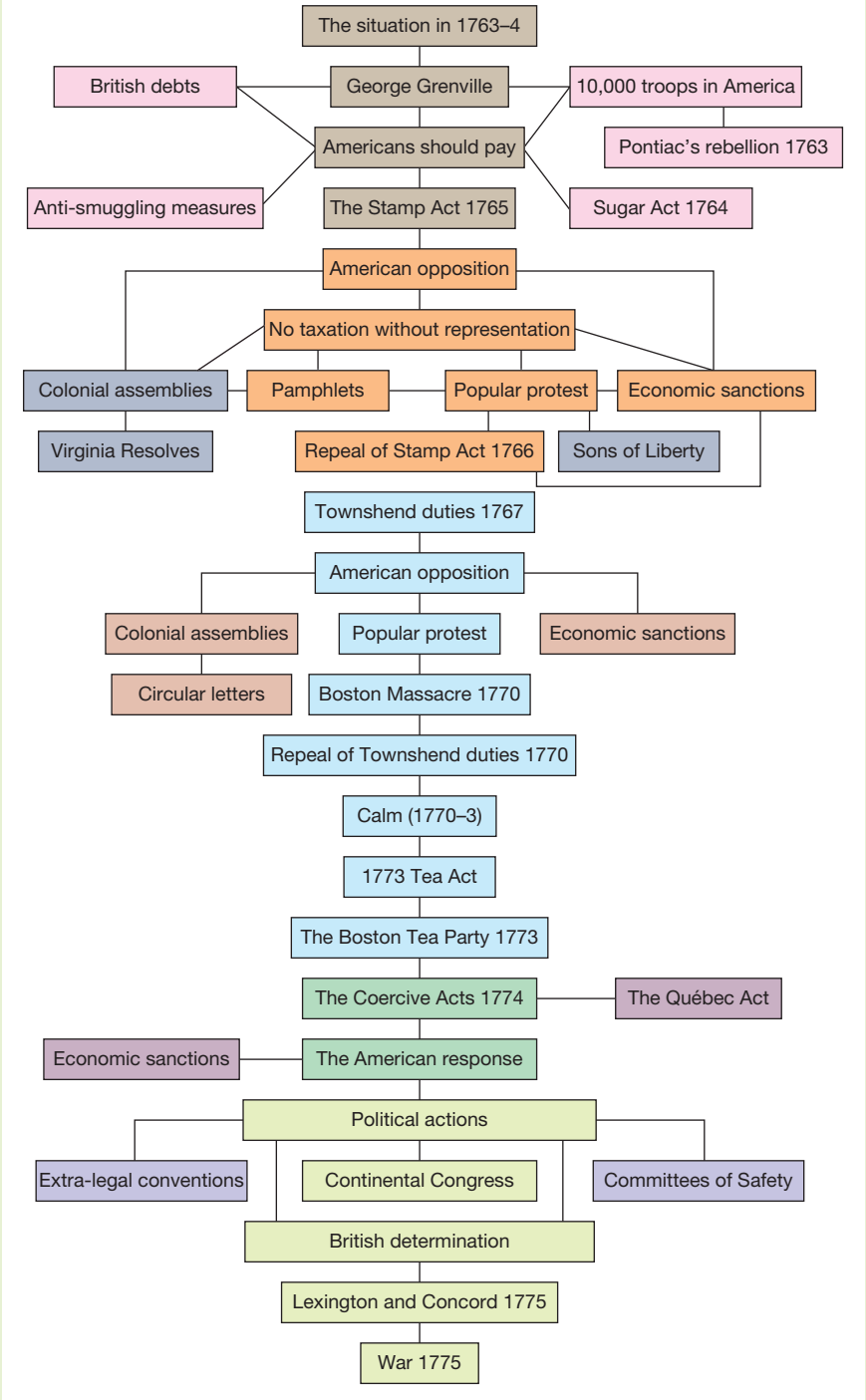
These events transformed the political dispute between the colonists and Britain into a military struggle.

? Examine Source F. Why was the British retreat from Concord so difficult?

SOURCE F

Lexington and Concord.





SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The causes of the War of Independence

3 Key debate

Key question: *What caused the American War of Independence?*

In 1763 virtually all white colonists considered themselves loyal British subjects. By 1775–6 most sought to end the relationship with Britain. What had brought about this change?

Historians' views

Over the last century historians have explained the causes of the American War of Independence in a variety of ways.

? Examine sources G, H, I and J on pages 34–5. To what extent do the four sources suggest that American independence was inevitable?

SOURCE G

An extract from historian Andrew Hacker, in *The Triumph of American Capitalism* (1940), by Andrew Hacker, quoted in *The Causes of the American Revolution*, edited by John G. Wahlke, published by D.C. Heath, USA, 1973, page 10.

The struggle was not over high-sounding political and constitutional concepts, over the power of taxation or even, in the final analysis, over natural rights. It was over colonial manufacturing, wild lands and furs, sugar, wine, tea and currency, all of which meant, simply, the survival or collapse of English mercantile capitalism within the imperial-colonial framework of the mercantilist system.

SOURCE H

An extract from *Middle Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts 1691–1780*, by Robert Brown, Harper Row, USA, 1969, pages 404–5.

[After] the Tea Act and the Coercive Acts, there is no doubt whatever that the British intended to curtail colonial democracy as a necessary step toward recovery of British authority and the prevention of colonial independence. The result was the very thing the British had tried to prevent – American independence …

Obviously democracy played an important part in the events before 1776, not as a condition to be achieved but as a reality which interfered with British policies … We search in vain for evidence of class conflict that was serious enough to justify revolution: we do not have to look far for copious quantities of proof that colonial society was democratic and that the colonists were attempting to prevent British innovation.

SOURCE I

An extract from Professor Bernard Bailyn, in *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, by Bernard Bailyn, Belknap Press, USA, 1967, pages 58–9.

The colonists believed they saw emerging from the welter of events during the decade after the Stamp Act a pattern – whose meaning was unmistakable. They saw in the measures taken by the British government and in the actions of officials in the colonies something for which their peculiar inheritance of thought had prepared them only too well, something they had long conceived to be a possibility in view of the known tendencies of history and of the present state of affairs in England. They saw about them, with increasing clarity, not merely mistaken, or even evil, policies violating the principles upon which freedom rested, but what appeared to be evidence of nothing less than a deliberate assault launched surreptitiously by plotters against liberty both in England and in America.

SOURCE J

An extract from the BBC History website www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire_seapower on the causes of the American Revolution (last updated in 2011) by Francis D. Cogliano.

Writing with the benefit of hindsight in 1818, John Adams, one of the central figures in the American Revolution, recalled that Americans were committed to independence in their hearts long before war broke out in America in 1775. Adams' comment suggests that American independence was inevitable: this was not the case. In 1763 Americans joyously celebrated the British victory in the Seven Years' War, revelling in their identity as Britons and jealously guarding their much-celebrated rights which they believed they possessed by virtue of membership in what they saw as the world's greatest empire … It was the actions of British ministers which made independence first a possibility and then a likelihood.

TOK

Is it possible to detect ethical arguments embedded within the explanations provided by these historians? (Language, Ethics)

How important were economic factors?

Historians (like Andrew Hacker and Charles Beard) once emphasized the importance of economic factors in bringing about the American Revolution, not least the Trade and Navigation Laws and oppressive customs duties. But few scholars today believe that commercial issues were a major cause of the Revolution. Americans realized that they benefited from the mercantilist system. Indeed, trade relations were a factor pulling Britain and the colonies together rather than dividing them. Nor was the Revolution caused by high taxes. Americans were among the most lightly taxed peoples on earth. The unpopular taxes/duties proposed by Britain in the 1760s and 1770s were low and the colonists could easily afford to pay them. Principle, not economic, hardship was the cause of opposition to the taxes/duties.

How important was ideology?

Historians (like Bernard Bailyn) now stress the importance of ideology in bringing about Revolution. American political ideology owed much to English constitutional thought. Repeatedly the colonists insisted they were

Englishmen, entitled to all the rights granted by the English Constitution. If Englishmen could not be taxed without their consent, as given by their representatives in Parliament, the same applied to Americans. Influenced by eighteenth-century English writers, many colonists believed (wrongly) that a small clique of evil ministers aimed to destroy American liberties.

Who led the American cause?

While some men of relatively humble background (like Sam Adams) played important roles, in general the traditional political and social elite led the resistance.

Why did so many Americans resist British rule?

Thousands of ordinary Americans actively resisted British demands. Why?

- New taxes concentrated minds on the colonies' constitutional status.
- Ordinary Americans were politicized by town and country meetings, by committees which sprang up and by churches and radical newspapers.
- Peer group pressure played a role.

Ordinary Americans did not simply follow. Their concerns helped persuade public bodies to act.

How important was the mob?

Crowd or mob action was central to the way that British power in America came to an end. From 1765–75 the main story of the Revolution was acted out in towns. Crowds, often orchestrated by the Sons of Liberty, made it impossible to enforce British legislation. But perhaps the significance of urban radicalism should not be exaggerated. After all, most Americans were farmers.

To what extent were British politicians to blame?

After 1763 British ministries, in an effort to squeeze money from the colonies, devised a series of irritations which propelled the colonies towards independence. In 1764, 1765, 1767 and 1773 governments forced the issue of Britain's power over the colonies. Parliament's first attempt (1764) was ambiguous, as was the American response. But on the other three occasions the result was confrontation. Twice Parliament backed down, repealing the Stamp Act and the Townshend duties. By bowing to American pressure, Parliament undermined its claim to exercise control over the colonies.

After the Boston Tea Party, North's ministry chose to stand firm, expecting that a show of force would be sufficient to subdue Massachusetts. But Britain had too few forces on hand at the start to overawe the rebels. The colonists may not have been so headstrong if Gage had had 24,000 troops rather than 4000.

While it is possible to blame a blundering generation of British politicians for causing the war, in fairness to the politicians:

- It is understandable that they failed to anticipate that the colonists, freer than any other at the time, would rebel against the nation that had nurtured the liberty they prized so highly.

- In 1765 there was little indication of the anger to be aroused by the Stamp Act.
- Britain came to be demonized by America without good cause. The notion that British ministries were bent on reducing the colonies to a state of slavery was nonsense.
- Successive ministries acted in a manner consistent with their understanding of the British Constitution, in which Parliament was the empire's supreme governing body. If Parliament was sovereign then it must have the power to tax. Giving up the right to tax was to surrender Parliament's supremacy – the equivalent to recognizing American independence.
- Britain's determination to hold on to the American colonies was understandable. They were a valuable source of raw materials and a major market.

4 The causes of independence movements in Latin America

Key question: *What were the main causes of unrest in Latin America?*

In the century following Columbus' discovery of the New World in 1492 Spanish soldiers conquered most of Central and South America. The only exception was Brazil, which was occupied by Portugal.

By 1800 the Spanish colonies were divided into administrative entities called viceroyalties:

- The viceroyalty of New Spain, its capital at Mexico City, included all of Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean.
- The viceroyalty of Peru, its capital at Lima, initially extended across all of South America, excluding Brazil.
- The viceroyalty of New Granada, its capital at Bogota, was created in 1739.
- The viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, its capital at Buenos Aires, was founded in 1776 – recognition of the region's growing commercial importance.

By the late eighteenth century, there was unrest against Spanish rule in each viceroyalty. (Some Brazilians also resented Portuguese rule.) However, this unrest did not lead to a major move for independence until 1810 (see Chapter 3).

Latin America in the late eighteenth century

The nature of Spanish America

Were there any signs of unrest by the mid eighteenth century?

The Spanish American population nearly trebled in the course of the eighteenth century. By 1800 the total population stood at some 12.6 million (see table below).

	Millions	Percentage of total
Buenos Aires and Tucumán	0.31	2.5
Caribbean islands	0.55	4.4
Central America	1.16	9.2
Charcas	0.56	4.5
Chile	0.55	4.4
Mexico	5.84	46.4
New Granada	1.1	8.7
Paraguay	0.1	0.8
Peru	1.1	8.7
Quito	0.5	4.0
Uruguay	0.03	0.2
Venezuela	0.78	6.2
Total	12.58	100

Spanish American population in 1800

Whites were the top of Spanish America's pyramid of wealth, power and influence. Whites were far from a homogeneous class. They included American-born **Creoles** and (far fewer) ***peninsulares*** and ranged from great land- and office-owning aristocrats to artisans and service personnel. The proportion of whites varied from area to area. By 1800 whites made up only 12 per cent of Peru's population. In contrast, the Río de la Plata's population was 75 per cent white.

The number of mixed Spanish and **Amerindian** people – ***mestizos*** – was increasing. Most were the offspring not of two individuals of a particular ethnic identity but rather of parents who were already of mixed origins. By 1800 in Mexico – *mestizos* made up 22 per cent of the population, against 18 and 60 per cent respectively for whites and Amerindians.

Amerindians outnumbered whites and *mestizos* in much of Spanish America. Their numbers increased considerably from the mid seventeenth century thanks to improved resistance to European diseases that had been so devastating in the sixteenth century.

Thousands of Africans were brought as slaves to work the plantations, especially in New Granada. By the mid eighteenth century there were *mulattoes* (mixed blacks and whites) and *zambos* (mixed Amerindians and blacks).

KEY TERM

Creoles White Americans of Spanish descent.

Peninsulares People born in Spain.

Amerindian The indigenous people of Central and South America.

Mestizo A person of mixed Spanish-Amerindian descent.

Colonial society

For purposes of social ranking, colour mattered. But, given that mixing was rampant, it was often difficult to make fine ethnic distinctions from looks

alone. For example, a poor white who lived by manual labour might well be taken for a *mestizo*. An Amerindian who spoke Spanish might well be reckoned *mestizo.*

In many areas there was considerable racial tension. In Peru, for example, the white elite feared the Amerindian masses who hated white oppression.

The colonial economy

Mexico and Peru produced 90 per cent of the world's silver by 1800. Silver brought rising revenues to the Spanish crown in **royalties**, taxes and trade. It also stimulated the colonies' commerce.

However, most Spanish Americans were engaged in farming. Wealthy creole families and **Church missionary orders** owned great estates, using slave labour or employing poorly paid *mestizos.* In many areas, Amerindians still farmed their communal lands.

The rise of agricultural exports from the eastern regions of Spanish America was the most striking change in the colonial economy in the eighteenth century. Thus, regions lacking silver or gold found their wealth and populations rising. Río de la Plata, for example, prospered from the export of cattle products.

Latin Americans were involved in a host of other economic activities. Crafts practised in small shops in every town and village provided people with clothing, tools and utensils.

Colonial government

In theory, the King of Spain had absolute power in the colonies. Spanish nobles were appointed to rule the viceroyalties. They governed with help from the creole elites. By 1760 Creoles were a majority in several ***audiencias***. Creoles also dominated office in lower branches of government. The system ensured a sense of local identity. Creoles saw themselves not only as Americans but also as Peruvians or Mexicans.

The Church

Missionaries and priests of the Catholic Church arrived in the Americas with the **conquistadores**. The Church quickly became, after the government, the most important institution. Members of missionary orders spearheaded the conversion of Amerindians. By 1750, the Catholic Church was both a pillar of the social order and a unifying factor in Spanish America. It also had other important roles.

- It possessed huge wealth. In New Spain, it owned half the real estate. Its wealth made it the largest source of **investment capital**.
- It provided education and social services.
- It exerted control over the way people thought and acted. The **Inquisition** enforced orthodoxy in both spiritual and secular matters.

The situation by 1750

- By 1750 the colonies were prospering. Evading Spanish trade restrictions, they engaged in extensive commerce with each other and with other countries.

KEY TERM

Royalties Money due to the monarchy, resulting from the mining of silver. The Spanish monarchy had rights over the mining of minerals in Latin America.

Church missionary orders These were groups of monks, committed to converting people to Christianity (particularly to Roman Catholicism).

Audiencias Courts that had judicial and legislative authority.

Conquistadores The Spaniards who conquered much of Central and South America in the early sixteenth century.

Investment capital Money that can be borrowed to support new projects or to secure extra income.

Inquisition The police arm of the Catholic Church; its main purpose was to combat heresy.

- Spain, by contrast, had suffered a decline in productivity and its military power had been sapped by a series of unsuccessful wars. By 1750 Spain needed its colonies, especially the **bullion** they provided, more than they needed Spain.
- Colonial administration was lax and corrupt. Most positions in government, other than that of **viceroy**, were open to, and purchasable by, Creoles. Spanish influence was thus declining.

Bourbon reforms

Why did the Bourbon reforms spark unrest?

In the eighteenth century, Spain's Habsburg monarchy was replaced by that of the Bourbons. The new dynasty sought to modernize Spain's economy, society and institutions. The reforming hand of the Bourbons was not generally felt in Latin America until the reign of Charles III (1759–88). José de Gálvez was particularly important in bringing about change. Gálvez arrived in Mexico in 1765 with the task of inspecting the Crown's affairs. Finding the viceroyalty in disarray, he reorganized the system of tax collection and consolidated commercial affairs in the hands of Spanish merchants. Returning to Spain in 1771, Gálvez took up a seat on the **Council of Indies** and, within five years, assumed its top position. His overriding aim was to exploit the colonies more efficiently, raising increased revenues for the Crown.

KEY TERM

Bullion Uncoined gold and silver.

Viceroy The governor of an area, appointed by and acting in the name of the monarch.

Council of Indies The main body in Spain dealing with colonial matters.

Alcabala A sales tax.

Reform of government

Spanish officials realized that the colonies would not yield extra revenue unless the slackness in government was remedied. Efforts were thus made to improve the administration.

- Intendants were appointed. They were a new variety of regional governors, holding broad executive and judicial powers and charged especially with developing economic activities and raising revenue. Resident in provincial towns (eight in Peru, twelve in Mexico), they reported to Madrid through superintendants in the viceregal capitals.
- Spanish-born officials replaced Creoles. Of *audiencias*' appointments in the years 1751–1808 only 62 went to Creoles; 200 went to *peninsulares*. Few intendants were Creoles.

Fiscal measures

- Royal monopolies were imposed on a growing number of commodities, including tobacco, gunpowder and salt.
- The government assumed the direct administration of taxes traditionally farmed out to private contractors.
- The ***alcabala*** continued to burden all transactions and its level was often raised.
- The mining sectors in Mexico and Peru had to pay substantial sums to the Crown.

KEY TERM

Free trade Unrestricted exchange of goods without protective duties.

Corregidores Officials responsible for controlling Amerindian communities.

Control of trade

Bourbon reformers attempted to reshape colonial commerce to Spain's advantage. The term used to describe the new exchange was *comercio libre y protegido* – **free trade** under the state's protection. Despite its name, the purpose of *comercio libre* was mercantilist. It intended to ensure that:

- the colonies offered a secure market for Spain's surplus production
- the colonies would provide Spain with precious metals and marketable raw materials
- Spain should be the empire's manufacturing centre
- Spanish ships would carry colonial and Spanish products.

However, there were problems:

- Spain did not produce sufficient manufactured goods for the colonies' needs. The industrial gap was filled by foreigners. Indeed much of the Spanish trade to America was a re-export trade in foreign goods.
- Given that Spain's main products were similar to those of the colonies, Bourbon reformers tried to create a market for Spanish exports by prohibiting colonial production of commodities such as wine and olive oil. No processing industry was to be permitted in the colonies except sugar mills.
- Spanish merchants' trade domination angered Creoles.
- The scarcity and costliness of goods increased colonial anger.
- The Spanish Empire remained a disjointed economy. Spain dealt with a series of separate parts often at the expense of the whole. Instead of integration, rivalry (for example, Chile against Peru, Montevideo against Buenos Aires) was the norm.

Indian reform

In the Amerindian communities, Spanish s*ubdelegados*, responsible to the intendants, replaced Creole ***corregidores***. The latter had derived their income not from a salary but from entrepreneurship, trading with the Amerindians under their jurisdiction, advancing capital and credit, supplying equipment and goods and often forcing Amerindians to produce a particular crop. This system – *repartimiento de comercio* – was abolished. Amerindians were allowed to trade and work as they wished. Unfortunately, the abolition of *repartimientos* threatened not only Creole merchants and landowners but also Amerindians who were unaccustomed to using money in a free market.

The Church

Bourbon reformers believed that the Church's secular power should be restricted and that much of its wealth should be transferred to the Crown or private hands.

- American clergy lost some of their legal privileges.
- Attempts were made to secularize education, which had long been under the Church's control.

- Ecclesiastical immunities by which the clergy were not expected to pay taxes were reduced.
- The **Jesuits** were expelled from all Spanish realms in 1767. Their estates were passed to the Crown.

The higher clergy, all of whom were Spanish, ensured that they were not affected by the reforms. Lower clergy – Creoles and *mestizos* – bore the brunt of the Church's depleted funds.

The Army

Lacking the resources to maintain large garrisons of regular troops, Spain relied on colonial militias. The burden of defence was placed squarely on colonial economies and personnel. To encourage recruits, militia officers were entitled to privileges enjoyed by the Spanish military. There was no lack of Creoles anxious for commissions.

Raising local forces, however, was fraught with problems.

- Many ***castas*** resented being drafted.
- Spain was creating forces that could be used against Spanish interests.
- The militia was not effective in 1780 when rebellion broke out in Peru (see page 44).

After 1780, senior officers in militia units were invariably *peninsulares*.

Racial policy

Bourbon policy sought to assuage social tension by removing the grosser forms of racial discrimination.

- **Free blacks** and mulattoes were allowed into the militia.
- A law in 1795 allowed some free blacks and mulattoes to receive an education, marry whites, hold public office and enter the priesthood.
- In 1789 Spain issued a new slave law which sought to improve the conditions of slave life and labour.

Creoles generally opposed these measures. All over the Spanish Caribbean, slave owners resisted the 1789 law, procuring its suspension in 1794.

Peninsulares versus Creoles

While new opportunities drew more Spaniards to America, their numbers were not high. Of the 3.2 million whites in Spanish America in 1800, less than 40,000 were *peninsulares.* Nevertheless, their presence alienated the Creoles. Indeed, Creole antagonism to *peninsulares* was arguably a major cause of the move for independence. However, not all Creoles were antagonistic to Spanish newcomers. Across most of Spanish America, the Creole elites and the *peninsulares* were closely connected, sometimes by marriage, merging as a white ruling class.

The impact of the reforms

In terms of producing more revenue, the Bourbon reforms were successful. For example, in Mexico royal income increased from 3 million **pesos** in 1712

KEY TERM

Jesuits Members of a missionary order who owed allegiance first and foremost to the Pope.

Castas People of mixed Amerindian, European and African race.

Free blacks African Americans who had purchased or been granted their freedom.

Peso A Spanish American dollar.

to 14 million pesos by 1800. But colonials of all social ranks had reason for complaint. Creoles were particularly critical. They felt they were the victims of a new colonization, a Spanish onslaught on trade, office and their wealth. The reforms thus engendered a climate of resentment, weakening the Spanish Crown's authority – which they had been designed to strengthen.

To what extent was Spanish rule challenged in the late eighteenth century?

Rebellion and discontent

There were scores of minor revolts in Spanish America in the eighteenth century. Most were the result of specific local grievances. The Andean region (where there were 128 rebellions) was particularly troublesome. Much of the trouble arose from long-standing Amerindian grievances stemming from:

- the tyranny of the *corregidores*
- **tribute**, tax and **tithe** demands
- the ***mita*** system.

Resentment in Peru increased in the 1770s, especially as harsh fiscal measures were introduced.

The Túpac Amaru rebellion

In November 1780 José Gabriel Condorcanqui, a landowner from the Cuzco district, led an insurrection. Claiming descent from the **Incan** royal line, he assumed the name of Túpac Amaru II ('Royal Serpent'). The rebellion quickly engulfed a great part of Peru. Initially some Creoles and *mestizos* joined the revolt. But when Amerindians attacked towns, destroying property and killing non-Amerindians, Creoles and *mestizos* united with Spaniards against the rebellion. A government army defeated and captured Túpac Amaru in May 1781. He was executed in Cuzco. His limbs were tied to four horses which were then driven in different directions, ripping his body apart. The revolt, which continued under the leadership of Túpac Katari, was finally crushed in January 1782. As many as 100,000 people (mainly Amerindian) may have died in the rebellion.

The *comunero* rebellion

In March 1781 New Granada erupted in what became known as the *comunero* rebellion. *Mestizos* and Creoles united against the government's fiscal measures. Led by Juan Francisco Berbeo, a Creole of modest means, several thousand *comuneros,* including a band of Amerindians, marched on Bogotá. Rather than attack the city, Berbeo negotiated with the Archbishop. The result was the capitulations of Zipaquirá (June 1781). These provided for the reduction of taxation, greater access to office for Creoles, and improved conditions for Amerindians. The viceroy confirmed the agreement and granted a general pardon. It appeared that the rebellion was over. However, *mestizos* and Amerindians continued to riot while slaves resisted their owners. Berbeo and other former *comunero* leaders now collaborated with the authorities in suppressing the troublemakers.

KEY TERM

Tribute A centuries-old institution that forced Amerindians to pay a tax simply because they were Amerindians.

Tithe Money owed to the Church, usually a tenth of the produce of land and stock.

Mita Tribute labour, associated with the forceful recruitment of Amerindians to work in the mines of Peru.

Incan The Incan royal family had ruled most of the Andes region before the arrival of the conquistadores.

The Creole dilemma

In so far as the Túpac Amaru and *comunero* revolts had anything in common, they were protests against fiscal exaction, not independence movements. Nevertheless, the rebellions revealed social and racial tension and widespread discontent with Spanish rule. Creoles, threatened from below by oppressed masses and from the top by Spanish officials, found themselves in a difficult position. Preferring Spanish rule to anarchy, most united with the authorities to suppress the rebellions.

American consciousness

In the late eighteenth century there was the rise of a sense of Americanism. Among the first to give cultural expression to this were Jesuits expelled from their homeland in 1767. Jesuit writers extolled all things American, refuting the views generally accepted in Europe that the **New World** was an inferior continent. From the 1780s, Creole intellectuals published works celebrating the history, resources, customs and distinctiveness of their regions, sometimes referring to them as their mother countries. This literature of identity helped build up a cultural if not a political nationalism.

The impact of the American Revolution

The American Revolution had a major impact in Spanish America. Copies of the Declaration of Independence (see page 63) and the Federal Constitution (see pages 197–8), in Spanish translation, were carried into Latin America by US merchants. The USA's example of liberty and **republicanism** inspired some Creoles.

The impact of the French Revolution

The **French Revolution**, which began in 1789, had immense consequences for Europe and ultimately for Latin America. Despite the authorities' attempts at censorship, floods of revolutionary literature reached the colonies. Ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality excited some – but by no means all – Creoles.

- Few embraced the ideal of equality.
- The more radical the French Revolution became, the less it appealed to the Creole elite.

The Haitian Revolt

The French Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue was the most productive in the New World: its mercilessly exploited slave labour force produced sugar and coffee. The colony had a deeply divided society – a minority of French colonists, a free mixed-race community (known as ***gens de couleur***), and bitterly aggrieved black and mulatto slaves – all similar to parts of Spanish America. A number of discriminatory laws forbade the *gens de couleur* from marrying whites, carrying weapons and from taking up certain professions. However, these regulations did not prevent them purchasing land. By 1789 they owned a third of plantation property and a quarter of Saint-Domingue's slaves.

KEY TERM

New World The name given, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to North, Central and South America.

Republicanism Support for a form of government without a monarch in which the supreme power is vested in the people and their elected representatives.

French Revolution The turmoil in France, between 1789 and 1794, which led to the overthrow of the French monarchy and the reduction in power and wealth of the nobility and Church. French revolutionaries declared their support for liberty, equality and fraternity.

Gens de couleur This translates as 'people of colour'. Most were the offspring of male French slave holders and African female slaves.

KEY TERM

De facto Actual, if not legally recognized.

The French Revolution had a huge impact in Saint-Domingue. In 1790 many of the *gens de couleur* rose in revolt, claiming they were full French citizens. The revolt was crushed. In 1791 a slave rebellion, soon led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, engulfed the colony. L'Ouverture had considerable success, becoming ***de facto*** ruler of the colony.

Meanwhile in France, revolutionary governments granted social equality to the *gens de couleur* (1792) and then abolished slavery in all French colonies (1794). L'Ouverture, convinced it would be difficult to go it alone, did not proclaim full independence. Nor did he seek reprisals against slave holders.

Nevertheless, in 1802 French leader Napoleon Bonaparte sent a 40,000-strong army, led by his brother-in-law Charles Leclerc, to restore full French rule – and slavery – in Saint-Domingue. L'Ouverture, deceived by Leclerc, was captured and deported to France (where he died of pneumonia in 1803). When Leclerc stripped the *gens de couleur* of their civil rights, they took up arms with blacks against the French.

Yellow fever and malaria proved more deadly to the French than the rebel armies. By November 1802 Leclerc and 24,000 French troops were dead. The new French commander, the Vicomte de Rochambeau, waged a savage war against the rebels. Terrible atrocities were committed by both sides: prisoners were hanged, burned, boiled and buried alive. Rochambeau's brutal methods succeeded in uniting blacks, mulattoes and *gens de couleur*.

Britain's control of the seas ensured that reinforcements and supplies for Rochambeau never arrived in sufficient numbers. The rebel army, led by General Jean-Jacques Dessalines, who had been a close ally of L'Ouverture, defeated Rochambeau in fighting in the autumn of 1803, ending Napoleon's dreams of restoring France's New World Empire. On 1 January 1804 Dessalines declared the independence of Haiti. In a final act of retribution, hundreds of French colonists who had not fled with the remnants of the French army were slaughtered. Although France refused to recognize Haiti until 1825 (and only when Haiti agreed to pay France for 'damages'), the country – the first black republic in the Americas – was effectively independent. The Haitian Constitution of 1804 declared that all citizens, regardless of colour, were to be known as 'black' in an attempt to eliminate the racial hierarchy that had previously existed.

The impact of the Haitian revolt

The Haitian situation had some impact in Venezuela.

- In 1795 slaves killed landowners and attacked the town of Coro. The revolt was quickly crushed.
- In 1799 a slave rebellion in Maracaibo, with some Haitian support, sought to create a black republic. The rebellion was soon suppressed.

Creole radicals disassociated themselves from the Haitian revolution. Francisco Miranda (see Source K) wrote:

SOURCE K

An extract from a letter by Francisco Miranda (a Creole radical), from *The Cambridge History of Latin America, Volume III: From Independence to c. 1870*, edited by Leslie Bethell, Cambridge University Press, UK, 1985, page 49.

I confess that much as I desire the liberty and independence of the New World, I fear anarchy and revolution even more. God forbid that the other countries suffer the same fate as Saint-Domingue, scene of carnage and crimes, committed on the pretext of establishing liberty; better that they should remain another century under the barbarous and senseless oppression of Spain.

Study Source K. What particular events in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) disturbed Miranda? ?

Radical Creoles

Some Creoles, inspired by the American and French revolutions, advocated republicanism and independence. They included:

- Francisco Miranda, a merchant's son from Caracas, who spent time in the USA, France and Britain, and sought foreign support for the ejection of Spain from America.
- Antonio Nariño, a wealthy Creole from Bogotá, who printed a translation of the French **Declaration of the Rights of Man**: he was subsequently exiled for treason.
- Francisco Javier Espejo, a lawyer of Quito, who denounced Spanish rule in a series of satirical publications: he was jailed on charges of subversion.

In retrospect these men can be seen as the intellectual 'precursors' of independence. Nevertheless, they were far ahead of public opinion in the two decades before 1810. The French Revolution and the slave revolt in Haiti made Creoles, particularly the wealthiest, suspicious of wholesale political innovation. Fearing anarchy and race war, most accepted Spanish rule as the most effective guarantee of law and order and hierarchy.

KEY TERM

Declaration of the Rights of Man This was adopted by the French National Constituent Assembly in August 1789. It defined the individual and collective universal rights of men.

The impact of war

Why was war with Britain a disaster for Spain?

In 1796 Spain, allying with France, went to war against Britain. The war, which had disastrous results for Spain, was to have a huge impact in Latin America. Many Creoles became convinced that Spanish interests were not their interests.

Increased fiscal demands

Americans were not consulted about Spanish foreign policy. But they were expected to pay for it. After 1797 Spanish tax demands on the colonies were relentless. Donations were demanded from wealthy families, **merchant guilds** and **municipal councils**. The Consolidation Decree of 1804, which

KEY TERM

Merchant guilds Associations of powerful businessmen and traders, set up to look after common interests and provide mutual support and protection.

Municipal councils The (appointed) assemblies that helped govern the main towns.

ordered the confiscation of charitable funds in America and their remission to Spain, was especially unpopular in Mexico where the Church possessed large financial reserves accumulated from bequests of the faithful. This wealth had enabled churches to become informal financial institutions, advancing money to all and sundry. Thus the Consolidation Decree affected not only the Church, but all those who relied on its funds for credit.

The effect of the British blockade

In 1797, following victory over the Spanish fleet at Cape St Vincent, the British Royal Navy imposed a blockade of Spanish ports, all but severing Spain's links with America. Imports into Veracruz from Spain dropped from 6.5 million pesos in 1796 to 0.5 million pesos in 1797: exports from 7.3 million pesos to 0.23 million. All over America there was an extreme shortage of consumer goods. Following pressure from American interests, a Spanish decree in 1797 allowed neutral vessels to trade with Latin America. Consequently, colonial trade fell almost entirely into the hands of foreigners, including, indirectly, the British, whose goods were introduced by neutrals.

Fearing that its control was slipping away, Spain revoked the 1797 decree in 1799. The outcome was still more damaging for the revocation was simply ignored. Colonies continued to trade with neutrals and there was little Spain could do. The peace of Amiens in 1802 enabled Spain to re-establish trade with its colonies but it was unable to restore its old monopoly.

Renewal of war with Britain in 1804 led to further disaster. In 1805 the Spanish fleet was destroyed at the Battle of Trafalgar. Spain was now isolated from the Americas. In 1806 not a single vessel from Spain entered Havana.

The situation in 1808

With the breaking of the economic link with Spain, the Creoles had achieved one of their aspirations: unrestricted trade, particularly with Britain and the USA.

What of the political link? The great value of the Spanish monarchy to the creole elite was that it provided a source of law and order and kept non-whites in their place. But Spain's weakness now made Creoles doubt its capacity to defend or keep order in America. This last problem was brought home by British invasions of Buenos Aires and Montevideo in 1806–7. It was creole militias, not Spanish forces that fought off the British attacks. Spanish Americans were clearly unwilling to exchange one imperial master for another. But Spain could take little comfort from this. Its colonial defences had been exposed and its administration humiliated. The **deposition** of the incompetent Spanish viceroy by the local *audiencia* gave Buenos Aires' Creoles a taste of power over their own affairs. They were reluctant to return to their former subservience.

KEY TERM

Deposition The act of removing someone from power.

Conclusion

Alexander von Humboldt, a German who travelled extensively in Spanish America in the early years of the nineteenth century, wrote:

SOURCE L

An extract from a letter by Humboldt, quoted in *Simón Bolívar: A Life*, by John Lynch, Yale University Press, USA, 2006, page 36.

During my time in America, I never encountered discontent; I noticed that while there was no great love of Spain, at least there was conformity with the established regime. It was only later, once the struggle had begun, that I realised that they had hidden the truth from me and that far from love there existed deep-seated hatred.

What are the values and limitations of Source L?

Although there were no eighteenth-century wars for independence in Latin America, there was growing resentment against Spanish rule. Spain's fiscal demands and mercantilist policies were unpopular. So was the appointment of Spanish administrators, which frustrated Creole aspirations. Creole aspirations in themselves reflected a developing sense of identity. Some Creoles, inspired by developments in the USA, pondered the possibility of independence. However, most Creoles were Catholic and conservative. Few accepted notions of inherent human freedom or believed that government should follow the popular will. A slave or Amerindian revolt was so fearful a prospect that Creoles would not lightly leave Spanish protection. Nevertheless, Spain's disastrous performance in war after 1796 resulted in Creoles losing even more confidence in Spanish rule. Thus, when the Spanish monarchy collapsed in 1808 (see page 97), Creoles were ready to take matters into their own hands.

Brazil

To what degree was the situation in Brazil similar to that in Spanish America?

There were similarities between late eighteenth-century Brazil and Spanish America: similar resentments of the home country's demands and restrictions; similar tensions between colonials and peninsula emigrants; and a similar sense of separateness. However, there were also significant differences which made Brazilian resentments more muted.

- Power rested with a white minority comprising Portuguese settlers and Brazilians of Portuguese descent. There were few people of mixed-race. Half of the population (3.5 million in 1800) were black slaves, imported from Africa. The threat of slave revolt made all whites natural allies.
- Brazil had a thriving export economy. Sugar was the most valuable crop but there was also a rising demand for tobacco, rice, cacao and coffee. Prosperity helped to blunt protest.
- White Brazilians played as much a part in Brazil's administration as Portuguese.

Pombal's reforms

King Joseph I (Dom José I) (1750–77) approved a far-reaching programme of economic and political change in Portugal and Brazil, similar to that of the Bourbon reformers in Spain. Portuguese reform was conceived and directed by the Marquis of Pombal.

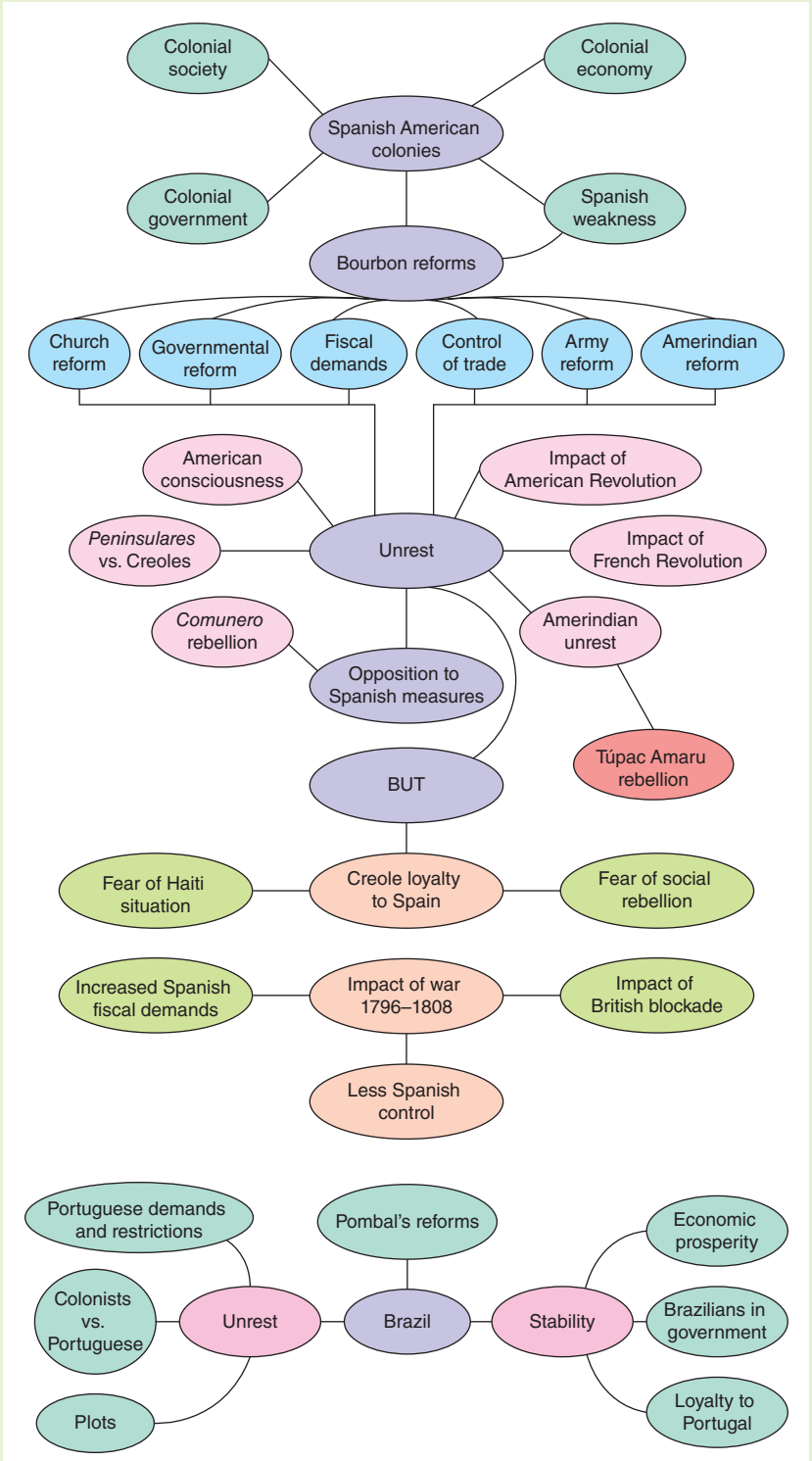
Brazil felt Pombal's imperious touch in a number of ways: more taxes, more officials, mercantilist policies and expulsion of the Jesuits. But few Brazilians seem to have found this increased pressure intolerable. This was largely because Pombal was careful not to alienate the Brazilian elites. Posts in the bureaucracy were open to Brazilians. Moreover, Portugal's fiscal demands were much lighter than those of Spain. Generally, Pombal's reforms helped Brazil's development.

Discontent

Portugal made great efforts to keep Brazil free of alien and disturbing ideas. (For example, it refused to allow the establishment of a university or printing presses.) Nevertheless, the ripples of the American and French revolutions reached Brazil. Mingling with provincial grievances against taxes and high-handed officialdom, this produced occasional conspiracies against Portuguese rule.

The most serious of these plots was the *Inconfidência Mineira* of 1788–9, uncovered at Ouro Preto. Angered by increased fiscal demands, some of the local elite planned to overthrow the authorities and declare an independent republic. The plot failed and one of its leaders, a junior army officer, was hanged. Another republican conspiracy was foiled in Bahia in 1798. Ten of the 32 men arrested were tailors. Four leaders of the 'Tailor's Plot' were hanged, drawn and quartered.

The sheer size of Brazil made concerted action by rebels unlikely. Moreover, by the early 1800s Brazil's elite regarded the Portuguese monarchy as a stabilizing force and could see no significant benefits accruing from independence.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The causes of independence movements in Latin America

Chapter summary

Independence movements in the Americas

In 1775, American colonists, angered by British actions and fearful that these actions threatened their liberty, broke away from Britain. The angers and fears were mainly generated by Britain's efforts to tax Americans (to help pay for the cost of the Seven Years' War). Americans resented taxation without representation in the British Parliament. By 1775 American discontent, coupled with British anger at American actions, resulted in the breakdown of British authority, particularly in Massachusetts. The events at Lexington and Concord in April 1775 led to the outbreak of war between Britain and its American colonies.

In many respects, Latin Americans had more cause for grievance than Britain's North American colonists. Some Creoles, angered by Spanish control and restrictions and inspired by developments, first in North America and then in France, supported the cause of independence in Central and South America. Despite this, there was no successful revolt in the eighteenth century against Spanish or Portuguese rule. Creoles, who controlled most of the wealth in Latin America, feared the social and economic consequences of independence (particularly after witnessing developments in Haiti). Most white Brazilians were seemingly content with Portuguese rule.

Examination advice

How to answer 'compare and contrast' questions

For compare and contrast questions, you are asked to identify both similarities and differences. Better essays tend to approach the question thematically. It is best not to write half of the essay as a collection of similarities and half as differences. Finally, straight narrative should be avoided. In order to score in the highest mark band you need to write an essay that contains a structured framework and includes analysis, as well as some evaluation of different interpretations.

Example

Compare and contrast the economic causes of the American War of Independence with the Latin American wars.

1. It helps to provide historical context. You would be wise to discuss the economic impact of the Seven Years' War on the American War of Independence. You should also explain the Bourbon reforms in Spain and how these might have been part of the reason Latin Americans fought for their independence. Additionally, do make the point that the Latin American wars took place after the American one and that the latter did have some influence on the former. Answers that receive higher marks often will explain why there were differences and similarities instead of just stating what these were.
2. When answering a 'compare and contrast' question like this one, you should create a chart that illustrates the similarities and differences between the economic causes of these wars. Take five minutes to do this before writing your essay. An example is given opposite.

	American War of Independence	Latin American wars
Colonial economy based on	Mercantilism Tobacco, farming, lumber, fishing Smuggling	Mercantilism Silver production, farming Smuggling
Measures taken to increase revenues	Impact of Seven Years' War – large debts 1764: Sugar Act, Currency Act 1765: Stamp Act 1767: Townshend Crisis 1773: Tea Act 1774: Coercive/Intolerable Acts	Bourbon reforms begin in 1770s: Administration changed to more peninsulare than Creole-led Royal monopolies imposed Direct administration of taxes Colonies expected to pay war costs (1796)
Colonial reactions to economic measures	Boycotts, meetings, attacks on British tax officials, colonial unity, petitions to King and Parliament	Uprisings Growing resentment
Impact of other factors/ interpretations for move to war	Proclamation line of 1763 Québec Act Development of American identity, both social and political	Blockade of Spanish ports by British Development of American identity Impact of USA's successful struggle Creole resistance to British attacks in Río de la Plata

3. In your introduction, briefly and clearly state how the two wars were similar and different and why. You should also make reference to the idea that the economic measures taken by both the British Parliament and the Spanish government aroused strong responses by those living in the thirteen British colonies and the Spanish viceroyalties.

An example of a good introductory paragraph for this question is given below.

One of the root causes of the American War of Independence (1775–81) and the Latin American wars for independence (1810–25) was economic. In both areas of the Americas, white colonists and those born in the colonies from European stock, felt that the economic measures taken by the mother countries of Britain and Spain were

unfair. Leaders in the mother countries, on the other hand, felt that the time had come for the colonies to pay a greater share of the enormous debts incurred in order to finance wars, both current and past. There were also significant economic differences between the two struggles for independence. In North America, the British government sought to protect its colonies from outside forces while in Latin America the need to send greater and greater sums of money to Spain was due more to Spain's need to finance wars outside the Americas. Furthermore, the relationship of the British North American colonial economy to the mother country was based on the export of tobacco and lumber, while Spanish America was meant to provide silver in large quantities, as well as sugar and lumber. Spanish royal monopolies on certain key products were imposed to a greater degree than in the thirteen American colonies.

4. In the body of the essay, you need to discuss each of the points you raised in the introduction. Devote at least a paragraph to each one. It would be a good idea to order these in terms of which ones you think are most important. Be sure to make the connection between the points you raise and the major thrust of your argument. An example of how one of the points could be addressed is given below.

Both Great Britain and Spain hoped to exploit their respective colonies in order to service huge debts at home. Britain thought it only fair that the American colonists should help share some of the costs it spent defending them during the Seven Years' War (1756–63). Spain also thought her Latin American colonies should help defray costs incurred because of war. How each of the mother countries went about this differed. In the case of Britain, a series of parliamentary acts beginning with the Sugar Act in 1764 was placed on the colonies. The thirteen American colonies began to organize in order to resist what they felt were unfair burdens. Because the colonists had no representation in the British Parliament even though they felt themselves to be British citizens, they thought they should not be taxed. The various economic acts, even if they were rescinded, were at the heart of the growing American rebellion. The Spanish monarchy chose to raise funds in a somewhat different manner. A series of economic measures collectively known as the Bourbon reforms was instituted in order to make the colonies more

profitable for the mother country. Reforms included more royal control over tax collection by placing Spanish officials in charge instead of private Creole contractors. Creoles were no longer able to purchase important (and lucrative) positions in the colonies and this led to a growing sense that economic opportunities were diminished instead of expanded. As in British North America, these economic measures were often seen as punitive and helped to foster a growing sense of an American instead of European identity.

5. In your conclusion, you will want to summarize your findings. This is your opportunity to support your thesis. Remember not to bring up any evidence that you did not discuss in the body of your essay. An example of a good concluding paragraph is given below.

Economic pain that resulted from a series of British taxation schemes and the Bourbon reforms served as important catalysts in the growing call for resistance to what colonists in North and Latin America felt were harsh measures. Both British and Spanish insistence on their colonies helping to pay part of the national debts also meant that there were growing colonial calls for independence from the mother countries. The inability or unwillingness of decision-makers in Britain and Spain to bend also resulted in a growing sense of a new identity in the Americas; many colonists began to see themselves as something other than British or Spanish.

6. Now try writing a complete answer to the question following the advice above.

Examination practice

Below are two exam-style questions for you to practise on this topic.

1. Assess the development of an American political consciousness from 1765–75.
(For guidance on how to answer 'Assess' questions, see pages 221–3.)

2. To what extent did the American war for independence and the Haitian Revolution impact on the Creole desire for freedom in Latin America?
(For guidance on how to answer 'To what extent' questions, see pages 180–2.)

CHAPTER 2

The Declaration and War of Independence

In April 1775 events at Lexington and Concord led to the outbreak of war between Britain and its American colonies. In July 1776 the American colonists declared independence from Britain. The War of Independence was the USA's longest war until the Vietnam War (1963–73). Its outcome was far from a foregone conclusion. In 1775 British leaders were confident of victory. In the event, the Americans won, but only after a protracted war. This chapter will seek to explain both the Declaration of Independence and the war's outcome by focusing on the following key questions:

- Why did America not declare independence until July 1776?
- Which side had the greater advantages in 1776?
- Why did Britain not win the war in 1776–7?
- To what extent did French and Spanish intervention have an impact on the war?
- How did the Americans win the war?
- Did Britain lose or America win the War of Independence?

1 The United States' Declaration of Independence

Key question: *Why did America not declare independence until July 1776?*

Events at Lexington and Concord in April 1775 (see pages 31–2) galvanized military preparations throughout the colonies.

Why did the Continental Congress seek reconciliation with Britain in 1775?

The Second Continental Congress

On 10 May 1775 the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. Sixty-five delegates attended from all thirteen colonies. Fifty had served in 1774, ensuring there was an important degree of continuity. Newcomers included Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson (see page 141). The Congress had little choice but to take charge of the conduct of the war, assuming responsibility for the army besieging Boston and impressing a quota on each colony sufficient to raise a **Continental army** of 20,000 men. George Washington (see page 134) was appointed to command the army.

KEY TERM

Continental army A force comprising men from all thirteen colonies.

While Congress adopted the attributes of a national government, some of its members were reluctant to accept such a role. Most colonial conventions had instructed their delegates to seek reconciliation with Britain. On 6 July 1775 Congress, while asserting that Americans would rather die than be enslaved, disclaimed any intention of 'separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states'. It also adopted the Olive Branch Petition (8 July). Professing attachment to George III, it begged him to prevent further hostile measures so that a plan of reconciliation might be worked out. The petition's purpose was to convince moderates that Congress did not intend to pursue independence except as a last resort. John Adams (see page 138) described the Olive Branch as giving 'a silly cast to our whole doings'. In his view, the time for petitioning was past. 'Powder and artillery are the most efficacious, sure and infallible conciliatory measures we can adopt.'

Disinclined to hear appeals from an illegal body which was waging war against his troops, George III refused to consider the Olive Branch Petition. Instead he called upon all his loyal subjects to help in suppressing the rebellion.

The War: 1775–6

Which side was most successful in 1775–6?

The Battle of Bunker Hill

In May 1775 Generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne arrived in Boston with British reinforcements. On 17 June American forces looked set to occupy Bunker Hill which commanded Boston (see Source A on page 58). When a rebel force of 1500 men (by mistake) occupied neighbouring Breed's Hill, Howe launched a frontal attack. He dislodged the Americans but lost over 1000 of his 2500 men in the process. American casualties were less than half that number. The battle (always called Bunker Hill rather than Breed's Hill) was the bloodiest engagement of the war. One-eighth of the British officers killed in the entire conflict died in the battle. General Gage wrote, 'the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be, and I find it owing to a military spirit encouraged amongst them for a few years past, joined with an uncommon degree of zeal and enthusiasm.' One British politician remarked that 'if we have eight more victories such as this there will be nobody left to bring news of them'.

The siege of Boston

Washington assumed command of the army at Boston in July. Initially eager to attack, he was soon discouraged by the strength of the British fortifications, by his own shortage of arms, and by the fact that many of his men were ill or had returned home. By mid-winter, his army had shrunk so much that the British outnumbered the besiegers. But Howe, who had replaced Gage in command in October, did nothing. The Americans undoubtedly benefited from having the main British army – 9000-strong – bottled up in Boston. British inaction gave the rebels time to consolidate their hold elsewhere.

? Examine Source A. What does the source suggest about the strengths and weaknesses of Britain's position in Boston?

SOURCE A

The siege of Boston.

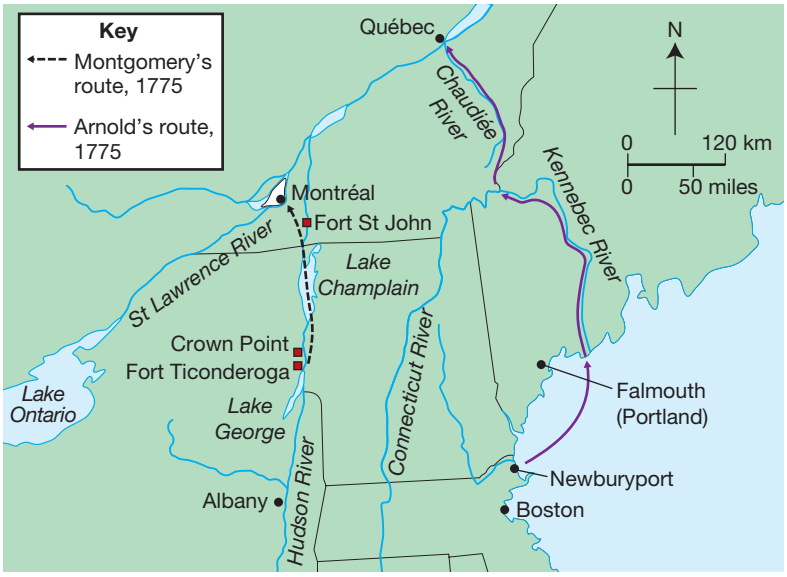
The invasion of Canada

In 1775 Congress decided to invade Canada, hoping that the French population would assist in overthrowing the small British garrison. Richard Montgomery, with 1200 men, advanced up the Champlain waterway, while a second force under Benedict Arnold marched through Maine, towards Québec. Although wasting valuable time besieging Fort St John, Montgomery captured Montreal (defended by only 150 men) on 13 November. In December Montgomery joined Arnold, who had 700 hungry and sickly men, at Québec.

General Carleton, the British commander, had 1800 men to defend Québec. The American assault, made in a snowstorm on 31 December, failed: Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded. Over the next few weeks the Americans suffered from lack of supplies and smallpox. Many deserted. The arrival of British reinforcements in the spring ended the siege. Montreal was abandoned as the Americans retreated from Canada in disorder.

SOURCE B

The invasion of Canada.



Examine Source B. Why was the invasion of Canada more difficult than the map suggests?

War in the South

Lord Dunmore, with a band of 500 **loyalists** and the assistance of several warships, launched raids on Virginian coastal towns. In November, he issued a proclamation promising freedom to any slaves who fled their rebel masters and aided the British war effort. This was anathema to most white southerners, solidifying rebel support in Virginia.

KEY TERM

Loyalist Americans who remained loyal to Britain.

In late 1775 royal governors suggested that co-ordinated operations by loyalists and (minimal) British forces could put an end to the rebellion in the South. North Carolina, the most populous southern state after Virginia, was selected as the starting point. But Carolinian loyalists, acting too quickly, suffered a crushing defeat at Moores Creek in February 1776. General Clinton, with 1500 troops, did not sail south from Boston until February. Finding little support along the North Carolina coast, Clinton sailed to South Carolina and tried – unsuccessfully – to take Charleston.

The capture of Boston

By early 1776 Washington had overcome some of his difficulties around Boston. Thanks to Henry Knox's efforts, artillery from Ticonderoga was transported by sledge, boats and wagon more than 300 miles to Boston, arriving in February. On 4 March the rebels – 17,000 strong – captured Dorchester Heights, overlooking Boston. This made the British position untenable. On 17 March Howe's army began evacuating Boston, sailing to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Why did most Americans support the move to independence?

The move to independence

Not all Americans were convinced that their interests would be best served by independence.

- A large minority remained loyal to Britain.
- Others, while prepared to fight for colonial rights, continued to proclaim their loyalty to the Crown, hoping for a conciliatory royal gesture.

However, hopes of reconciliation quickly faded.

- It was clear that George III and his ministers were bent on subjugation.
- Several months of fighting weakened British-American ties.

By 1776 the political tide had begun moving towards independence. In the 1760s most Americans had blamed evil ministers for conspiring to destroy American liberty. But by 1776 many believed the conspiracy included Parliament and the king.

Common Sense

Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* expressed – and helped mould – the developing mood. Paine, arriving in America in 1774, involved himself in radical politics. In England he had failed at everything – corset-making, tax-collecting, teaching, shop-keeping and marriage (twice: his second wife paid him to leave her home). *Common Sense* was far from a failure. Published in January 1776, it quickly sold 120,000 copies and had the greatest influence of all the pamphlets published during the 1770s.

Paine argued that events made independence a foregone conclusion. Blood had been spilled and with its loss American affection for Britain had drained away. 'Reconciliation', he declared, 'is now a fallacious dream.' He attacked the British Constitution, not least the king –'the Royal Brute' – and the whole concept of hereditary monarchy and aristocratic privileges. Rather than fear independence, Americans should welcome the opportunity to sever their ties with an oppressive system of government which had no basis in scripture or natural law. Paine called on Americans to establish a republic, based on a broad franchise and annual assemblies.

SOURCE C

An extract from *Common Sense* by Thomas Paine (1776), found on website www.ushistory.org/paine/commonsense/

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this continent can reap by being connected with Great Britain … But the injuries and disadvantages which we sustain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance; because any submission to, or dependence on, Great Britain, tends directly to involve this Continent in European war and quarrels, and set us at variance with nations who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom we have neither anger nor complaint …

? Examine Source C.

a Why, in the extract, does Paine support independence?

b What are the values and limitations of this source?

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd, in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet …

Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them, and can there be any reason to hope, that as the relationship expires, the affection will increase, or that we shall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever …

Now! Now! Now! At this very moment must these uncorrupt and democratic colonies throw off the trammels of an effete and vicious monarchy.

The situation in early 1776

Most Congressmen were convinced that foreign aid was vital to their cause. (In November 1775 Congress had established a Committee of Secret Correspondence to carry on diplomacy with foreign nations.) Many believed that aid would not be forthcoming until Americans declared independence.

By early 1776 all royal governors had been replaced by makeshift rebel governments. Congress exercised sovereign powers – making war, issuing money and preparing to negotiate treaties. 'Is not America already independent?' Sam Adams asked in April. 'Why then not declare it?'

Congress would have to be the body to formally declare independence. However, the delegations within Congress could not declare independence without prior authorization from their colonial conventions. Therefore, the momentum for independence had to originate within the colonies. Independence was not foisted on America by a small group of radical Congressmen. Rather, throughout early 1776 local organizations urged Congress to declare independence. In May, Virginia instructed its delegation to propose that independence be adopted. Other colonies followed suit. However, the Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Maryland legislatures instructed their delegates not to agree to separation.

The situation in Congress

On 7 June Richard Henry Lee introduced at the Continental Congress the Virginia convention's resolution 'that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states'. The following day Congress debated the proposal. Although most moderates had given up hope of reconciliation with Britain, their leaders argued that the time was not yet right for a declaration of independence because the Middle Colonies had not yet pronounced in favour. Recognizing the need for unanimity, Congress delayed making a decision. In the meantime, a committee was set up to work on a draft declaration in the event Congress agreed on independence. The committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson (Virginia), John Adams (Massachusetts), Benjamin Franklin (Pennsylvania), Roger Sherman (Connecticut) and Robert Livingston (New York). Jefferson did most of the work (see page 141).

In mid-June, Delaware instructed its delegates to support independence. In New Jersey, radicals ousted Governor William Franklin (son of Benjamin) and sent a new delegation to Congress with instructions to support independence. In Pennsylvania the conservative assembly was overthrown by a radical Committee of Safety which authorized Pennsylvania's delegates to vote for independence. Maryland's delegates received similar instructions. However, New York's assembly still refused to instruct its delegates to support independence.

Jefferson submitted the draft declaration to Congress on 28 June. Congress considered the question of independence on 1 July. Nine colonies voted in favour of independence, South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against, the two-man Delaware delegation was split while the New York delegates abstained. Anxious for unanimity, Congress decided to return to the question the next day. Over the next few hours:

- a third Delaware delegate rode to Philadelphia to support independence
- South Carolina's delegates changed their minds
- Pennsylvanians John Dickinson and Robert Morris, who opposed independence, decided not to attend the next day's session, while James Wilson changed his vote.

? Examine Source D. Given that John Trumbull did not actually witness the signing of the Declaration, to what extent is his painting a viable source of information?

SOURCE D

John Trumbull's painting of the Declaration of Independence, 1819, shows, standing in the centre from left to right, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin.

Consequently, on 2 July twelve of the thirteen colonies voted in favour of independence: New York abstained. (Its assembly endorsed Congress' decision a week later.) It was the 2 July vote, rather than the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on 4 July, that proclaimed the USA's birth.

The Declaration

Having voted to declare independence, Congress turned its attention to the declaration itself. Although Jefferson claimed Congress 'mangled his manuscript', the final document was probably improved by Congressional editing.

The Declaration's purpose was to furnish a moral and legal justification for the rebellion. The preamble, a lucid statement of the political philosophy underlying the colonists' assertion of independence, was the document's most significant part.

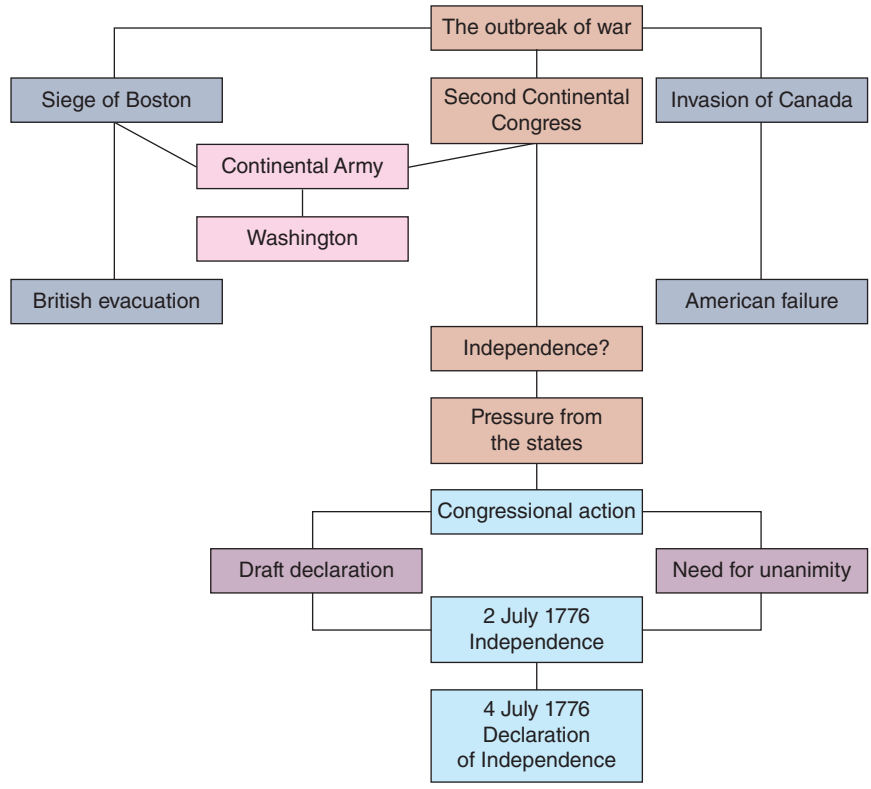
SOURCE E

Extract from the Declaration of Independence (1776), found in full on www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Study Source E. To what extent were 'these truths' 'self-evident' in 1776? ?

The Declaration went on to list the wrongs committed against the colonists since 1763, charges ranging from interfering in colonial government to waging war against the colonies. All the charges were laid squarely at the door of George III who was accused of seeking to establish an 'absolute tyranny over these states'.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The Declaration of Independence

2 The situation in 1776

Key question: Which side had the greater advantages in 1776?

It was one thing to declare independence. It was another thing to win it. While Congress was in the process of declaring independence, Britain was preparing to crush the rebels.

What were Britain's main advantages?

British strengths/advantages

- Britain had 8 million people. The colonies had 2.5 million of whom nearly 500,000 were slaves. Moreover, Britain had the support of some 500,000 American loyalists (see page 67).

- Most Native Americans supported Britain.
- In 1775 Americans had to build an army from scratch. Britain, by contrast, had a 48,000-strong regular army. In 1775–6, Britain also hired 18,000 soldiers from several German principalities, including Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Hanau. More **Hessians** were hired in 1777.
- The Royal Navy, with more than 300 ships in 1775–6, ruled the waves. America had no navy worthy of the name. Eventually some 50 vessels were commissioned into the **Continental navy** but these were converted merchantmen, not **ships of the line**. Congress never appointed an overall naval commander because there was no proper navy to command. Naval superiority enabled Britain to reinforce and supply its forces, to move men along the American seaboard and to blockade and attack American ports. Given that 75 per cent of Americans lived within 75 miles of the sea, British naval strength was a crucial advantage.
- Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, embarked on a prodigious ship-building programme which ensured that Britain retained command of the sea, even when France and Spain became involved (see page 78).
- Lord George Germain, who became Colonial Secretary in 1775, co-ordinated Britain's war effort to good effect.
- Britain held bases close to the thirteen colonies – Canada, Newfoundland, Florida, Caribbean islands – from which to launch attacks.
- Britain had much greater financial and manufacturing strength.
- Most Britons supported the war.

KEY TERM

Hessians Germans who fought for Britain.

Continental navy The navy of the thirteen American colonies.

Ships of the line The wooden battle ships of the time.

American problems

- For the most part America remained thirteen separate states, each state guarding its own interests.
- Filling the ranks of the Continental army was a constant problem. Many states did not furnish their quota of troops. Moreover, most troops enlisted for only a short time. Instead of a hard core of experienced veterans, the Continental army was a fluctuating stream of amateurs. It never exceeded 20,000 men: much of the time it had barely 5000.
- State militias were not very effective. Militiamen enrolled for only a few weeks and often went home before their terms expired.
- The Articles of Confederation, adopted in 1777, conferred only limited powers upon Congress (see pages 195–6). Though empowered to make war, Congress was denied the means to wage it effectively.
- The American economy was disrupted by the war. The demands of various armies plus the British blockade meant there was a shortage of goods, affecting both the army and civilians. Americans troops were often desperately short of firearms and munitions. Supply shortages caused serious morale problems.
- Unable to levy taxes, Congress could finance the war only by printing and issuing paper money. The states did just the same. As the quantity of paper money increased, its value declined and prices rose.

What were America's main advantages?

American strengths/advantages

Many Americans were committed to the 'glorious cause'. Although the Continental army was small, the militia turned out in force in areas where fighting was taking place. As well as fighting, militiamen also served as a kind of political police, intimidating loyalists.

British problems

- Britain was fighting a war 3000 miles away from home. It took two to three months for reinforcements and supplies to cross the Atlantic. By the time they arrived the situation that they had been sent to deal with had often changed out of all recognition.
- To wage war in a huge, unfriendly territory was a formidable task. Co-ordinating land and sea operations was particularly difficult. The terrain, and supply problems, made it hard for British forces to go more than fifteen miles from a navigable river or the sea.
- The British army was under-strength in 1775. A quarter of the infantry was made up of men with less than a year's service.
- Britain did not totally rule the waves. Congress and the states commissioned about 2000 **privateers**, which inflicted damage on British merchant shipping.
- Britain, with few troops in America, lost the initiative both militarily and politically in 1775.
- British **martial law**, requisitioning of supplies and seizure of property to accommodate troops alienated potentially friendly Americans.
- Lord North was not an inspired or inspiring war leader.
- There was always the likelihood that Britain's enemies France and Spain would join the war.
- The presence of Hessian troops, who quickly established a reputation for rapacity, convinced many neutral colonists to support the **patriots**.
- The fact that Native Americans supported Britain may have spurred many colonists to oppose Britain.

KEY TERM

Privateers Privately owned vessels granted permission by a government to capture enemy ships.

Martial law The temporary suspension of ordinary administration and policing and the exercise of military power.

Patriots Americans who supported independence.

Strategy Long-term military planning.

What difficulties did Britain face in finding the right strategy?

British strategy in 1776

British leaders, who had to find the right **strategy** to win the war, faced fundamental problems. First, given that the British army was dependent on Britain for the bulk of its supplies, it had to protect American ports under British control. Thus only part of the army was available for field operations. Secondly, there was no vital political or economic centre for British armies to capture. The occupation of territory brought no lasting advantage. The moment the British moved away from a town or region, rebellion flared up in their rear.

Some British leaders favoured a seaboard strategy –a concentration of effort on gaining control of American ports and blockading the rest of the coast. This would minimize the problems of operating inland in difficult terrain.

However, a fully developed seaboard strategy was not followed for several reasons.

- Such a policy would betray loyalists and lose loyalist support – support that was essential if Britain was to restore its authority.
- The seaboard strategy failed in New England in 1775 (see page 57).
- There was pressure in Britain for a speedy and decisive victory. A seaboard strategy would inevitably be long and drawn out.
- Given America's 1200 miles of coastline, a naval blockade would be difficult to maintain.

From Britain's perspective the destruction of the Continental army was more important than the possession of towns and territory. British leaders hoped that military success would destroy American morale and make possible the resumption of British rule. They realized, however, that they must achieve some kind of reconciliation. Restoration of the colonies to royal control would serve little purpose if the embers of rebellion smouldered among a discontented population and a large army was needed to maintain order. This would simply result in a substantial tax burden, borne by Americans and Britons alike. Finding the right blend of firmness and conciliation was no easy matter.

The loyalists

To what extent was the war a Civil War?

The War of Independence pitted Americans against Americans as well as against Britons. John Adams estimated that one-third of Americans were active rebels, one-third were loyalists and one-third were neutral. Historians today suspect that two-fifths of the population were active rebels, one-fifth active loyalists while two-fifths sought neutrality. By either estimate, most Americans did not support the rebellion. By 1783 some 19,000 Americans had enlisted in the British army. Thousands more had joined loyalist militias.

Who were the loyalists?

Far from being an upper-class phenomenon, as historians once believed, loyalism drew adherents from all ranks of society. Ownership of great estates or mercantile wealth provided no guide to political allegiance. (In Virginia, for example, the great planters overwhelmingly supported the patriot cause.) Many loyalists possessed strong links with Britain, especially those who were recent immigrants. Loyalists also tended to be drawn from minority groups who had little in common with the majority patriot population.

The geographical distribution of loyalism was uneven. There were more loyalists in the Southern and Middle Colonies than in New England. In only a few areas (for example, New York City) did the loyalists comprise a majority.

Far more African Americans fought for Britain in return for promises of freedom than supported the patriot cause. While British leaders might have made more military use of African Americans, they were aware that large-scale recruitment of black troops would jeopardize white support.

Loyalist problems

The varied backgrounds and motivations of the loyalists meant that they did not constitute a coherent opposition to the patriots. Often motivated by local concerns, they were unable to organize themselves on a national level. Instead they relied on the British to provide them with leadership and protection. Thus, while Britain placed great hopes on loyalist assistance, significant loyalist activity required the presence of British forces. Once those forces departed, loyalists were left exposed and vulnerable to the wrath of their patriot neighbours. During the war tens of thousands of loyalists, real and suspected, were imprisoned, driven from their homes, deprived of land and property, and killed by patriots.

What strategy did Washington adopt in 1776?

American strategy in 1776

Washington had three major options in 1776.

- He could take the Continental army westwards over the Allegheny mountains, avoiding full-scale engagements in favour of hit-and-run tactics. This might force the British to pursue him into the wilderness, where he would have the advantage.
- He could fight what was called 'a War of Posts', fighting a series of tactical engagements and withdrawals designed to inflict casualties on the British army.
- He could adopt an offensive strategy, confronting the British army with his entire force and risking the consequences of a major battle.

Washington never seriously considered the first option. He favoured fight rather than flight.

He also opposed a War of Posts for much of 1776. Such a defensive strategy would acknowledge the superiority of British arms. It also, in effect, meant sacrificing New York, Philadelphia and wherever else the British chose to march. British occupation of swathes of American territory would damage American morale and encourage the loyalists.

The third – most dangerous – option was the one that appealed personally to Washington. According to historian Joseph Ellis, 'He regarded battle as a summons to display one's strength and courage; avoiding battle was akin to dishonourable behaviour.' Accordingly, he welcomed the opportunity to demonstrate his contempt for what he saw as British pretensions of superiority. Like many Americans, he hoped that courage combined with the rightness of the cause would compensate for inferior numbers and inexperience.

The nature of the war

Was the War of Independence the first modern war?

Arguably, the War of Independence was the first modern war, anticipating what happened in Europe in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815).

- Unlike earlier eighteenth-century wars, this was no dynastic war. American soldiers were motivated by the political ideals embraced by the new republic.
- The war was one of the first instances of the nation-in-arms. Nearly every free male of military age was eligible for service. By 1781, 200,000 Americans had engaged in some kind of military service. Continental army soldiers, both officers and privates, were essentially civilians and remained civilians even after they had learned to fight like professionals.
- The Continental army embodied the principle of careers open to talent. Officers, many of whom had risen from the ranks, were often promoted according to merit, not birth.
- **Guerrilla war** was an important feature of the conflict. State militia forces made life difficult for small units of the British army and for loyalists.
- Americans are thought to have made good use of the rifle, a weapon that was accurate at up to 200 yards, twice the range of the ordinary musket.

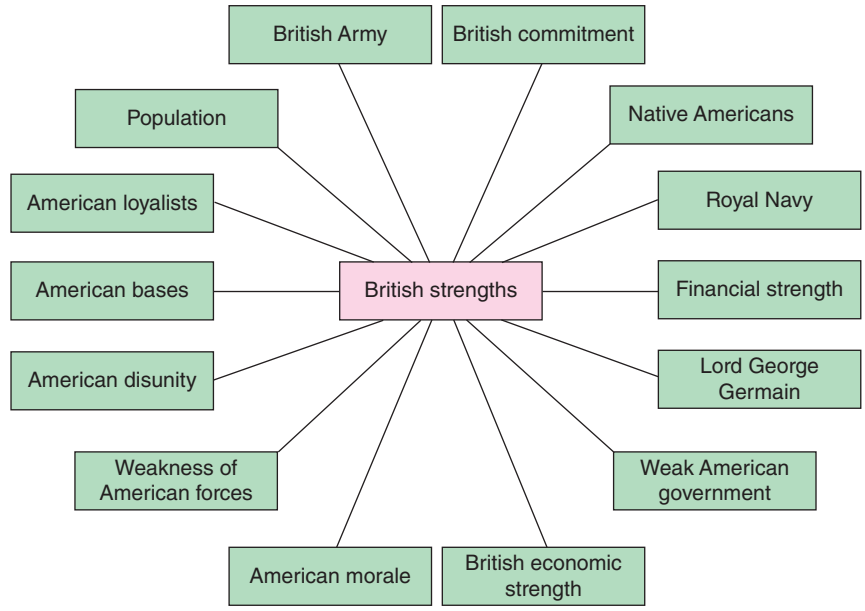
However, the conflict can also be seen as essentially traditional.

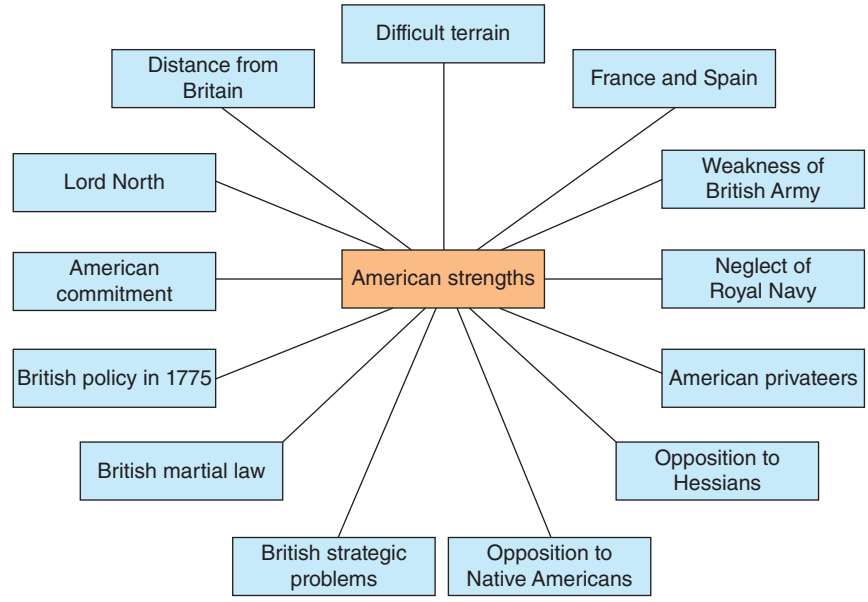
- **Nationalism** was well developed in eighteenth-century Europe. Thus, soldiers often fought for an ideological 'cause' well before the War of Independence.
- The notion of a nation of citizen soldiers putting aside their ploughs and picking up their guns was not wholly true. After an initial burst of enthusiasm, most people went back to their farms. Only one in three Americans of military age fought in the war. Most who 'fought' joined state militias, serving for a very limited time.
- The Continental army was similar to its European counterparts. Most of its officers were substantial landowners. The rank and file were drawn mainly from the poorest sections of society.
- Washington, convinced that guerrilla warfare could not defeat the British, tried to create a traditional army.
- There was little innovation in the technology of war. The rifle's importance can be exaggerated. Most American soldiers were armed with the ordinary musket.

KEY TERM

Guerrilla war Warfare by which small units harass conventional forces.

Nationalism Loyalty and great attachment to one's country.





SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The situation in 1776

3 Military operations: 1776–7

Key question: Why did Britain not win the war in 1776–7?

By August 1776 General William Howe commanded 32,000 men – the largest trans-oceanic expedition ever previously sent from Britain.

The impact of General Howe

How good a general was Howe?

Aware that New York City was potentially an excellent base, General Howe began landing his army at Staten Island in July 1776. Howe hoped to lure Washington into battle, defeat him and negotiate an end to the rebellion. His army was supported by a fleet commanded by his elder brother, Admiral Lord Richard Howe, who was in overall command of British forces in America. Like William, Richard had some sympathy with the rebels and favoured a policy of conciliation rather than coercion.

New York

Washington, with only 20,000 men, would have been best abandoning New York. Given British command of the sea, the place was indefensible. But Washington had to fight if only because Congress insisted he did so. At the battle of Long Island (27 August) Howe defeated the Americans who suffered 2000 casualties, six times as many as the British. (Asked to explain the defeat, John Adams said: 'In general, our generals were out generalled.') Thanks to Howe's inertia, Washington, under cover of fog, managed to withdraw his army to the mainland on 29 August.

Rather than continue the military momentum, Howe now sought to negotiate peace. In September, Lord Howe met representatives of Congress – Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge. The Declaration of Independence proved to be the stumbling block. Lord Howe was not empowered to discuss a treaty between Britain and an independent USA.

American retreat

In mid September General Howe's troops landed at Kips Bay in Manhattan, between the two halves of Washington's army. Howe's caution again gave Washington time to withdraw. Several weeks of stalemate followed. Rather than attack well-entrenched positions, Howe preferred to turn the Americans' flank. Washington retreated slowly across New Jersey.

On 16 November British forces captured Fort Washington, taking nearly 3000 prisoners and immense quantities of weapons and supplies – a shattering

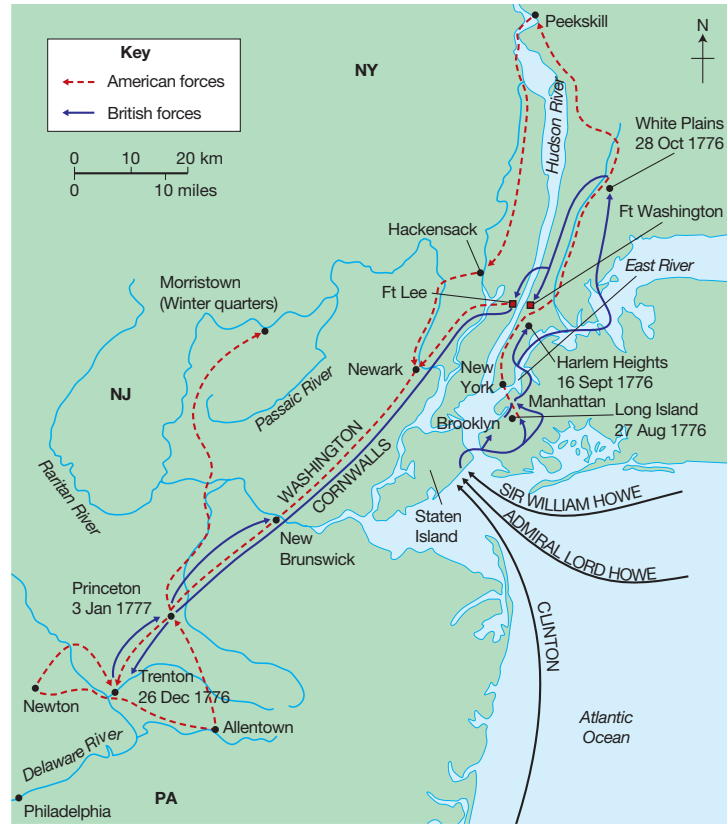
blow. For the next three weeks Washington's army was in full retreat. Crossing the Delaware River into Pennsylvania in December, it had dwindled to 3000 men.

Lord Howe now issued a Proclamation offering all who would take an oath of allegiance to the King a 'free and general pardon'. Thousands applied for pardons. In December British forces seized Newport, Rhode Island. A disconsolate Washington wrote, 'I think the game is pretty near up.'

? Examine Source F. Why was New York City so hard to defend?

SOURCE F

The New York-New Jersey campaigns 1776–77.



Trenton and Princeton

Instead of marching on Philadelphia – his for the taking – General Howe went into winter quarters, throwing away another opportunity to destroy American morale. The respite gave Washington time to regroup. Reinforced by militia units and recognizing the need to end the campaign on a positive note, he re-crossed the Delaware with 1600 men on 25 December. Attacking the unsuspecting garrison at Trenton, New Jersey, on 26 December, he captured more than 1000 prisoners. Washington followed this up with a similar coup at

SOURCE G

Washington crossing the Delaware, Christmas Day, 1776. This painting by Emanuel Leutze was completed in 1851.

Study Source G. What was Leutze's aim in painting the picture?

Princeton (3 January 1777). These counterstrokes forced Howe to relinquish most of his gains in New Jersey. More importantly, they breathed new life into the American cause. Taking up winter quarters at Morristown, Washington rebuilt his army. For the next few months there was no major battle.

Washington's change of strategy

Over the winter of 1776–7 Washington came to accept the fact that he must adopt a more defensive strategy. He began to realize that the way to win the war was not to lose it. Never again did he risk his entire army in one decisive battle. The adoption of a **Fabian strategy** did not come easily to him: it smacked of dishonour. But he had to face what he called 'the melancholy truth' – his Continental army could not compete on equal terms on a conventional battlefield with the British army. Moreover, the terms were far from equal: Howe commanded more men than Washington. Although Washington's main priority was preserving his army, he was still determined to harass Howe whenever possible.

KEY TERM

Fabian strategy A defensive strategy, called after the Roman general Fabius Cunctator who defeated the Carthaginians by withdrawing whenever his army's fate was at risk.

British plans in 1777

Why did Britain's military plans in 1777 fail?

In 1777 there were two large British armies in America, one (in New York) commanded by Howe, the other (in Canada) commanded by Burgoyne. Burgoyne intended to drive down the Hudson valley, isolating New England

from the other colonies. Although Germain had instructed Howe to co-operate with Burgoyne, Howe's main concern was to capture Philadelphia. Thus, what was perceived in London as a co-ordinated operation became two separate campaigns.

The capture of Philadelphia

Howe commenced his move on Philadelphia in July. Rather than march across New Jersey, he moved his 15,000-strong army by sea. After nearly six weeks crammed on board transports, the soldiers landed at the head of Chesapeake Bay, barely 40 miles closer to Philadelphia than they had been when they left New York.

On 11 September Howe defeated Washington at Brandywine Creek. The Americans lost 1200 men, the British half that number. Howe again missed an opportunity to destroy Washington's army. After another victory at Paoli, Howe captured Philadelphia (26 September). The city's fall did not lead to the rebellion's collapse. Although it had some symbolic importance, Philadelphia had no strategic value. Congress simply moved to Lancaster. As long as Washington commanded an army, the rebellion would continue.

Washington launched a counter-attack at Germantown (4 October) but his plan was too complicated and he lost more than 1000 casualties. In November Howe forced the Americans to evacuate forts on the Delaware River, allowing British naval access to Philadelphia. Washington now withdrew to the desolate plateau of Valley Forge. Rather than attack, Howe prepared to spend the winter in Philadelphia. He had again failed to win a decisive victory.

Burgoyne's campaign

Leaving Canada in June, General Burgoyne's 8000-strong army sailed down Lake Champlain, recapturing Ticonderoga (5 July). Rather than sailing down Lake George and following a road already cut to Fort Edward, Burgoyne headed south through inhospitable terrain. Encumbered by an enormous baggage train, his army found movement difficult as patriot militia blocked roads, destroyed bridges, and attacked stragglers. It took three weeks to cover the 23 miles to Fort Edward.

Burgoyne's hope that loyalists would flock to his army did not happen. In fact, the presence of British forces did much to create rebels out of neutrally inclined Americans. Burgoyne's Native American allies did not help. During the advance, **Iroquois** warriors attacked outlying farms, killing several families.

Political considerations soon took second place to racial enmity. The murder and scalping of Jane McCrea particularly alienated those who had been sympathetic to Britain. When Burgoyne demanded that his allies surrender the culprits, the Iroquois refused and most went home.

KEY TERM

Iroquois The main Native American confederation in New York State.

SOURCE H

The Saratoga and Philadelphia campaigns.

Study Source H. Which British leader was most to blame for Saratoga?

Burgoyne now spent a month collecting supplies. Six hundred troops on a foraging mission were killed or captured at Bennington (15–16 August) by a New Hampshire militia unit. A relief party of similar strength suffered the same fate.

More bad news reached Burgoyne's army. A diversionary force of 1600 British and Iroquois under St Leger had moved down the St Lawrence and then along the Mohawk, intending to join Burgoyne. However, St Leger's column,

while besieging Fort Stanwix, was checked at Oriskany (6 August) by local militia. The Iroquois, unhappy at the siege, left St Leger's camp. Short of men, he retreated to Canada.

Saratoga

Burgoyne determined to press on to Albany. The Americans were ready for him. In mid August General Horatio Gates replaced the unpopular General Schuyler as commander of the Northern Department. Aided by some able subordinates, especially Benedict Arnold, Gates prepared defensive positions north of Albany. American successes in August encouraged New England militiamen to join Gates. By mid September he had 7000 men, as did Burgoyne.

The two forces clashed at Freeman's Farm (19 September). Failing to defeat the rebels, Burgoyne found himself in a perilous position – 200 miles from Canada, short of supplies and facing a well-entrenched and growing army. However, news that Clinton was heading northwards from New York gave Burgoyne renewed hope.

Clinton might have marched north sooner. In the event he did not leave the city until 3 October with 3000 men. Capturing a clutch of forts in the Highlands, he drew close to Albany. On 7 October Burgoyne attacked the American defences on Bemis Heights. Thanks largely to Arnold's heroism, Burgoyne's attack failed. He lost another 400 men. Burgoyne now retreated to Saratoga. His hope that Clinton might come to his rescue proved forlorn. Surrounded by twice as many troops, Burgoyne began negotiating with Gates on 14 October. The latter, worried by Clinton's advance, was keen to settle. Thus, Burgoyne (apparently) got good terms. His 5895 troops were to lay down their arms, march to Boston and embark on British ships on condition they did not again serve in America. However, Congress rejected Gates' terms, ensuring Burgoyne's troops remained prisoners-of-war until 1783.

Who was to blame for the British defeat?

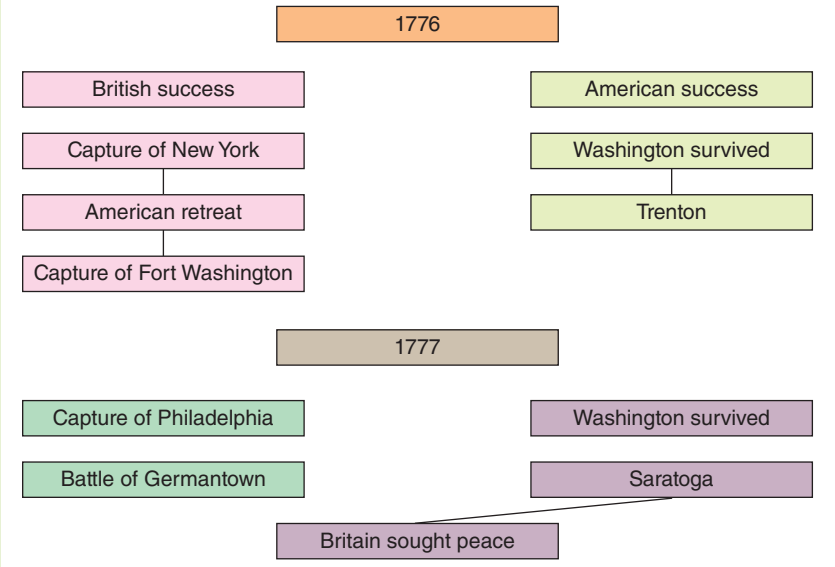
The American heroes were Arnold and the regulars of the Continental army. Gates' role and that of the militia were exaggerated at the time and since. Who was to blame on the British side?

- Howe did little to help Burgoyne.
- Burgoyne underestimated the enemy and the terrain.
- With hindsight, Germain should have ordered Howe to co-operate with Burgoyne. But Germain could not formulate too rigid a plan. He was dependent on the generals acting sensibly in the light of circumstances.

The results of Saratoga

- For the first time the rebels had defeated the British in a major campaign. This was a huge morale booster.

- There was a whispering campaign against Washington. While Gates had won a spectacular victory, Washington had continued to lose battles – and Philadelphia. Some soldiers and politicians thought the commander-in-chief should be replaced by Gates. However, the move to get rid of Washington never got off the ground. He survived to lead the Continental army for the remainder of the war.
- On hearing of Burgoyne's surrender, Howe wrote to Germain offering his resignation.
- In December, Lord North dispatched a secret agent to Paris to contact American commissioners Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane with a view to exploring possibilities for ending the war.
- In February 1778 Parliament passed North's Conciliatory Propositions. Britain agreed to repeal the Coercive Acts (see page 29) and renounce the right to tax Americans.
- A Peace Commission was appointed to try to negotiate an end to the war. The commissioners could accept the withdrawal of British forces from America and grant Americans representation in Parliament. However, Britain's denial of American independence wrecked any hope of successful negotiations.
- Saratoga had important international consequences (see pages 78–9).



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Military operations 1776–7

4 The extension of the war

Key question: *To what extent did French and Spanish intervention have an impact on the war?*

In 1778 the conflict from Britain's point of view became a world war rather than just a rebellion. This had important consequences for America.

Why did France join the war?

The French alliance

From the start of the war, Americans had realized the importance of France's help, even if its Catholicism and **absolutist system of government** made the country less than a natural ally. French King Louis XVI, no lover of rebellion, democracy or republicanism, feared the American experiment could provide a dangerous model elsewhere. Nevertheless, his government realized that the war offered an opportunity to avenge the humiliating outcome of the Seven Years' War (see page 14). Accordingly, France was ready to secretly supply the Americans with arms and gunpowder and to encourage army officers, like the Marquis de Lafayette, to place their service at America's disposal. However, uncertain about American strength, Louis XVI withheld immediate recognition of American independence. His treasury was so depleted that some ministers believed that France should avoid war at all costs.

KEY TERM

Absolutist system of government Government by a ruler with unrestricted power and usually with no democratic mandate.

In an effort to persuade France to join the war, Congress sent Benjamin Franklin as head of a diplomatic mission to Paris in 1776. He proved an inspired choice. His apparent simplicity and straightforwardness won French admiration.

Saratoga ended French fears of an American collapse. By prompting North to make fresh concessions, it also allowed Franklin to play on French fears of a possible Anglo-American reconciliation. France may well have entered the conflict without Saratoga: its government apparently was already committed to war and was simply waiting for completion of its naval preparations. However, Saratoga overcame any last doubts and made French intervention certain.

In February 1778 France and America signed two treaties, one a commercial agreement, the other an alliance to take effect when France declared war on Britain – as it did in June 1778. By the alliance's terms, both countries promised to wage war until American independence was 'formally or tacitly assured' and undertook not to make peace separately.

Why did Spain and Holland join the war?

Spain and Holland

In April 1779 Spain entered the war against Britain. It did so as an ally of France, not of the USA. As a great imperial power, Spain had good reason to be wary about encouraging colonial rebellion. It joined the war not to help the Americans but to regain lost possessions – Florida, Minorca, Gibraltar and Jamaica.

In 1780 Britain declared war on Holland, which was aiding France and Spain.

The League of Armed Neutrality

In 1780 Russia, Sweden and Denmark formed the League of Armed Neutrality. Its aim was the protection of **neutral rights**, given the British blockade of America. Prussia, Portugal and Austria joined in 1781. Although accomplishing little, the League bolstered the USA's international position.

The results of French and Spanish intervention

What was the effect of French and Spanish intervention?

After 1778 America became something of a sideshow for Britain. Its main concern was now France. France's population was twice that of Britain. Its army was over 150,000 strong and it had tried to construct a fleet capable of challenging British naval supremacy. As well as facing the threat of invasion, British forces had to defend Gibraltar, Minorca, and possessions in Africa, India and the West Indies.

French intervention produced a national war effort in Britain that the American rebellion had not aroused. By 1782 Britain had an army of 150,000 troops while the Royal Navy had 100,000 sailors and more than 600 ships of all types. But Britain could no longer devote its military resources to America. In 1778, 65 per cent of the British army was in North America: only 29 per cent was there in mid 1780. In 1778, 41 per cent of British ships were in American waters: only 13 per cent were there in mid 1780.

Fortunately for Britain, its European opponents were not as strong as they seemed.

- The precarious state of France's finances meant that its war effort was limited.
- Spain's financial problems worsened because its access to South American bullion was disrupted by the war.
- Holland was weak militarily.

Britain was thus able to hold its own around the world and also continue the war in America.

While the Americans benefited from additional assistance in arms and material, their allies were more concerned with promoting their own interests than they were with aiding America.

KEY TERM

Neutral rights The rights of nations not committed to either side in a war to trade and communicate with both sides in the conflict.

John Paul Jones

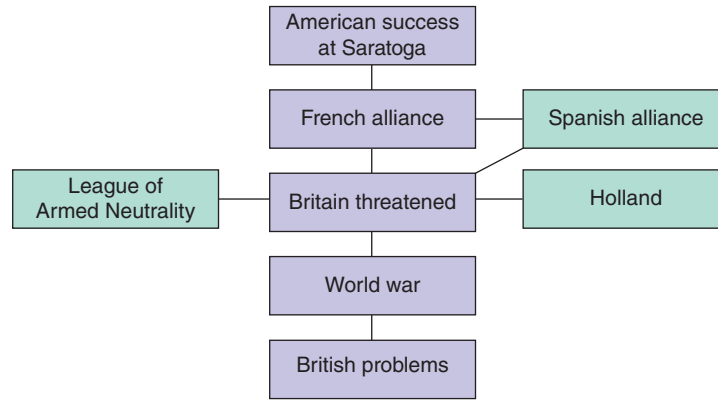
American privateer John Paul Jones became a hero in America and France. After attacking Whitehaven in 1778, he sailed to France where he was given command of a larger ship, the *Bonhomme Richard*. In September 1779, he fought a naval battle off Flamborough Head, taking on the British frigate *Serapis*. Asked early in the battle if he wanted to surrender, Jones said, 'I have not yet begun to fight.' He eventually captured the *Serapis* as his own ship sank. Jones' exploits, however, were of little military significance.

The Caribbean

Between 1778 and 1783 a large part of British military and naval strength was committed to operations in the Caribbean. Many contemporaries believed West Indian colonies were more vital to Britain's prosperity than the American colonies. The islands purchased significant quantities of British manufactures (many of which were smuggled into Spain's colonies) and sent home vast volumes of sugar. The security of the islands was thus a primary objective of British policy. France was also aware of the value of its own Caribbean possessions. Consequently, both countries were anxious to seize each other's islands.

In September 1778 French forces captured Dominica. A few months later Britain took St Lucia. In the summer of 1779 French Admiral d'Estaing seized first St Vincent and then Grenada. Once Spain joined the war, Jamaica, the jewel in the British West Indian Crown, was vulnerable to attack.

In February 1781 Britain seized the Dutch island of St Eustatius. In June the French failed to recapture St Lucia but did take Tobago. They were even more successful over the winter of 1781–2, taking St Eustatius, St Kitts and Montserrat. France and Spain now began preparations to attack Jamaica. But the arrival of further ships from Britain meant that the combined fleets of Admiral George Rodney and Admiral Samuel Hood now outnumbered French Admiral de Grasse's vessels. De Grasse left Martinique on 8 April 1782 aiming to attack Jamaica. On 12 April the two fleets met near the Isles des Saintes. The French lost five ships, de Grasse was captured and the projected attack on Jamaica was abandoned. Rodney and Hood had recovered command of the sea.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The extension of the war

5 American victory 1778–83

Key question: How did the Americans win the war?

The winter of 1777–8 was one of trial and tribulation for the patriots. Gates' victorious Northern army disintegrated as his militiamen returned home. Meanwhile, Washington's army, lacking food, fuel and shelter, endured great privations at Valley Forge. More than 3000 men died and many more deserted. The army's strength fell to a few thousand. However, in early 1778 Washington's fortunes began to mend. His army increased to some 12,000 men and was re-equipped. Friedrich von Steuben, a German soldier of fortune, ensured that American soldiers were better trained.

The British had their own problems. In February 1778 General Howe was replaced by General Clinton. Lord Germain told Clinton that Britain's main military effort was to be directed against French possessions in the Caribbean. Stripped of 5000 troops, Clinton was ordered to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate his forces in New York.

The war in the North: 1778–81

Why was there a stalemate in the North after 1778?

In June 1778 Clinton abandoned Philadelphia, setting off for New York with 10,000 soldiers and a 12-mile long baggage train. At Monmouth Court House (28 June) an American attack on the British rear-guard failed. Washington blamed the debacle on his second-in-command, General Charles Lee. Lee insisted on a **court martial** to vindicate his conduct. Washington, who disliked Lee, complied. The court martial found Lee guilty of disobeying orders and he was suspended from command.

KEY TERM

Court martial A court held by officers of the army or navy for the trial of offences against service laws.

The Continental army now surrounded New York. However, Washington lacked the strength to threaten its strong defences. French forces conveyed by Admiral d'Estaing besieged but failed to capture Newport, Rhode Island (July–August 1778). D'Estaing then sailed to the Caribbean, bent on capturing British islands.

1779

Throughout 1779, Washington faced difficulties that prevented him from taking the offensive. His greatest problem was lack of troops, many of whom deserted or refused to re-enlist. Popular enthusiasm for the war, particularly among men of the 'middling sort' had long since vanished.

Washington's encampment at Morristown over the winter of 1779–80 was worse than the winter at Valley Forge (see above). Death and desertion reduced his army to 8000 men, of whom a third were not fit for duty.

1780–1

KEY TERM

Emissary Someone sent on a special mission.

Mutiny A military or naval revolt against military authority.

In 1780 Benedict Arnold, one of America's heroes, resentful of real and imagined Congressional slights, plotted to turn over the fortress of West Point to Britain. The plot miscarried when Clinton's **emissary**, Major Andre, was captured with incriminating evidence. Andre was hanged as a spy. Arnold escaped to fight (with some success) for Britain. His action seemed to symbolize the crumbling of the American ideal.

In July 1780 a French army of 6000 troops, commanded by the Comte de Rochambeau, landed in Rhode Island but achieved little. The French fleet remained in the Caribbean.

In January 1781 the Pennsylvania Line regiment mutinied. The **mutiny** resulted from long-smouldering discontent. Food and clothing were inadequate and pay months in arrears. The mutineers, meeting with representatives of Congress, refused to return to duty until they were promised redress of their grievances. The promise was given. This encouraged the New Jersey Line to mutiny. Washington nipped this rising in the bud, executing some of the ringleaders. In February Massachusetts and New Jersey troops clashed in a serious riot at Princeton. Congress, effectively bankrupt, did nothing.

For much of 1780–1 the Continental army was in no state to threaten Clinton. Washington became increasingly desperate.

SOURCE 1

An extract from a letter from Washington to Joseph Jones, a Virginian delegate in Congress, written on 31 May 1780 and quoted in *His Excellency George Washington*, by Joseph J. Ellis, Faber and Faber, USA, 2004, page 127.

Certain I am that unless Congress speaks in a more decisive tone; unless they are vested with powers by the several states competent to the great purposes of war, or assume them as a matter of right … that our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen … In a word our measures are not under the influence and direction of one council, but thirteen, each of which is actuated by local views and politics.

? What are the values and limitations of Source I?

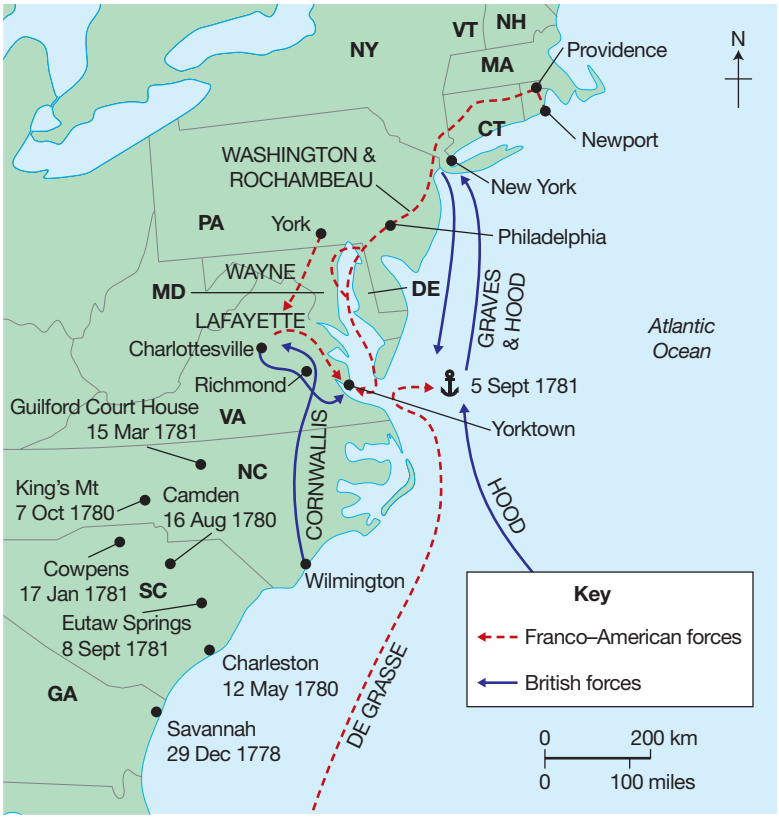
Why did both sides find it so hard to win the war in the South?

The southern phase: 1778–81

In 1778 Britain decided to mount a campaign in the South where there were reputed to be large numbers of loyalists. The hope was to take control of Georgia and the Carolinas and then advance northwards. Conceivably war-weariness might lead to an upsurge of loyalist support and to American surrender.

SOURCE J

The war in the South 1778–81.



Examine Source J. Why were the southern states largely ignored by Britain in the first three years of the war?

Georgia

In late 1778 Clinton sent a 3000-strong expedition under Colonel Campbell to Georgia. In December Campbell captured Savannah, taking more than 500 prisoners. Augusta fell in January 1779. Recognizing the importance of winning support, Campbell prohibited his troops from ill-treating the Georgians who responded by flocking to join a newly organized loyalist militia. In March, the British defeated patriot forces at Briar Creek. The Americans lost 400 casualties and all but 450 of the survivors went home rather than rejoining General Lincoln's army in South Carolina.

Nevertheless, Britain's position remained precarious. Lincoln's forces still outnumbered those of the British. In September 1779, Admiral d'Estaing returned from the Caribbean and a combined Franco-American force besieged Savannah. After a bloody attack that cost the French-Americans 1500 casualties, the siege collapsed in mid October. D'Estaing sailed away and Lincoln returned to Charleston.

The Carolinas

In December 1779 Clinton sailed from New York with 7600 men. His objective was Charleston, the largest town in the southern colonies. Siege of the town began in February 1780. General Lincoln surrendered in May. The British took 5500 American prisoners and 343 artillery pieces. For the Americans this was the worst military disaster of the war.

British forces now moved into the interior of South Carolina. In May Colonel Banastre Tarleton and 300 dragoons defeated 350 Virginians at Waxhaw Creek. Tarleton's men butchered many of the Virginians even after they had tried to surrender. 'If warfare allows me I shall give no quarter,' Tarleton declared. 'Tarleton's quarter' –that is, take no prisoners – became a rallying cry of southern patriots. Warfare in the Carolinas was thus more savage than elsewhere.

For a time it seemed that South Carolina had been brought under British control. Its government fled and many people took an oath of allegiance to the Crown. Clinton returned north, leaving his second-in-command Cornwallis in command of 4000 men. Before departing, Clinton issued a proclamation which required that all adult males should openly support Britain or be treated as rebels. Quiet neutrality was thus impossible. Many Carolinians, while ready to take an oath of allegiance, were reluctant to fight for Britain.

Initially the coastal communities of South Carolina gave Cornwallis no trouble. However, the interior of the Carolinas was another matter. Here there were fierce divisions between loyalists and patriots. Ferocious fighting during the summer of 1780 resulted in success for patriot forces in North Carolina.

In August Horatio Gates, now commander of Continental forces in the South, led an army of more than 3000 men into South Carolina. He was defeated at Camden (16 August) by a 2000-strong British force. His army sustained 1800 casualties while British losses were just over 300. It was, as Cornwallis reported, 'a most complete victory' destroying Gates' military reputation and opening the way for a British invasion of North Carolina. In August, Tarleton's dragoons defeated patriot militia at Fishing Creek, inflicting more than 500 casualties. British casualties were 22.

Cornwallis began his invasion of North Carolina in September. Gates' army at Hillsboro was in no condition to fight. However, patriot militia harassed British foraging parties and once Cornwallis advanced into North Carolina, South Carolina rose behind him. In October a 1000-strong loyalist force was wiped out by patriots at King's Mountain. Cornwallis, abandoning his invasion of North Carolina, returned south.

Over the winter of 1780–1 patriot and loyalist militias turned the backcountry regions of Georgia and the Carolinas into a wasteland of plunder and slaughter, both sides routinely torturing prisoners and hanging enemies.

General Nathanael Greene

In late 1780 General Nathanael Greene, Washington's choice of successor should he die, took command of the Continental army in the South. Rather than risk troops in major battles, Greene divided his forces and relied on hit-and-run attacks.

- Daniel Morgan was sent with 700 men to probe British defences in the South Carolina backcountry.
- Other troops were sent to co-operate with militia in attacks on British coastal positions.

On 6 January 1781 Tarleton was defeated at Cowpens by Morgan. Undeterred, Cornwallis determined to drive Greene out of North Carolina. Greene and Cornwallis came to blows at Guilford Court House (15 March). Cornwallis won a costly victory – losing more than 500 men, a quarter of his force. While Cornwallis' army recuperated, Greene marched into South Carolina. In April Lord Rawdon defeated Greene at Hobkirk's Hill. However, Rawdon was unable to follow up his victory and patriot forces continued to capture scattered British outposts. By mid 1781 only Charleston, Savannah and the remote Fort Ninety-Six remained in British hands in South Carolina and Georgia.

Yorktown

Why did Cornwallis surrender at Yorktown?

Rather than return to South Carolina, Cornwallis headed north towards Virginia, reaching Petersburg on 20 May.

The situation in Virginia

Until 1780 Virginia had largely escaped the ravages of war. However, over the winter of 1780–1 Benedict Arnold led a series of raids into the state, inflicting major damage. Cornwallis' junction with British forces already in Virginia gave him command of an army of 8000 men. This military presence led to several counties proclaiming support for Britain.

Having failed to destroy an American detachment led by Lafayette, Cornwallis moved towards the sea to maintain communications with Clinton in New York. In August he began to construct a base at Yorktown. If his army could be supplied by the Royal Navy, it could cause mayhem in Virginia. Unfortunately for Cornwallis, a French fleet, with twenty ships of the line, commanded by Admiral de Grasse, now appeared in American waters. Admiral Rodney failed to send sufficient ships from the Caribbean to deal with the threat.

Cornwallis' surrender

In May 1781 Washington learned that de Grasse's fleet was on its way. Initially he planned to use American and French forces to attack New York. But Rochambeau persuaded him that Cornwallis was a better target. In a well-conceived and well-timed operation, the combined 16,000-strong

French-American army reached Virginia in early September. The repulse of a British fleet on 5 September gave the French navy vital control of Chesapeake Bay. Delay in dispatching a relief expedition from New York sealed Cornwallis' fate. Short of supplies, he was trapped in Yorktown. On 19 October, after a three-week siege, he surrendered. The British troops marched out of their positions to the tune of 'The World Turned Upside Down'.

The results of Yorktown

Cornwallis' surrender need not have been decisive. The aftermath of Yorktown did not see the collapse of Britain's position. American and French forces failed to co-operate in an attack on Charleston. Instead, de Grasse sailed for the Caribbean. Without French naval support, Washington could achieve very little. Britain, with 30,000 troops in America (far more than Washington commanded), continued to control New York, Charleston and Savannah, and there was still widespread loyalism in the South.

However, Yorktown was a crucial American victory. The British government now discontinued offensive operations in America and it was clear that public and Parliament were sceptical about continuing the war. In February 1782 the **House of Commons**, to George III's chagrin, resolved to end military measures against the Americans. A month later Prime Minister North resigned. He was replaced by the Marquis of Rockingham. The Earl of Shelburne, who became Colonial Secretary, favoured peace.

KEY TERM

House of Commons One of the two chambers of the British Parliament. (The other is the House of Lords.)

How successful were the Americans at peacemaking?

Peacemaking

In April 1782 Rockingham's ministry ordered the evacuation of New York, Charleston and Savannah. (Savannah was evacuated in July 1782: Charleston and New York were not evacuated until December 1782 and November 1783 respectively.) On Rockingham's death in July, Shelburne became Prime Minister.

Peace negotiations

American representatives entered into informal talks with British officials in Paris in April 1782, months before formal peace negotiations began in September. By now France was also keen on peace.

- The Royal Navy ruled the waves.
- French finances were in a hopeless mess.
- France was concerned by the growing Russian threat.

Shelburne, intent on dividing Britain's enemies, was prepared to be generous to the Americans. While John Jay and John Adams, the leaders of the American peace delegation, were suspicious of British motives, they also distrusted French Foreign Minister Vergennes, suspecting – with

good reason – that he was ready to support the Spanish claim to the **trans-Appalachian region** on which Americans had set their heart. Without consulting the French, Jay and Adams opened separate discussions with Britain. After protracted negotiations, the American commissioners signed a preliminary peace treaty with Britain in November 1782. The Treaty of Paris was signed by Britain, the USA, France, Spain and Holland in September 1783.

KEY TERM

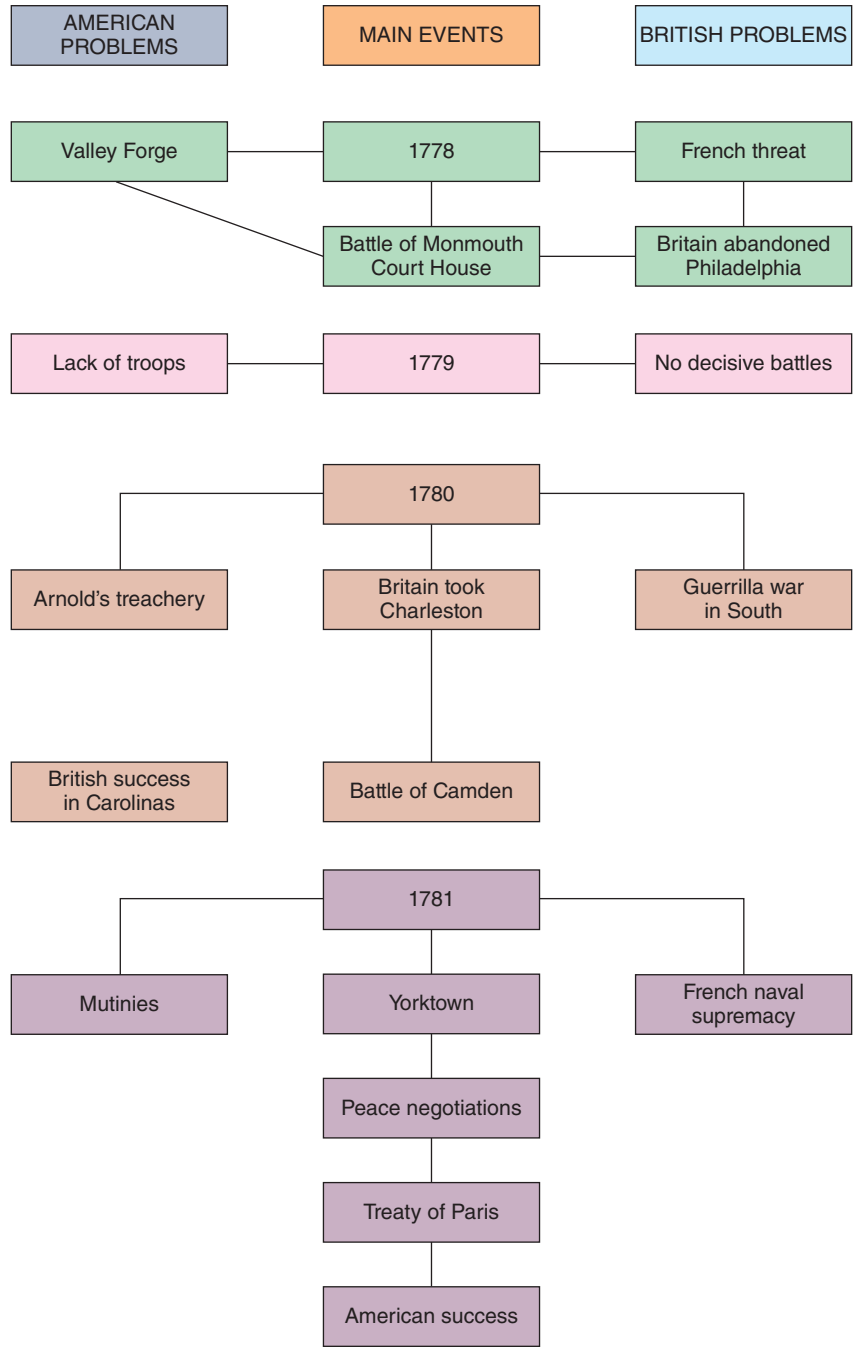
Trans-Appalachian region The land west of the Appalachian mountains.

The Treaty of Paris

By the terms of the Treaty:

- Britain recognized American independence and agreed that the boundaries of the USA should extend west to the Mississippi river, north to the St Lawrence River and the Great Lakes and south to the 31st parallel, the northern boundary of Florida.
- Americans were granted the 'liberty' to fish the Newfoundland Banks and to dry and cure fish in Nova Scotia and Labrador.
- The USA agreed that British merchants should meet with 'no lawful impediment' in seeking to recover their pre-war American debts and that Congress should 'earnestly recommend' to the states the restoration of confiscated loyalist property.
- Britain ceded Florida to Spain.

For the Americans the settlement was a triumph. Especially surprising was Britain's willingness to concede the Mississippi boundary. In 1783 the British still controlled most of the trans-Appalachian west. But Shelburne considered this and other sacrifices to be worthwhile. He hoped that a generous peace might lay the foundation for an Anglo-American commercial alliance and eventually even some form of political reunion.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

American victory 1778–83

6 Key debate

Key question: *Did Britain lose or America win the War of Independence?*

At many times in the war Britain seemed close to victory. As late as April 1781, with the American army and economy in disarray, American victory seemed improbable. In many ways Britain's defeat at Yorktown came out of the blue. 'It was', says historian Joseph Ellis, 'as if a spirited but overmatched boxer, reeling and about to collapse from exhaustion, stepped forward in the final round to deliver a knockout punch.' How did the Americans win?

TOK

In what ways does it matter which explanation we choose, beyond semantic preference? (Language, Emotion, Logic, History)

British failure

Fighting a war in America was never going to be easy. Nevertheless, Britain's leaders did themselves no favours. North's government made some important miscalculations early in the war, overestimating loyalist support and assuming that the rebellion was localized. It may be that it also failed to energize its generals. North was not a great war leader. However, he did retain Parliament's support until 1783 and did appoint some able men – Germain and Lord Sandwich, for example – to key positions. Inevitably, much had to be left to the discretion of generals and admirals. The main mistakes were made in America, not in London.

Criticism can be directed both at individual commanders and the overall calibre of British generalship. Howe missed several opportunities to destroy Washington's army in 1776–7. Clinton was equally timid. Other generals, especially Burgoyne, were over-confident. British officers – military and naval – did not co-operate particularly well. British admirals also made mistakes. Rodney, who failed to send sufficient ships to New York in 1781, bore some responsibility for Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown.

Arguably the employment of Hessian troops was unwise. As well as alienating Americans, they were not totally committed to Britain's cause. During the war some 5000 deserted. However, Britain would have found it hard to have waged war without them: by 1778 they provided a third of British strength in America. Most of those who deserted did so after 1781 when the war was already lost.

The British frequently offended neutral opinion and let down the loyalists. British generals had a bad habit of moving into an area, rallying support and then leaving their supporters without adequate protection. If they ever had a chance of holding a population loyal to the King they squandered it by neglecting the southern colonies until 1779.

American success

American success owed much to American endeavour. Some 200,000 men fought at various times in Continental or militia armies. Eight thousand American troops died in battle, a further 25,000 dying as a result of disease and wounds. (This was 0.9 per cent of the population – compared to 0.28 per cent for losses in the Second World War.) While Britain captured important towns and won most pitched battles, this success did not subdue the population. Whenever the British army moved out of an area, Americans invariably reverted to the patriot cause.

Although he tended to be over-aggressive at the start of the war, Washington's contribution to American victory was important (see page 136). Holding the Continental army together, he eventually led it to success at Yorktown. There were a number of other talented American officers. Nathanael Greene and Benedict Arnold were probably the best (before Arnold deserted to the British).

The Continental army, withstanding defeat and privations, became a reasonable fighting force. Most of its soldiers were indentured servants, ex-slaves, landless sons and recent immigrants from Ireland and Britain who joined the army mainly because they had no better prospects. The militia units' ability to control most of the country not actually occupied by the British gave the Americans a huge advantage.

American diplomats – Franklin, Jay and Adams – turned European rivalries to America's advantage and produced a series of diplomatic victories, starting with the French alliance (1778) and ending with the Treaty of Paris (1783). No Congressman played a more important role than John Adams in ensuring that, as he later remarked, the 'thirteen clocks were made to strike together'.

Foreign intervention

Arguably, the war's outcome was determined neither by British mistakes nor American prowess. The entry of France and Spain swung the struggle decisively in America's favour. The reallocation of British military and naval resources, caused by the broadening of the conflict, had important implications for America. France and Spain joined the war because they had scores to settle with Britain, not because of brilliant American diplomacy.

American success, Yorktown apart, owed more to American military effort than to France. D'Estaing gave no effective help in 1778. Apart from an unsuccessful appearance off Savannah in 1779, no French fleet operated in American waters until 1781. France put only 9000 troops into America in 1780–1.

Historians' views

Naturally different historians stress different factors in explaining American victory/British defeat.

SOURCE K

An extract from *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence*, by John Shy, published by The University of Michigan Press, USA, 1990, page 145.

Guerrilla war can only succeed if the great majority of the populace back the guerrillas. This was the condition during the American Revolution.

SOURCE L

An extract from the BBC History website www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire_seapower, written by Francis D. Cogliano (last updated February 2011).

Some historians have suggested that the British army mismanaged the American War of Independence and that the war could have been won. On the contrary, the war was lost on its first day, owing not to 'inevitability' but to the nature of the conflict … When Parliament sought to re-establish its sovereignty by force, it undermined the loyalty, affection and tradition upon which that authority had rested … Had the British managed to 'win' the military conflict, they would have had to resort to a degree of force antithetical to their ultimate objective – the re-establishment of British authorities in the colonies.

SOURCE M

An extract from *The Telegraph* website www telegraph.co.uk, 14 April 2012. It is part of a debate by Stephen Brunwell to identify Britain's most outstanding military opponent of all time.

Washington scores highly as an enemy of Britain on three key grounds: the immense scale of damage he inflicts upon Britain's Army and Empire – the most jarring defeat that either endured; his ability to not only provide inspirational battlefield leadership but to work with civilians who were crucial to sustain the war effort; and the kind of man he was.

SOURCE N

An extract from American Rev Essays by historian E. Wayne Carp, taken from the website http://revolution.h-net.msu.edu/essays/carp.html

It is probably not going too far to say that America owes its independence to foreign intervention and aid, especially from France. The French monarchy sent arms, clothing and ammunition to America; it also sent soldiers and the French Navy. Most importantly, the French kept the United States' government solvent by lending it the money to keep the Revolution alive. The magnitude of French support of the American Revolution can be glimpsed at the battle of Yorktown. There the majority of George Washington's 15,000 Continental Army were French soldiers.

Examine Sources K to O (pages 91–2). Which of the five sources do you find a) most and b) least convincing? Explain your reasoning.

SOURCE O

An extract from the BBC History website www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire_seapower, written by British historian Richard Holmes.

Howe, probably hoping to reach a compromise settlement with Washington, showed little killer instinct in his New York campaign. But in this sort of war, the British were in any case eventually likely to lose, unless they could strike the patriots such a telling blow as to win the war at a stroke, and it is hard to see how this could have been achieved.

Chapter summary

The Declaration and War of Independence

In July 1776, when the thirteen American colonies finally declared independence, the war against Britain had already been raging for more than a year. The Declaration of Independence was a reasoned justification for American action. It was also a statement of intent: Americans were now committed to complete separation from Britain. If Britain lost the war it would lose its colonies. Britain did lose. It lost to the American terrain as much as to Americans. British generals had to wage war in a difficult country with poor communications. Even if they had destroyed the Continental army and occupied all thirteen colonial capitals, they would still have had difficulty controlling a scattered and hostile population. Nevertheless, British defeat was by no means certain. If Howe had been less cautious, British forces might have won a decisive victory, seriously damaging the patriots' cause.

The British Army, while winning most major battles, was unable to deliver a knock-out blow. Once France joined the war, it became less likely that Britain would conquer all the areas in rebellion. However, that did not mean that the success the Americans achieved in 1783 was inevitable. Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, which tipped the scales in favour of peace, followed the only significant French victory over the Royal Navy since 1690. Before Yorktown a compromise peace between Britain and America was a real possibility. After Yorktown Britain had had enough of war. The Americans, epitomized by George Washington, won the war by not abandoning the struggle.

Examination advice

How to answer 'analyse' questions

When answering questions with the command term 'analyse' you should try to identify the key elements and their relative importance.

Example

Analyse the reasons why the American colonists were able to defeat the better-trained and equipped British forces.

1. To answer this question successfully you should think of all the possible reasons why the American patriots were victorious. These should include more than just military strategy and gains on the battlefield. You might include the role foreign powers such as France and Spain played as well as what was taking place in Britain at the time. Social and economic factors might also be involved.
2. Take several minutes and write down the various factors that assisted the Americans in their struggle against the British. Try to order them in terms of importance. There is no one correct answer. You will be judged on how you structure your essay and the degree to which you offer supporting historical evidence, as well as the analysis you provide. Factors could include:

British problems:

- *3000-mile supply chain*
- *impossibility in securing 1200-mile coastline*
- *increasingly hostile American population*
- *martial law alienated Americans*
- *use of Hessians.*

American advantages:

- *high morale*
- *financial and military aid from France and Spain*
- *knowledge of the terrain*
- *some political unity.*

American obstacles to overcome:

- *no trained army at the start*
- *no ships of the line*
- *smaller financial resources and manufacturing strength than Britain*
- *thirteen separate colonies*
- *severe shortages in army, insufficient numbers of men.*

3. In your introduction, briefly explain what significant factors helped the Americans defeat the British. These should be ordered in terms of relative importance. Part of your analysis could include why one factor was more significant than another. Below is an example of a good introduction:

Although the British navy and army were far superior to anything the American colonies could muster, the Americans did possess a number of advantages. These included high morale, the assistance offered by several European nations, knowledge of the terrain, and the ability to wear down their enemies. The British faced a difficult task in having to blockade ports that stretched more than 1200 miles. Furthermore, the costs of fighting in North America continued to escalate as the conflict dragged on.

4. For each of the key points you raise in your introduction, you should be able to write one or two paragraphs. Here you should provide your supporting evidence. Be sure to make a judgement about each factor's importance and why it helped the Americans defeat the British. An example of how one of the points could be addressed is given below:

The Americans were able to forge political and military ties with France during the long war for independence. The assistance offered by France was a key factor in helping the Americans offset the large advantages Britain had. However, it was not until after the Battle of Saratoga in 1777 where the Americans demonstrated that they might be able to actually win a war against the British that the French began to assist the Americans. France signed two treaties with the Americans in 1778, one commercial and the other a military alliance. France, eager for revenge after the humiliating consequences of the Seven Years' War (1756–63), supplied loans to help keep the American government and armed forces afloat. France also supplied soldiers, military advisers, ammunition and guns. French naval forces under Admiral de Grasse were a key ingredient in George Washington's defeat of the British at Yorktown in 1781 because British reinforcements could not assist their surrounded countrymen by sea. Yorktown marked the end of fighting to all intents and purposes; an American victory here would not have been possible without the substantial French assistance. On the political front, the Americans sent Benjamin Franklin to Paris in 1776. He made important progress in laying the groundwork for the signing of the two treaties between the Americans and the French. These provided the legal basis for this key alliance.

5. In the final paragraph, you should tie your essay together stating your conclusions. Do not raise any new points here.
6. Now try writing a complete answer to the question following the advice above.

Examination practice

Below are two exam-style questions for you to practise on this topic.

1. Assess the military difficulties facing the Continental army from 1775–81.
(For guidance on how to answer 'Assess' questions, see pages 221–3.)
2. Why do many historians suggest that French and Spanish assistance was key for the patriot victory?
(For guidance on how to answer 'Why' questions, see pages 131–3.)

CHAPTER 3

Independence movements in Latin America

Between 1810 and 1825 wars of independence raged across Latin America. Eventually, Spain was forced out of mainland America and more than a dozen new nations emerged. Brazil also won independence from Portugal. This chapter will examine the process of independence by examining the following key questions:

- How did the situation in Europe (1807–12) affect developments in Latin America?
- How successful were independence movements in the period 1810–15?
- Why did Spain lose its American empire after 1816?
- Why were Spain's American colonies able to win independence?
- How did Brazil achieve independence?

1 The situation in Europe 1807–12

Key question: How did the situation in Europe (1807–12) affect developments in Latin America?

By the first decade of the nineteenth century the relationship between Spain and its colonies had become strained by protective trade policies and the vicissitudes of war in Europe. However, the French Revolution and the example of Haiti (see page 46) brought home to white colonial elites the value of the Crown as a guarantor of law and order within their own racially divided societies. There was thus no compelling force from within the colonies that would necessarily have led to a breakdown of imperial authority. It was a series of events in Europe that precipitated a crisis of colonial rule in Latin America.

What impact did the French occupation of Portugal have on Brazil?

French occupation of Portugal

In 1807 the French Emperor, Napoleon, put pressure on Portugal to close its ports to British ships. When it did not comply, a French army invaded the country. In November 1807, João, the prince regent, and his entire court (some 15,000 people) sailed to Brazil under British escort. Rio de Janeiro suddenly became the capital of the Portuguese Empire at a time when royal authority had been destroyed in the mother country.

This situation helped preserve – indeed reinforced – the legitimacy of imperial authority in Brazil. Rio became a far more imposing centre of government than it had been as a mere viceregal capital. Its population rose from 50,000 in 1808 to 100,000 in 1821. Its status as imperial capital warranted new institutions – a Bank of Brazil, a military and naval academy, and Brazil's first newspaper. Moreover, with Portugal under French occupation, the prince regent had little option but to end the Portuguese trade monopoly and allow free trade with other nations – to Britain's but also to Brazil's advantage. In 1815 João declared that Brazil was no longer a colony but a kingdom in its own right – the constitutional equal of Portugal. Thus, from 1807–20, Brazil was to know order and continuity under the Crown. It was a different story in Spanish America.

The French occupation of Spain

Why did Napoleon's intervention in Spain endanger Spanish rule in Latin America?

In March 1808 a palace revolution forced Spanish king Charles IV to abdicate in favour of his son Ferdinand. French forces then occupied Madrid and Napoleon induced Charles and Ferdinand VII to travel to Bayonne for discussions. There, in May, he forced both of them to abdicate, detaining both men indefinitely in France. Napoleon proceeded to proclaim his brother Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain and the Indies.

Spanish resistance

In May 1808 the people of Madrid rose in rebellion against the French. This uprising sparked revolts across Spain. **Juntas** assumed provincial power. In September local juntas placed themselves under the authority of a Supreme Junta at Seville. This body asserted itself as the legitimate source of Spanish and imperial government in defiance of the French regime. It did not last long. In 1810 French forces advanced into Andalusia, Seville fell and only Cadiz in the South held out. The incompetent Supreme Junta was replaced by an incompetent Regency Council. It seemed that it would only be a matter of time before Napoleon clinched total victory. All that prevented him was Cadiz (protected by Spanish and British ships), Spanish ***guerrillas*** and an Anglo-Portuguese army, commanded by Lord (later the Duke of) Wellington.

KEY TERM

Junta(s) Governing council(s).

Guerrillas Irregular forces that harass an enemy.

Liberals People who advocated democracy and economic and individual freedom.

Cortes The Spanish Parliament.

The 1812 Constitution

Falling under the influence of **liberals**, the Regency Council declared the equality of all the realms of the Empire and summoned delegates from Spain and the Empire to a constituent assembly. In 1812 a liberal Constitution was proclaimed at Cadiz. It provided for the establishment of a limited monarchy in which royal power would be accountable to an elected **Cortes** and a wide range of individual rights (including freedom of the press) would be guaranteed. It was a progressive document, an inspiration for much of liberal Europe and Latin America.

However, the Cadiz government's liberalism had its limits when it came to dealing with the Empire. It rejected a proposal from Latin American delegates for a union of autonomous constitutional kingdoms under one monarch. Spanish liberals were no more prepared than Spanish kings to surrender political control over the American colonies.

The situation in Spanish America in 1808–9

The situation in Spain had major effects in Spanish America. Authority came traditionally from the king: laws were obeyed because they were the king's laws. Now there was no king to obey. (Virtually no colonist accepted the authority of Joseph Bonaparte.) This brought into question the structure of power and its distribution between imperial officials and local Creoles. Where did legitimate authority now lay? Did it belong to the American viceroys or the Regency Council or Cortes in Spain? Or did it lay with the Creoles who might set up juntas following the Spanish example and assume provisional sovereignty in Ferdinand's absence? If the last course was adopted, it would have revolutionary implications: for the first time the Creoles would exercise power in America without being disloyal to the king. Naturally this was the option favoured by those Creoles who wanted to see Latin America move towards some form of autonomy. However, the issue of legitimate authority divided Creole from Creole and Creole from Spaniard. Moreover responses varied from region to region.

KEY TERM

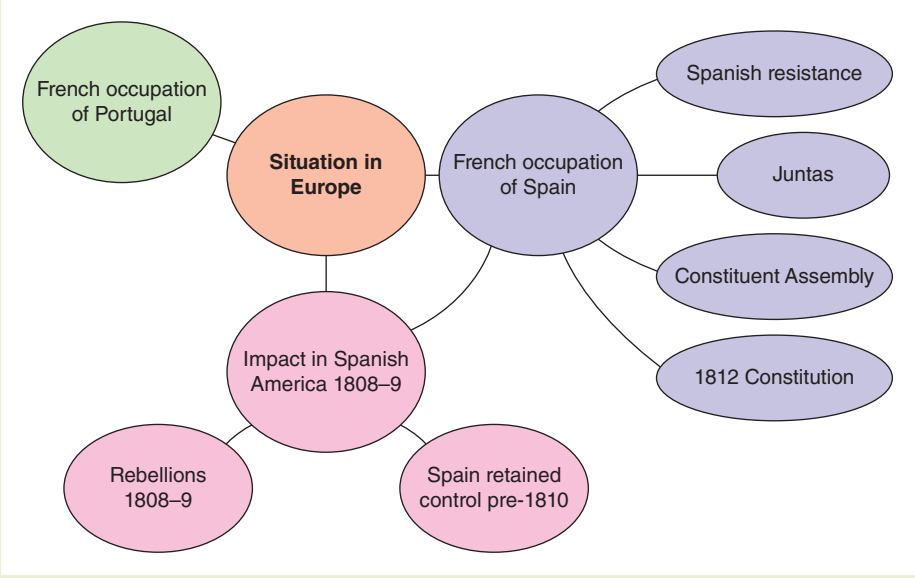
Coup d'etat The attempted overthrow of a government, usually by violent action.

Patriot A person who vigorously supports their country and is prepared to defend it against enemies. Here used for those who supported independence for their country.

- In 1808 a faction of Spanish merchants in Mexico staged a ***coup d'etat*** against the viceroy who had shown sympathy for the idea of an autonomous Mexican junta. He was replaced by a new viceroy pledged to Seville.
- A revolution led by radical Creoles and *mestizos* erupted in Upper Peru in mid 1809. Rebels briefly took control in La Paz. Dropping any pretence of governing in the king's name, they effectively declared independence. But most Creoles opposed the rebellion and the insurgents were easily crushed by royalist forces sent from Peru.
- In Quito (eventually to become the capital of Ecuador), Creoles overthrew the *audiencia* and set up a junta, ostensibly in Ferdinand's name. This movement collapsed in October 1809 on the approach of Spanish troops. A royalist reaction followed in which dozens of **patriots** were massacred.

Thus Spanish authorities retained control of the colonies in 1809. These preliminary skirmishes showed:

- the strength of Spanish authority
- the conservatism of many Creoles who feared the consequences of independence, especially the possibility of racial and social upheaval
- the divided character of the opposition to Spanish rule.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The situation in Europe 1807–12

2 The Wars of Liberation: 1810–15

Key question: How successful were independence movements in the period 1810–15?

As news of the French advance in Andalusia reached America in 1810 it sparked action among Creoles. To many conservative Creoles and *peninsulares* alike, the Supreme Junta, the Regency Council and (later) the Cortes, seemed not only suspect in claiming to be Spain's supreme governing entities but also dangerously radical in the manner of their formation. If popular representation were to be admitted as the basis for legitimacy in Spain, might not *mestizos*, on the same principle, insist on participating in American government? Many Creoles decided the best option was to reject Spanish authority and set up juntas of their own in Ferdinand's name. They believed that they themselves were better guarantors of the existing social structure than were Spanish liberals. By no means all those who supported the seizure of local power at this stage were necessarily pursuing outright independence. But all were seeking at the very least **home rule** within a far less controlling colonial system.

KEY TERM

Home rule Self-government by the people of a particular area.

Thus, after 1810 Spanish authority was under threat. While that authority was divided between liberal parliamentarians in Cadiz and conservative administrators in the colonies, the political situation would remain fluid.

Why were developments in Mexico different to developments elsewhere in Latin America?

The situation in Mexico 1810–15

Mexico, with a population of more than 6 million, was by far the richest of Spain's American colonies. A white elite dominated oppressed Indians (about 60 per cent of the population) and *mestizos.*

Mexico and Central America

Hidalgo's rebellion

In September 1810 a Creole plot to overthrow the pro-Spanish viceroy and set up a revolutionary junta was revealed. Many of the plot's leaders were arrested: others fled. One of the conspirators was a Creole priest, Miguel Hidalgo. Once rector of a prestigious college in Valladolid, Hidalgo had fallen foul of the authorities because of his support for Enlightenment ideas and his personal life (he lived openly with the mother of his two daughters). Removed to the parish of Dolores, he worked conscientiously among Amerindians and *mestizos,* seeking to better the material lives of his parishioners and winning their affection in the process.

Summoning his parishioners to his church, Hidalgo had inspired them to revolt. This was the ***Grito de Dolores*** of 16 September (now celebrated as Independence Day in Mexico). The *Grito* was a cry for independence in the name of Ferdinand VII. But Hidalgo's aims were more social than political, including abolition of the tribute and abolition of the distinctions of *castas*.

KEY TERM

Grito de Dolores This translates as 'the cry of Dolores'. Hidalgo's 'cry' is usually seen as marking the start of the Mexican War of Independence.

A race war

The peasantry's reaction was explosive for the region around Dolores had suffered from famine for the previous two years. Amerindians and *mestizos* rose up and began looting, killing whites in the process. Within a week the rebels had entered the provincial capital, Guanajuato. Here they stormed the *Alhóndiga* – the fortified municipal granary in which Creoles and Spaniards had taken refuge. A bloody massacre followed. Thereafter, Hidalgo's revolt was seen not as a rebellion against Spanish oppression but as a race war directed against all whites. Those Creoles who wanted to see an independent Mexico were forced into the Spanish camp in order to resist the rebellion. The army, predominantly Creole and *mestizo* in composition, remained loyal to Spain.

The rebels defeated

Having captured Valladolid, Hidalgo's 80,000-strong army moved on Mexico City. The rebels' advance was checked by a costly encounter with government forces in October 1810. Tens of thousands of Hidalgo's followers deserted after the battle. As the rebels retreated, they were attacked by another royalist army and suffered a devastating defeat at Aculco (7 November). Hidalgo managed to regroup his forces but was crushed near Guadalajara in January 1811. Hidalgo was captured in March and shot, along with most of his commanders. Their heads were displayed at the granary in Guanajuato for the next decade.

Father Hidalgo's ranking as a great hero of Mexican independence is somewhat ironic. His revolt almost certainly did more to delay Mexico's break from Spain than to advance it. He led an ethnic-class rebellion rather than a war of liberation. This served to alienate the vast majority of Creoles. As long as Spaniards and Creoles remained united, independence could not come. It would not be the lower orders in Mexico, or anywhere else in Latin America, who determined the independence process.

José María Morelos

Hidalgo's death did not end the insurgency. The rebels recovered some of their strength under the leadership of José María Morelos, a humble *mestizo* priest. By late 1811 Morelos commanded a force that differed from Hidalgo's in being relatively small (some 9000 men), reasonably well disciplined and reasonably well equipped. Morelos' military and political skills gave the independence movement, now more *mestizo* than Indian, greater coherence than under Hidalgo. By 1812 he controlled much of the south-west. He then wasted precious months besieging Acapulco, finally capturing it in April 1813.

In the autumn of 1813 Morelos organized a congress at Chilpancingo. As well as declaring independence from Spain, the Congress outlined a radical programme which included:

- land redistribution
- an end to discrimination against Amerindians and *mestizos*
- the end of tributes
- abolition of slavery.

In December 1813, Morelos was defeated by royalists. He spent two years in southern Mexico in slow retreat from royalist forces before he was captured and executed in 1815. Following his death, the insurgency lost strength and momentum. Although guerrilla forces, led by regional chieftains – some dedicated patriots, others little more than bandits – continued to operate, Spain remained in control of Mexico. Successive viceregal governments strengthened the Mexican army, which soon totalled 85,000 men.

Why did the revolts in New Granada and Venezuela fail?

Rebellion in New Granada and Venezuela

The independence movements in New Granada and Venezuela were led by Creoles. During the course of 1810 royal governors were ejected and revolutionary juntas appeared in the viceroyalty.

New Granada

Revolution in New Granada started in Cartagena in 1810. It soon spread to other cities and by July the viceroy in Bogotá was deposed. While Bogotá's Creoles now sought to lead the revolution, each region jealously guarded its privileges and provincial juntas soon quarrelled among themselves. A precarious federation, the United Provinces of New Granada, was created late in 1811. But the junta of Bogotá rejected the Federal Constitution and set itself up instead as an independent state under the leadership of Antonio Nariño.

Several cities and provinces – Panama, Santa Marta and Pasto – remained loyal to the Regency Council in Cadiz. Disputes and bouts of armed conflicts between radical Creole factions – Bogotá against the provinces and provinces against each other – enabled royalist forces to slowly re-establish control. Nariño was captured and exiled to Spain in 1814. The independence movements eventually fell to a royalist counter-strike organized from Venezuela by General Pablo Morillo, a tough, professional officer who had been sent from Spain in 1815 to pacify Latin America with an army of 10,000 men – veterans of the **Napoleonic Wars**. Morillo captured Cartagena after a hundred days' siege in December 1815. Bogotá was occupied by the royalists in May 1816. Morillo dealt brutally with the patriots, executing many of the captured leaders.

KEY TERM

Napoleonic Wars
Napoleon, the military leader – and ultimately Emperor – of France waged a series of wars in Europe (mainly against Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia) from 1799–1815.

New Granada

Venezuela

Venezuela, like Mexico, was a country of ethnic and social division. The Creole elite was massively outnumbered by slaves, ***pardos*** and Amerindians.

In April 1810, the ***cabildo abierto*** of Caracas met. The captain-general of Venezuela was prevented from attending by mob action. The Creole-dominated *cabildo* transformed itself into a 'junta for the preservation of the rights of Ferdinand VII', rejecting any claim to authority in Venezuela by bodies in Spain. However, a more radical group – the Patriotic Society of Caracas – urged the declaration of an independent republic. The Society was led by Francisco de Miranda (who – with British assistance – had made ill-fated efforts to 'liberate' Venezuela in 1806) and Simón Bolívar (see page 145).

In March 1811 a congress was elected on a franchise which excluded non-whites. In July the Congress declared independence and founded the first republic of Venezuela. The Constitution provided for a federal structure, the abolition of clerical and military privileges and the legal equality of citizens of all races. In reality, it did little for non-whites.

- *Pardos* were mostly excluded from voting by a property qualification.
- Slavery was retained.

KEY TERM

Pardos People of mixed race.

Cabildo abierto A town council to which only notables had right of attendance. It was usually convened by the local governor for ceremonial purposes.

Many of the Creole elite also opposed independence, convinced that their position and property would be more secure under Spanish rule. In March 1812 a massive earthquake struck Venezuela, killing some 20,000 people. The catastrophe was exploited by royalist clergy who preached this was God's punishment for rebellion.

The Second Republic

When a small Spanish force arrived from Puerto Rico in 1812, many non-whites threw in their lot with the royalists. Within a few months the rebellion had collapsed. Miranda, who determined to negotiate surrender terms, was captured and handed over to the enemy by Bolívar who regarded him as a traitor to the independence cause. Miranda was deported to Spain where he died in 1816.

Bolívar escaped to New Granada. In 1813, assisted by the United Provinces of New Granada, he invaded Venezuela, declaring 'a war to the death' against the authority of Spain. After a lightning campaign, Bolívar reached Caracas in August, parading triumphantly through the town, his carriage drawn through flower-strewn streets by female supporters. He declared a Second Republic. In October 1813 he was given the title 'Liberator of Venezuela'. Disenchanted with democratic assemblies (after observing the chaotic situation in New Granada), he was, to all intents and purposes, a military dictator.

Collapse of the rebellion

However, royalist resistance continued. Bolívar failed to win over the *pardos*, many of whom were recruited by José Tomàs Boves into a guerrilla movement loyal to Spain. Both sides used terror and violence: atrocities were commonplace and prisoners were usually put to death. Defeated by Boves at the battle of La Puerta (June 1814), Bolívar fled, first to New Granada and then to Jamaica. Meanwhile royalist forces defeated patriot forces at Aragua de Barcelona and at Urica. By January 1815 Venezuela was back under royalist control. The royalists took savage retribution on patriots.

To what extent were Río de la Plata patriots successful?

Rebellion in Río de la Plata

The viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, with its administrative capital in Buenos Aires, encompassed present-day Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia. The defeat of two British expeditions to Buenos Aires in 1806–7 boosted Creole pride and nationalism. After deposing the feeble Spanish viceroy who fled before the British attack, Creoles elevated Santiago de Liniers, a French officer in the Spanish service and a hero of the defence of Buenos Aires, to lead the viceroyalty. When the Supreme Junta tried to re-establish Spanish authority, it found that the Creoles were reluctant to surrender power.

Río de la Plata, Chile and Peru

The May Revolution

In May 1810 Creoles in Buenos Aires staged the May Revolution. A *cabildo abierto* was called to discuss and act on the future of Río de la Plata. As in Caracas (see page 103), organized mobs played a part, excluding men who seemed likely to oppose the aims of the radical Creoles. The *cabildo*, while proclaiming loyalty to Ferdinand, named a revolutionary junta to govern what was now designated the United Provinces of Río de la Plata.

After 1810 there was great political instability in Buenos Aires, the revolutionaries sometimes ruling through juntas and sometimes through **triumvirates**. The conflicts were essentially Creole against Creole. The social and racial dimensions that characterized the conflict in Mexico, New Granada and Venezuela, were absent.

Although formal independence was not declared until 1816, the events in May 1810 ended Spanish rule in what was to become Argentina. Buenos Aires and its hinterland never reverted back to Spanish control. Thus Argentina can claim to be the first region of Spanish America in which colonial rule ended. Although Argentina's independence was never seriously in jeopardy after 1810, the form that it would take, geographically and politically, was fought over throughout the independence period.

KEY TERM

Triumvirate A government in which three men share supreme power.

Oligarchy Government by a small exclusive (usually the richest) class.

Centralists Those who favoured strong central government.

Federalists Those who favoured many powers being transferred from the central government to provincial (or state) governments.

Factionalism A situation where a large number of relatively small groups compete for power.

Buenos Aires versus the interior provinces

The Buenos Aires junta introduced a range of radical measures. The relationship between Church and state was broken, education secularized, and a free press encouraged. The new government opened Buenos Aires to trade with all nations and proclaimed the equality of all citizens regardless of race. The radical hue of the junta did little to recommend it to the **oligarchies** of the interior provinces. A rebellion in Córdoba was suppressed by the radicals and its leaders (including Santiago de Liniers) executed.

The junta expressed the interests of the *porteños* – the inhabitants of Buenos Aires. *Porteños* looked overseas for their prosperity. They supported free trade, exporting hides and other beef products and importing manufactured goods, mainly from Britain. Argentina's interior provinces had different interests. They raised or manufactured commodities – sugar, textiles, wine and furniture – that were sold locally or to neighbouring provinces. Cheaper European products undermined local economies.

Differences of economic interest led to clashes between *porteños* and provincials. *Porteños* tended to be **centralists**, demanding that provinces conform to Buenos Aires' leadership. Provincials tended to be **federalists**, anxious to protect their interests against Buenos Aires.

Provincial hostility was mollified when delegates from the interior were eventually included in the Buenos Aires junta. Their conservatism moderated the radicalism of *porteño* politicians. But the Buenos Aires government continued to be riven by **factionalism** and the absence of strong leadership.

The splintering of Río de la Plata

Several important provinces of the viceroyalty – Upper Peru (modern Bolivia), Paraguay, and the Banda Oriental (modern Uruguay) – refused to accept Buenos Aires' authority.

Upper Peru

Upper Peru in the Andes was a world apart from Buenos Aires. Here a Creole elite lorded it over the Amerindian-*mestizo* majority.

Upper Peru was important to Buenos Aires because:

- It was the location of the great silver mines of Potosí.
- Control of Upper Peru would provide a buffer against possible attacks from Peru, the bastion of Spanish power in South America.

The first 'liberating' expedition marched from Argentina to Upper Peru in late 1810. Initially successful in defeating royalist resistance, the army soon antagonized local Creoles by behaving like conquering overlords. Easily defeated by royalist forces sent from Peru, the liberating army abandoned Upper Peru. Two more expeditions in 1813 and 1815 were similarly repulsed. Most Creoles in Upper Peru were hostile to the prospect of Buenos Aires' control. Many feared the political rhetoric that accompanied Argentina's armies, especially promises of Amerindian emancipation from tribute and land reallocation.

Paraguay

Landlocked a thousand miles up the Río de la Plata's river system, Paraguay was far from the continent's centres of power. Paraguayan Creoles, meeting in Asunción in July 1810, stated that they would remain loyal to Spain while maintaining 'fraternal' relations with Buenos Aires. An Argentinian army, sent to bring Paraguay back under control, was defeated by Paraguayan forces at Paraguarí (January 1811) and Tacuarí (March 1811). The Spanish authorities in Asunción played little part in these events. After the Argentinians retreated, Paraguayan Creoles took over Asunción in the revolution of 14 May, setting up a junta. Three days later Paraguay declared its independence from Spain and Buenos Aires. In 1813 Dr José de Francia became 'Supreme Dictator', remaining in control until his death in 1840.

Uruguay

Unlike Upper Peru and Paraguay, Uruguay was close to Buenos Aires. While some Uruguayan Creoles were stimulated by Buenos Aires' example, others opposed its determination to rule their land.

After the May 1810 revolution, Montevideo (Uruguay's main town) became the focal point of royalist resistance to independence in the Río de la Plata area. However, for many Uruguayan Creoles, supporting Spanish rule purely to avoid dependence on Buenos Aires, made little sense. José Gervasio Artigas emerged as the hero of Uruguayan independence. Born to a well-to-do Creole family, he adopted the semi-civilized life of a ***gaucho***. When the

KEY TERM

Gaucho An Argentine or Uruguayan cowboy, often of mixed race.

Spanish viceroy in Montevideo declared war on Buenos Aires in 1811, Artigas became leader of the Uruguayan patriots. These Uruguayans issued a call to arms – the *Grito de Asencio* (26 February 1811) – initiating a revolt against the royalists and calling on Buenos Aires for assistance.

Artigas, with his own *gaucho* army and a small Buenos Aires force, defeated the Spaniards at Las Piedras and came close to taking Montevideo. In desperation, the Spanish viceroy turned to Brazil for help. Hoping to extend Brazil's southern borders, Prince Regent João sent an army to Uruguay. Rather than lose Uruguay to Brazil, Buenos Aires preferred the royalists to maintain control. After the failure of Brazilian-Buenos Aires negotiations, British pressure persuaded Brazil to withdraw from Uruguay late in 1811.

With the royalists once more in charge, Artigas (with some 4000 followers) retreated across the Uruguayan river to the province of Entre Rios, announcing that Uruguayans would never be subordinate to either Spain or Buenos Aires.

An uneasy alliance, formed between Artigas and the Buenos Aires junta, led to a joint siege of Montevideo in 1813. This alliance crumbled after Artigas issued 'Instructions' in which he demanded independence for Uruguay. Buenos Aires declared him an outlaw and dispatched a new expeditionary army to Montevideo in mid 1814. After a further year of war, the Argentinians finally evacuated Montevideo in 1815 and Artigas became the ruler of Uruguay. He introduced a radical land policy, breaking up large estates and distributing land to Amerindians, *castas* and small farmers. However, in 1816 he was overwhelmed by an invading army from Brazil.

Why did Chile fail to secure independence pre-1815?

The independence movement in Chile: 1810–15

The situation in Spain ignited unrest in Chile. While the Spanish governor tried to clamp down on patriots, Creoles succeeded in calling a *cabildo abierto* in September 1810. Dominated by radicals, the *cabildo* named a junta to govern while a national assembly was called to meet in 1811. Meanwhile, the junta organized an army and allowed trade with all nations, seemingly steps on the road to full independence. However, Chilean patriots were divided. While radicals wanted a complete break with Spain, moderates preferred to work for autonomy within the Spanish Empire. The radicals were themselves divided, particularly between the Carrera faction and a faction led by Juan Martinez de Rozas and (later) Bernardo O'Higgins (see page 151).

The national assembly convened in July 1811. José Miguel Carrera soon led a *coup d'etat*, purging the assembly of its conservative elements. It proceeded to pass a range of radical measures – for example, abolishing the

Inquisition and beginning the secularization of education. Twice more Carrera arbitrarily changed the form of government, first setting up a triumvirate and then simply taking charge himself. In 1812 he sent Rozas into exile. Carrera's actions antagonized royalists, moderates and other radicals.

In 1813 the viceroy in Peru dispatched troops to crush the Chilean rebellion. After patriot forces were defeated at Rancagua (October 1814), Carrera and O'Higgins fled to Argentina. A period of royalist repression ensued.

Peru

Why did Peru remain loyal to Spain?

Under the capable administration of viceroy José Fernando de Abascal, Peruvian Creoles, especially in Lima, remained loyal to Spain. Many leading families were proud of their conquistador heritage: lesser Creoles were conscious of the city's role as viceregal and ecclesiastical capital of Spanish South America. Lima was far removed from modernizing European influences and the issue of free trade loomed far less large than in Atlantic coast cities. Hidalgo's revolt in Mexico (see page 100) kept alive the fears of the consequences for Creoles if imperial control were to lapse. So did Pumacahua's Amerindian uprising in the Andes in 1814–15. After a series of massacres of whites, the rebellion was crushed and Pumacahua executed.

By 1816 Abascal commanded an army of 70,000 men, mainly loyal militia. Many Creoles were proud of their new role as preservers of Spanish rule, a role that restored lustre both to Peru and to themselves.

The return of Ferdinand

What was the situation in 1815?

From 1810 to 1814, while loyalist officials were not totally impotent, Spain itself could do little about the situation in the Americas. However in 1814, following Napoleon's defeat, Ferdinand VII was restored to the Spanish throne. Taking advantage of his popularity, Ferdinand reverted to absolute rule, dissolving the Cortes and abrogating the 1812 Constitution. He also determined to restore Spanish authority in America. Prospects for regaining lost ground seemed good.

- Mexico was all but pacified.
- By 1815 New Granada and Venezuela had been won back.
- Buenos Aires had failed to extend its authority over Paraguay, Upper Peru and Uruguay.
- Chile was under royalist control.
- Conservative royalism remained strong everywhere, particularly in Peru.
- The end of the Napoleonic Wars meant that Spain had seasoned troops who could be sent to America.

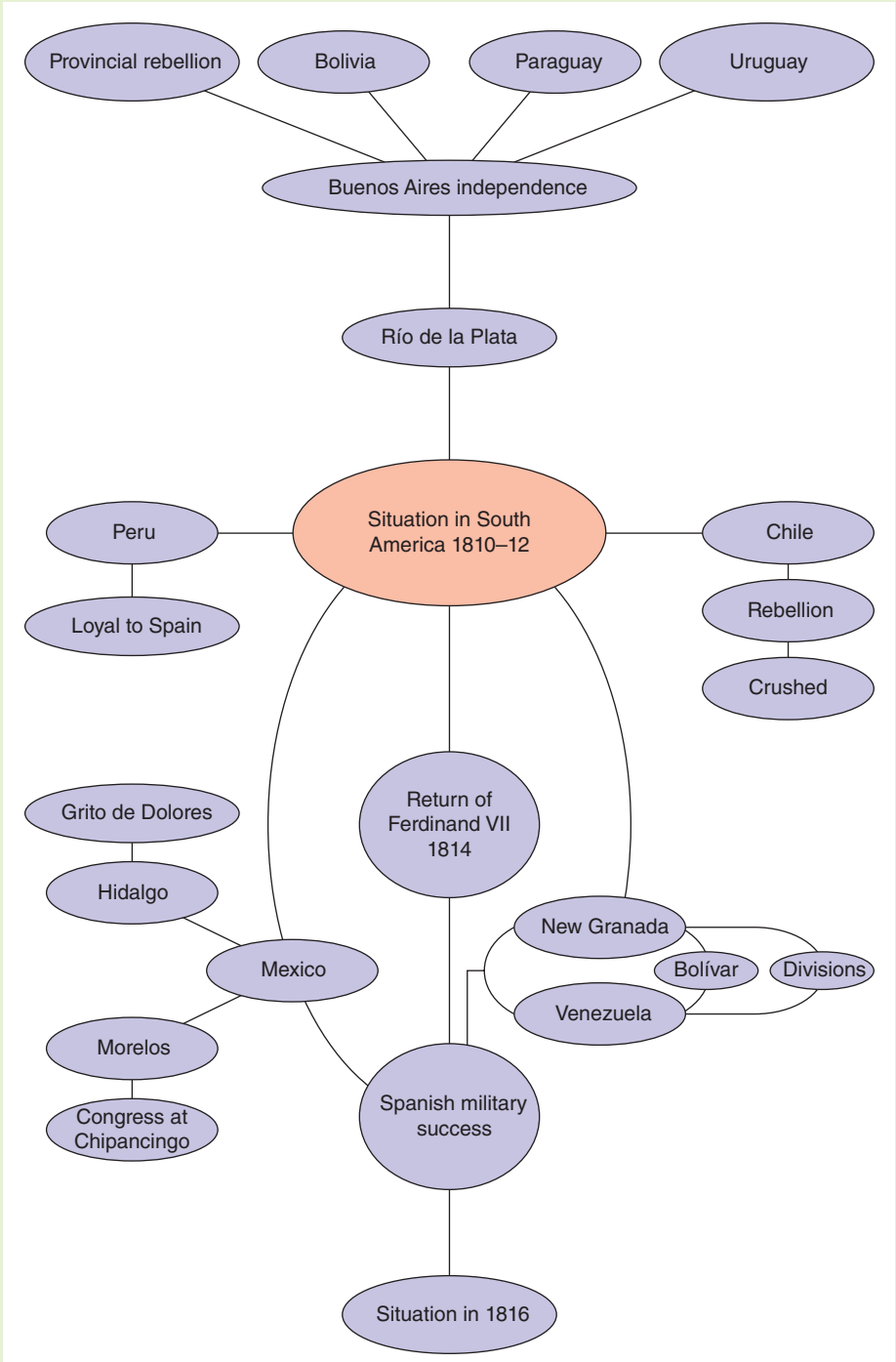
KEY TERM

Counter-revolution A subsequent revolution counteracting the effect of a previous one.

By the end of 1815 the **counter-revolution** was almost complete. With the exception of Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, royal power was restored. Moreover, those Creoles who wanted autonomy or independence now faced a different political situation to that in the period 1808–14. Prior to 1814 most patriots had proclaimed autonomy within the monarchy. Given that the monarchy had not really existed, it was unclear what the assertions of loyalty were worth. With the legitimate king back on the throne, opposition to colonial administration could no longer be construed other than as treason. It thus seemed possible that the traditional colonial compact might be restored, whereby the Creoles forsook formal self-government in exchange for the stability which the Spanish monarchy afforded Latin America's diverse and racially fragmented societies.

However, several factors weakened royal restoration:

- The bitterness of the wars made reconciliation difficult if not impossible. Savage royalist actions, including mass executions and the confiscation of patriot estates, angered rather than reconciled, so much so that the counter-revolution proved to be counter-productive.
- Loyalist governments were unable to guarantee social order: rebel activity, often little more than banditry, continued.
- Many Creoles still supported self-rule.
- *Castas,* blacks and Amerindians were aware that patriot leaders (like Bolívar) had committed themselves to freedom and to equality. Hopes of a better world had been awakened.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The Wars of Liberation: 1810–15

3 The Wars of Liberation: 1816–25

Key question: *Why did Spain lose its American empire after 1816?*

What were the main patriot successes in the years 1816–20?

The situation: 1816–20

By 1816 patriot leaders had learned lessons from previous failures. Bolívar, for example, became convinced that unqualified electoral democracy would lead to catastrophe in societies which he believed had been kept in a condition of political immaturity by Spanish tyranny. In his Jamaica Letter (6 September 1815), he declared that Spanish America should 'not adopt the best system of government, but the one that is most likely to succeed'. Latin America, he believed, needed strong not liberal government.

The situation in Argentina

By 1816 the situation in Argentina was chaotic.

- Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia had eluded Buenos Aires' authority.
- Inland provinces, like Cordoba and Corrientes, wanted a loose federalist form of government or even outright independence.
- The *porteño* elite remained divided between conservatives and radicals.
- Only Buenos Aires' great distance from Spain and the Caribbean saved the patriots from Spanish attack after Ferdinand VII's restoration.

On 9 July 1816 a congress in Tucumán formerly declared Argentina independent. But political instability seemed endemic. Within Buenos Aires, Creole divisions led to the government changing hands on five occasions between 1810 and 1819. In 1820 the government changed hands on an average of once a fortnight.

Chilean independence

While in power in Argentina (from 1816–19), Juan Martín de Pueyrredón supported the strategy of José de San Martín. For San Martín it was evident that as long as Peru was controlled by the royalists, South American independence would be in jeopardy. Given that three Argentinian military expeditions to Upper Peru had failed, San Martín planned to reach Lima by heading first to Chile and then north along the Pacific coast. In January–February 1817, San Martín's 5000-strong army crossed the Andes. After three years of an oppressive royalist regime, many Chileans were ready to support a liberating army. Martín's army, comprising Argentinians, Chileans and African slaves who were offered freedom in return for their service, defeated royalist forces at Chacabuco on 12 February 1817 (see box on page 113) and went on to capture Santiago (see box on page 114).

The Battle of Chacabuco

In January 1817, San Martín's 5000-strong Army of the Andes crossed the mountains from Argentina into Chile, losing a third of its men and more than half its horses in the process. Royalist forces rushed north in response to the threat. A force of 1500 men, led by General Maroto, blocked San Martín's route at Chacabuco, in the foothills of the Andes. Maroto knew that more royalist troops were on the way from Santiago. San Martín was aware of this as well. He thus determined to attack, while he still had the advantage of numbers. The patriot army was composed of Argentine and Chilean lower class troops (including freed slaves), commanded by Creole officers. Most of the royalist force comprised locally raised militia units. The patriot cavalry, mainly comprising Argentine veterans, was far superior to the royalist cavalry.

On 12 February 1817 San Martín divided his army into two divisions, one commanded by O'Higgins, the other by General Soler. O'Higgins faced the royalist army, while Soler moved around the enemy left flank. Given that the flanking force was slow, O'Higgins confronted the bulk of the royalist army. Taking decisive action (but disobeying his orders in the process), O'Higgins determined to attack the enemy. He did so successfully. In the meantime, San Martín, who had personally gone to speed up the march of Soler's column, struck the royalist flank. The royalist retreat quickly turned into a rout. Five hundred royalists were killed and 600 captured. The patriots lost only twelve men but a further 120 died from wounds sustained in the battle.

Chacabuco was a decisive victory for the patriots who went on to enter Santiago and take control of most of Chile. O'Higgins became leader of a new Chilean government. However, royalist forces still controlled much of southern Chile.

The royalists rallied in southern Chile and fighting continued. Although San Martín was defeated at Cancha Rayada on 19 March 1818, he trounced royalist forces at Maipú on 5 April 1818 (see box, page 114). Although the royalists continued to retain a foothold in Chile, holding the coastal fortress at Valdivia, Chile was now essentially independent.

San Martín had little interest in political leadership. He regarded Chile as essentially a stepping stone for the liberation of Peru. He thus declined the offer of supreme political power in Chile. Instead Bernardo O'Higgins took power (see pages 151–2).

The Battle of Maipú

In 1818 royalist forces under Spanish General Mariano Osorio marched on Santiago. The advance took O'Higgins and San Martín by surprise and their forces were defeated at Cancha Rayada (19 March 1818). O'Higgins was seriously wounded and it seemed that Santiago would fall to royalist forces. Rather than flee, San Martín rallied his troops and determined to fight the enemy on the plain of Maipú, only two miles from Santiago. Ignoring the advice of most of his officers, he made no effort to stop the royalists crossing the Maipú River. Thus on 5 April 1818 the two armies faced each other on the northern side of the river. The 4000-strong patriot army was outnumbered by the 6000-strong royalist force.

San Martín deliberately placed his weakest troops on his left flank, facing the Burgos regiment, the best unit in the royalist army. Once fighting began, the Burgos regiment pushed back the patriots facing them, as San Martín expected. Once the royalist forces were overstretched, he ordered his cavalry to attack. Taken by surprise, the Burgos regiment broke and fled. Losing heart, the rest of the royalist army retreated. The retreat soon turned into a massacre. Many royalist troops took refuge in a nearby farm. Patriot forces, with the help of a cannon, blasted their way in, killing hundreds of the enemy in the process. General Osorio escaped. But he had lost 2000 men and 2200 royalists were taken prisoner. The patriot army sustained a thousand casualties.

San Martín's victory was of huge significance. Although royalist forces clung on to a couple of fortresses, the patriots had crushed the main enemy army and now controlled virtually the whole of Chile. San Martín was able to turn his attention to Peru. Had he been defeated at Maipú, Santiago would have fallen to royalist forces and the cause of Chilean and Peruvian independence would have suffered a serious setback.

Venezuela

In December 1816, with Haitian assistance, Bolívar began another campaign to liberate Venezuela. He landed in Guayana – a decisive departure. Several factors aided Bolívar:

- He based his campaign deep in the heart of Venezuela's eastern plains, far from the northern coastal areas where General Morillo and the bulk of the royalist forces were concentrated. Wide rivers and malarial swamps provided a sound defensive barrier, enabling him to build up his strength.
- He managed to win the support of local warlords who led their own private armies, composed of ***llaneros***, fugitive slaves, bandits and

KEY TERM

Llaneros Cattle herders of the plains.

the impoverished. Some of these men had fought for Boves against independence. They were now prepared to support it. They were motivated as much by the prospect of booty as ideology.

- In 1817 Bolívar took the town of Angostura, situated on the Orinoco River. This allowed him to receive assistance by sea as well as providing him with a route upriver into the central plains.
- Some 6000 British and Irish soldiers, casting about for employment after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, joined Bolívar's army. These mercenaries added vital experience and professionalism. (Bolívar said that the true liberator of Venezuela was Luis López Méndez, his recruiting agent in London.)
- British merchants provided military supplies.
- In January 1818 Bolívar allied with Jose Antonio Páez, one of the strongest and most successful warlords whose *llaneros* had been waging a guerrilla war against the royalists.

Bolívar's charisma held together and inspired his disparate supporters. Persuading the collection of demagogic warlords, most of whom were little better than bandits, to accept his authority was no easy matter. He had to deal with situations that called for consummate tact in one instance and ruthless discipline in another.

Careful not to repeat the mistake that had cost his Second Republic so dear (see page 104), Bolívar provided incentives for *pardos* and black slaves to fight on his side: *pardos* were promised equality while slaves were promised freedom.

Fighting swayed to and fro in 1818. Bolívar soon realized that it would be difficult to march north against the royalists who still held the economic and political core of Venezuela. Instead, he conceived the idea of crossing the Andes to conquer Venezuela by first reconquering New Granada where royalist forces were scattered and disaffected. He planned to join with patriots under the command of Francisco de Paula Santander and then attack Bogotá.

Victory in New Granada

Although suffering terrible hardships during the march, first across swampy plains and then across the Andes, Bolívar's army linked up with Santander's in July 1819. On 7 August he destroyed the royalists at Boyacá: the decisive battle was over in two hours (see box, page 116). He took Bogotá three days later. New Granada to all intents and purposes had fallen to the patriots who acquired a reservoir of human and material resources. In December the independence of all the provinces of New Granada was declared and the Republic of Gran Colombia was founded.

The Battle of Boyacá

In the summer of 1819 Simón Bolívar led a patriot army across the Andes, arriving in New Granada in July. Although Bolívar lost a third of his army on the march, his move took the royalists by surprise. On 25 July Bolívar fought Spanish General Barreiro at the battle of Vargas Swamp. Although the engagement was essentially a draw, patriot forces moved to take the town of Tunja, capturing royalist weapons and supplies in the process. Bolívar now marched on Bogotá.

On 7 August Bolívar, with only 2000 men, surprised a 3000-strong royalist army at Boyacá. General Santander pinned down the elite troops of the royalist vanguard, allowing Bolívar to attack the rest of the royalist army. Surrounded and cut off from his best troops, General Barreiro quickly surrendered. The royalist army lost 200 men killed while 1600 were taken prisoner. Patriot forces lost only thirteen dead and 53 wounded. Bolívar's stunning victory broke the long stalemate in his struggle against royalist forces. He went on to capture Bogotá on 10 August, seizing much of the royalist treasury as the Spanish viceroy fled. General Morillo in Venezuela, stunned by Bolívar's success, wrote to Spain desperately begging for more troops. He realized that Bolívar now had the upper hand.

Conclusion

By 1820 the patriots had made important gains. But they had still not confronted the full force of the imperial state. Quito, Panama, Caracas and the most populated regions of Venezuela remained under royalist control. The length of the campaign spoke as much for the durability of the royalist cause as it did for the political and military manoeuvring of Bolívar and his allies. Before the final confrontation occurred, there was a wholly unexpected change in the political situation which shifted the balance of advantage decisively in favour of the patriots.

Why was the Cadiz mutiny so important?

The Cadiz mutiny of 1820

In January 1820 an army of 14,000 men, assembled at Cadiz, Spain, for the purpose of reconquering Argentina and Uruguay, mutinied. Most garrisons in Spain joined the revolt. Within weeks Ferdinand VII was forced to renounce absolutism and accept the Constitution of 1812. A new liberal government in Spain ordered the colonial authorities to seek a truce with the insurgents as a preliminary to the negotiation of a settlement. This order, which amounted to capitulation, undermined the position of Spanish viceroys and the commanders of royalist forces. Moreover, Spanish officers were divided between liberals and **absolutists**. Across Latin America, the morale of royalist armies began to disintegrate.

KEY TERM

Absolutists Those who favoured government by a ruler with unrestricted power.

Moreover, the Cadiz revolt effectively ended the one outstanding benefit for which Creoles had been willing to accept colonial restrictions, namely the stabilizing authority of the absolute monarchy. With royal legitimacy so curtailed, what benefits could Spanish liberals offer the colonies that the Creoles could not achieve for themselves? Thus, after 1820 many Creoles moved away from loyalty to the Crown towards acceptance of the inevitability of independence.

Mexico

How did Mexico achieve independence?

Nowhere did the sudden shift of political power in Spain have a more dramatic effect than in Mexico. After 1815 the cause of independence flickered in the resistance offered by a harried force of rebels in the south, led (after the death of Morelos) by Vicente Guerrero. Rebel attacks, while unlikely to cause the Spanish to quit Mexico, were a problem. They lowered morale among officials, troops and creole loyalists. Moreover, the imposition of taxes to pay for the upkeep of the Mexican army increased discontent.

Many Mexicans supported the restoration of the Constitution of 1812. However, it spelled the death knell of Spanish rule in Mexico:

- The political situation in Spain indicated to Mexicans that Spanish imperial control was now irrelevant to themselves and to their interests.
- Widespread dissatisfaction with Spain's colonial regime could now be openly expressed because the 1812 Constitution guaranteed freedom of the press in the colonies as well as in Spain.
- The anti-clerical actions of the Spanish Cortes alienated many conservative Creoles.
- The fact that the Cortes seemed resolved to keep Mexico subservient to Spain caused great resentment.

The Plan of Iguala

In November 1820 viceroy Apodaca sent Colonel Agustín de Iturbide, a Creole veteran of campaigns against Hidalgo and Morelos, to fight Guerrero's rebels. Instead of fighting, Iturbide forged an alliance with Guerrero against the Spanish government. Together they issued the Plan of Iguala (24 February 1821). This document was calculated to appeal to and unite most shades of Mexican opinion.

- Mexico would become an independent monarchy, limited by the 1812 Constitution, with either Ferdinand or one of his brothers as emperor.
- Mexico would have its own Cortes.
- Catholicism would remain the only legitimate religion and the Church would retain its privileges.
- All those who held positions in the military and the government would remain in them if they accepted the Plan.
- Office in government would become available to all inhabitants.
- *Castas* distinctions would be abolished: all subjects would enjoy equality before the law.

The three pillars of the new order – Independence, Religion and Union – were to be defended by an Army of the Three Guarantees formed by a fusion of Iturbide's troops and Guerrero's rebels.

Mexican independence

Most of the army soon came over to Iturbide. Dissatisfied with the viceroy's inability to control the revolt, Spanish troops mutinied in Mexico City in July 1821 and deposed him. In August Iturbide met the incoming captain-general of Mexico, Juan O'Donojû, near Veracruz. The two negotiated a treaty in which O'Donojû recognized Mexican independence. He and Iturbide then moved to Mexico City with the Army of the Three Guarantees. There the remaining Spanish forces surrendered. On 28 September 1821 Mexico formally declared independence. Iturbide was installed as president of the Regency of the Mexican Empire.

Emperor Agustín I

Unfortunately for Iturbide neither Ferdinand nor any Spanish prince could be induced to accept the Mexican crown. This removed the lynchpin of the Iguala Plan. Iturbide tried desperately to save the institution of monarchy. In May 1822 a public demonstration (led by troops from his own regiment) proclaimed him Agustín I. Succumbing to popular pressure, Congress accepted him as emperor. But Iturbide proved unable to conjure up the aura of royalty which could command the allegiance of all his subjects.

- The Creole aristocracy would not forgive him for being the son of a merchant.
- His brother officers regarded him as a political schemer.
- Economic distress in the wake of the wars undermined support.

As the consensus that had sustained the Plan of Iguala crumbled, the new emperor took arbitrary measures to shore up his authority and, in so doing, simply stirred up more hostility.

In December 1822 an ambitious young colonel, Antonio López de Santa Anna, proclaimed a republic and the bulk of the army supported him. In March 1823 Agustín abdicated. A republican constitution was enacted in 1824. An old revolutionary, Guadalupe Victoria, was elected the first president of Mexico. Agustín was shot a year later when he returned to Mexico from exile mistakenly assuming that he could regain his throne. Thus only two years after the declaration of independence, the principle of monarchy had been destroyed by a military coup, the first of many in independent Mexico.

Central America

There was virtually no independence movement in Central America until events in Mexico forced the issue. In September 1821, the authorities in Guatemala City declared independence. Other cities in the region followed suit. The new Mexican Empire then invited the Central American provinces –

Chiapas, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Guatemala itself – to join it under the terms of Iguala. All agreed, except for El Salvador which was promptly compelled to do so by a Mexican army. But the Central American provinces (except Chiapas) soon quit Mexico. In a joint declaration in July 1823, they became the United Provinces of Central America.

South America independence

What role did San Martín and Bolívar play in the period 1820–4?

While Chile consolidated its independence, San Martín prepared the next stage of his plan – the liberation of Peru. The Atacama Desert stood in the way of a land attack. Therefore ships had to be gathered. Given the political chaos in Argentina, the cost of the expedition fell mainly on Chile. To command the naval force, Chile engaged Thomas Cochrane, an able and adventurous British naval officer. In February 1820 Cochrane captured the supposedly impregnable fortress at Valdivia, still held by royalist forces. This removed a major obstacle preventing San Martín embarking on the next stage of his strategic design.

Peru

In August 1820 23 ships carried San Martín's 4500-strong force of Chilean, Argentinian and (mainly British) mercenaries northwards. While Cochrane favoured an attack on Lima, San Martín landed at Pisco, 220 km further south, hoping that his presence would stir radical elements in Peru into action. When nothing happened, he established a base north of Lima. Again he did not attack the capital, calculating that if he waited long enough political confusion would erode Spanish authority. By 1820 Peruvian Creoles, heavily taxed and aware of the situation in Spain, were wearying of the struggle. San Martín did his best to reach a negotiated settlement with the colonial administration. He proposed a solution similar to Iturbide's Plan of Iguala, offering to place a Spanish prince at the head of a Peru under a monarchical system of government. Peruvian royalists were divided. A military coup deposed the viceroy Pezuela, replacing him with the intransigent José de la Serna. Faced with growing support for San Martín and blockaded by Cochrane's fleet, Serna decided in July 1821 to withdraw from Lima and take to the Andean highlands to continue the war.

San Martín was thus able to enter Lima. A *cabildo* issued a declaration of independence on 28 July. In August San Martín accepted the title of Protector of Peru, appointing a cabinet drawn from his own followers and from local Creoles. He declared free the children of slaves, abolished the Amerindian tribute and all types of forced labour, and ordered that Amerindians in future should be called simply 'Peruvians'. He was soon in trouble.

- Many Peruvian Creoles, resenting his radical policies, the presence of his army and the cost of supporting it, plotted against him.

- Logistical support from Chile became unreliable as O'Higgins' regime ran into financial difficulties.
- A new Argentinian government opposed San Martín's efforts.
- San Martín avoided fighting a major battle with Serna's 17,000-strong army which controlled the silver mining district. His men chaffed at the inactivity.
- Cochrane, frustrated by San Martín's inability to pay his crews, sailed away.

In 1822 San Martín left for Guayaquil to confer with Bolívar (see page 121).

Gran Colombia

Bolívar used to the full the advantage given him by the Cadiz mutiny, not least the fact that General Morillo, having received orders to seek a truce with the rebels, resigned his post. On 24 June 1821 Bolívar defeated Morillo's successor at the Battle of Carabobo (see box below). When Caracas fell a few days later, virtually the whole of Venezuela was liberated.

The Battle of Carabobo

In April 1821 the year-long truce between royalist and patriot forces in Venezuela came to an end. The royalist army was now commanded by Spanish General Miguel de la Torre who had replaced General Morillo. With Caracas threatened by patriot forces, de la Torre offered battle with Bolívar and Paez whose forces had combined. On 24 June 1821 the two armies met at Carabobo. De la Torre led some 5000 troops: Bolívar commanded some 6500 men. Dividing his army, Bolívar sent troops to threaten the royalist flank. De la Torre responded to the threat. Meanwhile the rest of his army held back the patriot attack on his main position. Helped by his British Legion and his superior cavalry, Bolívar finally crushed the royalists. The Battle of Carabobo was decisive. Although royalist forces clung on to a few strongholds, patriot forces now controlled Venezuela as well as New Granada.

At the Congress of Cúcuta, Bolívar was acclaimed president of Gran Colombia, a state comprising Venezuela, New Granada and Ecuador (still to be liberated). A constitution was approved which incorporated many of Bolívar's authoritarian and centralist prescriptions for a republic. It provided a strong presidency and limited the vote to literate males who owned substantial property. It also abolished Amerindian tributes, guaranteed civil freedoms and provided for the gradual abolition of slavery.

Leaving Vice President Santander in charge of domestic matters, Bolívar prepared to do battle with other royalist forces. His first target was Panama. However, in November 1821 Panama staged its own uprising, proclaimed independence and joined Gran Colombia.

In 1822 Bolívar marched into Ecuador. While he battled through the royalist strongholds of Pasto and Popayan in southern Colombia, his lieutenant Antonio José de Sucre struck at Quito. On 24 May 1822, on the slopes of the extinct volcano at Pichincha, Sucre defeated the royalists and freed Ecuador. Meanwhile, Bolívar pressed on towards Guayaquil.

The meeting at Guayaquil

Bolívar met San Martín at Guayaquil on 27 July 1822. Bolívar was at the height of his fame, head of the vast new state of Gran Colombia and with a series of resounding victories to his credit. By contrast San Martín's campaign had been bogged down in Peru, and he was uncertain of support from Chile and Argentina. Bolívar was thus in a far superior position. The two men met behind closed doors. No one knows what they said. San Martín's inclination that monarchy would be the best guarantee of order may well have clashed with Bolívar's republicanism. Debate about how to proceed in Peru almost certainly ended in disagreement. (San Martín is said to have grumbled: 'There is not enough room in Peru for Bolívar and me.') After the meeting, San Martín resigned as Protector of Peru and returned to Argentina, eventually going into self-imposed exile in Europe.

Bolívar and Peru

The Peruvian Congress now officially invited Bolívar into Peru. Reaching Lima in September 1823, he was delayed by crippling illness from marching against royalist forces. The political situation was chaotic, the patriots seemingly hopelessly divided, some supporting but many opposing Bolívar. Unable to liberate itself, Peru was reluctant to be liberated by others. Creole divisions enabled the royalists to reoccupy Lima in February 1824. 'I curse the moment I came to Peru,' Bolívar declared.

However, once recovered from illness in March, Bolívar, with Sucre's assistance, set about organizing a new army, confiscating royalist property, cajoling money out of the Church and imposing new taxes to ensure he could purchase military supplies and pay his troops. By April 1824 his army was 8000 strong. Many of the men were seasoned cavalry drawn from the *gauchos* of Argentina, the ***huasos*** of Chile and the *llaneros* of Venezuela and Colombia.

KEY TERM

Huasos The cowboys of Chile.

In mid 1824 Bolívar launched his campaign, benefiting from divisions in the royalist camp between those who supported the 1812 Constitution and those who preferred monarchist absolutism. (Ferdinand VII had been restored to full power in Spain in late 1823.) Marching deep into the Andes, Bolívar and Sucre won the Battle of Junín (6 August 1824) almost without firing a shot. The patriot cavalry, using sword and lance, put the enemy to

flight. The patriots lost 45 dead: 259 royalists died. Bolívar now left Sucre to harass the royalists in the Andes while he returned to the coast and retook Lima.

The last major battle in the Wars of Independence took place high up in the Andes at Ayacucho on 9 December 1824 (see box below). Sucre routed a larger royalist army. Although there were relatively few casualties, the demoralized royalist high command agreed to unconditional surrender.

The Battle of Ayacucho

In late 1824 a patriot army, led by Antonio José de Sucre, marched against royalist forces which still controlled much of southern Peru. The two armies met on 9 December 1824 at Pampa de La Quinua, close to present-day Ayacucho. Sucre's army numbered about 5750 men. The royalist force, commanded by Viceroy José de la Serna, had some 6900 men. Serna, hoping to employ his superior numbers to advantage, attempted to encircle the patriot army which had taken up a strong defensive position. Royalist assaults on the patriot right and centre failed. Sucre then ordered a counter-attack which broke the royalist line and won the battle (which lasted less than 90 minutes).

The royalist army sustained substantial casualties: 1800 dead, 700 wounded and 2500 men taken prisoner. A large number of senior royalist officers – fifteen generals, sixteen colonels and 68 lieutenant colonels – were among the casualties. Serna himself was captured. Sucre lost 370 killed and 600 wounded. After the battle, royalist leaders agreed to withdraw all Spanish forces from Peru. The battle thus secured Peru's independence. Sucre went on in 1825 to defeat royalist forces in what is today Bolivia, ensuring independence for the whole of South America.

Why had Latin Americans managed to win independence from Spain?

The situation in 1825

By 1825 Spain was no longer in control of its former colonies in continental America. South American Creoles were predominantly loyal to their regions and it was in those regions, not America as a whole, that they found their national home. Their new countries were defined by their history, administrative boundaries, economic aspirations, social composition and physical environment which marked them off not only from Spain but also from each other. Quite remarkable was the almost complete detachment of the independence process in Mexico from that in South America. There was next to no contact between the insurgents in the two regions, much less any mutual support.

Not until Ferdinand VII's death in 1833 did Spain abort all plans of military reconquest. In 1836 the Spanish government finally renounced sovereignty over all of continental America.

Several factors contributed to patriot military success.

- Waging war across the Atlantic was a major problem for Spain.
- American conditions did not help the Spaniards. Most of the 40,000 Spanish troops sent to America between 1811 and 1818 died of tropical diseases.
- British (and to a lesser extent American) assistance, both in terms of supplies and mercenaries, helped the patriot cause.
- The patriots produced a number of able generals, especially Bolívar, San Martín and Sucre.

The end of the independence struggle

In Upper Peru, Spanish authority collapsed after the battle of Tumusla (1 April 1825). In August 1825, under the supervision of Sucre, a newly formed assembly declared the independence of Bolívar (subsequently Bolivia), taking the name in honour of the great Liberator.

Sporadic warfare continued in Peru for more than a year. A Spanish force held on in the port city of Callao until January 1826.

Uruguay did not achieve independence until 1828. In 1816 Brazil invaded the province. Artigas led Uruguayan resistance but was forced to flee to Paraguay in 1820 (where he died 30 years later). In 1821 Uruguay became a province of Brazil, only achieving its own sovereign status after the Argentine-Brazilian War (1825–8) came to an end.

Royalist guerrillas continued to operate in several countries throughout the late 1820s. Spain still had ambitions of re-establishing control over parts of its old empire. In 1829 a Spanish army sailed to reconquer Mexico. It failed.

The Caribbean

Why did Spain keep control of its Caribbean colonies?

Spain continued to control Cuba, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo until the Spanish-American War (1898).

- In Spain's Caribbean colonies, the impact of the Haitian revolution (see page 46) was such that the urge for independence was paralysed by Creole fear of a parallel slave revolution. Outnumbered as they were by a growing black population, Creoles and Spaniards formed a fairly united front, which entailed continuing loyalty to Spain.
- The Cuban elite, by 1800, had a considerable amount of say in government. This deflected Creoles away from hankerings for independence.
- The islands benefitted from Haiti's economic demise. Economic prosperity reduced Creole discontent.
- Spanish-led administrations ruthlessly repressed all potential opposition.

South America in 1830

SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The Wars of Liberation: 1816–25

4 Key debate

Key question: Why were Spain's American colonies able to win independence?

Quite naturally, different historians stress different factors in explaining Spanish failure and patriot success in Latin America.

? Examine Sources A, B and C. How do the three sources differ in their explanation of patriot success?

SOURCE A

An extract from *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*, by John C. Chasteen, W.W. Norton & Company, USA, 2011, page 100.

The winning strategy for independence-minded Creoles was ***nativism***. Nativism *glorified an American identity defined by birthplace, something Creoles shared with the indigenous people, with those of mixed blood, even with the children of African slaves.* Americanos *was the* nativist *keyword. From Mexico to Brazil to Argentina, patriots defined theirs as the American cause and their enemies as everyone born in Spain or Portugal … Resentment against the idea of colonial inferiority, and more particularly against resident Spanish and Portuguese, now foreigners in nativist eyes, was widespread in America at all social levels. Finally, nativism linked arms with liberal ideology in an obvious way. 'Who should govern? The People! And who are the People?* Americanos*!' No patriot fighter could ignore the rhetorical appeal of nativism, and all used it sooner or later.*

KEY TERM

Nativism The tendency to favour the natives of a country in preference to immigrants.

SOURCE B

An extract from *Bolívar*, by Gerhard Masur, University of New Mexico Press, USA, 1948, page 695.

… who but Bolívar could have overcome the gigantic difficulties of nature, of space, and of the particular people he dealt with? He was the one man that South America needed for the establishment of her independence.

SOURCE C

An extract from *A History of Latin America*, by Peter Bakewell, Blackwell, UK, 2004, page 405.

Under Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, the [Spanish] monarchy had lost whatever numinous [divine] quality it had previously possessed. Parliamentary government by Spain, even with representatives from America sitting in the Cortes, seemed unlikely to offer any improvement in colonial status. The cost of defending Spain's hold on the colony [Mexico] against challenges from guerrillas fell on the colony itself. Spanish power was incomparably diminished from what it had been a century, even half a century, before. The stem had withered; the branch, Mexico, fell off. That same image of the independence process applies to the other mainland colonies in some measure; but in Mexico's case it is peculiarly fitting.

TOK Most historical events are attributed to a combination of factors. Can you think of historical events that largely come down to a single cause? (Logic, Social Sciences)

Events in Europe

But for events in Europe, it is unlikely that Spain's colonies would have sought independence. Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808, by suspending traditional loyalty to the Spanish monarchy, sparked the fuse to the Latin American powder keg. Nevertheless, patriot success was far from inevitable.

- In 1808 – even in 1820 – large numbers of Creoles supported Spanish authority.
- Creole patriots were bitterly divided.
- Spanish military power was considerable.
- Spain's Caribbean colonies – Cuba, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo – remained loyal.

Only the Río de la Plata achieved effective independence in 1810. For much of the Spanish Empire, **self-determination** lay several years in the future. The road to it, in most regions, was long and arduous.

Developments in Spain complicated matters, creating divisions both within the royalist and patriot camps. After Ferdinand VII returned to power in 1814, Spain came close to crushing the bids for independence. But the liberal revolt in Spain in 1820 gave the patriots the opportunity they needed. By 1823, when Ferdinand's absolute power was restored, Spain's American empire was effectively lost.

KEY TERM

Self-determination The power of a population to decide its own government and political institutions.

Civil war?

The Wars of Independence were a complex affair – as much civil wars as revolutions. Creoles fought against Spaniards and against each other. The non-Creole response to the wars was as varied as that of the Creoles.

- In some areas, the Amerindian stance was one of apathy. Elsewhere, they participated with vigour, sometimes fighting for the Spaniards, sometimes against.
- *Castas* fought for both sides.
- Slaves were prepared to fight for whichever side offered them the best hope of freedom.

In most cases local issues determined which side people took. Rivalries between and within communities meant that different families and villages sometimes used the pretext of the wars to settle old grudges. They joined the patriots or the royalists in response to the side their local rivals adopted, regardless of whether they believed in the concept of independence (or not). People changed sides from patriot to royalist and back again, depending on circumstances, on who had the upper hand, on what favoured their regional or personal interests. Regional rivalries meant that as emergent nations came into being, conflicts between them abounded. Buenos Aires' attempts to control Montevideo, Asunción and La Paz resulted in future Uruguayans, Paraguayans and Bolivians fighting Argentinians with as much resolve as they fought Spaniards.

5 Brazilian independence

Key question: How did Brazil achieve independence?

While Spanish America was in the grip of civil war, Brazil generally retained its unity and stability under the regency of Prince João (from 1816 King João VI) (see pages 96–7). João was happy in Brazil and most Brazilians were happy with him. Neither the final ejection of the French from Portugal in 1811 nor Napoleon's abdication in 1814 persuaded João to return to Lisbon. By 1821 Brazil was a kingdom on a par with Portugal. It had an independent treasury, court system and bureaucracy. Its thriving economy was controlled by Brazilians.

Not all Brazilians were content.

- Regional oligarchies resented the centralism of the royal government in Rio de Janeiro.
- There were greater financial burdens because Brazilians were now obliged to support the court, a larger bureaucracy and the military establishment.
- Republicanism and liberal ideas gained currency in some towns.

In 1817 a revolt broke out in Recife. Some of the local elite rose against the Crown and declared a republic. Failing to win support outside the region of Pernambuco, the rebellion was soon put down.

Why did the situation in Portugal determine what happened in Brazil?

The situation in Portugal

In 1820 a series of revolts by liberals in Portugal led to the establishment of a government committed to **constitutional monarchy**. In the parliament that met in January 1821 Brazil was allocated over a third of the 200 seats. But no Brazilian representatives arrived before August 1821. Hence crucial decisions were taken without Brazilian participation. One was that King João should return to Lisbon.

João was torn, fearing he might lose Brazil if he did return, or Portugal if he did not. Finally he decided to go back in April 1821, leaving his son Dom Pedro as **prince regent** in Brazil. Meanwhile the Portuguese parliament pressed for the reversal of most of the king's Brazilian's decrees, intending to restore Brazil to its former colonial status. Military governors, under direct orders from Lisbon, were appointed to all regions of Brazil. Brazilian deputies arriving to take their parliamentary seats were treated with scornful hostility.

The Brazilian elites were not prepared to surrender their political autonomy and the benefits of free trade. Nevertheless, many were afraid of the consequence of independence, especially the prospect of slave revolt. Somewhat perversely, Portugal was pushing mostly reluctant Brazilians towards separation.

When the Lisbon government recalled the prince regent in October 1821, Brazilians urged him to ignore the order. In January 1822 Dom Pedro declared he would stay in Brazil, thereby asserting his autonomy from Lisbon. Dom Pedro's chief minister José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, a

KEY TERM

Constitutional monarchy A monarchy in which the power of the sovereign is defined and limited by the Constitution.

Prince regent The son of a monarch who has been invested with authority to rule on behalf of his father or mother.

conservative who had spent 30 years in the service of the Portuguese crown, steered Brazil towards independence, allowing elections for a **constituent assembly** and disregarding orders from Lisbon.

Dom Pedro and Brazilian independence

How did Brazilian independence come about?

The final break with Portugal came when the Lisbon government tried again to assert its authority by recalling the prince regent. On 7 September 1822 Dom Pedro proclaimed Brazil's independence on the banks of the River Ipiranga near São Paulo. Ripping the Portuguese colours off his uniform, he drew his sword and shouted 'The hour is now! Independence or death!' The act was a crucial signal. A month later he was proclaimed emperor and in December crowned as Pedro I of Brazil.

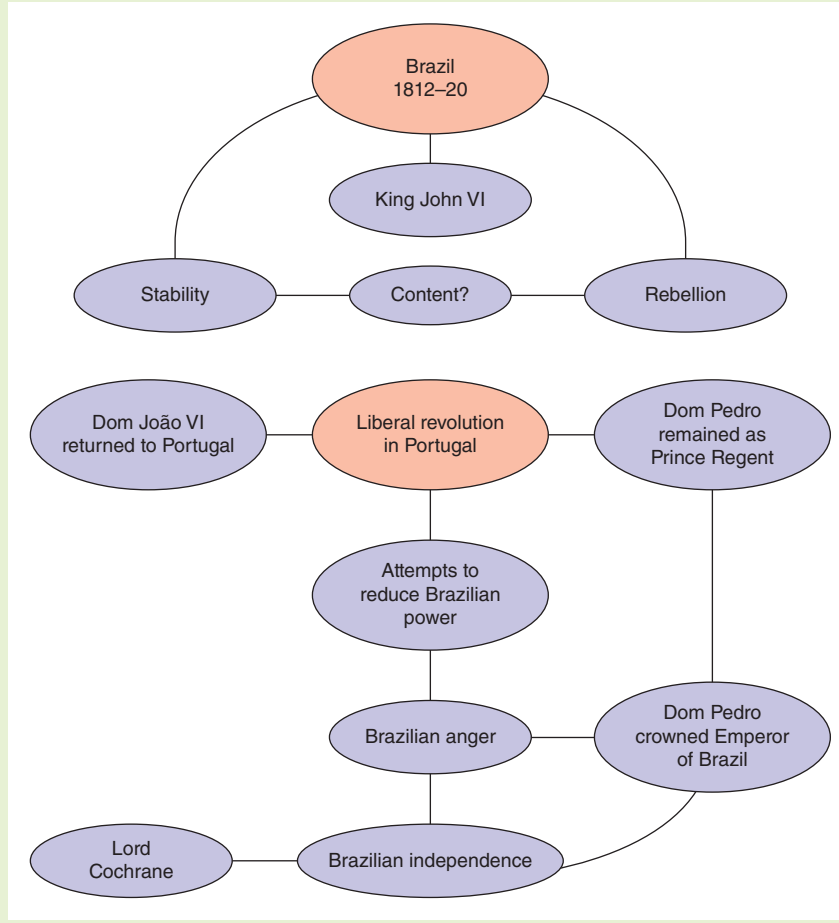
KEY TERM

Constituent assembly An elected parliament.

Dom Pedro

Portuguese garrisons in the north-east put up some resistance to Brazilian independence. Cochrane, who had served the cause of Chilean and Peruvian independence, now commanded a Brazilian fleet which put pressure on the Portuguese. While his force was far inferior to the Portuguese fleet, Cochrane's reputation made up the difference in strength. In July 1823, 5000 Portuguese troops sailed away from their main base in Bahia under the escort of Portuguese warships. Pursuing the Portuguese fleet as far as the Canary Islands, Cochrane captured three-quarters of the ships. Returning to Brazil, he then 'persuaded' the other Portuguese garrisons to surrender. Portugal, under pressure from Britain (see page 179), recognized Brazil's independence in 1825.

When radicals in the constitutional assembly tried to limit the emperor's role, Dom Pedro disbanded the assembly and formed another to write a constitution more to his liking. This was accomplished in 1824. Dom Pedro's presence in Brazil facilitated the country's relatively peaceful transition to independence and helped set the stage for a unified and politically stable Brazil – far different to the record of chaos in most of Spanish America (see Chapter 6).



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Brazilian independence

Chapter summary

Independence movements in Latin America

French occupation of Spain in 1808 resulted in many parts of Latin America effectively declaring independence after 1810. Nevertheless, large numbers of people, particularly powerful Creoles, remained loyal to Spain. Spanish armies and the return to power of Ferdinand VII in 1814 ensured that (the Río de la Plata apart) Spain still controlled most of its Central and South American empire in 1816. Nevertheless, the struggle for independence continued. After 1816 San Martín led patriot armies to victory in Chile. Simón Bolívar had even greater success in (what eventually became) Venezuela and Colombia. The return of liberals to power in Spain in 1820 enabled Mexico and Central America to declare independence. Meanwhile, Bolívar went from strength to strength, winning independence for Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. He hoped to create a united country – Gran Colombia – with himself as leader. By 1825 Spanish rule had ended in Central and South America (although it continued in parts of the Caribbean). Brazil's relatively peaceful road towards independence in the early 1820s under Emperor Dom Pedro differed markedly from the bloody experience of its Spanish-speaking neighbours.

Examination advice

How to answer 'why' questions

Questions that ask why are prompting you to consider a variety of explanations. Each of these will need to be explained fully. It is also possible to disagree with the basic premise of the question. If you choose this path, you must be prepared to offer substantial counter-arguments.

Example

Why was Brazil's path to independence relatively bloodless?

1. To answer this question successfully, you should first explain why there was not nearly as much bloodshed in Brazil than in the rest of Latin America. That said, there certainly was violence. You will need to discuss this, too. A key element in your answer would also be the political structure in Brazil in the early 1800s and how it provided some stability.
2. Before writing the answer you should write out an outline – allow around five minutes to do this. For this question, you could include supporting evidence such as:

- *King João fled to Brazil after French occupation of Portugal in 1807.*
- *He brought 15,000 of royal court to Brazil – transplanting his court to colony.*
- *1815: João declared Brazil kingdom in its own right.*
- *In 1817, Brazil was a kingdom with its own treasury, court system and bureaucracy.*
- *Revolt in Recife against Crown. Put down quickly.*
- *João returned to Portugal in 1821. Son Pedro left as Prince Regent in Brazil.*
- *Portuguese wanted Brazil to become colony again. Ordered Pedro back to Portugal. He refused. Pedro's chief minister, José Bonifácio, allowed elections for assembly and ignored orders from Lisbon.*
- *7 Sept 1822: Dom Pedro declared Brazil's independence. Soon declared emperor.*
- *Some Portuguese resistance in North East. Lord Cochrane commanded Brazilian fleet and in 1823 forced evacuation of Portuguese forces from Salvador. He later captured large Portuguese fleet and many soldiers. Threat to Brazil lessened.*
- *Importance of Dom Pedro's presence in Brazil: helped unify and politically stabilize Brazil.*

- Differences with Spanish America:
  - Spain fought throughout the Americas to hang on to her colonies.
  - Resulted in much bloodshed.
  - More entrenched peninsulares.
  - Many more riches in Spanish America worth fighting for.

3. In your introduction, you should cite the major reasons why Brazil was able to achieve independence without the large amounts of bloodshed seen in Spanish America. Below is an example of a good introduction:

Brazil achieved its independence from Portugal in 1822. While one cannot state that this occurred without any blood being spilled, the violence was at a much lower level than what took place in Spain's colonies in the Americas. Among the main reasons for this were the 1807 move of Portugal's royal family and court to Brazil, the decision of King João's son to remain in Brazil in 1821, the creation of institutions, and the slow but steady dissolution of ties with Portugal during this timeframe. Portugal did not have the same degree of economic interests as the Spanish had in Latin America and was thus not as willing to fight with such prolonged determination as the Spanish royalist forces. Portuguese resistance was mostly located in the North East of Brazil and here the English naval commander, Thomas Cochrane, appointed head of the new Brazilian navy, was able to force the evacuation of Portuguese forces from the major city of Salvador. Within a year, Brazil was an independent nation.

4. In the body of your essay, write at least one paragraph on each of the major themes you raised in your introduction. An example is given below:

The transplanted Portuguese royal family slowly but surely created institutions in Brazil, beginning in 1807. Because they did not know exactly when they might return to Portugal, King João and his thousands of exiled court members tried to create a new version of their former lives in Brazil. Over the following fourteen years, Brazil became a kingdom with its own treasury, judicial system and bureaucracy. Political stability marked this period with the exception of a minor revolt in 1817 in Recife. This stability directly

translated into a lack of bloodshed when Dom Pedro declared independence from Portugal in 1822. The situation in Spanish America was much different. Politically, the Creoles or ones who had been born in Latin America from Spanish roots and the peninsulares, those who were born in Spain, fought either to get power or to maintain it. The Creoles wanted a new system of government in the Americas while the Spanish royalists hoped to perpetuate their control. The resulting conflict was very violent as a consequence. This is another example of why Brazil's transition to independence was less bloody than Latin America's: many Brazilians were happy to continue under a monarchy that was locally based instead of remote.

5. In your conclusion you should tie together the themes you have explored and how they relate directly to the idea that Brazil's path to independence was relatively bloodless.
6. Now try writing a complete answer to the question following the advice above.

Examination practice

Below are two exam-style questions for you to practise on this topic.

1. Compare and contrast the southern and northern South American campaigns for independence.
(For guidance on how to answer 'compare and contrast' questions, see pages 52–5.)
2. Evaluate the role social class played in the Latin American wars for independence.
(For guidance on how to answer 'evaluate' questions, see pages 159–60.)

CHAPTER 4

Leaders of the independence movements

This chapter will focus on the roles of six people – George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Simón Bolívar, José de San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins – who hugely influenced the American Revolution and the Wars of Liberation in Spanish America. It will examine their impact by considering the following key questions:

- What was Washington's contribution to the American Revolution?
- How important was Adams to the process of independence?
- Why was Jefferson important to the process of independence?
- What was Bolívar's contribution to the Wars of Liberation?
- How important were San Martín and O'Higgins in the independence of Chile and Peru?
- Which man had the greatest impact: George Washington or Simón Bolívar?

1 George Washington (1732–99)

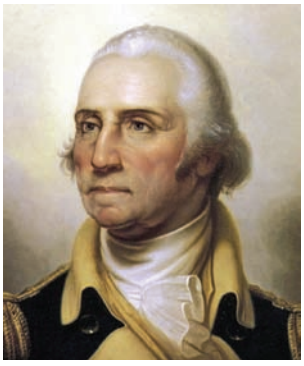
Key question: What was Washington's contribution to the American Revolution?

In ensuring American victory in the War of Independence, one man stands out – George Washington.

Did Washington's early life provide evidence of greatness?

Washington's early life: 1732–75

George Washington was born in Virginia, eldest son of Augustine Washington and his second wife, Mary Ball – gentry of middling rank. Receiving little formal education, his greatest influence was his older half-brother Lawrence, whose marriage into the influential Fairfax family brought him into the first rank of Virginia society. Lawrence and his associates provided George with a number of influential friends. After Lawrence's death in 1752, George inherited his estate at Mount Vernon and became a major in the Virginia militia.



George Washington

Washington's early military career

When the French began to build a chain of forts between Lake Erie and the Allegheny River in 1754, Washington (now a lieutenant-colonel) was sent to forestall them. He found the French already in possession of Fort Duquesne (present-day Pittsburgh). In the fighting that followed Washington was forced to surrender at Fort Necessity (July 1754).

He was the senior American aide to British General Braddock who led a disastrous 1755 campaign against Fort Duquesne. Washington managed to rally the remnants of Braddock's defeated army and lead an organized retreat.

Assuming command of the Virginia regiment (the first full-time American military unit in the colonies) in 1755, he spent the next three years defending Virginia's western frontier, leading his men in a series of successful campaigns against Native Americans. His efforts ensured that Virginia's frontier population suffered less than that of other colonies.

Washington's career: 1759–75

Retiring from the Virginia regiment in 1758, George married the wealthy young widow Martha Custis in 1759. Now one of Virginia's wealthiest men (and the owner of scores of slaves), he lived an aristocratic lifestyle. Convinced by 1765 that British policies constituted a threat to American liberties, he became a prominent figure in Virginian politics. Selected as a delegate to the First Continental Congress in 1774 (see page 29), he declared:

The crisis is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition, that can be heaped upon us, till custom and use shall make us tame and abject slaves, as the blacks we rule over with such arbitrary sway.

By the 1770s Washington was a man of few words, great self-composure, huge ambition and confidence in his own abilities.

Commander-in-chief

How good a military commander was Washington?

Congress was unanimous in appointing Washington to command the Continental army in June 1775. He had never commanded any unit larger than a regiment and had no experience in deploying artillery, manoeuvring cavalry, conducting sieges or building elaborate defences. Compared to most British generals, he was a rank amateur. But there was no serious competition. Some 6 feet 3 inches tall (a head higher than average men of his time), he towered – figuratively and in military experience terms – over all other potential candidates. Equally important was the fact that he was from Virginia. Placing a southerner in command of what was still a predominantly New England army was expected to help cement colonial unity.

Washington takes command

Washington assumed command of the Continental army at Boston in July 1775. He was not impressed by what he found. Fifteen thousand poorly trained and poorly equipped troops were fit for duty. The army had less than 50 cannon, hardly any powder, and few trained gunners. Far worse, in Washington's view, was the fact that the army lacked any kind of military order. He set about transforming what was essentially an erratic militia force into a professional army. Incompetent officers were removed and harsh discipline imposed on the men.

The War 1775–83

Washington had some successes:

- He captured Boston in March 1776 (see page 59).
- The battles of Trenton and Princeton over the winter of 1776–7 gave Americans renewed hope (see page 72).

But he had far more failures:

- In 1776 he was driven out of New York and was fortunate to escape with the bulk of his army (see page 71).
- The 1777 Philadelphia campaign was disastrous (see page 74).

After the Monmouth campaign in 1778 (see page 81), Washington's role in military operations took second place to the war in the South. However, in the summer of 1781, in collaboration with the French, he embarked on the campaign that culminated in the British surrender at Yorktown (see page 85).

Washington's contribution to American victory

Washington had a difficult job. For most of the war the Continental army was short of everything – men as well as supplies. (During the war at least one-third of the army deserted.) But Washington held the army together and improved its quality. The army was his creation. For many Americans, his army *was* America. He came to realize that he could not risk losing it. His strategy (after 1776) was thus essentially – and correctly – defensive. He had – and has – his critics. He was certainly no military genius, losing far more battles than he won and never defeating the main British army in the open. He tended to make plans beyond the capacities of his men and chose some bad places to give battle. But his strengths outweigh his failures. Historians laud him for his relations with Congress and state governments and for his attention to supplies and training. Appreciating the danger of a virulent smallpox epidemic, he ensured that the bulk of his soldiers were inoculated, a measure that almost certainly saved thousands of American lives. His military career was the triumph not of intellect but of character and courage.

What were the major accomplishments of Washington as President?

President Washington: 1789–97

In December 1783, with victory secured, Washington resigned his commission as commander-in-chief – an act that stunned many Europeans who expected him to seize power and become a military dictator. His retirement proved short-lived. Dissatisfied with the **Articles of Confederation** (see pages 195–6), he agreed to preside over the convention that drafted the Constitution in 1787. He said very little but his very presence gave the convention authority (see page 197). He gave his seal of approval to the document that emerged: 'I am fully persuaded it is the best that can be obtained at the present moment under such diversity of ideas that prevail.' In 1789 he was unanimously elected by the **electoral college** as the USA's first president. He was re-elected in 1792.

KEY TERM

Articles of Confederation The American government from the late 1770s to 1789.

Electoral college The body, created by the 1787 Constitution, which meets every four years, following the presidential elections, to formally elect the US president.

Washington's presidency 1789–97

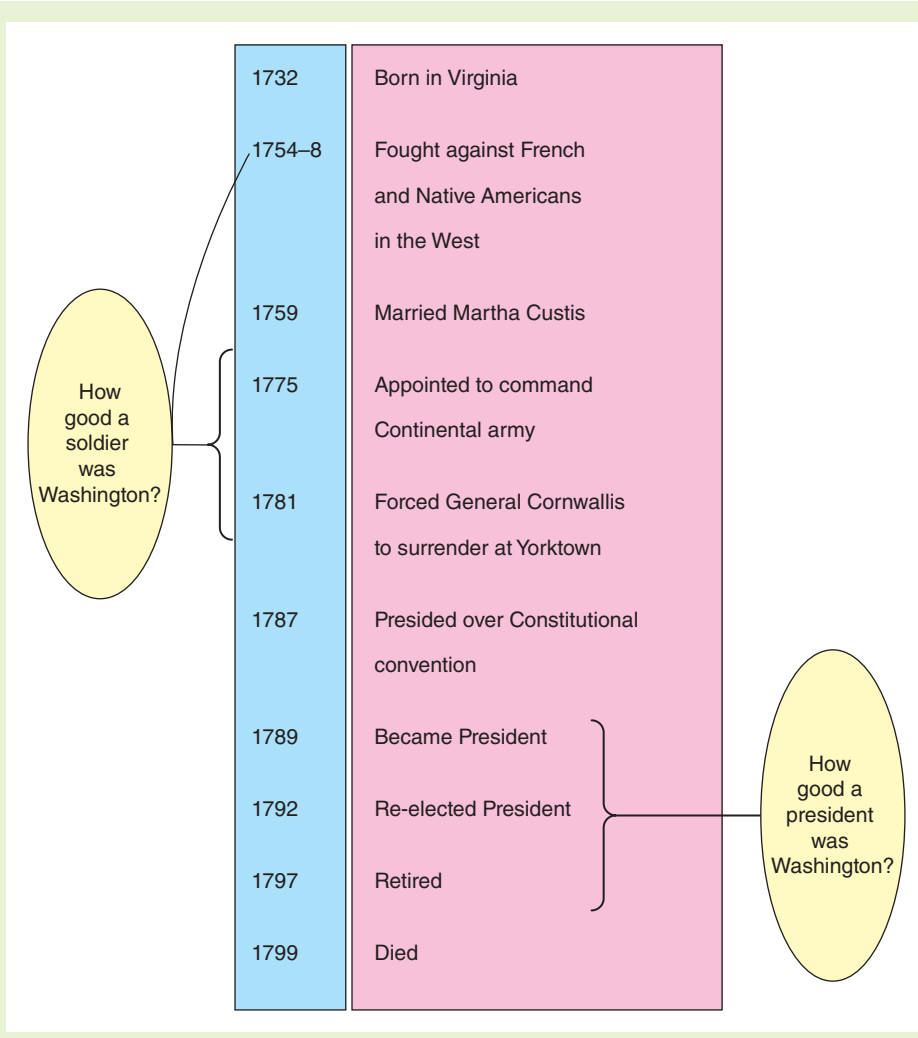
In office, Washington used his considerable administrative abilities to construct an efficient civil service. He was skilled at delegating and appointing talented men to key positions. Under his leadership, the fiscal policies of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton brought financial stability to the new nation. Aware that everything he did set a precedent, Washington attended carefully to the pomp and ceremony of office, making sure that the titles and trappings were suitably republican. To that end he preferred the title 'Mr President' to the more majestic names suggested.

Turning his natural aloofness into an advantage, he preferred to avoid political in-fighting, removing the presidency from partisan battles. Nevertheless, he very much involved himself in certain crucial issues – the location and building of the national capital, Indian affairs and foreign policy. Asserting the power of the new federal government, he mobilized and personally led a militia force against tax-resisting frontiersmen during the 1794 Whiskey Rebellion. In foreign affairs his administration succeeded in maintaining US neutrality as war erupted between France and Britain in 1793. In 1794 Jay's Treaty normalized trade relations with Britain, removed British soldiers from western forts and resolved financial issues left over from the Revolution. Washington's support ensured the treaty secured ratification in the Senate.

Washington did not belong to any political party and hoped they would not be formed, fearing that political conflict would undermine republicanism. But his closest advisors formed two factions, setting the framework for the First Party System. Treasury Secretary Hamilton led the Federalists. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, who opposed Hamilton's financial agenda, led the Democratic-Republicans. Of the two, Washington much preferred Hamilton.

Washington refused to run for a third term, establishing the custom of a maximum of two presidential terms. In his Farewell Address, he advocated unity at home and independence abroad, deploring the rise of political parties and warning against 'permanent alliances' with other nations.

Retiring to Mount Vernon, he resumed the life of a Virginian aristocrat, returning to public life briefly as commander of the army during the war scare with France in 1798–9. He died in 1799.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

George Washington (1732–99)

John Adams

2 John Adams (1735–1826)

Key question: *How important was Adams to the process of independence?*

John Adams was born into a modest family in Massachusetts. Graduating from Harvard College, he became a lawyer in Boston. In 1764 he married Abigail Smith. They had six children including a future president of the USA (John Quincy Adams). John Adams rose to prominence as an opponent of

the Stamp Act of 1765 (see page 19). Regarded as a man of great integrity, he was elected to the Massachusetts legislature in 1770. His pamphlet *Novanglus* (1774) was one of the most learned arguments made against British imperial policy. Adams claimed that the colonial legislatures should have full sovereignty over their own internal affairs and that the colonies were connected to Britain only through the king.

Adams' role: 1775–1800

What role did Adams play in the War of Independence?

Adams and Congress

Massachusetts sent Adams to the First and Second Continental Congress in 1774 and from 1775–7. His influence was considerable. Almost from the start, he sought permanent separation from Britain. In May 1776 he persuaded Congress to approve his resolution calling on the colonies to adopt new (presumably independent) governments. On 7 June, he seconded the resolution of independence, introduced by Richard Henry Lee. He was appointed to the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence (see page 63). While Thomas Jefferson (see page 141) wrote the first draft, Adams dominated the debate on its adoption. Many years later Jefferson hailed Adams as 'the pillar of [the Declaration's] support on the floor of the Congress, its ablest advocate and defender against the multifarious assaults it encountered'.

In 1776–7 Adams played a crucial role on the Board of War and Ordnance, a committee created by Congress in June 1776 to oversee the Continental army and the conduct of the war. He also served on a host of other important committees and did his best to keep Congress united.

Thoughts on Government

Adams published a pamphlet, *Thoughts on Government*, in 1776 which was hugely influential in the writing of **state constitutions**. He argued in favour of the separation of powers between the **executive**, the judicial and the legislative branches and also defended **two-chambered legislatures** for 'a single assembly is liable to all the vices, follies and frailties of an individual'. Massachusetts' new Constitution, ratified in 1780 and written largely by Adams, followed his own guidelines. While there was nothing particularly original about Adams' ideas, they were clearly and rationally expressed.

Diplomatic work

In 1779 Adams sailed to France charged with the mission of negotiating peace with Britain. He secured the favourable Treaty of Paris, ratified in 1783 (see page 87). In 1785 he was appointed the first American minister to Britain. Not returning to the USA until 1788, he was in Europe when the 1787 Constitution was drafted on similar principles to his Massachusetts Constitution.

Adams and the presidency

In 1789 Adams became vice president. He was re-elected by the electoral college in 1792. In 1796 he was elected president, defeating his

KEY TERM

State constitutions After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, each state devised its own form of government.

Executive The person or people who administer the government and carry the law into effect.

Two-chambered legislatures Legislatures with two assemblies: for example, the American Congress is composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Democrat-Republican opponent Thomas Jefferson. As a Federalist president, he was attacked by Democratic-Republicans as well as by sections of the Federalist Party, led by his enemy Alexander Hamilton. Adams signed the controversial Alien and **Sedition Acts** (1798) and built up the army and navy in the face of an undeclared naval war with France in 1798–9. Defeated by Jefferson in the 1800 presidential election, he retired to Massachusetts. He died on 4 July 1826, the same day as Jefferson.

KEY TERM

Sedition Acts These were four laws passed by the US Congress in 1798 in anticipation of war with France. They restricted the rights of foreigners in the USA and curtailed newspaper criticism of the government.

Adams' importance

While Adams is not considered one of the USA's great presidents, his influence on the American Revolution was considerable.

- He played an active role in Massachusetts against British policy pre-1775. Dedicated to the principles of republicanism, he was a 'thinker', not a rabble-rouser (like his cousin, Samuel Adams).
- He was a major figure in the Continental Congress.
- He negotiated the Treaty of Paris.
- Adams largely wrote the Massachusetts Constitution – the model for other state constitutions and for the 1787 Federal Constitution (see pages 197–8).

SUMMARY DIAGRAM

John Adams (1735–1826)

1735	Born in Massachusetts
1765–75	Led resistance to Britain in Boston
1774–7	Played leading role in First and Second Continental Congress
1776	Published *Thoughts on Government*
1780–2	Negotiated Treaty of Paris
1789	Became vice president
1796	Elected president
1800	Defeated in presidential election by Jefferson
1826	Died

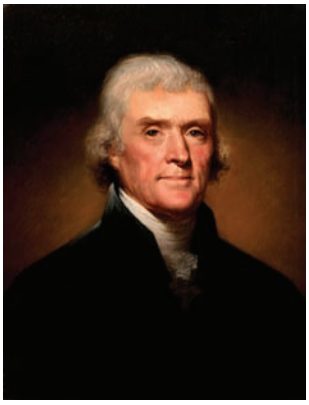
3 Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826)

Key question: Why was Jefferson important to the process of independence?

Thomas Jefferson was born in Virginia. When his father died in 1757, Jefferson inherited some 5000 acres and more than twenty slaves. Entering the College of William and Mary in 1760, he absorbed the ideas of the Enlightenment, displaying an avid curiosity in all fields. Graduating in 1762, he read law in Williamsburg and became a prominent lawyer.

In 1768 he began construction of Monticello: the house ultimately became his architectural masterpiece. He married Martha Skelton, a 23-year-old widow, in 1772. After her father died in 1773, Martha and Thomas inherited his 135 slaves, 11,000 acres and the enormous debts of his estate.

Besides practising law, Jefferson involved himself in politics. Elected to the House of Burgesses in 1769, he actively supported colonial rights. His *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774) lambasted British policies and insisted that 'the British Parliament has no right to exercise authority over us'. This pamphlet circulated among delegates to the First Continental Congress, making Jefferson well known when he took his seat in the Second Congress in 1775.



Thomas Jefferson

Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence

What role did Jefferson play in writing the Declaration of Independence?

Appointed to the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Jefferson wrote the first draft. He did not have to come up with new ideas. Instead, he drew from Virginia's Declaration of Rights, from principles set forth by Enlightenment writers, particularly **John Locke**, from his own previous writings, and from the petitions and declarations of Congress. He consulted with John Adams and Benjamin Franklin before his work was approved by the full committee. It was then debated and edited in Congress (see page 62).

Jefferson achieved enduring fame as the Declaration's principal author. Future President Abraham Lincoln later referred to Jefferson's republican principles as 'the definitions and axioms of a free society'. Just what Jefferson meant by the celebrated phrase 'all men are created equal' (see page 63) still bemuses historians. Few think he was advocating an equality of wealth or social condition. What he may have had in mind was equality of rights and opportunity.

Jefferson's views on government

A proper government for Jefferson was one that not only prohibited individuals in society from infringing on the liberty of other individuals but also one that restrained itself from diminishing individual liberty. Like many of his contemporaries, he feared tyranny from the majority. His fear of dependence and **patronage** made him dislike established institutions –

KEY TERM

John Locke John Locke (1632–1704) was an English philosopher. His *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) were enormously influential. He dismissed any divine right to kingship and supported the rights of people to resist misgovernment.

Patronage Support given by a patron who is often able to bestow offices, jobs and privileges.

banks, government or military. In common with virtually all political thinkers of his day, he opposed women's participation in politics on the grounds they were dependent by their nature.

How did Jefferson serve America in the War of Independence?

Governor of Virginia

Serving as a delegate of the Virginia assembly from 1776–9, he was active in revising the laws of his state: he drafted 126 bills in three years. His statute for religious freedom was eventually adopted in 1786. This prohibited all forms of state intervention in religious affairs. No Church was to enjoy privileges denied to others and no man was to suffer any formal disadvantages because of his religion.

Elected wartime governor of Virginia in 1779 and 1780, he served during a trying period when British troops conducted major raids into the state (see page 85). As governor, he recommended forcibly moving Cherokee and Shawnee tribes that fought on the British side to lands west of the Mississippi River.

After two – not very successful – years as governor, he decided to retire from politics. His wife's death in 1782 left him severely depressed. Nevertheless, he returned to politics in 1783 and was appointed a delegate to the **Congress of the Confederation**.

What were Jefferson's main achievements in the period 1783–96?

Political involvement: 1783–96

Although he was a large slave owner, Jefferson was theoretically opposed to slavery. In the revision of the laws of Virginia, he proposed gradual **emancipation** and in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) vigorously condemned the institution. He found little support in Virginia for his views. In Congress, he wrote an ordinance banning slavery in all the nation's western territories: it failed by one vote. However, a subsequent ordinance prohibited slavery in the newly organized Northwest Territory (the area today comprising Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin). Somewhat hypocritically, Jefferson continued to own hundreds of slaves.

From 1785 to 1789 he was US minister to France and thus did not participate in drafting the 1787 Constitution. In Paris at the outbreak of the French Revolution, he welcomed the struggle as following in the path of the American Revolution and remained sympathetic to the way it developed (even during the reign of terror).

As **Secretary of State** under Washington (1790–3), he played a major role in the emerging political divisions. Opposing the fiscal policies of Hamilton, Jefferson was recognized as leader of the Democratic-Republicans. While Hamilton's policies favoured commercial interests, Jefferson was suspicious of cities, regarding **yeoman farmers** as the backbone of American democracy. His attempts to undermine Hamilton nearly led Washington to dismiss Jefferson from his cabinet. Jefferson eventually left the cabinet voluntarily. Washington never forgave him for his actions and never spoke to him again.

KEY TERM

Congress of the Confederation The legislature of the Articles of Confederation.

Emancipation The freeing of slaves.

Secretary of State The official in the USA responsible for foreign policy.

Yeoman farmers Men who owned and farmed their own relatively small plots of land.

Vice president

In 1796 Jefferson was elected vice president, having come second to John Adams at a time when there was no separate balloting for vice president. He opposed the Quasi-War with France and government policies associated with the war – especially the Alien and Sedition Acts (see page 140). He and James Madison anonymously wrote the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, which declared that the federal government had no right to exercise powers not specifically delegated to it by the states. Jefferson even suggested that Kentucky might secede from the union – in effect calling for rebellion against the government of which he was vice president. Had his actions become known at the time, he might well have been impeached for treason.

Arguably his radical doctrine of states' rights was far more dangerous than the threat to freedom posed by the Alien and Sedition laws. Washington declared that if the Resolutions were 'systematically and pertinaciously pursued', they would lead to the dissolution of the union. The influence of Jefferson's doctrine of states' rights reverberated to the **Civil War**.

President Jefferson: 1801–9

How successful was Jefferson as president?

Jefferson defeated Adams in the 1800 presidential election. From the start of his presidency, he exhibited a dislike of formal etiquette. In contrast to Washington, who arrived at his **inauguration** in a stagecoach pulled by six cream-coloured horses, Jefferson arrived alone on horseback. This set a tone of simplicity and frugality.

Jefferson was a strong president, working closely with his cabinet. He tried to shift the balance of power away from the federal government and back to the states. Convinced that Washington's and Adams' policies had encouraged corrupting patronage and dependence, he reduced military expenditure and attempted to dismantle the national bank and the taxation system. He suspended his qualms about exercising the powers of federal government to buy Louisiana from France in 1803 for $15 million – a purchase that doubled the size of the USA. He then supported the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–6) which explored the Louisiana Territory and beyond to the Pacific, producing a wealth of scientific and geographical knowledge.

Re-elected in 1804, Jefferson's second term was less successful than his first. He faced increasing difficulties, including trading problems with Britain resulting from the Napoleonic Wars. His Embargo Act (1807) forbade US trading vessels to leave port for any foreign destination. Deeply unpopular with merchants and farmers growing crops for export, it triggered economic chaos in the US. Despite this, Jefferson passed on presidential power to James Madison in 1809.

KEY TERM

Civil War The war fought between the northern and southern states between 1861 and 1865.

Inauguration The ceremony at which the president is formally sworn into office.

Polymath A person whose knowledge covers a wide variety of subjects.

Retirement

What were Jefferson's main achievements after 1809?

Jefferson's retirement years at Monticello were filled with activity. He was a **polymath** who spoke five languages, served as president of the American Philosophical Society (1797–1815), and had a spate of interests, ranging from

music and architecture to farming and natural history. His most important retirement project was the founding of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. He not only rallied legislative support for the enterprise but assumed the role of architect and director of building, as well as establishing the curriculum and appointing professors.

Jefferson died on 4 July 1826 – the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Does Jefferson deserve his reputation as an icon of liberty, democracy and republicanism?

Jefferson's legacy

Jefferson has been hailed as one of the most articulate spokesmen of the American Revolution. Abraham Lincoln called Jefferson 'the most distinguished politician of our history'. Historians continue to rate him among the top ten presidents.

His influence was considerable.

- Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party dominated American politics in the early nineteenth century.
- Jefferson helped to ban slavery in the western territories and signed the Act that outlawed the international slave trade in 1808.
- He championed the 'have nots' against the moneyed classes.

Historian Gordon S. Wood considers Jefferson to be one of 'the greatest and most heroic figures in American history.' Historian Vernon L. Parrington concluded in 1927: 'Far more completely than any other American of his generation he embodied the idealisms of the great revolution – its faith in human nature, its economic individualism, its conviction that here in America, through the instrumentality of political democracy, the lot of the common man should somehow be made better.'

However, recent scholars (for example, Paul Finkelman, Gary Nash, John Ferling) have been more critical. They variously point out:

- his harsh treatment of Native Americans
- his unsuccessful tenure as governor of Virginia
- his disloyalty under Washington and Adams
- his continued ownership of hundreds of slaves – in conflict with his stated views on freedom and the equality of men. (He did not even free his slaves at his death.)

In fairness to Jefferson, he was a man of his age, a slave-holder and a politician who recognized the importance of pragmatism. Indeed, arguably, he was a man ahead of his age, his ideas resonating to future generations of Americans and to people across the globe.

1743	Born in Virginia
1774	Wrote *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*
1775	Served in Second Congress
1776	Drafted the Declaration of Independence
1779–81	Governor of Virginia
1785–9	US minister to France
1790–3	Secretary of State Became leader of Democratic-Republicans
1796	Elected vice president
1800	Elected president
1803	Purchased Louisiana Territory
1809	Retired from presidency
1826	Died

SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826)

4 Simón Bolívar (1783–1830)

Key question: *What was Bolívar's contribution to the Wars of Liberation?*

Simón Bolívar was (probably) born in Caracas, the son of a prosperous landed family. His father died when he was two, his mother when he was eight. Reared in an atmosphere of privilege and wealth, he was educated privately, receiving lessons from several renowned teachers. Aged fourteen, he entered a military academy – his only military instruction.

In 1799 he was sent to Europe to round out his education. In Madrid in 1802, he married María Teresa Rodríguez del Toro y Alaiza, daughter of an ennobled Caracas family and returned to Venezuela. His young wife died in 1803. Heartbroken, Bolívar swore never to marry again – a vow he kept though he had plenty of mistresses. He returned to Europe, living mainly in France. In Paris he witnessed Napoleon Bonaparte's coronation as French Emperor in Notre Dame, an event that left a profound impression upon him.

Simón Bolívar

He read widely (especially works of the Enlightenment) and became a convinced republican. After a short visit to the USA, he returned to Venezuela in 1807, convinced that the independence of his country was imperative and inevitable. He associated with young Creoles who opposed Spanish control and in 1810 was one of the activists in Caracas who deposed the captain-general (see page 103).

How successful was Bolívar in the period 1810–17?

Bolívar and independence: 1810–17

In 1810, Bolívar was sent as an emissary to London to seek support for independence. He quickly persuaded Francisco de Miranda (see page 47) to return with him to lead the movement. However, the first attempt at Venezuelan independence failed. In 1812 royalist forces overwhelmed the patriots and Bolívar fled to New Granada. In December 1812 his 'Cartagena Manifesto' explained Venezuelan failure.

SOURCE A

An extract from the Cartagena Manifesto, quoted in *The Liberation: A Study of the Independence Movements in Spanish America*, by Irene Nicholson, Faber and Faber, UK, 1969, page 158.

Popular elections by country rustics and intriguing city-dwellers are one more obstacle to the practice of federation among us; because the former are so ignorant that they cast their votes mechanically, and the latter so ambitious that they convert everything into factions; therefore in Venezuela there has never been a free and just vote, and the government has been placed in the hands of men who have either betrayed the cause or were inept or immoral. It is our lack of unity, not Spanish arms, that has returned us to slavery.

? Study Source A. How did Bolívar explain the failure of the Venezuelan patriots?

He insisted that unity and centralization were crucial. A 'terrible power' was needed to defeat the royalists. Questions of constitutionality and representative government should be laid aside in favour of prosecuting the war.

Supported by the president of the New Granada federation (see page 104), Bolívar invaded Venezuela in 1813. In August he occupied Caracas and for the next thirteen months ruled Venezuela as a military dictator. Defeated by royalist forces in 1814, he returned to New Granada, his cause in apparent disarray. In 1815 he moved to Jamaica. In his Jamaica Letter (September 1815), he claimed that the governance of **heterogeneous societies** like Venezuela 'will require an infinitely firm hand'. 'Do not adopt the best system of government', he declared, 'but the one most likely to succeed.'

KEY TERM

Heterogeneous societies Societies seriously divided by race and class.

After an attempt on his life, he moved to Haiti in December 1815 where he was welcomed by President Pétion. With Haitian support (in return for promising to abolish slavery), he landed in Venezuela in December 1816 (after a failed landing in May), establishing a base of operations in the eastern plains.

The Liberator: 1818–25

Why was Bolívar so successful in the period 1818–25?

Early in 1818 Bolívar won the support of José Antonio Páez, leader of the *llaneros*, who had hitherto fought independently against Spain. The rest of 1818 saw fierce fighting between patriots and royalists. In February 1819 a congress, comprising 26 delegates, gathered at Angostura to provide a legal basis for Bolívar's insurgent government.

SOURCE B

An extract from Bolívar's speech to the Angostura Congress in 1819, quoted in *The Liberation: A Study of the Independence Movements in Spanish America*, by Irene Nicholson, Faber and Faber, UK, 1969, page 184.

As I see it, it is a miracle that [the Federal Constitution] in North America continues to prosper and does not fall before the first difficulty or danger. Although that country is a unique model of political virtues and moral example; although it was cradled in liberty, reared and nurtured on pure freedom, I must emphasize … that this people is unique in the history of human kind; it is a miracle, I repeat, that a system so weak and complicated as the federal has been able to govern it in such difficult and delicate circumstances as those it has been through …

What does Source B tell us about Bolívar's political views in 1819? ?

Rather than build upon French or North American models, he recommended the British Constitution – with restraints on democracy and a strong president instead of a monarch. The Congress adopted a constitution embodying many of Bolívar's ideas and elected him president. All this was theoretical: the war had still to be won.

Gran Colombia

Bolívar now decided that the best way to liberate Venezuela was to first liberate New Granada. After crossing the Andes, he defeated royalist forces at Boyacá (7 August 1819). In December the republic of Gran Colombia was formed. From this power base he was able to launch campaigns in Venezuela. On 24 June 1821 he decisively defeated royalist forces at Carabobo (see page 120).

In September 1821 he was made president of Gran Colombia, a state eventually covering much of modern Colombia, Panama, Venezuela and Ecuador. He now went south to liberate Ecuador. On 24 May 1822 patriot forces, under the command of Antonio José de Sucre, Bolívar's most able lieutenant, won a crucial victory at Pichincha, ending Spanish rule in Ecuador.

Peru

On 27 July 1822 Bolívar met José de San Martín, the liberator of Chile, at Guayaquil. San Martín now retired from the campaign for independence, leaving Bolívar the task of fully liberating Peru (see page 121). Bolívar sailed

to Peru in August 1823. Royalist forces occupied the south and east of the country: warring patriot factions competed to control the remainder. Bolívar soon called Peru a 'chamber of horrors' where loyalty to independence was regulated by self-interest and where today's patriot was apt to become tomorrow's royalist. Short of troops, with a semi-rebellious navy and distrusted by many Peruvian Creoles, he faced a difficult situation. A severe illness in early 1824 did not help his cause. Royalist forces managed to reoccupy Lima.

In February 1824 a Peruvian Congress made him dictator, enabling him to reorganize the political and military administration of the country. His strong hand unified Peruvian patriots long enough to achieve independence. In August 1824 he defeated the royalists at Junin. In December, Sucre inflicted a final defeat on royalist forces at Ayacucho (see page 122). Bolívar was now at the height of his power, the liberator of much of Spanish America.

Bolivia

On 6 August 1825 the Upper Peruvian assembly created the nation of Bolivia (named in Bolívar's honour). Bolívar drew up the Bolivian Constitution of 1826 in which he sought to reconcile his old liberal values with his instinct for order and authority. A president, who controlled the army, was to be appointed by the legislature for life: he could also name his successor. Other features included the guarantee of civil rights, a strong independent judiciary, and a hereditary **senate**. In many ways the Constitution recreated Britain's Constitution (as it existed at the time) without formally establishing a monarchy.

KEY TERM

Senate Usually the upper house of a national or state legislature.

What problems did Bolívar face after 1825?

Decline and death: 1826–30

By 1825 Spanish America was liberated. The priority was now reconstruction. This posed more problems for Bolívar than the process of liberation. From the start he had difficulty maintaining control of Gran Colombia. Internal divisions sparked dissent throughout the nation. In an attempt to keep it together, Bolívar called for a constitutional convention at Ocaña in 1828, hoping to introduce a stronger, more centralist model of government, similar to the Bolivian Constitution.

When the Ocaña Convention failed to reach agreement, Bolívar proclaimed himself dictator (August 1828). This simply increased anger among his political opponents. An assassination attempt in September 1828 failed, thanks to the help of his lover, Manuela Sáenz. Fourteen conspirators were executed by firing squad. Dissent continued. He had to fight a war against Peru in 1828–9 and deal with a series of uprisings in Gran Colombia. Late in 1829 Venezuela seceded from the Gran Colombian federation. In May 1830 Ecuador did the same.

Bolívar, whose health was deteriorating, resigned the presidency in April 1830. Intending to leave South America for exile in Europe, he died from tuberculosis in December 1830 before setting sail.

1783	Born in Venezuela
1799–1807	Mainly spent in Europe
1810–12	A leading patriot in Venezuela
1812	Fled to New Granada Cartagena Manifesto
1813–14	Invaded Venezuela: became military dictator
1815	Moved to Jamaica
1815–16	Moved to Haiti
1816	Returned to Venezuela: fought against royalists
1819	Crossed Andes: won Battle of Boyacá
1821	Victory at Carabobo: became president of Gran Colombia
1822	Meeting with San Martín at Guayaquil
1823–5	In Peru
1824	Bolívar's forces defeated royalists at Junín and Ayacucho: Peru became independent
1826	Bolivian Constitution
1829–30	End of Gran Colombian Federation
1830	Died

SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Simón Bolívar (1783–1830)

5 José de San Martín (1778–1850) and Bernardo O'Higgins (1778–1842)

Key question: *How important were San Martín and O'Higgins in the independence of Chile and Peru?*

What were San Martín's achievements?

San Martín's role

San Martín was born in Corrientes in modern Argentina, son of a Spanish soldier. He left South America for Spain with his family in 1785. Enrolling in the Spanish army in 1789, he took part in several campaigns in Africa. After 1808 he fought for Spain in the **Peninsula War** against France, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Making contact with South American supporters of independence, he retired from the Spanish army in 1811 and sailed for Buenos Aires, where he married the daughter of a wealthy Creole and offered his services to Argentina. He also joined the Lautaro Lodge, a secret society organized on **Masonic** lines, which was pledged to Latin American independence.

José de San Martín

Promoted to general, he was given command of the Army of the North with the task of taking Upper Peru and from there attacking Peru. Conceiving the idea of attacking Peru via Chile rather than through the Central Andes, he resigned his northern command and obtained the post of governor of Cuyo. From 1814 to 1816 he made preparations for an attack on the royalist regime in Chile, gathering an army which included Argentines, Chilean refugees and black slaves who were promised freedom as an incentive. While some Argentines doubted the viability of the campaign, San Martín had the full support of the Supreme Director Juan Martín de Pueyrredón who appointed him general-in-chief of the Army of the Andes.

The Army of the Andes

Crossing the Andes was San Martín's first major problem. All the passes into Chile were above 18,000 feet and snowbound except during January. Even a small defending force could hold them. Needing to keep his exact intentions secret, he sent small groups to different Andean passes in order to confuse the enemy. Two major columns (comprising in total some 5500 men), one led by San Martín, the other by Las Heras, began crossing the Andes in January 1817. They united in Chile in February. The crossing took 21 days – an extraordinary feat.

On 10 February San Martín defeated royalist forces at Chacabuco (see page 113), inflicting 500 casualties on the enemy and taking 600 prisoners. His own army sustained just over a hundred casualties. He declared:

KEY TERM

Peninsula War The war in Spain and Portugal from 1808–14. Britain, Portugal and Spain fought against France.

Masonic Following the institutions and practices of Freemason organizations – secret societies in which the members pledge to help each other.

The Army of the Andes has attained glory and can report: in twenty-four days we have completed the campaign, passed through the highest mountain range on the globe, defeated the tyrants, and given freedom to Chile.

This was not quite true – on several scores. But San Martín had won an important victory.

On 14 February San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins (see below) triumphantly entered Santiago. When San Martín refused political power, O'Higgins became Supreme Director of Chile. San Martín was appointed to command a 'United Army' of Argentines and Chileans. Royalist resistance in Chile continued. In March 1818 royalist forces, reinforced by troops from Peru, took San Martín and O'Higgins by surprise, defeating them at Cancha Rayada. San Martín had his revenge on 5 April, destroying the royalist army at Maipú (see page 114). The royalists lost 5000 men. Although they clung to a few bases, their power in Chile was over.

San Martín and Peru

San Martín was now frustrated by the failure of both the Chilean and Argentinian governments to build a fleet on the Pacific or purchase ships from Britain and the USA. Not until August 1820 was he able to carry out the second part of his plan, his army conveyed to Peru by a Chilean fleet commanded by Thomas Cochrane. His hopes that Peruvians would rise in revolt against the royalists did not immediately materialize. But in July 1821 he finally entered Lima and declared Peruvian independence. He was voted 'Protector' of the new nation. But royalist forces continued to control much of the country (see pages 119–20). In July 1822 San Martín met Bolívar at Guayaquil (see page 121). After the meeting San Martín resigned his command and returned to Argentina. Excluding himself from politics, he moved to France in 1824 where he died in 1850.

Bernardo O'Higgins' role

What were O'Higgins' achievements?

Bernardo O'Higgins was the illegitimate son of Ambrosio O'Higgins, an Irish-born Spanish officer, who became governor of Chile and viceroy of Peru. His mother was Isabel Riquelme, daughter of a prominent Chilean family. Although supported financially by his father, Bernardo never actually met him. Aged fifteen, O'Higgins was sent to Lima and then to London to complete his education. In London he became acquainted with American ideas of independence. He also met Francisco de Miranda, the Venezuelan radical, and joined a Masonic Lodge which was dedicated to achieving Latin American independence. O'Higgins spent a few years in Spain. Following the death of his father who left him large estates, he returned to Chile in 1802.

In 1810 he supported the establishment of a new Chilean government which supported self-government. A close friend of radical leader Juan Martínez de Rozas, O'Higgins was elected a deputy to the first National Congress of

Bernardo O'Higgins

Chile in 1811. As well as the tensions between royalists and patriots, the anti-royalist camp was also divided. The Carrera family, led by José Miguel Carrera, supported a specifically Chilean nationalism as opposed to the broader Latin American focus of Rozas. The Carreras enjoyed a power base in Santiago: Rozas' (and later O'Higgins') power base lay in Concepción.

Military exploits: 1813–14

In 1813 the royalists attempted to reconquer Chile. O'Higgins mobilized his local militia and joined Carrera, commander-in-chief of the army. Proving himself a courageous soldier, he was soon promoted to colonel. Fighting at the Battle of El Roble (October 1813), he took command at a crucial moment and, despite being injured, pursued the royalists from the field. The Junta in Santiago now reassigned command of the army from Carrera to O'Higgins. In 1814 royalist and patriot leaders agreed to a halt to the fighting. Carrera and O'Higgins now fell out, their forces coming to blows at Las Tres Acequias. Carrera won, but not decisively. Further conflict was postponed by news that the royalists, ignoring the armistice, were threatening Concepción. Putting their differences aside, Carrera and O'Higgins reunited to face the common threat. In October 1814 O'Higgins was defeated at Rancagua. He fled to Argentina with other patriots including Carrera.

Rise and fall

In exile he met and became a close collaborator of San Martín. The two men returned to Chile in 1817 to defeat the royalists at Chacabuco where O'Higgins (as usual) was in the midst of the action, almost losing the battle through his zeal in launching a frontal attack before other troops had completed their flanking movement.

When San Martín declined the offer of political power, O'Higgins became effectively dictator of Chile. Royalist forces defeated San Martín and O'Higgins at Cancha Rayada in 1818. However, patriot forces struck back, winning the decisive Battle of Maipú (see page 114). O'Higgins, still recovering from wounds sustained at Cancha Rayada, did not fight in this battle.

For six years O'Higgins' government functioned reasonably well, establishing colleges, libraries and hospitals, supporting agricultural improvement, undertaking military reform, and founding the Chilean navy. Anxious to see independence across Latin America, O'Higgins utilized Chilean forces to support San Martín, sending ships and troops to Peru. The arrest and execution of Carrera in 1821 seemed to strengthen O'Higgins' position. However, by 1822 his government was bankrupt and his radical policies had alienated important political groups – landowners, merchants and clergy.

O'Higgins was deposed by a conservative coup in January 1823. In July 1823 he sailed from Valparaíso never to see Chile again. Passing through Peru, he was encouraged by Bolívar to join the nationalist struggle. Granted large estates near Lima, he took no further part in the final liberation of Peru or indeed in Peruvian politics thereafter. He died in 1842.

San Martín's and O'Higgins' legacy

How successful were San Martín and O'Higgins?

San Martín conceived and to a large extent executed the plan to liberate Chile and Peru. O'Higgins assisted him. The crossing of the Andes and the defeat of royalist forces at Chacabuco and Maipú were notable achievements, resulting in Chilean independence. Although San Martín's plan to liberate Peru was delayed by a shortage of ships, material and men, he did – with O'Higgins' support – succeed in occupying Lima and declaring Peruvian independence.

	San Martín
1778	Born in Argentina
1785	Moved to Spain
1789–1811	Served in Spanish army
1811	Returned to Argentina
1812–16	General in Argentine army
1817	Crossed Andes: won Battle of Chacabuco
1818	Won Battle of Maipú
1820	Sailed to Peru
1821	Declared Peruvian independence
1822	Met Bolívar at Guayaquil
1824	Sailed to France
1850	Died in France

	O'Higgins
1778	Born in Chile
1794–1802	Spent time in Britain and Spain
1802	Returned to Chile
1810	Supported Chilean independence
1813–14	Led Chilean patriot forces against royalists
1814	Defeated at Rancagua: fled to Argentina
1817	Returned to Chile with San Martín: helped win Battle of Chacabuco
1817–23	Ruled Chile
1823	Deposed: moved to Peru
1842	Died in Peru

SUMMARY DIAGRAM

José de San Martín (1778–1850) and Bernardo O'Higgins (1778–1842)

6 Key debate

Key question: *Which man had the greatest impact: George Washington or Simón Bolívar?*

TOK Draw up a list of ways in which this judgement on who had the greatest impact might be measured. (Language, Logic, Math, Social Sciences)

Washington's legacy

Washington had several enormous achievements.

- He led the Continental army to victory in the War of Independence.
- By voluntarily stepping down when the war was won, he established the principle of civilian supremacy in military affairs.
- As the USA's first president, he oversaw the creation of a strong, well-financed national government. He sought to use federal government to improve infrastructure, open western lands, promote commerce, and build a spirit of American nationalism. His leadership style established many forms and rituals of government that have been used ever since. He played the political game effectively, demonstrating many of the same leadership skills that he had previously displayed as commander-in-chief. He surrendered political power in 1796 as he had surrendered military power in 1783. His presidency helped secure both the establishment of the USA and the political experiment in republicanism.
- At many times in his career, he embodied 'the American people', providing what was essentially an illusion of cohesion to what was (at best) a mix of regional and state allegiances.

Although Washington was a slave owner, he came to abhor slavery. He believed that ending slavery was a logical outcome of the Revolution. In 1785 he wrote, 'There is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery.' However, his main priority was the creation of a unified American nation. Aware that the slavery issue would divide that nation, he did little to tackle the slavery issue. But in his final will, he freed all his slaves – the only politically prominent Virginian to do so.

SOURCE C

An extract from an article, 'The Man Who Would Not Be King', by Gordon S. Wood, published in *The New Republic* magazine, December 2004.

[Washington] concluded that slavery was economically inefficient and that people who were compelled to work would never work hard … He preferred 'rock-ribbed realism' to 'any idealistic agenda that floated above the realities of power on the ground'. But in his will he did free the slaves whom he owned outright … he did this in the teeth of opposition from his relatives, his neighbours, and perhaps even Martha. It was a courageous act, and one of his greatest legacies.

? Study Source C. Does Washington deserve Wood's praise?

Washington's contribution to the creation and development of the USA was unparalleled, a fact Americans clearly understood/understand.

- The USA's new capital was named after him, as was the state of Washington.
- He consistently ranks among the top three US presidents, according to polls of both scholars and the general public.

SOURCE D

An extract from Henry Lee's eulogy of Washington in 1799, quoted in *Lend Me Your Ears: Great Speeches in History*, by W. William Safire, published by W.W. Norton & Company, USA, 2004, page 185. (Henry 'Light-Horse Harry' Lee was a Revolutionary War comrade of Washington.)

First in war – first in peace – and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and enduring scenes of private life; pious, just, humane, temperate, and sincere; uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him as were the effects of that example lasting.

Study Source D. Why, essentially, did Lee praise Washington? ?

Historian Joseph J. Ellis, who has written perhaps the best short biography on Washington, is full of praise for him.

SOURCE E

An extract from *His Excellency George Washington*, written by Joseph J. Ellis, Faber and Faber, USA, 2004, pages xiii–xiv.

*I also began my odyssey with a question that had formed in my mind on the basis of earlier research in the papers of the revolutionary generation. It seemed to me that Benjamin Franklin was wiser than Washington; Alexander Hamilton was more brilliant; John Adams was better read; Thomas Jefferson was more intellectually sophisticated; James Madison was more politically astute. Yet each and all of these prominent figures acknowledged that Washington was their unquestioned superior. Within the gallery of greats so often mythologized and capitalized as **Founding Fathers**, Washington was recognized as **primus inter pares**, the Foundingest Father of them all.*

Examine Sources E and F. Why is Ellis convinced that Washington was a great man? ?

SOURCE F

An extract from *His Excellency George Washington*, written by Joseph J. Ellis, Faber and Faber, USA, 2004, page 271.

In effect there were two distinct creative moments in the American founding, the winning of independence and the invention of nationhood, and Washington was the central figure in both creations. No one else in the founding generation could match these revolutionary credentials, so no one else could plausibly challenge his place atop the American version of Mount Olympus. Whatever minor misstep he had made along the way, his judgement on all the major political and military questions had invariably proved prescient, as if he had known where history was headed; or, perhaps, as if the future had felt compelled to align itself with his choices. He was the rarest of men; a supremely realistic visionary, a prudent prophet whose final position on slavery served as the capstone to a career devoted to getting the big things right. His genius was his judgement.

KEY TERM

Founding Fathers The main American leaders of the late eighteenth century who helped create the USA.

Primus inter pares First among equals.

? Examine Source G. How and to what extent does this source challenge the notion that Washington was a great man?

SOURCE G

An extract from a review by Larzer Ziff in *The New York Times*, 13 September 1987, of a book, *George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol,* by Barry Schwartz, The Free Press, USA, 1987. The full review can be found on www.nytimes.com

Perhaps the most extraordinary of the many remarkable circumstances that surrounded the transformation of a Virginian planter into an object of permanent national veneration is that it took place during his lifetime, when he was still present for comparison with his image … Free of a desire to debunk, I would point out that many of Washington's contemporaries were acutely aware of a sizeable discrepancy between man and symbol. John Adams, for instance, pondered the matter at some length, as if the phenomenon were one of the greatest curiosities of his age.

Bolívar's legacy

Bolívar was a romantic hero in a romantic age. He strove to achieve the liberation of all peoples in Spanish America. He had little to do with Argentine, Chilean, Mexican and Central American independence, except in so far as he ensured that Spanish troops who might otherwise have gone to these places were engaged elsewhere. But, more than anyone, he was responsible for the liberation of Venezuela, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. From 1810 he was involved in military campaigns, political manoeuvrings to bring and hold together feuding factions, ceaseless exercise of persuasive charm to bend others to his will, and constant political planning with congresses assembled and constitutions drafted to give legal substance to what had been gained by force. His writings gave Spanish American independence its intellectual underpinning. He was also a compelling orator – a man who could speak to both soldiers and politicians.

Some of his enemies regarded him as a poseur with Napoleonic ambitions, ruthless and inconsistent, time and again betraying principles that he had publicly announced. But according to historian John Lynch: 'He was ever the pragmatist, the politician, who was ready to compromise to achieve his aim; he preferred a successful deal to the constraints of dogma, and he advocated "not the best system of government but the one that is most likely to work".'

Nevertheless, there was remarkable continuity in his political ideas from the Cartagena Manifesto in 1812 (see page 146) to his Address to the Bolivian Constitution in 1826. From first to last he was an advocate of liberty and equality. In principle, he believed government should be responsible to the people. But he was also a realist and believed that a fully fledged democratic system in Spanish America would result in chaos. He thus favoured strong, central government.

He hoped that Spanish American liberation would result in social reform, which would improve the lot of all people.

- Slavery, he declared, was a violation of human dignity, an outrage to reason as well as to justice. He tried to write abolition of slavery into law in Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia.
- Sympathizing with the plight of Amerindians, he hoped to incorporate them fully into the new nations.
- He sought to end discrimination against *castas.*

However, the major Creole interest groups ensured that little was done to promote social mobility (see pages 205–8). In fairness to Bolívar, no other regime at the time, with the possible exception of Haiti (see page 46), accomplished a social revolution (and for many Haiti was a warning not a model). Bolívar lacked the power – and the time – to do more.

SOURCE H

An extract from an obituary in *The Times* of London, quoted in *Simón Bolívar: A Life*, by John Lynch, Yale University Press, USA, 2006, page 279.

It would probably have been impossible for the most skilful political architect to have constructed a permanent edifice of social order and freedom with such materials as were placed in the hands of Bolívar; but whatever could be done he accomplished, and whatever good exists in the present arrangements of Colombia and Peru may be traced to his superior knowledge and capacity.

Why does Source H praise Bolívar? ?

Bolívar had hoped for greater Spanish American unity, envisaging a confederation of nations which would co-ordinate American policy towards the rest of the world. His hopes foundered at the Congress of Panama in 1826 (see page 176). Geography, factionalism and separatism made it impossible even to unite Venezuelans, Ecuadorians and Colombians behind Gran Colombia. By 1830, his creation had shattered into its component parts.

By 1830 Bolívar had more critics than friends. Many believed he had ambitions to create a military dictatorship. It seemed that his career ended in failure. By 1830 Bolívar himself was dejected by the state of affairs in South America.

SOURCE I

An extract from Bolívar's letter to Juan José Flores, the president of recently seceded Ecuador, in November 1830, quoted in *Simón Bolívar: A Life*, by John Lynch, Yale University Press, USA, 2006, page 276.

You know that I have been in command for twenty years; and from them I have derived only a few sure conclusions: first, America is ungovernable for us; second, he who serves a revolution ploughs the sea; third, the only thing that can be done in America is to emigrate; fourth, this country will fall without fail into the hands of an unbridled multitude, to pass later to petty, almost imperceptible tyrants of all colours and races; fifth, devoured as we are by all crimes and destroyed by ferocity, the Europeans will not deign to conquer us; sixth, if it were possible for a part of the world to return to the primeval chaos, the latter would be the final stage of America.

Examine Source I. Why might Bolívar have been dejected in November 1830? ?

Yet the vast majority of historians today praise Bolívar's achievements.

SOURCE J

An extract from *Simón Bolívar: A Life*, by John Lynch, Yale University Press, USA, 2006, pages 295–6.

He was the supreme leader … impelled by his iron determination. His instinct for leadership was displayed in small things as well as great, in tactics as well as strategy; and in the end it was his leadership that prevailed and took the revolution to its conclusion in independence. Revolutions require some to lead and some to follow. People will always follow whoever has the clearest ideas and the strongest sense of purpose. These were the qualities that enabled Bolívar to dominate the elites and direct the hordes … He was the intellectual leader of the Spanish American revolution, the prime source of its ideas, the theorist of liberation whose arguments clarified and legitimised independence during and after the war. He was also the man of action.

? Study Source J.
- **a** According to the source what qualities did Bolívar possess?
- **b** Bolívar's critics, at the time and since, might not be so positive. What weaknesses in character and leadership might they have suggested?

Conclusion

Both Washington and Bolívar have generally escaped being debunked by historians. Both continue to be rated highly. Given the different challenges they faced, it is difficult to compare their achievements. Both had military, political and statesmanlike qualities. Both were revered by contemporaries. Both were an inspiration to later generations. Both were resolute, courageous men, prepared to commit their lives for their respective causes. Both were able to pick themselves up after serious setbacks and come back fighting. Both were – ultimately – successful militarily. Bolívar was probably the better speaker and writer. Washington was the more successful state-builder. Bolívar died a disappointed man. Washington, by his death, had achieved most of his goals.

Chapter summary

Leaders of the independence movements

George Washington, commander of the Continental army and the USA's first president, played a crucial role in founding the USA. His contribution to American victory in the War of Independence was considerable. His two-term presidency of the USA helped establish the new nation on firm foundations. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the second and third presidents, also played important roles in creating the USA. Adams helped maintain Congressional support for the war effort and successfully negotiated the Treaty of Paris. His political ideas underpinned many of the new state constitutions and the 1787 Federal Constitution. Thomas Jefferson was the man mainly responsible for the Declaration of Independence. While he was not a particularly successful governor of Virginia during the War of Independence, he became a successful US president.

In South America Simón Bolívar played a vital role in ensuring that Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia won independence from Spain. Like Washington, he was an inspiring military leader and politician, although his political hopes and ambitions were by no means realized. José de San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins played significant military roles in liberating Chile and Peru.

Examination advice

How to answer 'evaluate' questions

For questions that contain the command term evaluate, you are asked to make judgements. You should judge the available evidence and identify and discuss the most convincing elements of the argument, in addition to explaining the limitations of other elements.

Example

Evaluate José de San Martín's contribution to Latin American independence.

1. For this question you should aim to make judgements about what San Martín's contributions were to Latin American independence. In order to do this, you will also need to compare his contributions with those of other liberators such as Simón Bolívar and Bernardo O'Higgins.
2. Before writing the answer you should produce an outline – allow around five minutes. It might look something like this:

- *Where: Argentina, Chile, Peru*
- *Battles won: Chacabuco, 1817; Maipú 1818; Lima, 1821*
- *Battle lost: Cancha Rayada, 1818*
- *Strategy: Cross Andes with army, surprise enemy, hook up with Chilean forces. From Chile, ferry troops to Viceroyalty of Peru and liberate the country from royalists.*
- *Focus: San Martín did not seem to care about politics; much more interested in freeing the continent from Spanish rule.*
- *Others' accomplishments: Bolívar liberated the northern half of South America; faced more political intrigue; campaigned for more years; known as the Liberator. O'Higgins participated in liberation of Chile; considered to be one of the founding fathers of the country.*

3. In your introduction, you will need to state your thesis. It might be that San Martín made significant contributions to Latin American independence, particularly in the southern half of the continent. Others were equally as important if not more so in the liberation of the continent. When you write your introduction, do not waste time by restating the question. Below is an example of a good introductory paragraph for this question.

The Argentine general José de San Martín was a key figure in the liberation of the southern half of South America. Through bold actions such as organizing and leading the Army of the Andes into Chile, he was able to make significant contributions to the independence of Chile. He would later disembark with his troops in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Although he did enter the capital Lima in 1821, much of the Viceroyalty remained in Spanish hands. San Martín turned over the task of ridding the region of royalist forces to one of the other great liberators, Simón Bolívar. San Martín focused his attentions on militarily defeating the Spanish forces and did not accept several offers to assume political posts. His single-mindedness can be seen in a positive light, especially given the victories at Chacabuco and Maipú.

4. In the body of your essay, devote at least one paragraph to each of the topics you raised in your introduction. This is your opportunity to support your thesis with appropriate evidence. Be sure to state explicitly how your supporting evidence ties into the question asked. If there is any counter-evidence, explain how and why it is of less importance than what you have chosen to focus on.
5. A well-constructed essay will end with a conclusion. Here you will tie together your essay by stating your conclusions. These concluding statements should support your thesis. Remember, do not bring any new ideas up here.
6. Now try writing a complete answer to the question following the advice above.

Examination practice

Below are two exam-style questions for you to practise on this topic.

1. 'Thomas Jefferson and John Adams provided essential ideological weight to the American War for Independence.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?
(For guidance on how to answer 'to what extent' questions, see pages 180–2.)
2. Analyse what Simón Bolívar meant when he wrote that, 'He who serves a revolution ploughs the sea.'
(For guidance on how to answer 'analyse' questions, see pages 93–5.)

CHAPTER 5

Latin American independence and the USA and Britain

American victory in the War of Independence had, in part, resulted from French and Spanish intervention. In the Wars of Liberation the USA might seem to have been in a position to assist fellow American revolutionaries achieve independence. In reality, however, Britain was far more important. This chapter will examine the respective roles of the USA and Britain in Latin America by examining the following questions:

- What role did the USA and Britain play in Latin American independence from 1810–15?
- What role did the USA and Britain play in Latin American independence from 1815–21?
- How important was the Monroe Doctrine in US relations with Latin America?
- Why did Britain recognize South American independence ahead of other European powers?
- What role did Britain play in the establishment of Brazilian independence?

1 The international situation: 1810–15

Key question: What role did the USA and Britain play in Latin American independence from 1810–15?

Spanish American revolutionaries initially received only limited assistance from the USA and Britain. Why?

The USA and the Wars of Liberation

Why did the USA play an insignificant role in Latin America pre-1815?

The new governments that appeared in Spanish America in 1810 evoked considerable sympathy in the USA. Americans naturally empathized with colonists who were trying to break free from the mother country. The fact that many patriots hoped to establish governments similar to that of the USA was also flattering. Linked by proximity, and with an enterprising merchant fleet as an informal instrument of policy, the USA seemed well placed to affect – and benefit from – the loosening of Spain's imperial chains. In 1810–11 there was a flurry of US government interest in Latin America. Agents were sent out to Buenos Aires, Peru, Chile and Mexico and there were some dealings with Spanish Americans in the US capital, Washington.

However, the USA did little to aid the revolutionaries. This was largely because US foreign policy was focused on controversy with Britain over

neutral rights, especially the fact that the British blockade of French-controlled Europe made it hard for American merchants to trade. This controversy led to war in 1812. The war did not go well for the USA.

- Its efforts to conquer Canada failed.
- The Royal Navy soon established an effective blockade of American ports.
- In 1814 a British raiding party captured Washington, burning down the White House and the Capitol building.
- New England states were so opposed to the war that they considered seceding from the USA.

The war was saved from being a total disaster only because the Americans, led by Andrew Jackson, won the final battle at New Orleans in January 1815 – a battle fought after peace had been agreed at Ghent, Belgium, in December 1814.

The British blockade meant that the USA could not easily have helped Spanish American revolutionaries even if it had wished to do so. But by no means did all Americans wish to do so.

- The USA hoped to acquire Florida by negotiation. This was a good reason for avoiding hostilities with Spain and thus remaining neutral in Spanish America.
- Although the US and Latin America shared bonds of geography and colonial origin, they were strikingly dissimilar in many ways including ethnic make-up, political and economic institutions and religion. Many Protestant Americans were sceptical about developments in Catholic America. In John Adams' opinion, the notion that free governments could take root among South Americans was as absurd as to try 'to establish democracies among the birds, beasts and fishes'.
- Americans from the southern states were reluctant to help Spanish Americans who showed a propensity to free slaves.

Why did Britain not provide much support to Spanish American revolutionaries pre-1815?

Britain and the Wars of Liberation 1810–15

Given the Royal Navy's power, Britain was potentially a major source of assistance for Spanish American revolutionaries. By helping patriots win independence, Britain could benefit economically. Independent states, no longer bound by Spanish mercantile policies, would be able to trade freely with Britain. British merchants naturally pressed the British government to recognize the new Latin American governments and to proffer aid to the patriots.

Britain and Spain

War against Spain pre-1808 led Britain to consider measures against Spain's American possessions. Efforts to seize Buenos Aires in 1806–7 ended in failure (see page 49). In 1808 Britain intended sending a liberating expedition to Venezuela. Some 10,000 men, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley

(the future Duke of Wellington), were ready to set sail when news of Spanish resistance to Bonapartist usurpation reached Britain (see page 97). Spanish juntas now sought alliance with Britain against the common enemy. This led to a fundamental reversal of British policy. Instead of sailing to Venezuela, Wellesley's army went to Portugal to fight for rather than against Spain.

The American revolutions of 1810 were thus an unwelcome development from the British government's perspective. It could not support the insurgents as it needed Spain's co-operation against Napoleon. On the other hand, to take Spain's part against the American colonies would endanger Britain's future relations with the emergent states if they succeeded in establishing independence. The situation was also politically divisive. While British radicals and merchants supported the insurgents, many politicians, convinced that the idea of revolution should not be encouraged, deplored what was happening in Latin America. British policy – to remain neutral between Spain and its colonies and avoid giving offence to either party – was no easy matter. The British government undertook to mediate between Spain and the colonies, more to gain time than in hope of success. There was no meeting of minds over mediation but while negotiations dragged on, an open breach between Britain and Spain was averted.

Britain and Spanish America

Anglo-Spanish American relations continued to be difficult. Representatives sent by the revolutionaries to Britain had to communicate with the Foreign Secretary through intermediaries. Nor did Britain send diplomatic representatives to Spanish America. Communications with the insurgent governments were maintained via British naval commanders in South American and Caribbean waters and in the case of Venezuela and New Granada through the governors of British colonies in the Caribbean. These officials were instructed to observe strict neutrality while protecting Britain's – considerable – commercial interests. British goods found their way in increasing quantities to Spanish American ports – with the full knowledge and encouragement of the British government.

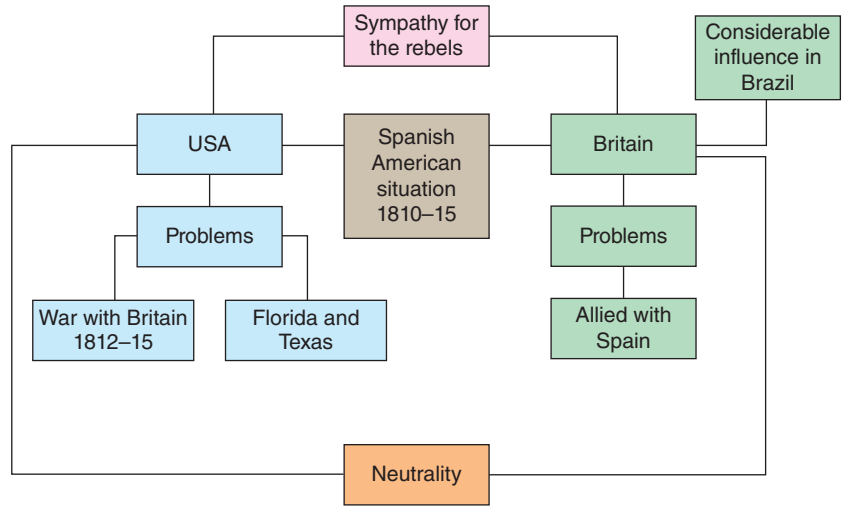
Britain and Brazil

Britain's sole diplomatic representative on the South American mainland was its minister at the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro, Lord Strangford. Strangford maintained British influence at a high level until his departure in 1815.

- He negotiated treaties which gave British goods preferential tariff rates and British merchants special rights in Brazil.
- The Portuguese, bowing to Strangford's pressure, agreed to restrict the **transatlantic slave trade**.
- In 1811–12 he secured the withdrawal of Portuguese-Brazilian troops from Uruguay (see page 108).

KEY TERM

Transatlantic slave trade Slaves, purchased in West Africa by European traders, were taken across the Atlantic and sold in the New World.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The international situation: 1810–15

2 The international situation: 1815–21

Key question: *What role did the USA and Britain play in Latin American independence from 1815–1821?*

What were the USA's main foreign policy concerns in the period 1815–21?

The role of the USA: 1815–21

In the 1816 presidential election Republican James Monroe overwhelmed his Federalist opponent Rufus King. A Virginian slave owner, Monroe had joined the Continental army at the age of sixteen, becoming a lieutenant-colonel by 1783. Thereafter he had served in the Virginia assembly, as governor of the state, in the Confederation Congress and **US Senate**, and as minister to Paris, London and Madrid. Under Madison he had been Secretary of State, twice doubling as Secretary of War. He was the last of the revolutionary generation to serve in the White House. While not on the same intellectual plane as Jefferson or Madison, he was dedicated to public service. John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State and usually a harsh critic of public men, praised Monroe's courtesy, sincerity and sound judgement.

KEY TERM

US Senate The upper house of Congress (after the 1787 Constitution came into effect).

'The era of good feelings'

Monroe took over the presidency at a good time. Economic prosperity after 1815 resulted in a feeling of well-being. Given that the Republicans had accepted most of the economic policies advocated by the Federalists, the divisive political issues of earlier days seemed to have vanished. Monroe dramatized this by beginning his presidency with a good-will tour of New England, heartland of the Federalist opposition. Everywhere, he was greeted with enthusiasm. A Federalist newspaperman dubbed the times the 'Era of Good Feelings'. The term became a catchphrase for Monroe's administration. Perhaps it was inappropriate. In reality, there were growing **sectional tensions**. Having obliterated the Federalists, the Republican Party was soon to split into bitterly competing parts. Nevertheless, in 1820 Monroe was re-elected without opposition.

James Monroe

Monroe's foreign policy

Proud of the fact that it had come out of the war with Britain unscathed, the USA was keen to exert its muscles. However, in economic, population and military terms, it was far from a great power.

Relations with Britain

After 1815 there was a growing **rapprochement** with Britain.

- Trade relations were restored in 1815.
- The Rush-Bagot Agreement (1817) ended the threat of naval competition on the Great Lakes, both countries agreeing to limit naval forces there to a few revenue cutters.
- The Convention of 1818 settled most outstanding border issues.

Relations with Spain

Monroe's government hoped to acquire Florida from Spain. Spanish sovereignty in Florida was more a technicality than an actuality. The thinly populated province had been a thorn in the side of the USA during the War of 1812–15, a refuge for runaway slaves and criminals, and a haven for hostile **Seminole Indians**. In 1817 Monroe's administration authorized a campaign against the Seminoles. General Andrew Jackson, victor of the battle of New Orleans, was given command. Jackson's official orders allowed him to pursue the offenders into Spanish territory, but not to attack any Spanish post. Jackson, who had little time or sympathy for Spaniards or Native Americans, was disinclined to bother with technicalities. In four months he pushed through the Florida panhandle, effectively seizing the area for the USA.

While Spain demanded the return of its territory, reparations and the punishment of Jackson, there was little it could do. Secretary of State Adams supported Jackson, realizing that he had strengthened his hand in negotiations already underway with the Spanish minister Luis de Onís y González. When US forces eventually withdrew from Florida, negotiations resumed with both sides aware that the USA could take Florida at any time.

KEY TERM

Sectional tensions The main tensions in the USA were between the (free) northern and southern (slave) states.

Rapprochement Improvement of relations.

Seminole Indians These were mainly refugees from the Creek confederation. The Native American word meant runaway or wild.

In February 1819 the USA and Spain agreed to the Adams-Onís (or Transcontinental) treaty.

- Spain ceded Florida.
- The USA government assumed private American claims against Spain up to $5 million.
- The western boundary of the **Louisiana Purchase** was agreed. The USA gave up its claims to Texas but acquired Spain's claim to the Oregon Territory north of the 42nd parallel.

The USA and Spanish America

While Monroe's administration wished to encourage independence in Latin America, it was anxious to avoid any move which might alienate Spain and prejudice the successful conclusion of a Florida settlement. Moreover, the low fortunes of the patriot cause by 1816 and wariness of Spain's powerful European allies persuaded the US to maintain a public stance of strict neutrality.

Preserving neutrality in the face of a partisan public opinion was not easy. Privateering vessels, carrying the **commissions** of insurgent states but fitted out in American ports and manned by American sailors, preyed on Spanish shipping and provided grounds for complaint from the Spanish ambassador in Washington. While Congress passed a new Act in 1817, strengthening the neutrality legislation, it proved difficult to enforce.

After Florida's acquisition in 1819, it might seem as though the USA had a freer hand in Latin America. However, Spain delayed the ratification of the Adams-Onís treaty for two years. Thus, Monroe's administration continued to maintain neutrality in Spanish America.

Diplomatic and commercial relations between the USA and Latin America in this period were exploratory. Agents from both the US and the newly emerging republics passed back and forth, some in a formal capacity, others in semi-official roles. Patriots and royalists alike were intensely interested in purchasing American arms, gunpowder and foodstuffs to keep their armies in the field. American merchants, eager to sell the products of US farms and workshops, rarely discriminated between patriots and royalists when it came to finding markets.

KEY TERM

Louisiana Purchase The USA's purchase (from France) in 1803 of all non-Spanish land west of the Mississippi River. The purchase, costing $15 million, more than doubled the size of the USA.

Commissions Documents conferring on ships' captains the right to attack enemy ships.

What was Britain's policy with regard to Spanish America 1815–21?

The role of Britain: 1815–21

Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo in 1815. Britain emerged from the Napoleonic Wars as the world's pre-eminent maritime and commercial power.

The European situation

Meeting at the peace conference at Vienna (1814–15), the victorious powers tried to:

- return Europe, as closely as possible, to what it had been like before the French Revolution
- make the world safe for monarchy
- prevent revolution.

To that end the major powers – Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia – set up the Quadruple Alliance to police the European continent. (This became the Quintuple Alliance when France, now ruled by its old Bourbon monarchy, joined in 1818.) Committed to legitimate authority, Europe's powers were predisposed to help Ferdinand VII re-establish control over his rebellious colonies.

British policy

British Foreign Secretary Lord Castlereagh was well aware of Britain's increasing commercial interests in Latin America. Nevertheless, trade does not seem to have been his foremost consideration. More concerned with the preservation of European peace, he regarded Spain as an important element in a collective security system designed to prevent the reassertion of French power. Accordingly the arguments in favour of British neutrality between Spain and the colonies that had prevailed during the Peninsula War continued to be valid. Britain sought to extend its policy to all other parties, by expressing its opposition to outside intervention.

In 1815 when Spain made a new request for mediation, Castlereagh's response was that the only basis for mediation was for Spain to offer substantial concessions to the rebels. This was anathema to Spain: Spain's insistence that mediation should be backed by force was similarly unacceptable to Britain. Given Britain's refusal to mediate, Spain turned to the other European powers for support.

Castlereagh responded to Spain's attempt to appeal to Austria, Russia and Prussia with a 'Confidential Memorandum' (August 1817). Specifically ruling out the use of force, he proposed a joint allied mediation, based on an **armistice**, a general **amnesty**, colonial equality and free trade.

While Austria and Prussia supported the British position, Russian Tsar Alexander I was sympathetic to Ferdinand VII, proposing some form of economic boycott against the insurgents, and selling Russian warships to Spain for use against the American rebels. This encouraged Spain to reject Castlereagh's Memorandum and to pin its hopes on a new expedition to South America. However, these hopes were dashed when the Russian ships proved to be unserviceable.

In 1818 the **Great Powers** met at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. They accepted that they would not use force against the insurgents in Spanish America. Disillusioned by the Congress' outcome, Ferdinand discarded mediation in favour of force, preparing a military expedition against Argentina. A mutiny among the troops triggered off the Liberal Revolution of 1820 (see page 116).

KEY TERM

Armistice A suspension of hostilities.

Amnesty A pardon for all crimes committed in war.

Great Powers The five great European powers in 1818 were Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia and France.

Private British involvement

While British government policy remained neutral, many individual Britons were positive enthusiasts of Latin American independence. They were

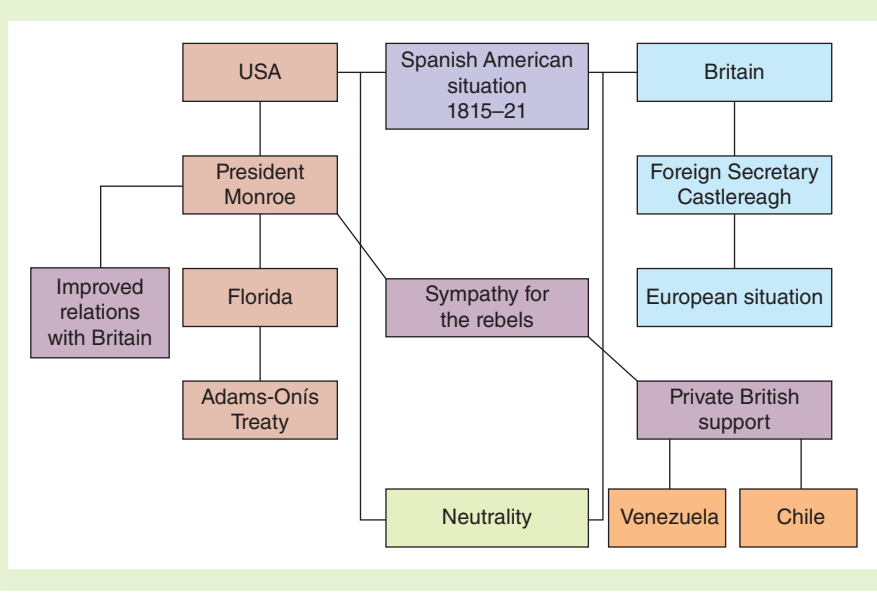
KEY TERM

Foreign Enlistment Act
This tried to prevent British nationals being recruited into foreign armies.

prepared to sell supplies and offer their services, even though private activities on behalf of the revolutionaries were subject to legal restrictions. British troops, casting about for employment after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, were openly recruited for service in Venezuela. The government tried to tighten up the law by passing the **Foreign Enlistment Act** (1819). By the time it came into effect a British legion was already in Venezuela, contributing considerably to Bolívar's victories. Moreover, the British government still found it impossible to enforce the law. Numerous vessels bearing men and supplies left British ports for Latin America after 1819.

To command its new navy, Chile engaged British naval officer Thomas Cochrane. Cochrane did his job well, transporting San Martín's army (which included many Britons and North Americans) to Peru in 1820 (see page 119) and holding Spanish naval forces in check.

Meanwhile British merchants continued to trade with the patriots. By 1821 Latin America absorbed 10 per cent of British exports.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The international situation: 1815–21

3 The Monroe Doctrine

Key question: How important was the Monroe Doctrine in US relations with Latin America?

US recognition

What was the effect of US recognition of Latin American independence?

In March 1822 President Monroe recommended that the USA should give *de facto* recognition to the independence of Argentina, Chile, Gran Colombia, Mexico and Peru. The proposal was endorsed by Congress and formally implemented in June when the representative of Gran Colombia was officially received by the president – the first act of external recognition of any South American country. In recognizing the new nations, the USA displayed solidarity with its fellow American nations – comrades (or so it appeared) in the cause of liberty against European colonialism.

The effect of US recognition

The American initiative had rapid repercussions. In April 1822 Francisco Zea, Gran Colombian envoy to Europe, issued a manifesto to the European powers, threatening that Gran Colombia would trade only with those countries that recognized its independence. Although Zea was acting without instructions and his action was subsequently disavowed by his government, his manifesto caused alarm in Britain. In May 1822 the British government took its first significant step in acknowledging the *de facto* achievement of Spanish American independence by allowing vessels displaying South American flags to be admitted to British ports.

Meanwhile Spain had followed up a strong protest to Washington against recognition with a plea to European governments not to emulate the USA's example. Russia, Prussia and Austria assured Spain of their adherence to legitimacy. But, in June 1822, Castlereagh warned Spain that it could not expect Britain to wait indefinitely. In preparing for the Congress of Verona, due to start in October 1822, Castlereagh hoped that Europe's powers might be persuaded to agree to diplomatic recognition of the new American states.

George Canning

Castlereagh's death in August 1822 (he committed suicide) ended what little hope there was of European agreement. His successor George Canning, while no champion of liberal revolution, did not feel that it was in Britain's interest to police Europe, or indeed the world, in support of reaction. Content to proceed unilaterally, he prepared to send British consuls to the main Spanish American commercial centres – an important step towards recognition.

French invasion of Spain

Why did French help for Ferdinand VII impact on the situation in South America?

France seized the initiative at the Congress of Verona, winning the support of the reactionary bloc of European monarchies for a French military expedition

to return Ferdinand to full authority. In April 1823 French troops marched into Spain to overthrow the liberal government. By September Ferdinand was restored to absolute power. It now seemed that there was a real threat of French intervention in the Spanish colonies.

Canning meets Rush

In August 1823 Canning sounded out Richard Rush, the US minister in London, on the possibility of making a joint statement. Both countries would declare:

- they believed Spain stood little chance of recovering its colonies
- they had no territorial ambitions in Latin America
- they would oppose the transfer of any part of the Spanish Empire to any other power.

Rush, however, was prepared to collaborate only if Britain put itself on the same footing as the USA by recognizing the independence of the new states. Canning had not yet overcome the opposition of a majority of his cabinet colleagues to a policy of recognition. He thus dropped thoughts of co-operating with the USA.

Canning meets Polignac

In October 1823 Canning held talks with the French ambassador, Prince Polignac. Both men agreed that the recovery of Spanish authority in America was hopeless and disavowed any territorial designs on the Spanish Empire or any desire to obtain exclusive commercial privileges there. Britain warned that any attempt to restrict her existing trade might be met by immediate recognition of the new states, as would any 'foreign interference, by force or by menace'. France disclaimed any such intention. The Canning-Polignac meeting made it evident that France had no intention of sending troops to America.

US suspicion of France and Russia

Although Canning now regretted his proposal to Rush for an Anglo-American declaration, the matter did not rest there. When Rush's report reached Washington, Monroe's administration was inclined to accept the idea. However, Secretary of State Adams suspected that Canning's real motive in the mutual disavowal of territorial ambitions was to prevent American acquisition of Cuba. He also felt it 'would be more candid as well as more dignified to avow our principles explicitly … than to come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war'.

These circumstances – the suspicion that France might be contemplating military intervention in Latin America on Spain's behalf and the knowledge that Britain was opposed to such intervention – helped bring about the Monroe Doctrine.

The USA was also suspicious of Russia. From its colony of Alaska, Russia in 1821 extended its claim to the Pacific coast as far south as the 51st parallel – an action that challenged US claims to Oregon.

Monroe's Doctrine

Why did Monroe announce his Doctrine?

Monroe, buttressed by the knowledge that Britain would use its navy to oppose France, and feeling the need to respond to the Russian threat, announced to Congress in December 1823 what became known as the Monroe Doctrine.

SOURCE A

Extract from the Monroe Doctrine (1823), found on www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=23

The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power … The political system of the allied powers is essentially different … from that of America … We owe it, therefore, to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to their peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.

Examine Source A. What exactly was Monroe declaring?

Monroe's Doctrine elaborated two basic principles:

- henceforward the American continents were closed to future colonization by European powers
- attempts by the European monarchies to expand their governmental systems in the New World would be resisted by the USA.

However, Monroe also assured the European powers that the United States would not involve itself in their internal affairs or interfere with their existing New World colonies.

The importance of the Doctrine

At the time Monroe's Doctrine drew little attention either in the US or abroad. It had no standing in international law. It was merely a statement of intent by an American president to Congress. The European powers, in so far as they noted Monroe's words, did not react kindly to being told by the US to keep their hands off America. Moreover, the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine appeared to synchronize suspiciously with Britain's determination to act independently of the continental powers over Spanish America. While Canning encouraged the belief that he had inspired Monroe's declaration, in reality he was incensed at US pretensions and regarded Monroe's emphasis on the separation of America from Europe as a challenge to Britain's influence.

The Doctrine, designed to warn off Russia and France, might seem to have been successful.

- France did not send forces to Latin America.
- In 1824 Russia signed a treaty with the US abandoning all claims below the present southern boundary of Alaska.

However, neither action was the result of Monroe's Doctrine.

- France had made it clear that it had no intention of invading South America several months before Monroe's declaration.
- Russia never had any real intention of colonizing Oregon.

KEY TERM

Western Hemisphere North, South and Central America and the Caribbean.

Corollary A natural consequence or result.

In reality, Monroe was punching above his weight in 1823. The USA, whose own capital had been overrun by a British raiding party less than ten years earlier, could hardly police the whole **Western Hemisphere**. Had Monroe's Doctrine been put to the test, the USA would have had to depend on British naval supremacy. Fortunately, for Monroe's credibility, there was no immediate occasion to invoke the Doctrine, which slipped into obscurity. Latin Americans continued to look to British naval and commercial power – not American – as crucial to their security.

However, as American power grew, the Doctrine became a cherished principle of US foreign policy.

- In the 1850s, Americans for the first time referred to the Monroe Doctrine by name in arguing against British claims in Central America.
- In the 1860s Secretary of State William Seward referred to Monroe's principles in denouncing French intervention in Mexico.
- In 1895 President Cleveland identified US security with restraining European intervention in Latin America.
- In 1904 President Theodore Roosevelt broadened the Doctrine with a **corollary** that proclaimed the right of the US to police the Western Hemisphere in cases of 'chronic wrongdoing' or 'impotence'.
- The Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary served as a justification for US intervention in the Caribbean area in the 1920s.
- In 1961–2 President Kennedy invoked the Monroe Doctrine over Cuba. So did President Johnson when US forces invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965.

What exactly was the Monroe Doctrine's purpose?

Key debate

Historians continue to debate the Monroe Doctrine's purpose in 1823.

Dexter Perkins, who wrote *The Monroe Doctrine 1823–6* (1927), remains the foremost authority. He believed the Doctrine had 'a dual origin and a dual purpose'. Essentially it was a response to the Russian threat to Oregon and the European threat to Spanish America. This remains the standard interpretation.

Historian Edward H. Tatum, in *The United States and Europe 1815–1923* (1936) claimed that the Doctrine was the result of continuing American distrust of British motives in the New World, particularly with regard to British ambitions to annex Cuba. Tatum saw the Doctrine as a subtle warning to Britain to abandon its plans.

Arthur Whitaker, by contrast, in *The United States and the Independence of Latin America 1800–1830* (1941), believed the Doctrine was specifically aimed at France, probably the only European nation able to mount a military expedition to help Spain restore its power in the New World.

Gale W. McGee, in an article written in 1951, argued the Doctrine was merely 'a stopgap measure' – a temporary expedient to find a way to promote joint British-American action in Latin America and a positive response to Britain's offer of a joint declaration.

New left historian William A. Williams claimed in an article in 1964 that the Doctrine was 'in the minds of its authors, in its language and in its reception by Americans, the manifesto of an American Empire'.

Ernest R. May, in *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine* (1975) stressed the role of John Quincy Adams in devising the Doctrine. He argued that Adams' main concern was the 1824 presidential election. Claiming that both Monroe and Adams recognized that there was no real European danger to the USA, May believes that both men were able to indulge in partisan politics, beating the nationalist drum to rally support. In May's view, the Doctrine was determined more by domestic, rather than foreign, affairs.

More recently, Jay Sexton, author of *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth Century America* (2012), has claimed that American nationalism was a crucial factor.

SOURCE B

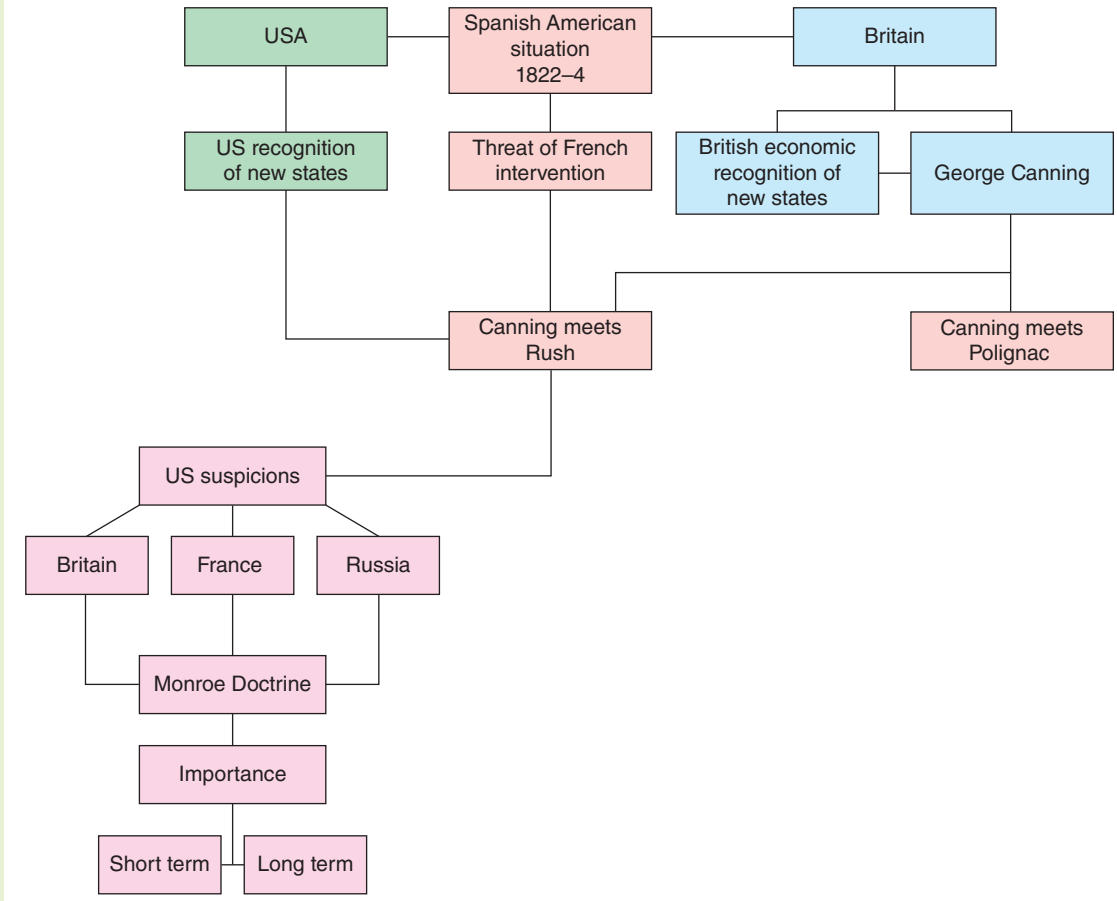
An extract from an interview with Jay Sexton, found on www.whatwouldthefoundersthink.com

The nationalism of the post-1812 era is absolutely central to understanding the 1823 message. This was a moment in which the foreign threat continued to bind the American union together. It is important that many statesmen who would later disagree on political issues, like banks and tariffs and so forth, agreed (or at least came to agreement) in this period. And the memory of Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans convinced many Americans of their power. These themes all were on display in the drafting of the 1823 message.

TOK

What ethical principles would be involved in defending the Monroe Doctrine? And in criticizing it? (Ethics, Logic, Social Sciences)

Study Source B. Why were many Americans nationalistic in the early 1820s?



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The Monroe Doctrine

4 Recognition of Spanish American independence

Key question: Why did Britain recognize South American independence ahead of other European powers?

How was Canning able to persuade the British government to recognize the new Latin American states?

British recognition

In October 1823 British consuls were sent to Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Valparaíso, Lima, Panama, Cartagena, Maracaibo, La Guaira, Mexico City and Veracruz. Special commissioners also left for Mexico and Gran Colombia with instructions to ascertain whether their governments exercised control

over their territory, enjoyed the confidence of the people, and had abolished the slave trade.

Early in 1824, before any reports were available, the question of recognition of Spanish American independence was raised in Parliament. Canning made it clear that the matter was under consideration. The issue was raised again in June in the form of a petition from merchants and financiers urging the government towards immediate recognition. Latin America was now taking 15 per cent of British exports and millions of pounds had been invested in loans to the new governments and in commercial and mining speculation. In July 1824 the cabinet agreed to authorize the negotiation of a commercial treaty with Buenos Aires, the conclusion of which would constitute diplomatic recognition. The decision was not immediately made public, however, and negotiations with Buenos Aires continued for several more months.

Meanwhile the commissioners to Mexico and Gran Colombia reported that these countries satisfied the criteria laid down in their instructions. This gave Canning ample ground for action. In pressing recognition of the new Spanish American states on the cabinet, which he had to do to the point of threatening his resignation, Canning seems to have been concerned less with the pressure from British economic interests than with rivalry with both the USA and France. France's refusal to state when it proposed withdrawing its troops from Spain enabled Canning to win the cabinet argument. It was in reference to this that Canning two years later made his famous claim: 'I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain "with the Indies". I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.' British recognition of Spanish America may have been, from Canning's point of view, a calculated act of defiance against the continental powers. But he also summed up its significance in his immediate reaction: 'Spanish America is free, and if we do not mismanage our affairs sadly, she is English.'

The importance of British recognition

Why was British recognition so important for Latin Americans?

The recognition of the USA had come earlier. It was insignificant in comparison to British recognition. The British commissioner in Gran Colombia reported in 1824 how the news was received. 'All the people of Bogotá are half mad with joy … exclaiming, 'We are now an independent nation.'

Although the US had started the process of recognition, by 1825 it had entered into treaty relations with only Gran Colombia and Central America. Britain soon caught up, concluding commercial treaties with Argentina and with Gran Colombia in 1825. A treaty with Mexico was ratified in 1827.

The problem of Cuba

Why was Cuba a problem in the mid 1820s?

Britain, France and the USA, unwilling to see Cuba in the hands of one of the others, agreed that it was best that it should remain in Spain's

possession. But the USA was reluctant to join in a guarantee which would preclude the USA's possible future accession of the island. Even less was it prepared to allow Cuba to be liberated from Spanish rule by the forces of Gran Colombia and Mexico: this would involve the danger of slave insurrection uncomfortably close to America's slave states. Accordingly in 1825 the US warned both countries not to attack Cuba. Britain took the view that so long as Spain remained at war with the new states they were entitled to invade Spanish territory. However, it pointed out to Mexico and Gran Colombia that an attack on Cuba would probably result in American intervention. There was no attack.

Why was the Panama Congress a huge disappointment for Bolívar?

The Panama Congress

In 1824 Bolívar called for a meeting of all Latin American nations to consider the possibility of establishing some forum for discussing matters of security and solving common problems. In 1826, delegates finally gathered in Panama. Only Mexico, Central America, Gran Colombia and Peru sent delegations. Although the USA was invited, the Americans were tardy in naming a delegation. One American delegate died en route and the Congress had ended before the other reached Panama. He missed nothing. Frustrated by factionalism and jealousies that were becoming painfully apparent to Bolívar and those who shared with him a vision of **pan-Americanism**, the Panama Congress failed to accomplish anything.

KEY TERM

Pan-Americanism The notion that all Americans should work together for common goals.

British dominance

The Panama Congress suggested that the USA had no interest in heading a confederacy of all the Americas – a prospect that Canning feared. The USA was divided over economic relations with Latin America (where the northern states saw commercial opportunities, the south saw competition in primary products) but was agreed that Latin America should not constitute an exception to the general US policy of no foreign entanglements. Thus, American rivalry did not challenge British dominance in Latin America, firmly based as it was on naval, financial and commercial supremacy.

Why were Europe's Great Powers slow to recognize the new Latin American states?

European recognition

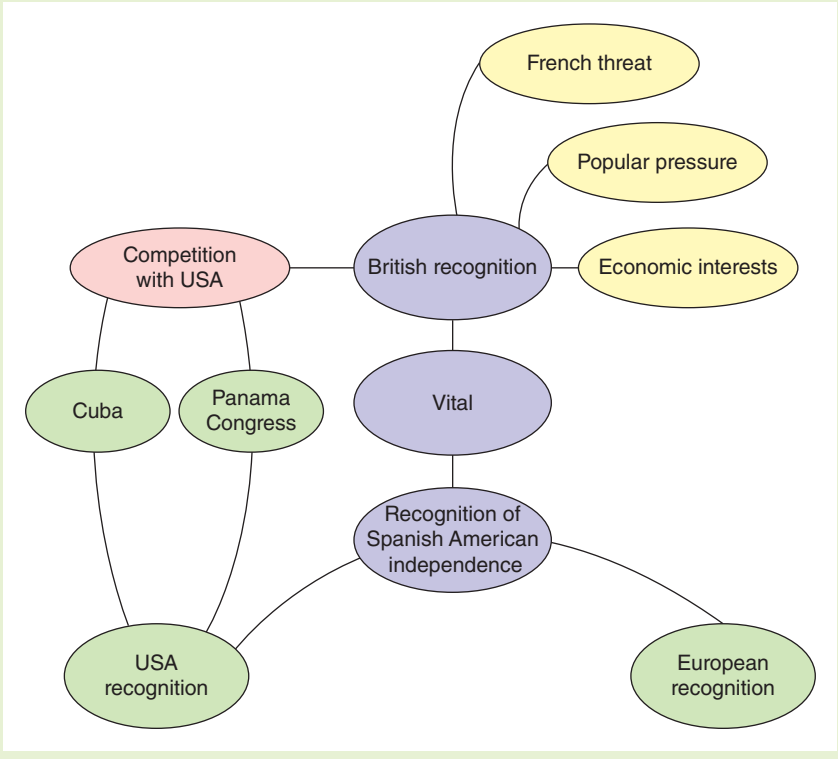
The progress of Britain and the USA towards recognizing Spanish American nations made it necessary for the other European powers, especially those with commercial interests, to reconsider their attitudes. In so doing they were hampered by their commitment not to act in advance of Spain and by Ferdinand's obstinate refusal to acknowledge the loss of Spain's colonies.

- France in 1825–6 sent out commercial agents and allowed vessels showing Spanish American flags into French ports. In 1827 France signed a commercial agreement with Mexico which the Mexicans interpreted as an act of recognition. Not until French King Charles X was overthrown in

1830 did France fully accept the principle of recognition.
- Prussia signed a trade agreement with Mexico (1827).
- Russia and Austria continued to condemn any dealings with the 'illegitimate' states.

Spain did not recognize the independence of its former colonies until after the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833.

The attitude of the major European powers delayed the setting-up of properly regulated relations between the countries of continental Europe and those of Spanish America. This had had only a marginal effect on the development of trade – virtually the only common interest linking the new states with Old World. After 1825 Latin America rapidly receded from the forefront of international diplomacy. Latin American countries, preoccupied with their own internal problems, did not become involved in the power politics of distant Europe. Nor, in general, did European powers play out their rivalries in Latin America.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Recognition of Spanish American independence

5 Britain and Brazil

Key question: *What role did Britain play in the establishment of Brazilian independence?*

While some Britons, especially Lord Cochrane (see page 129), greatly assisted Brazilian independence, the British government did little officially to promote it. Having effectively established its independence by mid 1823, the Brazilian government was anxious to secure international recognition in order to:

- forestall any last-ditch attempt by Portugal to reassert its authority
- strengthen Emperor Dom Pedro's own authority within Brazil.

The USA recognized Brazil in 1824. But the attitude of Britain was more important. In July 1823, Dom Pedro's agent in Britain, wrote:

With England's friendship we can snap our fingers at the rest of the world … it will not be necessary to go begging for recognition from any other power for all will wish our friendship.

Why was Canning slow to recognize Brazilian independence?

British problems

Canning was eager to recognize Brazil's independence.

- Recognition of Brazil would facilitate the recognition of the new Spanish American republics.
- Britain already had established relations with Brazil as a result of the Portuguese court's residence there.
- By proffering the hand of friendship Britain would consolidate its economic and political ascendancy over Brazil, now Britain's third largest foreign market.
- Unlike Spanish America, Brazil had retained the monarchy and Canning was anxious to preserve it as an antidote to the 'evils of universal democracy' on the South American continent.
- Any undue delay in recognizing Brazil might endanger the country's political institutions and undermine its unity.

But Canning was firmly committed to the policy that no state in the Americas would be recognized unless it had already abolished the slave trade. While Dom Pedro personally abhorred the trade, he feared alienating Brazilian landowners – his main supporters. For the Brazilian government, the political and economic dangers arising from premature abolition were greater than those that might arise from non-recognition. The most Brazil could offer therefore was gradual abolition over four or five years in return for immediate British recognition.

How did recognition of Brazilian independence finally come about?

Brazilian independence recognized

Talks between Brazil and Portugal opened in London in 1824. When no compromise between Portugal's claims of sovereignty and Brazil's claims of

independence emerged, Canning decided Britain must act alone. Sir Charles Stuart was sent as a special envoy to negotiate an Anglo-Brazilian commercial treaty. Stopping at Lisbon en route, he obtained authority from a new Portuguese government to negotiate Brazilian independence on behalf of Portugal.

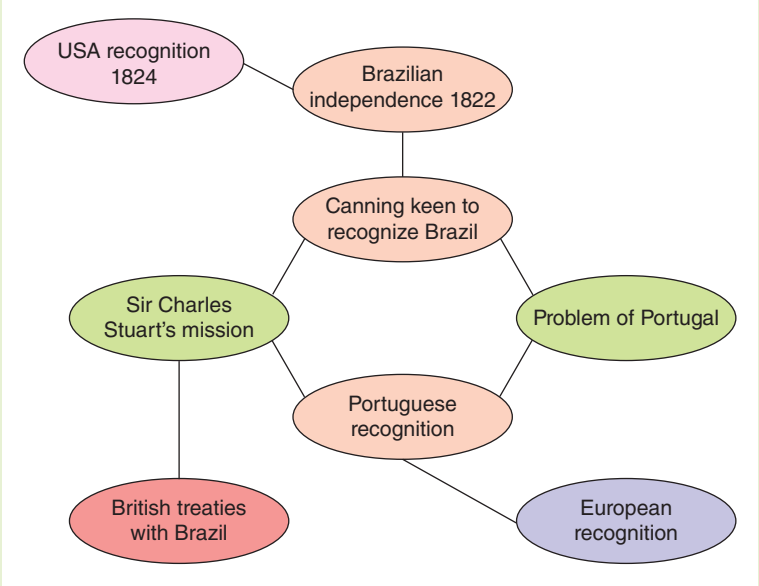
In August 1825 Stuart signed the treaty by which Portugal recognized Brazil's independence. In return Brazil agreed to pay Portugal compensation amounting to £2 million. Dom Pedro retained the right to succeed to the Portuguese throne, leaving open the possibility that one day Brazil and Portugal might be peacefully reunited under the **House of Braganza**.

Portugal's swift acceptance of Brazilian independence paved the way for recognition by all Europe's powers.

Stuart went beyond his instructions, negotiating a commercial treaty and also concluding a slave trade abolition treaty. When Stuart's handiwork reached London, Canning rejected both treaties as they did not conform to British requirements. Another envoy was sent out who signed a new anti-slave trade treaty in 1826. This made any Brazilian involvement in the traffic after 1830 equivalent to piracy. A new commercial treaty (1827) ensured Britain's privileged position in Brazilian trade for a further fifteen years.

KEY TERM

House of Braganza The ruling family of Brazil at this time.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Britain and Brazil

Chapter summary

Latin American independence and the USA and Britain

Because of its naval and commercial supremacy, Britain was the most important external influence on Latin America during the independence period. The British government did not positively advance the independence process (although British private interests undoubtedly did so). By deterring others from interfering, Britain left the issue to be decided by the outcome of internal struggles.

The USA was too weak to follow an independent line in defiance of Europe. It thus moved only a short step ahead of Britain in supporting the cause of independence. The Monroe Doctrine was of little immediate significance, drawing little attention either in the United States or abroad. The Doctrine, which had no standing in international law, was merely a statement of intent by President Monroe and his Secretary of State Adams. Not until several decades later was it to become one of the cherished principles of US foreign policy.

In the 1820s British recognition of Latin American independence was far more important to most of the new Latin American republics than American recognition. The same was true with regard to Brazil. Britain had good economic and financial reasons for recognizing the new states. British recognition thus came ahead of recognition by the other European powers.

Examination advice

How to answer 'to what extent' questions

The command term to what extent is a popular one on IB exams. You are asked to evaluate one argument or idea over another. Stronger essays will also address more than one interpretation. This is often a good question in which to discuss how different historians have viewed the issue.

Example

To what extent was British aid a key factor in Spanish America's independence?

1. Beyond stating the degree to which you agree with the premise, you must focus on the words 'British aid' and 'key factor' in the question. You should define these terms in your introduction. What form of aid did British assistance take? What were other important factors in the independence struggles? How did these factors compare to British aid in terms of degree of importance?
2. First take at least five minutes to write a short outline. This could include:

- *British relations with Spain: changed over time. British feared French intervention in wars. Needed Spanish co-operation against Napoleon. After defeat of Napoleon in 1815, British governments tried to remain neutral in wars for independence.*

- British private aid to patriots: British Legion in Venezuela. British merchants continued to trade with Spanish America. Exports to Latin America totalled 10–15 per cent of all British exports.
- British naval/commercial superiority.
- Britain maintained contacts through her Caribbean bases/colonies.
- Commercial treaties signed with Buenos Aires (1824), Gran Colombia (1825), Mexico (1827). Other Europeans soon followed suit. Britain was leader and paramount in trade.
- Other factors to consider:
  - US aid. Many consider this to be negligible (War of 1812, US ports blockaded).
  - American merchants did sell guns and gunpowder to both sides.
  - Events in Europe did have an impact in how active a role Spain and France could take.
  - Military leadership under Bolívar, San Martín, O'Higgins, Artigas.
  - Creole commitment to getting rid of Spanish monarchy.

3. In your introduction you should briefly describe the role Britain played as well as other factors that led to Latin American independence from Spain. Below is an example of a good introductory paragraph for this question.

Great Britain's aid to Latin American independence movements was often more political and neutral than concrete military assistance and this aid depended on its relationship with Spain. At certain times, the British government chose a neutral stance because of its need for Spain's help in combatting France and Napoleon. Once Napoleon was defeated in 1815, Britain had a freer hand but still did not formally aid or recognize Latin American independence movements. British merchants and private citizens were not nearly as reticent. Merchants wanted to increase trade with Latin America and several thousand British citizens joined the fight against Spanish control in the Americas. Nonetheless, there were other significant factors, both strategic and politically local, which played roles in the successful outcome of the movements. These included the effective leadership displayed by Simón Bolívar, José de San Martín, Bernardo O'Higgins and others. It is arguable that these leaders were key while Britain played a supporting role. Similarly, the political and economic desires of much of the local Creole elites to do away with what they viewed as Spanish oppression were also important.

4. In the body of the essay, you need to discuss each of the points you raised in the introduction. Devote at least a paragraph to each one. It would be a good idea to order these in terms of which ones you think are most important. Be sure to make the connection between the points you raise with the major thrust of your argument. Remember that you will not be penalized because you suggested that Britain was not a key factor in Latin America's independence. You will be assessed according to your use of supporting evidence to support your thesis.
5. In the conclusion, be sure to offer final remarks on the extent to which British aid was key to Latin America's victories against Spain. Do not add any new information or themes in your concluding thoughts. An example of a good concluding paragraph is given below.

In conclusion, Britain's role was not a key factor that helped Latin American independence movements succeed. More often than not, Britain's aid was insignificant in comparison to private British and American efforts which brought much needed goods and war material to the patriots. It is also clear that Creoles were no longer willing to bend to the will and power of the Spanish monarchy. Instead, they fought for independence and were fortunate to have military leaders who successfully plotted the downfall of the Spanish kings' 300-year rule in the Americas.

6. Now try writing a complete answer to the question following the advice above.

Examination practice

Below are two exam-style questions for you to practise on this topic.

1. To what extent was the Monroe Doctrine toothless?
   (For guidance on how to answer 'to what extent' questions, see pages 180–1.)
2. Analyse Britain's economic interests in supporting Latin American independence movements.
   (For guidance on how to answer 'analyse' questions, see pages 93–5.)

CHAPTER 6

The impact of independence on the economies and societies of the Americas

The American War of Independence and the Latin American Wars of Liberation had significant consequences. Indeed the War of Independence is also called the American Revolution, implying that there was enormous change. But did the changes really amount to revolution? And why did the USA emerge more successfully than Latin American countries from the independence struggle? This chapter will explore the results of independence by examining the following key questions:

- What was the social impact of the American Revolution?
- What was the economic impact of the American Revolution?
- What was the political impact of the American Revolution?
- How revolutionary was the (North) American Revolution?
- What was the social impact of the Wars of Liberation?
- What was the economic impact of the Wars of Liberation?
- What was the political impact of the Wars of Liberation?

1 The social impact of the American Revolution

Key question: *What was the social impact of the American Revolution?*

By 1783 some 80,000 loyalists had been forced into exile. Historians once thought that this exodus had levelling effects, providing new men with land and opportunities. However, it is now accepted that loyalists came from all social classes: they were not simply the elite. The American Revolution was not, in historian Esmond Wright's phrase, one of 'Nobs versus Mobs'. Accordingly, American society was not decapitated by loyalist departure. To what extent then was American society affected by the War of Independence?

American equality

Did America become more egalitarian?

Arguably the war profoundly changed society, resulting in more equality.

- Republican ideology had social effects. While Americans continued to accept the reality of social inequality, most opposed hereditary privilege in all its forms, from monarchy down.

- New men, of lower social status, now sat in state legislatures. They believed that they were entitled to share in the direction of the nation they were helping to create. The outcome was a significant realignment of relations between the elites and their social inferiors, with the latter showing less deference towards their 'betters'.
- Many ordinary Americans became officers in both the Continental army and militia units as a result of merit, not status. This helped erode social barriers.
- Some of the outward marks of social deference disappeared. Republican simplicity, for example, decreed less ceremony in law courts. Judges no longer wore wigs and scarlet robes in the English fashion.
- The acquisition of territory west of the Appalachians created opportunities for landless Americans to acquire farms.
- Some states abolished slavery (see page 186).
- Women gained more equality (see page 187).
- **Indentured servants** almost disappeared. Many gained freedom through military service while immigration traffic in contract labour ceased during the war.

However, arguably the war did not profoundly disturb the social fabric.

- Virtually all American leaders accepted that class distinctions were natural and inevitable. They made no attempt to redistribute wealth or to promote social equality. Many did not believe that indentured servitude or slavery were at variance with the nation's **libertarian** ideals.
- Social classes did not change in significant ways. Except for its loyalist component, the **colonial aristocracy** survived the war intact.
- Desperate for money, state governments usually sold confiscated loyalist land to the highest bidder at prices that ordinary men could not afford. Great patriot landowning families were thus able to expand their estates.
- Indentured service had been declining before the war.
- The war had a limited effect on slavery and women's status (see pages 186 and 187).
- America had been and remained a land of self-sufficient farmers.

KEY TERM

Indentured servants Labourers, usually recent immigrants, who agreed (by contract) to work for an employee for a specified period of time (often seven years).

Libertarian The belief that there should be as much freedom as possible.

Colonial aristocracy The richest and most powerful families in America (usually great landowners or wealthy merchants).

What effect did the war have on slavery?

The war's impact on slavery

The American Revolution represented a fundamental challenge to the institution of slavery. It was difficult to reconcile the Declaration of Independence's assertion that 'all men are created equal' with the fact that one in six Americans were slaves because of their skin colour and ancestry.

SOURCE A

The 1790 Census. Data from the US Census Bureau (1978), *First Census of the United States* (Baltimore).

States	Free White	All other free persons	Slaves	Total
Vermont	85,268	255	16	85,539
New Hampshire	141,097	630	158	141,885
Maine	96,002	538	None	96,540
Massachusetts	373,324	5,463	None	378,787
Rhode Island	64,470	3,407	948	68,825
Connecticut	232,374	2,808	2,764	237,946
New York	314,142	4,654	21,324	340,120
New Jersey	169,954	2,762	11,423	184,139
Pennsylvania	424,099	6,537	3,737	434,373
Delaware	46,310	3,899	8,887	59,096
Maryland	208,649	8,043	103,036	319,728
Virginia	442,117	12,866	292,627	747,610
Kentucky	61,133	114	12,430	73,677
North Carolina	288,204	4,975	100,572	393,751
South Carolina	140,178	1,801	107,094	249,073
Georgia	52,886	398	29,264	82,548
Total	**3,140,205**	**59,150**	**694,280**	**3,893,635**

Examine Source A. Which state had the greatest proportion of slaves and which state had the greatest proportion of free blacks?

Slave action

Some slaves saw the war as an opportunity to secure their freedom. In pursuing that objective, black males were willing to join whichever side offered them the best chance for success. One of Washington's first acts as commander of the Continental army was to ban all blacks from service. By contrast, in November 1775 Lord Dunmore promised freedom to any Virginian slave who fled a rebel owner to serve the British. Accordingly, many slaves became loyalists.

In 1779 (see page 84) General Clinton issued a proclamation in which he declared that slaves who deserted the rebels and served Britain would receive 'full security to follow … any occupation which [they] shall think proper'. Although not an explicit promise of freedom, slaves interpreted it as such. Perhaps one in six of the South's slaves fled to the British lines. The runaways were employed mainly as labourers and servants (but rarely as soldiers). At the end of the war, Britain resettled some 20,000 black loyalists in the West Indies and Nova Scotia.

However, some blacks did fight for American independence.

- Some served in northern militias.
- In 1777 Washington and Congress, bowing to chronic manpower shortages, accepted blacks in the Continental army.

KEY TERM

Quakers Members of the Religious Society of Friends founded in England by George Fox (1624–91). Quakers were – indeed still are – opposed to war.

Middle states New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Manumission laws Laws allowing owners to free slaves.

Northern opposition to slavery

Even before the War, some white Americans, particularly **Quakers**, had begun to denounce slavery. In 1771 the Massachusetts assembly banned the slave trade with Africa. Rhode Island and Connecticut followed suit. As the Revolutionary crisis heightened awareness of ideological principles, so the anti-slavery movement gathered strength in the North where there were relatively few slaves: only 3 per cent of New England's and 6 per cent of the **Middle states'** populations were slaves (see Source A). In 1780 Pennsylvania adopted a law requiring gradual emancipation of slaves when they became adults. In 1784 Connecticut and Rhode Island did the same. Between 1781 and 1783 Massachusetts' courts ended slavery by a series of decisions in response to cases brought by slaves who sought their freedom based on the state's 1780 Constitution which declared all men free. New Hampshire courts followed Massachusetts' example.

However, in New York and New Jersey, the only two northern states with sizable slave populations, opposition was sufficiently strong to delay the passage of gradual emancipation laws until 1799 and 1804 respectively. Even then the emancipation process took decades to work itself out: slavery was not officially abolished in New York until 1827 and in New Jersey until 1846. Most of the provisions for gradual emancipation did not immediately free a single slave. Indeed, abolition in parts of the North was so gradual that slave holders were able to sell their slaves in the South.

The situation in the South

More than 85 per cent of slaves lived in the southern states. Most southern whites were determined to maintain slavery, which they saw as an instrument for increasing production and keeping blacks 'in their place'.

Nevertheless a few southerners acknowledged that slavery was a moral evil. The most significant change to the slave system in the South after 1783 was the liberalization of the **manumission laws**. Some planters, motivated by revolutionary ideology, took advantage of these laws to free all their slaves. (Others simply freed their children who had been born to slave women.) After 1783 there was a dramatic increase in the number of free blacks, particularly in Virginia and Maryland. However, in Georgia and the Carolinas, where the slave population was greatest, few slaves were freed.

In addition to liberalizing manumission, Virginia (1778) and Maryland (1783) banned the transatlantic slave trade. However, these actions were motivated more by local conditions than humane concerns. By closing the African trade, planters hoped to maintain the value of their slaves, the population of whom was growing naturally.

Once cotton became a profitable crop in the 1790s, the demand for slaves massively increased. From 1790 to 1807 more slaves were imported into North America than during any other similar period in colonial times.

Free blacks

In 1790 there had been some 60,000 free blacks in the USA. By 1810 there were 186,000 (108,000 of whom lived in the southern states). Most white northerners held similar racist attitudes to white southerners. Consequently, free blacks, North and South, suffered from discrimination and segregation. Economically they had the most menial jobs. But the free black community, by its very presence, was a challenge to the slave system. In the face of white intolerance, ex-slaves worked hard to construct their own cultural life, forming their own churches and voluntary organizations.

The status of women

Did women's status change as a result of the war?

Women of all races, regions and classes endured great hardship during the conflict. Some were made homeless. Some were raped. Many lost loved ones. However, for some women, the war presented opportunities to exercise greater control over their lives. As many as 20,000 women served with the military forces in an ancillary capacity – as cooks, laundresses and prostitutes. Moreover, women replaced absent husbands as temporary heads of households. Many historians insist that the war greatly affected women's lives.

- Mary Beth Norton claims that women moved from submission to a world over which they had some control. Women, she argues, were no longer content to be 'good wives' and ignorant of the larger world. Instead they read newspapers, discussed politics and ensured that their daughters had the best education possible.
- Harry Ward claims that ordinary American families became less **patriarchal**. Just as the colonies had repudiated **royal paternalism**, Americans came to believe that the family should be founded on mutual respect, without a domineering head.

KEY TERM

Patriarchal Under the control of men.

Royal paternalism The father-like supervision/control of a monarch.

However, it is perhaps easier to claim that the Revolution produced no significant changes. Women were still expected to confine themselves to the traditional domestic sphere – home-making and child-rearing. They were not allowed to vote or hold public office. Nowhere was there any significant improvement in their legal status. The property of married women remained under their husbands' control. Thus, women remained in a subordinate position within a patriarchal social order.

The impact of the war on Native Americans

What was the war's impact on Native Americans?

Most of the 200,000 Native Americans who lived east of the Mississippi committed themselves to the British side, hoping to forestall American encroachments on their territories. Various tribes raided frontier settlements from the Carolinas to New York. The Americans fought back, for the most part successfully. In 1779, for example, an army led by John Sullivan destroyed more than twenty Iroquois villages, forcing the Iroquois to flee to Canada.

In making peace in 1782–3, Britain did not consider or consult its Native American allies, ceding lands east of the Mississippi it did not control to America. Lord Shelbourne claimed that 'in the present treaty with America, the Indian nations were not abandoned to their enemies: they were remitted to the care of neighbours'. Those neighbours showed little by way of care. Most Americans were of the view that by choosing the losing side the Native Americans were a conquered people and had lost all their rights. In 1784 the US concluded treaties at Fort Stanwix (New York) and Hopewell (South Carolina) in which it won concessions of land from the Iroquois, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees.

KEY TERM

Northwest Ordinance An Act, passed in 1787, which laid down how the territories of the Northwest – present-day Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin – would be administered.

Some tribes in the Northwest continued their resistance. The Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Chippewas, Ottawas and Potawatomis, formed the Western Confederacy to oppose American encroachments. Covertly armed by the British (who retained forts in the region), the Confederacy proved a serious obstacle to American settlement. It was finally defeated in 1794–5.

The American government announced that it would treat Native Americans with honour, declaring, for example, in the **Northwest Ordinance**:

SOURCE B

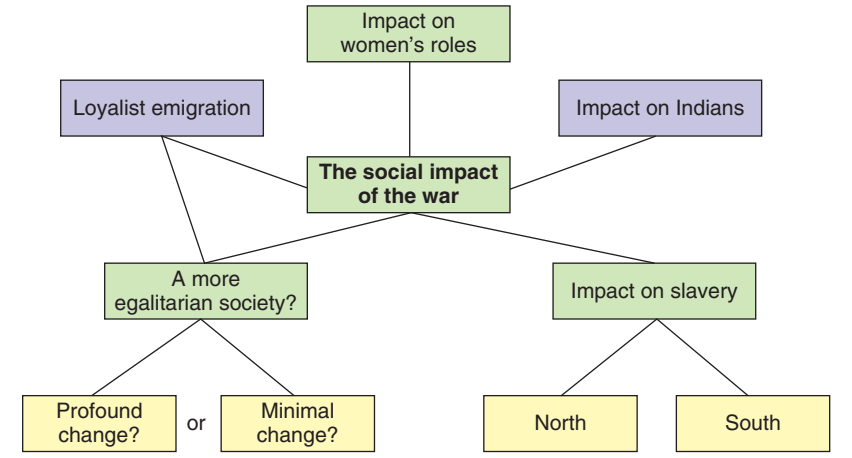
An extract from the Northwest Ordinance.

The utmost of good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorised by Congress, but the laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

? What are the values and limitations of Source B?

Despite the good will expressed in formal policy, the new republic excluded Native Americans from the rights and privileges of citizenship.

According to historian Edward Countryman the transformation of power relations between whites and Indians in the trans-Appalachian west was among the most radical changes wrought by the war.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The social impact of the American Revolution

2 The economic impact of the War of Independence

Key question: *What was the economic impact of the American Revolution?*

The American economy during the war

To what extent did the war damage the American economy?

The economic effects of the war were generally, but not totally, negative.

Negative effects

- Those areas which experienced significant military operations suffered. Property was destroyed or stolen by troops from both sides.
- Large numbers of American merchant ships were seized by the Royal Navy.
- American trade was devastated by the British blockade and by the fact that America was no longer part of the British mercantilist system. Tobacco production, for example, was reduced to a third of the pre-war levels.
- The New England fishing industry was temporarily destroyed.
- **Hyper-inflation**, the result of a shortage of goods and the printing of vast quantities of paper money, damaged day-to-day economic activity.
- Military requisitioning of wagons had a disruptive effect on internal transport.
- The plantation economies of Georgia and South Carolina were disrupted by the flight of slaves seeking British protection.

KEY TERM

Hyper-inflation A huge rise in the cost of living, resulting from an undue increase in the quantity of money in circulation.

Positive effects

- **Privateering** was a risky but potentially very profitable operation for some towns and individuals.
- The sharp reduction in imports of British goods had a stimulating effect on American manufacturing. The main beneficiaries were the iron, textile, paper, pottery and shoe-making industries.
- Military demands boosted production of uniforms, munitions and guns.
- Farmers outside the immediate war zones profited from selling food to the various armies.
- British-held areas, especially New York, boomed during the war.
- Some merchants, for example Robert Morris who negotiated for military supplies, made huge profits.

What were the main economic developments after 1783?

The economic situation after 1783

Economic problems

Between 1784 and 1786 the USA imported from Britain goods worth more than £7.5 million, selling less than one-third of that in return. The flow of **specie** outside the country to meet the **trade deficit** slowed economic recovery. According to some research, the USA's economic performance between 1782 and 1790 was only half that of 1772.

Sectional animosity was a problem, particularly in relation to the levying of import duties. From 1782–5 virtually all the states placed duties on imports, affecting both interstate as well as foreign commerce. Some imposed higher tariffs than others. After 1784 there were increasing demands that the Articles of Confederation (see pages 195–6) should be amended to allow Congress to regulate both international and American trade. However, different areas had different interests. The mercantile and industrial interests of New England and the Middle states wanted a **protective tariff** against British competition. In contrast, southern states preferred free trade. Interstate rivalry prevented change.

KEY TERM

Privateering The seizing and plundering of an enemy's ships in wartime.

Specie Gold or coined money.

Trade deficit The shortfall when a nation imports more than it exports.

Protective tariff Duties levied on foreign imports which are intended to protect the makers of products in the home country.

Economic developments

There were some positive economic developments.

- The US population grew from 2,781,000 in 1780 to 3,929,214 in 1790. Substantial immigration supplemented natural increase.
- The prospect of western expansion was a great bonus.
- Freed from the constraints of the Navigation Acts (see page 12), Americans could now export directly to non-British markets.
- Prices for American commodities, particularly tobacco and wheat, remained high.
- Barriers to interstate trade were gradually dismantled during the 1780s.
- Most of the ravages of war were quickly repaired.

George Washington commented:

It is wonderful to see how soon the ravages of war are repaired. Houses are rebuilt, fields enclosed, stocks of cattle which were destroyed are replaced, and many a

desolated territory assumes again the cheerful appearance of cultivation. In many places the vestiges of conflagration and ruin are hardly to be traced. The arts of peace, such as clearing rivers, building bridges, and establishing conveniences for travelling &c. are assiduously promoted. In short, the foundation of a great empire is laid.

There was, in truth, little to fear economically. The USA had enormous reserves of almost every commodity – fertile land, timber, minerals – and an excellent network of navigable rivers. These resources, coupled with political stability, British investment and immigration, ensured that Americans, by the mid nineteenth century, had become a 'people of plenty'. In the period 1800–50 the USA's **gross national product** increased seven-fold and **per capita income** doubled.

Financial problems

Why were financial problems a major concern?

Financing the war imposed an acute burden on Congress, which enjoyed no authority to impose taxes. With no bullion reserves, it had little option but to issue paper money. This soon caused huge inflation. Congress tried to solve its financial problems by leaning on the states. The states provided some money but, given their own financial problems, did not give enough. By 1781 the worthless Continental currency had expired.

The Newburgh Conspiracy

The fact that the government was unable to pay its soldiers was particularly serious. During the winter of 1782–3 army officers met at Newburgh, New York and pressed for back pay and half-pay pensions. The possibility of a coup was defused only by Washington's use of his considerable authority. When he learned that some of the plotters had planned a meeting of officers, he summoned a meeting first and confronted the issue. Putting on his spectacles, he declared: 'I have grown not only grey but blind in the service of my country.' His dramatic and emotional address persuaded the officers to denounce the recent **'infamous propositions'** and the Newburgh Conspiracy came to a sudden end.

However, discontent in the army rumbled on. In June 1783 dissatisfied soldiers surrounded the Pennsylvania State House, forcing Congress to abandon Philadelphia.

National debt

As well as currency problems, the USA also had a massive national debt. Domestic debt amounted to more than $33 million. The foreign debt – to Holland, France and Spain – comprised nearly $10 million. The debt was one problem. The interest on it (about $2.4 million per year) was another.

Bankruptcy was averted only through the dexterity and wealth of Robert Morris. Appointed Superintendent of Finance in 1781, Morris, a Philadelphia merchant, used some of his own money to meet expenses. However, his efforts to create a national bank, to secure Congressional control of the

KEY TERM

Gross national product The total value of all goods and services produced within a country.

Per capita income The earnings and wealth of the average household.

'Infamous propositions' Disgraceful proposals.

public debt (instead of parcelling it out to the states) and to amend the Articles of Confederation (see pages 195–6) so as to give Congress authority to levy duties on imports, all came to nothing. A disappointed Morris resigned in 1784.

By 1786 Congress had levied more than $15 million in requisitions from states but received only $2.5 million. The states that failed to meet their obligations could not be compelled to do so. The only major source of independent income for the national government was from the sale of western lands but this developed slowly, yielding only $760,000 before 1788. While Congress was able to meet its normal expenses (the cost of government administration was minimal – $128,332 in 1787), it was unable to pay the interest on its debts, let alone the principal.

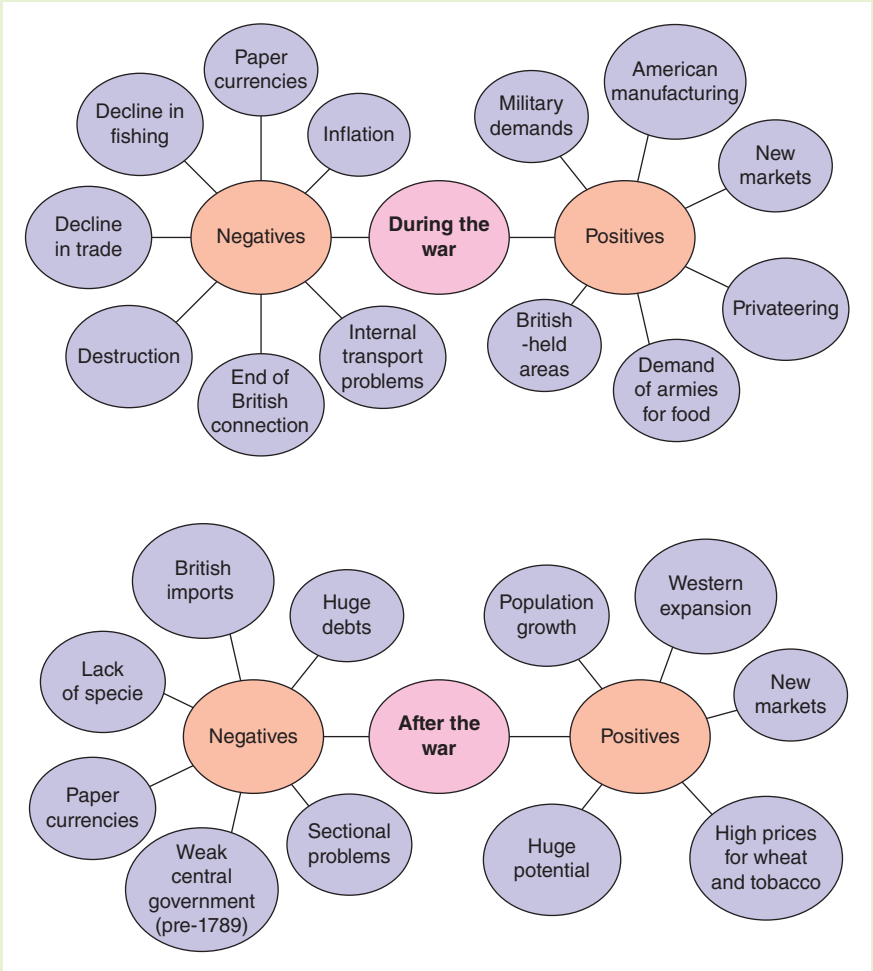
State problems

The states faced similar financial problems to Congress, namely worthless paper currencies and huge debts. Some states stopped issuing paper money. All increased taxes in an effort to reduce their debts (amounting to more than $20 million in total). Debtors, unable to pay their taxes or meet their debts, demanded an increase in paper money. Creditors opposed this, contending that paper money emissions would lead to inflation and economic instability.

By 1787 it seemed the debtors were winning. Seven states were issuing paper money. Rhode Island went further, compelling creditors to accept its paper currency as legal tender. The value of Rhode Island paper money depreciated sharply and creditors fled the state to avoid having to accept it.

Shays' rebellion

In September 1786 the governor of New Hampshire called out militiamen to disperse farmers threatening the legislative assembly after it reneged on a promise to issue paper money. There were similar disturbances in Vermont, Pennsylvania, New York and Virginia. The most serious trouble arose in Massachusetts. Unable to pay heavy taxes, some farmers lost their land; others were imprisoned. By the summer of 1786 western Massachusetts was seething with discontent. When the state legislature adjourned without heeding demands for paper money, riotous mobs prevented the courts from hearing debt cases. By the autumn the malcontents had found a leader in Daniel Shays, a bankrupt farmer. In January 1787 Shays led several hundred armed men toward the federal arsenal at Springfield. Militiamen quickly dispersed the rebels and put down the insurgency. Nevertheless, Shays' rebellion, coupled with the Rhode Island paper money issue, alarmed conservatives everywhere. Fear of anarchy gave a crucial impetus to the movement to strengthen the national government's powers.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The economic impact of the War of Independence

3 Political developments in the USA

Key question: What was the political impact of the American Revolution?

The conflict between America and Britain produced a political philosophy at the centre of which was a belief in republicanism – government by the consent of the governed.

State governments

How democratic were most states?

Between 1776 and 1780 all but two states adopted new constitutions which embodied the principles of republicanism. However, these principles were contested.

Elitists vs. democrats

After 1775–6 the struggle about home rule was transformed into one about who should rule at home. In deciding what type of government the new states should have, Americans divided into two camps: elitists and democrats.

The elitists, fearing that too much democracy would result in anarchy, sought to design republics along the lines of the former colonies, whereby:

- the franchise was limited to property-holders
- there should be (high) property qualifications for office-holding
- the right to vote was exercised relatively infrequently
- there would be a two-housed legislature, one representing the people and the other the elite
- governors had wide powers.

In contrast, the democrats, often men from humble backgrounds, favoured:

- a broad franchise
- no – or low – property qualifications for holding office
- frequent elections
- one-housed legislatures
- a weak executive.

State constitutions

While varying in detail, the state constitutions resembled each other in many respects.

- Most legislatures consisted of two houses.
- All the original thirteen states required property ownership or payment of taxes to vote. However, property qualifications for voting were low. In most states more than two-thirds of white men over the age of 21 could vote.
- Qualifications for office-holding were generally reduced.
- Every state (except Pennsylvania) had a single executive head – the governor, usually chosen by the legislature. The deep suspicion of executive authority resulted in governors usually being appointed for only one year and being denied many of the powers enjoyed by their royal predecessors.

Government limitations

Although most constitutions affirmed the principle of the separation of powers (between the legislative, executive and judiciary), authority was largely concentrated in the legislatures. However, the legislatures' power was limited, first by the (usual) requirement to hold annual elections and second by the inclusion in most constitutions of declarations of rights. These enumerated those fundamental English liberties that Americans had come to regard as their own: for example, freedom of expression, worship and assembly, the right to jury trial, and protection against cruel and unusual punishments.

New men

Given that most states reduced property qualifications for voting and office-holding, governments became more responsive to popular opinion. According to historian Jackson Turner Main state legislatures were significantly different from colonial assemblies. Pre-1775 small farmers and artisans had accounted for only a fifth of the members of the assemblies: afterwards they constituted a majority in some northern legislatures and a sizeable minority in the South. While the wealthy continued to dominate American politics, ordinary folk now had a greater voice in affairs.

Critics complained that the new constitutions were dangerously democratic and not conducive to good government. However, according to historian Colin Bonwick, the states' administrative performance was 'far better than contemporary, and later critics, have allowed'.

The national government 1775–87

How effective were the Articles of Confederation?

The emergence of a vigorous national union was not inevitable. While opposition to Britain stimulated unity and the outbreak of fighting made collaboration imperative, any sense of American nationality was embryonic. People continued to think of themselves as Virginians or Pennsylvanians first and Americans second. Moreover, the colonies had rebelled against Britain in order to control their own internal affairs. Since a strong national government would necessarily diminish states' authority, many resisted it as being a repudiation of the Revolution itself.

The Articles of Confederation

Congress was poorly fitted to exercise national authority, functioning more as a conference of the states' representatives than as an autonomous government. In 1776 Congress produced a draft constitution – the Articles of Confederation. Largely the work of John Dickinson, the Articles provided for a central government with limited powers.

- Congress was composed of one body in which each state had one vote. State delegations consisted of two to seven persons.
- There was no provision for a national executive or judiciary.
- Congress could declare war, raise an army and navy, borrow and issue money, conclude treaties and alliances, apportion the common expenses among the states, settle interstate boundary disputes, regulate Indian affairs, make requisitions on the states for money and men (in case of war), set standards for weights and measures, and establish and regulate post offices.
- The Articles themselves could not be amended without the consent of all thirteen states.
- All powers not specifically granted to the Confederation were reserved to the states. Crucially Congress had no power to levy taxes, regulate trade or enforce financial requisitions.

Such was the hostility towards centralized authority, even of so limited a kind, that the Articles did not obtain Congressional approval until 1777. They were not ratified by all the states until 1781.

The political situation 1781–9

After 1781 the USA had only the semblance of a national government. Congress was in session only intermittently and had no fixed abode. Withdrawing from Philadelphia in 1783 to escape angry soldiers demanding back pay, it drifted to Princeton, Annapolis and Trenton before settling in New York. Attendance at sessions was thin. Most ambitious politicians preferred to serve within their states than in Congress. The three executive departments – foreign affairs, finance and war – functioned with varying degrees of success. Their main problem was that the Confederation had no coercive power over states. Moreover, once independence was achieved, the states attached less importance to unity, responding belatedly or not at all to Congressional requisitions.

How did the 1787 Constitution come into effect?

The 1787 Constitution

By the mid 1780s some Americans were appalled by the Confederation's weakness. The struggle for independence had increased the sense of being American. The war had produced a crop of national heroes (for example, George Washington) and national symbols (for example, the Stars and Stripes flag). Nationalism inspired the political leaders who led the movement for constitutional reform. Men like Alexander Hamilton, George Washington and James Madison wanted a unified republic which would command the world's respect – a truly national society in which state attachments were subordinate to American loyalties. Generally men of substance, nationalist leaders lacked faith in the common people's ability to exercise careful judgement and abhorred what they saw as democratic excesses in state government. Fearing that the Confederation's weakness endangered the experiment in republicanism, they favoured the creation of a strong national government, whose power was vested in the hands of the wealthy and well educated.

James Madison, the man who inspired the Constitution

After the shock of Shays' rebellion, Congress called upon the states in February 1787 to send delegates to a convention in Philadelphia in May 'for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation'.

The Founding Fathers

On 25 May the constitutional convention, meeting in the Philadelphia State House, began its work. Every state (except Rhode Island) was represented. The 55 delegates brought a broad range of experience.

- Forty-two had served in Continental or Confederation Congresses.
- Three were present and four were former state governors.
- Twenty had helped to draft their state's constitutions.

James Madison from Virginia had the greatest impact. Intellectually gifted, he came to Philadelphia with a clear idea of what he thought needed to be done to create a stronger federal union. The presence of George Washington

and Benjamin Franklin was crucial. Although rarely speaking, the fact that they were present gave the convention prestige. Washington was unanimously chosen to preside over proceedings.

Despite a large measure of agreement on principles, there was no unanimity on details.

Representation was the most contentious issue. Should all the states be equally represented in the legislature, irrespective of size? Or should representation be based on population?

The Constitution agreed

Madison's Virginia Plan set the agenda. It provided for a Congress of two houses, in each of which representation was to be proportionate to the population. The Virginia Plan was opposed by the smaller states. A Grand Committee worked out the 'Great Compromise' whereby all the states would have equal representation in the Senate while the House of Representatives would have proportional representation.

Delegates were also divided over slavery.

- Southerners wanted slaves to be included in the population total when allotting Congressional seats but left out in determining liability for taxation purposes. Northerners, by contrast, wanted slaves excluded from representation, since they were neither citizens nor voters, but included for tax purposes since they were a form of property. The convention eventually accepted the formula, whereby a slave was counted as three-fifths of a person for representation and direct taxation purposes.
- Some Northerners wanted the Constitution to ban the African slave trade. Southerners insisted that their states would never accept the Constitution if the right to import slaves was impaired. The convention eventually agreed that Congress would not have the authority to abolish the slave trade until 1808.

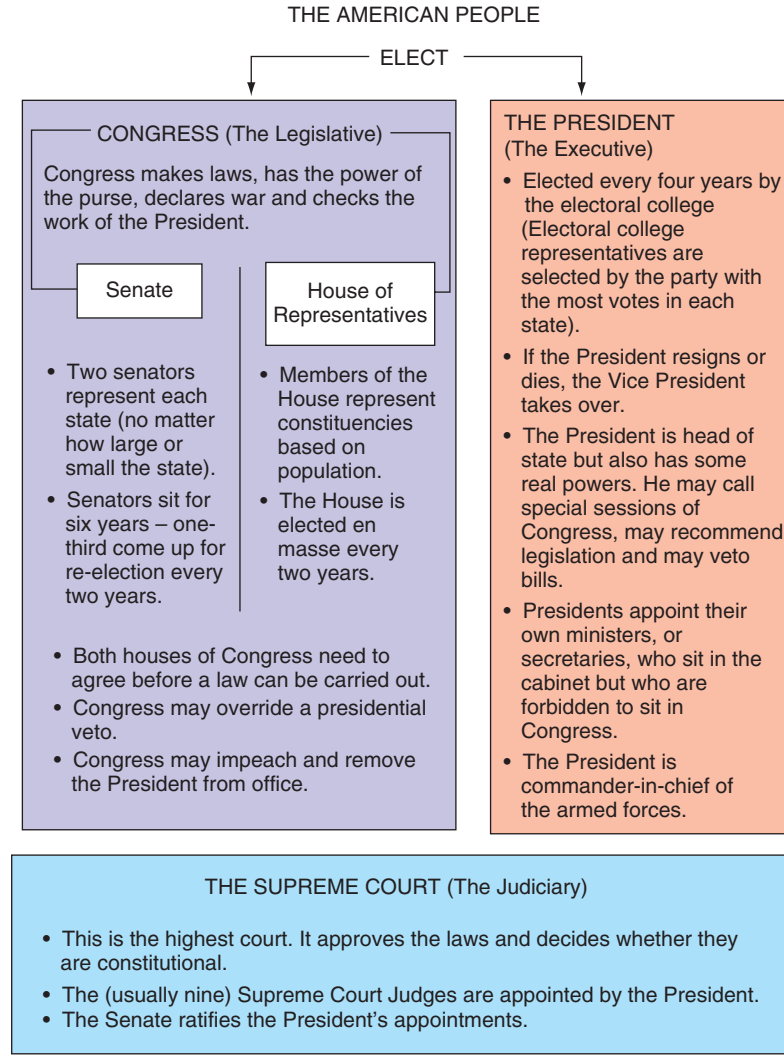
On 17 September the convention approved the Constitution and recommended to Congress that it should be submitted for ratification to popularly elected conventions in each state.

The Constitution

The Constitution proposed a system whereby the federal government had executive, legislative and judicial branches, each of which was able to check the actions of the others (see diagram on page 198).

The federal government was authorized to maintain an army and navy, coin and borrow money, make treaties with foreign powers, levy taxes and regulate commerce. The Constitution and all laws and treaties made under it were to be the supreme law of the land.

The states were specifically forbidden from waging war, engaging in diplomacy, coining money or laying duties on imports. Nevertheless, they retained considerable powers. (The slavery issue, for example, was left to the states.)



The Constitution

Criticisms of the Constitution

A common view in 1787 was that the Constitution represented a conservative backlash, curbing democracy.

- The electoral college would stand between the people and the president.
- Senators would be appointed by state governments, not direct election.
- Six-year terms would give senators considerable immunity from popular pressure.

With the benefit of hindsight, some of the Constitution's provisions have proved easy to criticize. The electoral college has, on occasions, prevented the candidate with most popular votes from becoming president. The need for a two-thirds approval of the Senate for treaties has handicapped foreign policy-making. Moreover, much of the Constitution was couched in general

terms and many issues were left open. The boundaries between federal and state power, for example, were not sharply defined. Nor was it clear whether individual states could secede from the new 'club'. This last question was not resolved until the Civil War (1861–5).

Praise for the Constitution

'I confess that there are several parts of the Constitution which I do not at present approve', said Benjamin Franklin, 'but I am not sure I shall never approve them … I consent, Sir, to the Constitution because I expect no better and because I am not sure that it is not the best.'

Nineteenth-century British Prime Minister William Gladstone went further, describing it as 'the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of men'.

Arguably the Constitution was indeed a masterpiece of ingenuity which helped save the Revolution.

- It accepted that the sole fount of legitimate political authority was the people.
- It created a system of checks and balances: executive versus the legislative versus the judiciary; House of Representatives versus the Senate; popular election versus indirect election, and federal government versus state governments.
- It reconciled the interests of large and small states; slave and free states; and federal government and state governments.
- It has stood the test of time. With relatively few amendments, it is still the fundamental law of the USA.

The ratification process

How was the Constitution ratified?

Congress voted to submit the proposed Constitution to the states for ratification. The new document would become operative when ratified by nine states. The fact that it was to be submitted to specially elected state conventions would ensure that it was based on popular consent.

Federalists v. Anti-Federalists

The Constitution's supporters won an important first trick when they appropriated the word 'Federalist' to describe themselves. (The word would have been a more apt title for their opponents.) The fact that the Federalist opponents were dubbed 'Anti-Federalists' cast them in a negative role. Federalist supporters tended to be men of property and position: Anti-Federalists were more likely to be small farmers, especially from isolated regions. It seems likely that at the outset most Americans were opposed to the Constitution. Nevertheless, the Federalists had several advantages.

- They offered a specific set of solutions to the nation's political problems.
- Washington's and Franklin's support added lustre to the Federalist cause.

- Anti-Federalist support, scattered across isolated farms, was difficult to organize.
- The vast majority of newspapers were Federalist-inclined.

The ratification process

Of the first five states to ratify, Delaware, New Jersey and Georgia did so unanimously. Pennsylvania approved by a comfortable majority and Connecticut by an overwhelming one. Thus the Federalist cause built up an early momentum. After a spirited contest in Massachusetts, moderate Anti-Federalists were won over by a Federalist pledge to consider appending a Bill of Rights (see below) to the Constitution. Maryland and South Carolina followed Massachusetts' ratification. New Hampshire and Virginia ratified in June 1788. After much debate, New York ratified in July 1788. Although North Carolina and Rhode Island stood aloof, the new Constitution could now begin to function. As its last act the Confederation Congress ordered national elections for January 1789.

	State	Date	Vote in Convention	Rank in population	1790 population
1	Delaware	7 Dec 1787	Unanimous	13	59,096
2	Pennsylvania	12 Dec 1787	46 to 23	3	433,611
3	New Jersey	18 Dec 1787	Unanimous	9	184,139
4	Georgia	2 Jan 1788	Unanimous	11	82,548
5	Connecticut	9 Jan 1788	128 to 40	8	237,655
6	Massachusetts (in Maine)	7 Feb 1788	187 to 168	2	475,199
7	Maryland	28 April 1788	63 to 11	6	319,728
8	South Carolina	23 May 1788	149 to 73	7	249,073
9	New Hampshire	21 June 1788	57 to 47	10	141,899
10	Virginia	26 June 1788	89 to 79	1	747,610
11	New York	26 July 1788	30 to 27	5	340,241
12	North Carolina	21 Nov 1789	195 to 77	4	395,005
13	Rhode Island	29 May 1790	34 to 32	12	69,112

Ratification of the Constitution

The 1789 election

The 1789 election gave the Federalists large majorities in both houses of Congress. Electoral college representatives chose Washington as president: no one stood against him. He was inaugurated on 30 April 1789. Scrupulously following his mandate as outlined in the Constitution, he proved to be an excellent choice (see page 137).

The Bill of Rights

In September 1789 Congress approved a number of amendments to protect civil liberties and submitted them to the states for ratification. Of these the states approved ten, including those guaranteeing freedom of religion and of speech, the right to bear arms, and the right to due process of law. The adoption

of the ten amendments (known as the Bill of Rights) helped to convince North Carolina (1789) and Rhode Island (1790) to enter the new union.

The Founding Fathers' reputation

Were the Founding Fathers an 'assembly of demigods'?

Thomas Jefferson described the Constitutional Convention as 'an assembly of demigods'. Many historians have agreed. Late-nineteenth-century historian John Fiske called the years from 1781 to 1787 the 'Critical Period', depicting the Confederation as a weak government, unable to deal with a range of problems. According to Fiske, the USA was close to disintegration until the Founding Fathers rode to the rescue, drafting an effective Constitution which laid the foundation of all that followed.

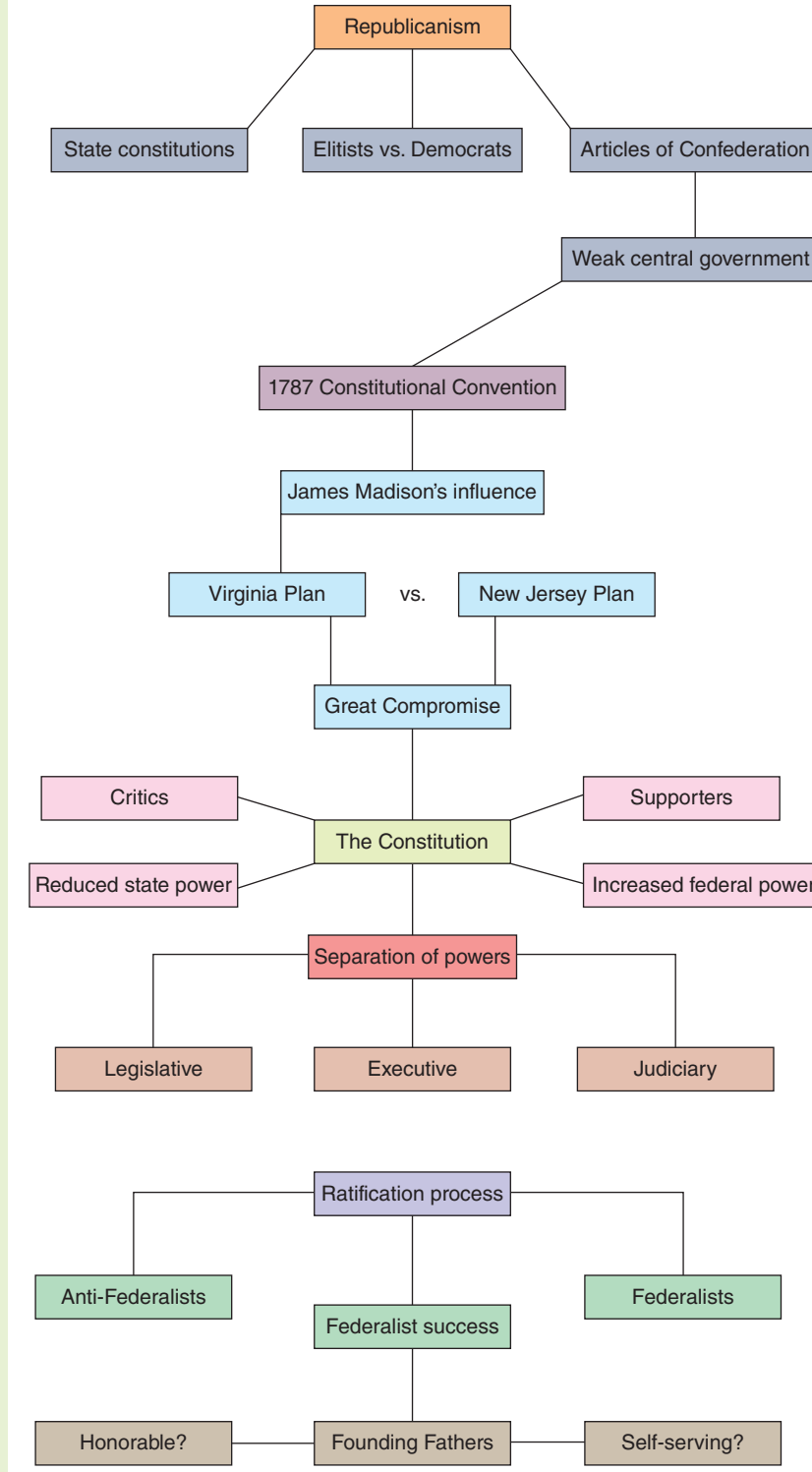
However, twentieth-century **revisionist historians** such as Charles Beard have a different view. They see the years from 1781 to 1787 as years of achievement not failure. Rather than the Revolution's saviours, they claimed the Founding Fathers were upper-class conservatives, conspiring to preserve their own economic interests. Revisionists depict the Constitution as a reactionary document, the product not so much of democracy but of devious men who feared it.

KEY TERM

Revisionist historians
Historians who disagree with established views and offer alternative opinions.

It is now generally accepted that the 1780s was not a decade of unrelieved gloom. Nor is it fair to blame all the troubles of the period on the Articles. Nevertheless, Congress' authority steadily diminished after 1783. By 1785 American finances were in disarray, the USA was treated with contempt by Britain and Spain, and Congress was increasingly moribund.

No one doubts that the Founding Fathers represented the richest groups in the USA or that they wished to construct a system that would ensure their wealth was protected. However, economic interest alone did not determine the framing of the Constitution. The Founding Fathers were men of ideas and principles. Most believed that the survival of liberty was at stake. From their understanding of classical literature, they were convinced that excessive democracy was as dangerous as monarchical tyranny. Historian Esmond Wright regards the Founding Fathers as patriots who sought to create a strong government not only, and perhaps not mainly, to curb democracy but also to preserve the Union and the gains of the Revolution.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Political developments in the USA

4 Key debate

Key question: *How revolutionary was the (North) American Revolution?*

In 1776 John Adams wrote, 'We are in the very midst of a Revolution, the most complete, unexpected and remarkable of any in the history of nations.' But historians continue to debate just how revolutionary the American Revolution was.

SOURCE C

An extract from *Genius of American Politics*, by Daniel. J. Boorstin, University of Chicago Press, USA, 1953, page 75.

… properly speaking, 1776 had no sequel, and needed none. The issue was separation, and was accomplished.

SOURCE D

An extract from *The American Revolution*, by Colin Bonwick, Palgrave Macmillan, UK, 2005, page 2.

Separation from Britain was only a prerequisite beginning: independence and military victory were necessary to the Revolution, but were not sufficient for its achievement. The accompanying internal revolution was what shaped the United States as they asserted their independence and then moulded their future development. It created a republican system of government based on the sovereignty of the people in place of traditional monarchic society, drastically altered the relationship between elites and their social inferiors, and introduced a sequence of major reforms … Founding a republican regime created a society very different from contemporary European societies, set an ideological agenda for the future, constructed a political framework sufficiently strong and supple to meet the needs of later generations, and propelled the United States in a democratic direction. It was these developments that formed the heart of the Revolution.

SOURCE E

An extract from Gordon S. Wood, in *Major Problems in American History. Volume 1: To 1877: Documents and Essays*, edited by Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman and Jon Gjerde, Houghton Mifflin Company, USA, 2002, page 131.

The Revolution in effect set in motion ideological and social forces that doomed the institution of slavery in the North and led inexorably to the Civil War. With all men now considered to be equally free citizens, the way was prepared as well for a radical change in the conception of state power.

TOK

What is at stake in deeming the American Revolutionary War as having been truly revolutionary or not? (Language, Logic, Emotion, History)

Examine Sources C, D, E and F (pages 203–4).

a Why do historians tend to have very different views about the concept of 'revolution'?

b Why do some of the sources claim the American Revolution was 'revolutionary'?

SOURCE F

An extract from William W. Freehling, quoted in *Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760–1791: Documents and Essays*, edited by Richard D. Brown, Heath and Company, USA, 1992, page 342.

The new charge that the Founding Fathers did next to nothing about bondage is as misleading as the older notion that they almost did everything. The abolitionist process proceeded slowly but inexorably from 1776 to 1860: slowly in part because of what Jefferson and his contemporaries did not do, inexorably in part because of what they did. The impact of the Founding Fathers on slavery, like the extent to which the American Revolution was revolutionary, must be seen in the long run not in terms of what changed in the late eighteenth century but in terms of how the Revolutionary experience changed the whole of American ***antebellum*** *history.*

KEY TERM

Antebellum The period of American history before the Civil War.

As the above sources suggest, there is considerable debate about what the Revolution actually was.

- Was it simply the thirteen colonies' decision to declare independence?
- Did it lie in the replacement of monarchy by a republican government?
- Did it take place in Americans' mentality and ideology or in the real world of social and political relationships?

Non-revolutionary?

Arguably, the Revolution hardly deserves its name. Certainly it had none of the cataclysmic quality associated with what happened in France in 1789 or in Russia in 1917. There was little social upheaval or class conflict and no radical reorganization of the economy. The new states looked similar to the old colonies in government terms. The elite who had helped create the Revolution remained in control of what they had created. American republicanism was not synonymous with egalitarianism. Poor white men were still excluded from participation in politics. Women and blacks scarcely benefited from the Revolution politically or socially. Thus, arguably, the Revolution was no more than a successful war which ended British rule but otherwise left things much as they had been.

Revolutionary?

But a case can be made for there being a 'real' revolution. Bonwick insists (quite persuasively), 'there can be no doubt that the United States which entered the nineteenth century was very different in many, if not all respects from the colonial America from which it emerged'.

John Adams observed that the Revolution was over before a shot was fired, for its essence lay in the changes of heart and mind that turned Britons who lived overseas into Americans who lived in their own country. By 1776 Americans, who had initially resisted British impositions by citing their rights as 'Englishmen', were speaking of the natural rights of men everywhere and were emphatically denying they were Englishmen.

The Revolution produced a federal union out of thirteen distinct colonies. The new nation was based on a body of ideas which differed from – indeed consciously repudiated – those of the Old World. Federal and state governments derived their authority from the people. Although total democracy was not established, the Revolution had a profoundly democratizing effect. Americans, in historian Edward Countryman's view, began to say that a private was as good as a colonel, a baker as good as a merchant, a ploughman as good as a landlord. Some even began to say the same about blacks and women. Certainly, Revolutionary ideals gave the quest of blacks, women and poor whites for equality a legitimacy it had not previously enjoyed.

Nor were the Revolution's results confined to North America. As the first successful war for independence in modern times, it served as an inspiration to the colonial peoples in Latin America. It was also a model for European radicals.

'It is impossible indeed', thought historian Esmond Wright, 'to find limits to the consequences for the world that have followed from the events that took place on the narrow Atlantic seaboard in the years from 1763 to 1783.'

5 The impact of the Wars of Liberation on Latin American society

Key question: What was the social impact of the Wars of Liberation?

The Wars of Liberation transformed Latin America's political landscape. But to what extent did this change the lives of Creoles, Amerindians, slaves and *castas*? Which social group benefited most from independence?

Creole dominance

What effect did the Wars of Liberation have on the Creole class?

The Creole upper class was the main beneficiary of independence. After liberation, this elite dominated all aspects of life – political, economic and social. Given the departure of the *peninsulares*, there were better opportunities for careers in government and politics. While a few humbly born leaders (like Páez in Venezuela) rose up the social scale, obtaining huge landed estates for their military services, there was no major change in the structure of society. The confiscation of *peninsulares* and loyalist Creole property had relatively little impact. Confiscated estates were usually kept intact and sold (or given) to already prosperous patriot landowners.

To what extent did the *castas* benefit from the liberation process?

The *castas*

Under Spanish rule, *castas* suffered from legal and social restrictions in education and government employment and paid a special tax. These discriminatory laws were repealed in most of the new republics. Some individual *castas,* largely on the basis of their military ability, rose to political prominence. However, Creoles still valued 'purity of blood' and were loath to share power with *castas.* Discrimination continued in most countries and in most aspects of life. Peru, for example, brought back a tax paid by *mestizos* which survived until the 1850s. Many agencies of social mobility (notably University entrance) remained closed to *castas*. Most *castas* wanted more than equality before the law: they wanted economic and political power. They did not get it.

What did Amerindians gain from the Wars of Liberation?

The Amerindians

Amerindians technically stood to benefit from the wars because patriot leaders, committed to equality before the law, elevated them to full citizenship within the new nations. In Peru, for example, the 1822 Congress promised the Amerindians freedom and equality:

Noble children of the sun, you are the first object of our concern. We recall your past sufferings, we work for your present and future happiness. You are going to be noble, educated and owners of property.

Well-meaning liberals freed Amerindians of ancient shackles such as the tribute and the *mita,* and hoped to break up the Amerindian communal lands, allowing families to possess their own plots of land.

However, Amerindians did not necessarily welcome these changes.

- Many saw the payment of tribute as proof of their entitlement to their communal lands. (In much of Mexico, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, 30 to 40 per cent of land was still held and worked communally by Amerindians.)
- They feared the consequences of splitting up the communal lands.

Relatively little was done before 1850 to split up the communal lands. But when it did happen, Amerindians were usually despoiled of their lands by unscrupulous Creoles. Most were then forced to work as **peons** on ***haciendas***. Even the elimination of the tribute and *mita* often proved short-lived. In Bolivia and Peru the tribute was restored in the 1820s because the new governments could not survive without the revenue that it produced. Consequently, Amerindians did not benefit from the wars. Nor did liberal policy succeed in integrating them into the nation. In some states, particularly Mexico, Amerindian unrest led to a wave of rebellions in the three decades after 1820.

KEY TERM

Peons Poorly paid rural labourers.

Hacienda A large ranch or estate.

Black Americans

To what extent did the Wars of Liberation bring about the end of slavery in Latin America?

The wars dealt a serious blow to slavery.

- The confusion of wartime offered increased opportunities to runaway slaves.
- Abolition of the African slave trade by all the Spanish American republics had a major impact.
- Slaves, recruited for military service, fought for the promise of freedom.
- Humanitarian sentiments and practical economic considerations challenged the institution.
- By the mid 1820s everywhere except Paraguay and Brazil had accepted the principle of **free birth**.
- Some countries abolished slavery outright, for example, Chile (1823) and Mexico (1829).

KEY TERM

Free birth The fact that newborn babies, even those born to slaves, were free.

Nevertheless, the law of free birth was rarely implemented effectively and slavery lingered on in many countries until the 1850s.

It has been claimed that slavery in Latin America was less severe than slavery in the USA. However, recent research suggests that slavery was pretty much the same institution across the Americas. Although Latin American slaves appear to have had more in the way of legal rights, this meant very little in reality. Material conditions were probably harsher in Latin America than in the USA: certainly the death rate among slaves was higher.

Arguably the lot of most blacks did not greatly improve with emancipation. Most became part of the rural proletariat, often tied to the land by laws against vagrancy. However, the crucial point is that they were no longer slaves. They could not be punished or sold at their owner's whim. Emancipation was thus the most important social reform of the independence period.

The power of the landed elite

How did the landed elite retain its power?

Haciendas and plantations were the power base of the ruling oligarchy and thus a means of social control. While life on the estates varied widely, people generally worked long hours for little reward. They were often not paid in currency but in certificates or metal discs redeemable only at the local all-purpose store where prices were high. Consequently, peons found themselves in a state of perpetual debt and by law they were bound to remain on the *hacienda* so long as they owed money. Moreover, debts were not eradicated at the time of death but passed on to children.

However, the system of debt peonage may not have been as dominant as once thought. Amerindians who were persuaded to come down from the highlands to work seasonally on coastal plantations soon learned to bargain actively for their labour with *hacienda* owners. Elsewhere *hacienda* workers were sometimes small landowners or tenants who farmed a portion of the *hacienda* for their own benefit.

Nevertheless, estate owners ruled their domains by personal authority, demanding obedience from the rural masses, mobilizing them for work and

sometimes for war. The masses – peons, wage labourers, small farmers, tenants and slaves – made little attempt to resist. For many, the landowner provided employment and some element of security from bandits, marauding Amerindians or recruiting sergeants.

Inequality

After liberation 90 per cent of the Latin American population continued to work on the land. Creoles owned most of the land while Amerindians, *castas* and blacks did most of the work. Society was thus marked by great economic, social and racial inequality. There was little in the way of social mobility. This resulted in an undercurrent of tension between 'haves' and 'have nots'. 'Latin America still awaited those further changes in social structure and economic organization without which its independence remained incomplete and its needs unfulfilled', writes historian John Lynch.

To what extent was the role of women affected by the wars?

Women's role

During the wars, some women marched with the armies as camp followers, cooking, nursing and (very) occasionally fighting. However, most women, both before and after liberation, continued to be confined by the roles of wife and mother. Males dominated most aspects of life. Worship of the Virgin Mary, celebrating femininity and docility, may have reinforced the traditional roles expected of women.

A vast gulf divided Creole ladies, surrounded by servants and slaves, from Amerindian and black women subordinated by gender and colour. Upper-class women might find opportunities for the expression of their desires and skills, controlling female religious orders, organizing schools and colleges, and sustaining charitable activities. Lower-class women had fewer opportunities. Their lives were devoted to tending the young, housekeeping and working – most toiling on the soil, helping families to eke out an existence.

Why was the Church threatened?

The Catholic Church

During the wars, the Church lost some influence. The **papacy** condemned the revolutionaries and did not recognize the new republics until the mid 1830s. There also remained the unresolved matter of the historic right of the Spanish monarch to make ecclesiastical appointments in America. Papal authorities initially refused to extend this right to those presidents of republics who claimed it. Thus, with independence many bishoprics remained unfilled, adding to the number of dioceses left vacant after the return of peninsula clergy to Spain. The shortage of bishops was inevitably accompanied by a shortage of priests. This contributed to the weakening of the Church's position.

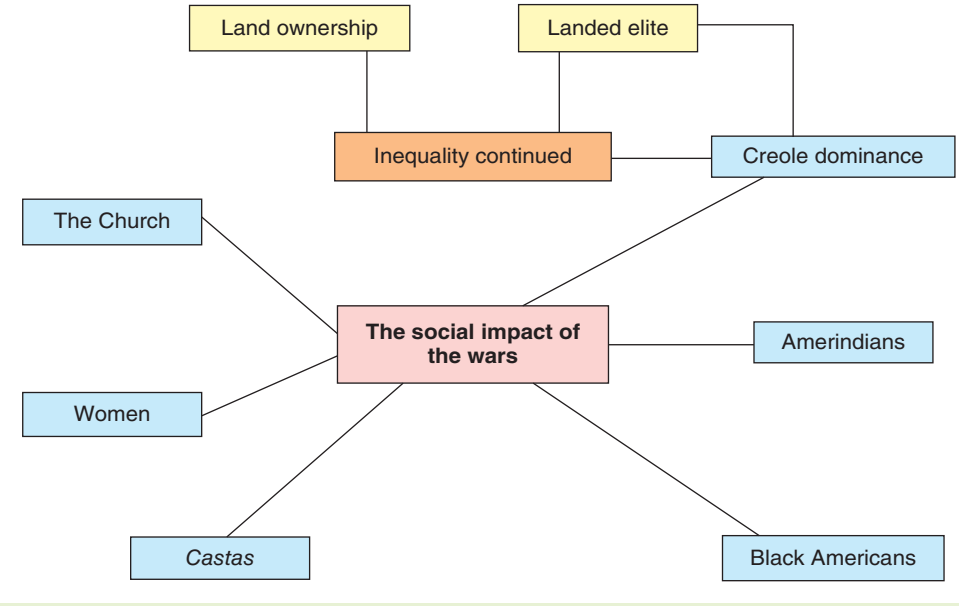
During the wars there was a decline in all kinds of religious vocations. In part this reflected the influence of secularizing currents of thought from abroad. It also reflected a decline in the attractiveness of clerical careers as against those available in other fields.

After independence some governments stripped away some of the Church's power by confiscating lands and property, reducing or phasing out tithes,

KEY TERM

Papacy The office and government of the Pope.

eliminating or cutting back religious orders, secularizing education and attacking other privileges. The Church resisted the attacks. Given the deep-seated beliefs of many Americans, it still had considerable influence (particularly in Mexico). Generally, it sought to keep faith and preserve traditions.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The impact of the Wars of Liberation on Latin American society

6 The economic impact of the Wars of Liberation

Key question: What was the economic impact of the Wars of Liberation?

The economy during the wars

How economically damaging were the wars?

The wars had a damaging effect on the economies of most states.

- Farms were laid waste, farm machinery destroyed and animals killed or taken to provide food and transport for armies.
- Neglect and lack of maintenance had a harmful effect on mining installations in Peru, Bolivia and Mexico. Mexican silver production fell by 75 per cent.

- Military conscription uprooted the workforce from both fields and mines. Slaves often took the opportunity to escape.
- Between 1810 and 1823 the total number of people in Spanish America probably increased by half a million, slower than the population growth before 1810 and after 1823. In areas that saw heavy fighting – Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela – the population may have fallen. Given that the opposing sides were not capable of putting large bodies of men into combat, relatively few people died in battle or in the reprisals that often followed. Armies and civilian populations suffered greater losses from disease, arising from appalling hygiene conditions in the military camps. There were additional losses from voluntary or forced emigration of *peninsulares* and Creole loyalists. There was also a decline in immigration.

However, the situation was not all grim.

- Abandoned fields could be quickly brought back under cultivation and animals replaced.
- The economic effects of the wars were unequally distributed over different regions and sectors of production. The Argentinian cattle industry, for example, prospered.
- Ports freed from Spanish control were opened to foreign trade. British merchants, in particular, stepped into the void. British imports in Chile, for example, rose from £37,000 in 1817 to £400,000 in 1822. Britain also became the chief market for Latin American exports.

Financial problems

Capital became scarce during the wars. Production of gold and silver fell. Money was exported to buy arms. *Peninsulares* departed for Spain, taking their money with them. The war effort also created new financial demands that authorities were unable to meet, particularly as taxes were hard to collect during wartime conditions. In an effort to make ends meet, governments had to borrow.

- 'Extraordinary contributions' and forced loans were introduced, particularly on those who were in political disfavour (for example, Spanish merchants in patriot territory).
- The Church, willingly or otherwise, provided loans to both sides.
- Every patriot government sought foreign (mainly British) loans. The first major foreign loans were floated in 1822: £1 million for Chile; £1.2 million for Peru: £2 million for Gran Colombia. Borrowing continued thereafter.

By the mid 1820s most Latin American nations were in dire straits financially. Military expenses remained huge, often absorbing two-thirds of a state's revenues. The arrival of British and other foreign merchants, bearing a range of consumer goods, found a greater demand than could be paid for out of export earnings.

The Latin American economy post-1825

How successful were Latin American economies post-1825?

Lack of records makes it hard to compare volumes of production between 1800 and 1825. However, everything points to decline. There was not much improvement between 1825 and 1850.

Local economies

Haciendas were essentially self-sufficient, producing food and rudimentary goods for local consumption, as well as cash crops or animal products for export. Poor Creoles and *mestizos* who owned or rented small plots of land, farmed mainly for subsistence. Craftsmen in villages and towns continued to work in the traditional way. Manufactured imports, especially from Britain, were a threat to some of them. But freight to remoter places was still difficult. Consequently, craftsmen in inland areas were less exposed to foreign competition than craftsmen in coastal towns.

There was little in the way of industrialization before 1850. The only exception was Mexico where the first water-powered, cotton-spinning mill appeared at Puebla in 1832–3. By the mid 1840s, 50 such mills existed, in addition to a number of weaving establishments. The mills had start-up capital from the government and tariff protection.

Exports

The recovery in overseas sales after 1825 was slow. The value per head of Latin America exports in 1850 was similar to that in 1830.

- Silver production in Peru and Mexico did not reach its pre-independence levels until after 1850.
- New ore discoveries in Chile in the 1830s resulted in the country becoming a major exporter of silver and copper.
- Argentina and Uruguay continued to export hides, **tallow** and salted beef.
- Sheep became important to Argentina's economy in the 1840s.
- Venezuela and Ecuador continued to export cacao.
- Venezuela became a large exporter of coffee.
- On the Chincha islands, off Peru, bird droppings had accumulated to depths of up to 98 feet. The substance – guano – was an excellent fertilizer. By the 1850s guano was a valuable export.

KEY TERM

Tallow Cattle fat used for a variety of purposes but especially for making soap and candles.

Throughout the colonial period, the value of Latin American exports had been considerably higher than the value of imports. After liberation, this situation was reversed (until the 1850s). Consequently Spanish America continued to be short of capital.

Foreign investment

Leaders of the new nations sought to advance their economies by attracting capital, new technology and skilled labour. Few of these goals were accomplished.

In the early 1820s Mexico, Gran Colombia, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Brazil received loans totalling more than £20 million, mainly from British investors. Unfortunately, the nations were unable to service the debts and by 1827 all the loans were in default. Thereafter, foreign loans became virtually unobtainable, except in Brazil.

Some British individuals invested in Latin American mining, establishing more than twenty mining companies. Lacking sufficient capital and skilled labour, and stymied by poor communications, the companies quickly collapsed.

Lack of foreign investment impeded Latin America's economic growth.

Economic dependence

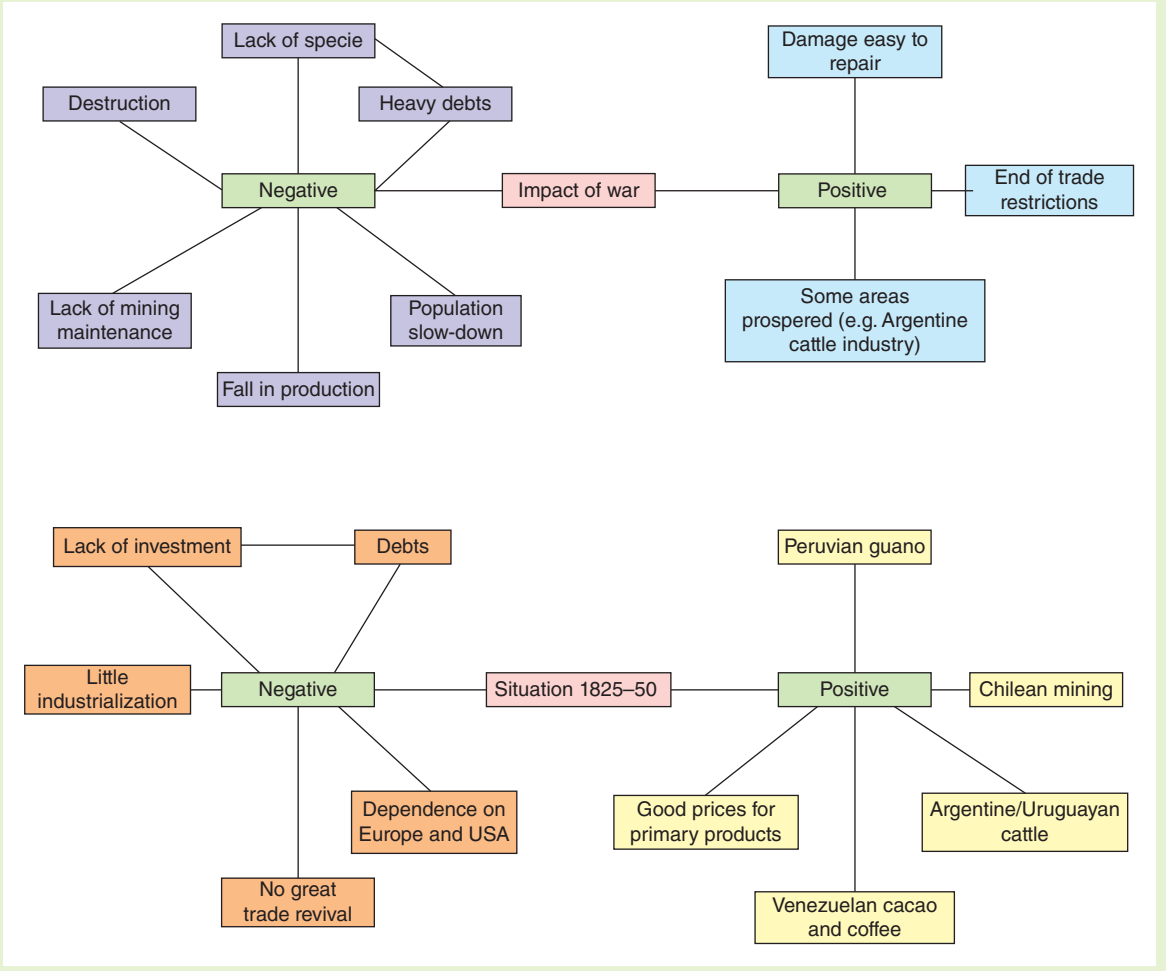
The prices of Latin American exports (mainly agricultural goods and minerals) stayed relatively strong after 1825. By contrast, the price of manufactured goods fell sharply. The cheapening of imports meant that Latin America benefited from industrialization without itself industrializing. But this benefit came at a cost. Dependence on foreigners for manufactured goods could lead to interruption of supply or the danger of having to pay whatever manufacturers might charge. Equally dangerous was the fact that Latin America was at the mercy of foreign markets for the price of its primary products. 'We must diversify or perish', Bolívar had declared. But there was little economic diversification after 1825.

Historians continue to debate whether political independence brought Latin America economic independence. Arguably the new states simply passed from being economic colonies of Spain and Portugal to being colonies of Britain, which held a near monopoly on Latin American trade by 1825. However, over the next 25 years that stranglehold relaxed somewhat as the USA, France and other European countries moved into Latin American markets. Moreover, 'dependence' on Britain was far less harsh than the trading restrictions and fiscal demands once imposed by Spain and Portugal.

Most of the politically active class in Latin America (including Bolívar) supported free-market economics. Nevertheless, from time to time tariffs were imposed to protect local production or (more commonly) to raise money for governments.

Conclusion

Virtually all the new nations found financial and economic problems resulting from the wars a difficult legacy to overcome. Damaged economies did not easily yield the funds needed to operate government at even a low level. Economic and political troubles were inextricably linked: economic problems made government problems worse while political instability deterred potential investors, thereby hindering economic recovery.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The economic impact of the Wars of Liberation

7 The political impact of the Wars of Liberation

Key question: *What was the political impact of the Wars of Liberation?*

Before the wars, the king was the source of legitimacy. Afterwards there was a new source: the Constitution. While monarchs were thought to be sanctioned by God, constitutions were instruments made by humans. That meant they could be changed: indeed, they were changed with such rapidity that the Latin American political scene after 1820 was bewildering.

Why was Spanish America so politically unstable?

Political instability

Republicanism became (in theory) the guiding ideology of the new states. However, having won political power, Creoles were unwilling to sacrifice it to those they perceived to be their inferiors.

Convinced that liberal republican values would result in anarchy, Bolívar moved towards ever more authoritarian constitutions for the territories he liberated. His 1826 Bolivian Constitution aimed to have 'all the strength of centralized government, all the stability of monarchical regimes'. Political stability was to remain a mirage in Bolivia and most of Spanish America.

Ironically, the frequent turn-over of governments, the suspension of constitutions, *coups d'etat*, and civil wars masked a basic stability in post-independence society. In social terms, Latin America, according to historian John Lynch, was 'one of the least revolutionary places in the world'. The political changes were struggles for power within the ruling class: they did not affect the mass of the people, except to the extent that they were often appallingly governed.

Lack of unity

The Spanish imperial state crumbled into a large number of independent and often mutually hostile nations. The territories of the new republics corresponded to the areas of jurisdiction of the old *audiencias*. The cities in which the *audiencias* had their seats became the centres of national authority. The most bitter disputes over national boundaries occurred in those areas (for example, the former viceroyalties of New Granada and Río de la Plata) where sixteenth-century jurisdictions had been redrawn in the eighteenth century, creating conflicts of allegiance between the newer centres and older focuses of authority. Bogotá, the viceregal seat of New Granada, proved unable, as capital of Gran Colombia, to retain the loyalty of areas under the jurisdiction of Quito or Caracas. Similarly, Buenos Aires was unable to control La Paz and Montevideo.

Even where states cohered easily around an agreed capital, the question of regional autonomy became a bone of contention. Regional elites, intent on retaining their traditional power, sought to develop autonomous governments which were usually resistant to central authority.

The new nations faced a number of other forces which were hostile to the growth of strong states. These included:

- the lack of a sense of national identity among the mass of people
- the rights and privileges of the army and Church, which made both institutions states within states
- Amerindian communities which had no sense of loyalty to the various states.

Conservatives and Liberals

After liberation, the Creole ruling classes split into factions of conservatives and liberals, each with mutually incompatible views on how to achieve the same ends – the power and prosperity of their own class and race.

Conservatives, suspicious of modern ideas and values, hoped to preserve as much of the old social and political conditions as possible. Most favoured a paternalistic form of government – a virtual king with the title of president. They also wanted to preserve the influence of the Church, the source of spiritual certainty and the bearer of a long social and cultural tradition – a force that could bind society together.

Liberals, influenced by French, British, North American and Spanish political examples, believed in free elections (although few wanted to extend the franchise to the mass of the population), limited government, free market economics, and in freedom of speech, association and religion. In the perfect liberal state, no hereditary or legal privilege would be accorded to groups such as the army or clergy: all citizens would be equal before the law. Most liberals sought to promote a secular society where the state would supplant the Church.

Liberals had the problem of implementing their beliefs. Early experiments in **liberal constitutionalism** quickly collapsed, destroyed by struggles among elite factions and between rival provinces. Liberal failures ensured that conservatives tended to dominate Latin American governments from the late 1820s to the mid 1840s. In an attempt to gain access to power, many liberals were prepared to strike bargains with *caudillos* (see page 216), supporting full-blooded dictatorships, supposedly for the sake of liberal progress.

To some extent liberalism and conservatism represented different interest groups: urban versus rural; entrepreneurial versus aristocratic; province versus capital city. But in practice these interest alignments often dissolved. In theory, liberals favoured federalism while conservatives supported central control and a strong executive. But when the opportunity occurred, liberals would often impose liberalism by central institutions while conservatives, to preserve their control in particular provinces, might well be federalists.

The actual business of politics was conducted through networks of alliances between factions led by individuals who would reward their clients with favours in return for loyalty and services rendered.

Adoption of a political ideology was often a matter of family or regional loyalty.

The (often violent) liberal-conservative conflict, played out almost everywhere, created conditions of political instability, allowing ***caudillismo*** to flourish.

KEY TERM

Liberal constitutionalism A system that combines the right to individual freedom with the right to representative government.

Caudillismo A political system where a *caudillo* – a Latin America dictator – ruled.

Caudillos

As the Spanish colonial state collapsed, various groups competed to fill the vacuum. *Caudillos* were usually military leaders, deriving their power from control of local resources. Classic *caudillismo* took the form of armed patron-client bands, held together by personal ties of dominance and submission, and by a common desire to obtain wealth by force of arms. Most were quite prepared to use violence to maintain their power which – with some notable exceptions – rarely lasted for long.

After liberation most *caudillos* came from wealthy families. They usually represented particular regions, defending regional interests against the policy of the centre. However, the *caudillos'* domain might grow from local to national dimensions. At national level, the *caudillo* was essentially a dictator.

Treating politics as a form of economic enterprise, *caudillos* adopted liberalism or conservatism as best suited their strategy for winning control of public funds in order to enhance their capacity to offer largesse and patronage to followers, so building up their networks of power. Few were reformers although some (for example, Rosas of Argentina) tried to adopt that mantle.

The militarization of politics

The military gained in numbers and importance during the wars. Thereafter, the army played an important role in the political process, its support often crucial in determining who held power. Even where civilian elites were able to establish dominance over the military, they often employed generals as heads of state. A prestigious general could prevent barrack revolts and regional challenges to national authority. However, most republics were too weak financially to maintain large armies. Accordingly, ad hoc forces, raised by local *caudillos*, had some chance of seizing power nationally.

Was Latin America ungovernable?

Latin American politics

Just before he died, Bolívar observed, 'America is ungovernable.' Some countries proved more ungovernable than others.

Argentina

The early years of independence brought chaotic struggles between liberals and conservatives. The (liberal) centralists of Buenos Aires clashed with (conservative) provincial *caudillos* intent on carving out fiefdoms for themselves. Between 1811 and 1829 presidents, triumvirates, juntas and congresses attempted to rule. In 1829 Juan Manuel de Rosas became governor of Buenos Aires with a mandate to restore order. A great landowner, he allied himself to those who supported federalism and presented himself as the champion of the lower orders. When his term as governor expired in 1833, he led a successful military campaign against Amerindians, leaving his wife behind to organize a mass movement in favour of his 'restoration' to power.

When Rosas returned to Buenos Aires in 1835 he became dictator, terrorizing his enemies. Behind the popular trappings of his regime, Rosas had little to offer the dispossessed groups that supported him. He was essentially a representative of the landed elite, supporting policies that benefited their interests. He was finally overthrown when a coalition of his enemies – provincial *caudillos* and exiled liberals supported by Uruguay and Brazil – coalesced in 1851–2. Defeated in battle, Rosas fled to Britain. Argentina remained a collection of feuding provinces.

Uruguay

In 1825 Uruguayan nationalists, with Argentina's support, rose in rebellion against Brazilian rule. Britain brokered a peace in 1828, ensuring Uruguay emerged as an independent state. In the 1830s a civil war between rival *caudillos* provoked intervention by Rosas of Argentina, Brazil, Britain and France. Conflict continued until 1852 when Rosas was overthrown.

Paraguay

From 1814 to 1840 Paraguay was a dictatorship, ruled by Gaspar de Francia. When the old ruling elite rose against him in 1820 he responded with a campaign of terror, executing many of his opponents. Much of the land was taken into public ownership and then either leased out to small farmers or developed into state farms, worked collectively by peasants or slaves. Francia isolated Paraguay from its neighbours and from foreigners, commercially and culturally. His successor Carlos Antonio López continued to rule in a similar fashion after 1840. Compared with many other Latin American countries, Paraguay prospered economically.

Chile

Various liberal dictatorships followed O'Higgins' overthrow in 1823 (see page 152). A powerful faction of conservatives eventually won power in 1830. Diego Portales was the key politician until his assassination in 1837. Portales' 1833 Constitution was designed as a kind of constitutional monarchy without the monarch. The right to vote was restricted to males who fulfilled certain literacy and property requirements. Elections were manipulated by government officials, ensuring victory for the ruling party. Troublemakers were dealt with by arbitrary arrest and exile. If not particularly democratic, the transfer of power from president to president-elect every five years stood in striking contrast to Chile's *caudillo*-ridden neighbours. Political stability helped Chile become a formidable military and economic power in the region. Between 1836 and 1839 it fought a successful war to prevent Peru and Bolivia uniting (see below). Foreign investment poured into Chile and by 1850 it had become a leading exporter of silver, gold, coal and copper.

Bolivia

Led first by military hero Antonio José de Sucre and then by Andrés Santa Cruz, Bolivia remained economically and financially poor. Amerindians, 80 per cent of Bolivia's total population, remained subservient to the Creole elite and still paid tribute, the chief source of government revenue. In 1836 Santa Cruz brought Peru and Bolivia together into a confederation. Regarding this move as a threat to the region's balance of power, Chile declared war on the confederation. Chile's victory at Yungay (1839) ended the war and the confederation. Santa Cruz fled into exile and Peru and Bolivia went their separate ways. Between 1840 and 1849 there were no less than 65 attempted *coups d'état* in Bolivia.

Peru

Peruvian politics were chaotic. Between 1823 and 1850 six constitutions were proclaimed and at least 30 men occupied the executive office. General Ramón Castilla, who came to power in 1844, finally brought some political stability to the country. Moreover, Peru's economy was revived by the discovery that islands off its coast contained guano (see page 211). The guano boom brought about the formation of a commercial class that sought to modernize the country. In the 1850s Peru finally abolished slavery and the Amerindian tribute.

Ecuador

From 1830 to mid century, Ecuador was divided by the rivalry of Quito (the capital) and Guayaquil (a major Pacific port). Quito was generally conservative, Guayaquil more liberal. The main liberal leader was Vicente Rocafuerte. Conservatives rallied around Juan José Flores, elected Ecuador's first president in 1830. An 1833 revolt, led by Rocafuerte, was defeated and Rocafuerte captured. Flores surprised friends and foes alike by freeing his opponent. Elected president in 1834, Rocafuerte proved to be more authoritarian than progressive. In 1839 Flores again became president. When his four-year term expired, he scrapped the Constitution and devised a new one enabling him to be re-elected for eight years. Angry liberals rose in revolt and drove Flores into exile in 1845. His plots kept Ecuador unstable for the next fifteen years.

Colombia

In 1832 Colombia looked to one of its war heroes, Francisco de Paula Santander, for leadership. Avowedly liberal, he was also a *caudillo*, hanging opponents who conspired against him. After he stepped down in 1837, conservative and liberal factionalism divided Colombia for the next two decades.

Venezuela

After 1830 Venezuela was led by war hero José Antonio Páez. Economic prosperity, arising from increased coffee production, facilitated political tranquillity. However, a fall in world coffee prices heightened discontent which resulted in Páez's overthrow in 1848. Venezuela plunged into two decades of political turmoil – liberals against conservatives, rival *caudillos* against each other, and Páez (who was in and out of exile) against his enemies.

Mexico

After the overthrow of Iturbide in 1823 (see page 118), Mexico declared itself a republic and drew up a constitution modelled on that of the USA. The first years of the new republic were relatively tranquil. However, after his defeat in the 1828 presidential election, ex-independence fighter Vicente Guerrero challenged the result. With the support of Antonio López de Santa Anna, military commander of Veracruz, he forced another election in 1829 in which he was successful. Guerrero was then overthrown by conservatives in 1830. Vice President General Anastasio Bustamante now became president. An unsuccessful revolt by Guerrero resulted in his execution in 1831. In 1833 Santa Anna was elected president. He was something of a Mexican hero,

having repulsed a Spanish invasion in 1829. Bored with the tedium of government, he soon retired to his estates, leaving Vice President Valentín Gómez Farías in charge. When Farías' attempts to introduce a spate of anti-clerical measures alienated conservatives, Santa Anna threw him out in 1834 and established a new centralist constitution.

Discontent in several provinces boiled over into revolts which Santa Anna crushed. In 1835 American immigrants in Texas declared independence. Santa Anna marched north, capturing the mission of the Alamo and killing all its defenders. In April 1836 Texan leader Sam Houston surprised and routed the Mexican army at San Jacinto. Santa Anna was captured and signed a treaty, recognizing Texas' independence. However, a new government under Bustamante refused to accept the treaty.

Santa Anna's disgrace was short-lived. In 1838 he led Mexican forces against French troops (seeking compensation for damages to property of French nationals) at Veracruz, defeating the enemy and losing his right leg in the process. Once again a national hero, he proceeded to rule in a quasi-regal fashion. But his financial extravagance sparked a military revolt in 1844 and he was deposed.

In 1846 Mexico and the USA went to war over the disputed Rio Grande frontier. US forces soon trounced Mexican forces. Santa Anna returned to power, allied with Farías. Farías' plan to confiscate Church property to finance the war effort provoked yet another military uprising. Political divisions undermined Mexican efforts to oppose the Americans who captured Veracruz and Mexico City. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) stripped Mexico of New Mexico and California – half its national territory. It was not the only disaster. A series of Amerindian revolts in the late 1840s almost led to Mexico's disintegration.

The elites, liberals and conservatives alike, now closed ranks in defence of their Hispanic heritage. Although Mexico survived, divisions soon reappeared and the political situation remained chaotic. Santa Anna remained a major player. In his final presidency (1853–5) he accepted the title 'most serene highness' and ruled in dictatorial fashion. A liberal revolt drove him into exile in 1855. A man of few political convictions, he had been president – off and on – for some twelve years in total.

Central America

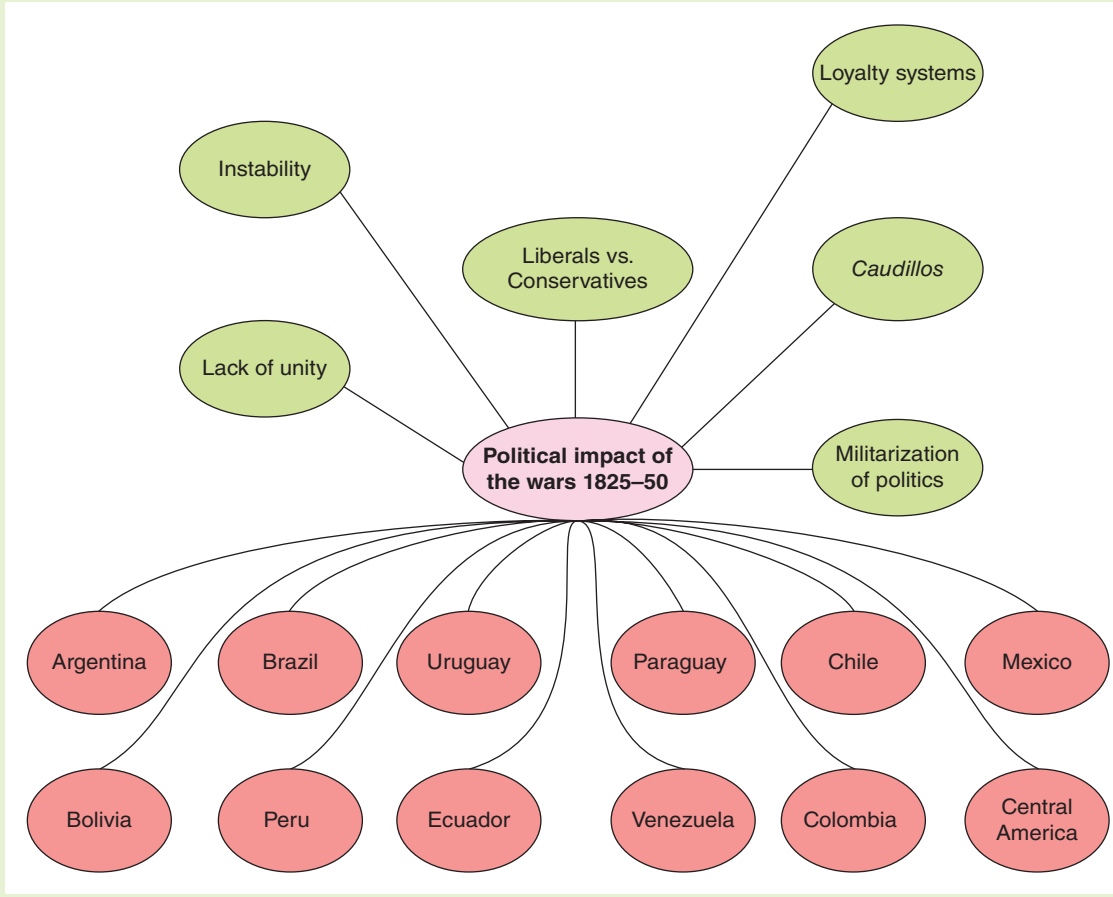
The United Provinces of Central America, comprising Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, were founded in 1824. Wracked by conservative-liberal disagreement and regional disputes, the United Provinces split apart in 1839. Each province became a nation in its own right.

Brazil

Emperor Pedro I was initially a powerful instrument of stability and national unity. Given extensive powers by the 1824 Constitution, he took over the existing state apparatus. However Pedro soon antagonized many of his subjects.

- He refused to sever his links with Portugal.
- Liberals suspected that he harboured absolutist designs.
- Between 1825 and 1828 Brazil fought a costly war over Uruguay.

Brazilians became restive. While some of Pedro's opponents just wanted to get rid of Pedro, others wanted to get rid of the monarchy altogether. Having lost the support of the army, Pedro abdicated in 1831 in favour of his five-year-old son, Pedro II. A period of political instability and a spate of provincial rebellions followed. By 1840, conservatives and liberals alike, fearing social chaos and the dismemberment of the country, agreed that Pedro should ascend the throne, four years before he was legally of age. After 1840 the country moved into a long period of stability and prosperity.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

The political impact of the Wars of Liberation

Chapter summary

The impact of independence on the economies and societies of the Americas

The War of Independence and the Wars of Liberation had a limited social effect. In North, South and Central America, great landed families and wealthy merchants continued to own most of the wealth. Even slavery did not disappear as a result of the independence struggles, continuing in the southern states of the USA and not ending in most of Latin America until the 1850s. Women's role in the USA and Latin America was not greatly affected by independence. Women, as a whole, were certainly not 'liberated'. Economically, the wars had a damaging effect in North and South America. While the USA quickly recovered, Latin America saw little economic growth in the three decades after 1825. The most revolutionary aspects of the independence struggles were political. The thirteen North American colonies remained united and devised a Constitution which has survived to the present day. Latin America, by contrast, split into its component parts. Almost everywhere constitutions and governments came and went. The only exception was Brazil which retained its unity and general political stability.

Examination advice

How to answer 'assess' questions

Questions that ask you to assess want you to make judgements that you can support with evidence, reasons and explanations. It is important for you to demonstrate why your own assessment is better than alternative ones.

Example

Assess the economic impact of the American Revolution.

1. For this question, you need to set the terms. Given the information in this chapter, you would be more likely to address the economic impact the revolution had on the Americans than the British. You should also state whether or not you mean the impact during the War of Independence or after. You might even consider the economic impact for both during *and* after. Be sure to state in your introduction which path you will follow. Finally, take care to focus on economic and not social or political impact. Examiners will judge your essay much more favourably if you do this. There are certainly times when social impact is related to economic impact. In these cases, make clear why and how the two are tied to one another.
2. If, for example, you chose to write about the economic impact of the American Revolution from 1775–85, you should begin by jotting down notes that will serve as your guide when you write your essay. You would

be wise to order these in terms of importance, both negative and positive. Your notes might look something like this:

Negative impact: 1775–81

- *American trade devastated*
- *Merchant ships seized by British*
- *High inflation*
- *New England fishing industry temporarily wrecked*
- *Plantation economies in Georgia and South Carolina disrupted*

Positive impact: 1775–81

- *Reduction of British imports led to growth of American manufacturing*
- *Privateering very profitable*
- *Farmers outside of war zones saw boom*
- *British-held New York City prospered economically*

Negative impact: 1781–85

- *Large trade deficit*
- *Large national debt: $33 million in domestic debt, $10 million in foreign debt*
- *Difficulties with establishing rules for interstate trade*

Positive impact: 1781–85

- *Westward expansion now possible*
- *Prices for commodities were high*
- *Rapid population growth*
- *New markets for trade with non-British nations*

3. Your introduction should state your thesis which might be something like: *The impact of the American Revolution on the colonial economy was severe both during and after the conflict.* Below is an example of a good introductory paragraph for this question.

During the American Revolution and immediately afterwards, the economies of the thirteen colonies and then the thirteen states suffered great losses. Internal trade was disrupted as was international trade. The war also gave rise to high inflation rates and large debts. All was not gloomy, however. Among the bright spots was that with few British imports arriving, Americans developed native manufacturing industries. After the war ended in 1781, the

British government was no longer in a position to stop settlers from moving west of the Proclamation Line of 1763 and American merchants could now trade with countries besides Britain. This, coupled with a rapidly expanding population, helped the US economy rebuild after the years of warfare and devastating economic blows.

4. In the body of your essay, discuss the various economic impacts the Revolution had on the American economy. Explain why each event, theme or trend had the impact it did. This is your analysis. One strategy would be to begin with the impacts you think were the most important and end with those that were the least significant. Remember that your essay will be judged on the quality and quantity of supporting evidence. Be sure to defend and explain your examples.
5. In the conclusion you should tie up the ideas you have explored and come to a judgement about the economic impact of the American Revolution.
6. Now try writing a complete answer to the question following the advice above.

Examination practice

Below are two exam-style questions for you to practise on this topic.

1. Why did Native Americans suffer as a consequence of the American victory in 1781?
(For guidance on how to answer 'why' questions, see pages 131–3.)
2. Evaluate the extent to which the US Constitution successfully addressed the shortcomings of the Articles of Confederation.
(For guidance on how to answer 'evaluate' questions, see pages 159–60.)

Timeline

1763	Peace of Paris
1765	The Stamp Act
1767	Townshend duties
1770	The Boston Massacre
1773	The Boston Tea Party
1774	The First Continental Congress
1775	**April** Battle of Lexington and Concord **May** Second Continental Congress **June** Battle of Bunker Hill
1776	The Declaration of Independence
1777	**September** British forces captured Philadelphia **October** British forces surrendered at Saratoga
1778	American alliance with France
1781	British forces surrendered at Yorktown
1783	Treaty of Paris
1787	Meeting of the Constitutional Convention
1788	Constitution ratified
1789	George Washington inaugurated as first president
1791	Slave revolt in Saint Domingue (Haiti)
1807	French occupation of Portugal
1808	French occupation of Spain
1810	**May** Buenos Aires declared self-government **July** Declaration of self-government in Caracas **September** The *Grito de Dolores* in Mexico
1811	**March** Defeat and execution of Hídalgo in Mexico **May** Effective achievement of independence by Paraguay
	December Creation of the United Provinces of New Granada
1812	Constitution of Cádiz
1814	Ferdinand VII restored to Spanish throne
1815	Bolívar left New Granada for the West Indies
1815–16	Royalist forces restored Spanish rule in Venezuela and New Granada
1816	**December** Bolívar returned to Venezuela
1817	**January–February** San Martín crossed the Andes **February** Battle of Chacabuco: O'Higgins headed a patriot government in Santiago
1818	Battle of Maipú: independence of Chile
1819	Battle of Boyacá: independence of Colombia
1820	San Martín landed in Peru
1821	**June** Battle of Carabobo: independence of Venezuela
1821	**August** Mexico and Central America declared independence
1822	**May** Battle of Pichincha: independence of Ecuador **July** Meeting of Bolívar and San Martín at Guayaquil **December** Pedro I crowned as Emperor: independence of Brazil
1823	The Monroe Doctrine
1824	Battles of Junín and Ayacucho: independence of Peru
1825	Independence of Bolivia
1828	Effective independence of Uruguay
1830	Death of Bolívar

Glossary

6d 'd' was the abbreviated form of an old English penny.

Absolutists Those who favoured government by a ruler with unrestricted power.

Absolutist system of government Government by a ruler with unrestricted power and usually with no democratic mandate.

Alcabala A sales tax.

Amerindian The indigenous people of Central and South America.

Amnesty A pardon for all crimes committed in war.

Antebellum The period of American history before the Civil War.

Armistice A suspension of hostilities

Articles of Confederation The American government from the late 1770s to 1789.

Audiencias Courts that had judicial and legislative authority.

Authoritarian A system where a small group of people govern, usually against the wishes of the majority.

Boston Town Meeting A kind of town council in which all the voters in Boston were able to participate and vote.

Bullion Uncoined gold and silver.

Cabildo abierto A town council to which only notables had right of attendance. It was usually convened by the local governor for ceremonial purposes.

Cash crop A crop intended for sale, not for consumption by the producer.

Castas People of mixed Amerindian, European and African race.

Caudillismo A political system where a *caudillo* – a Latin America dictator – ruled.

Centralists Those who favoured strong central government.

Charter A formal document granting or confirming titles, rights or privileges.

Church missionary orders These were groups of monks, committed to converting people to Christianity (particularly to Roman Catholicism).

Circular letter A letter, copies of which are sent to several persons.

Civil War The war fought between the northern and southern states between 1861 and 1865.

Colonial aristocracy The richest and most powerful families in America (usually great landowners or wealthy merchants).

Colony Territory, usually overseas, occupied by settlers from a 'mother country' which continues to have power over the settlers.

Commissions Documents conferring on ships' captains the right to attack enemy ships.

Committees of Correspondence Groups of Americans who maintained contact with each other (by letter) and reported perceived British misdoings.

Congress of the Confederation The legislature of the Articles of Confederation.

Conquistadores The Spaniards who conquered much of Central and South America in the early sixteenth century.

Constituent assembly An elected parliament.

Constitutional monarchy A monarchy in which the power of the sovereign is defined and limited by the Constitution.

Continental army A force comprising men from all thirteen colonies.

Continental Congress An assembly of delegates representing all the American colonies.

Continental navy The navy of the thirteen American colonies.

Corollary A natural consequence or result.

Corporate colonies Colonies with charters that gave them extensive autonomy.

Corregidores Officials responsible for controlling Amerindian communities.

Cortes The Spanish Parliament.

Council of Indies The main body in Spain dealing with colonial matters.

Counter-revolution A subsequent revolution counteracting the effect of a previous one.

Coup d'etat The attempted overthrow of a government, usually by violent action.

Court martial A court held by officers of the army or navy for the trial of offences against service laws.

Creoles White Americans of Spanish descent.

De facto Actual, if not legally recognized.

Declaration of the Rights of Man This was adopted by the French National Constituent Assembly in August 1789. It defined the individual and collective universal rights of men.

Deposition The act of removing someone from power.

East India Company A powerful company that controlled much of Britain's trade with India.

Economic self-sufficiency The situation when a country or a community produces all it needs and is not dependent on others.

Electoral college The body, created by the 1787 Constitution, which meets every four years, following the presidential elections, to formally elect the US president.

Emancipation The freeing of slaves.

Emissary Someone sent on a special mission.

Enlightenment The name given to a school of eighteenth-century European thought. Those influenced by Enlightenment ideas believed in reason and human progress.

Executive The person or people who administer the government and carry the law into effect.

Fabian strategy A defensive strategy, called after the Roman general Fabius Cunctator who defeated the Carthaginians by withdrawing whenever his army's fate was at risk.

Factionalism A situation where a large number of relatively small groups compete for power.

Federalists Those who favoured many powers being transferred from the central government to provincial (or state) governments.

Foreign Enlistment Act This tried to prevent British nationals being recruited into foreign armies.

Founding Fathers The main American leaders of the late eighteenth century who helped create the USA.

Free birth The fact that newborn babies, even those born to slaves, were free.

Free blacks African Americans who had purchased or been granted their freedom.

Free trade Unrestricted exchange of goods without protective duties.

French Revolution The turmoil in France, between 1789 and 1794, which led to the overthrow of the French monarchy and the reduction in power and wealth of the nobility and Church. French revolutionaries declared their support for liberty, equality and fraternity.

Frontiersmen People who lived close to the borders of the colonies or in Indian territory.

Fur trade The skins and pelts of various animals (for example, those of deer and beaver) were valuable in the eighteenth century. Some fur-trading companies (for example, the Hudson Bay Company) became powerful organizations.

Gaucho An Argentine or Uruguayan cowboy, often of mixed race.

Gens de couleur This translates as 'people of colour'. Most were the offspring of male French slaveholders and African female slaves.

Great Powers The five great European powers in 1818 were Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia and France.

Grito de Dolores This translates as 'the cry of Dolores'. Hidalgo's 'cry' is usually seen as marking the start of the Mexican War of Independence.

Gross national product The total value of all goods and services produced within a country.

Guerrilla war Warfare by which small units harass conventional forces.

Guerrillas Irregular forces that harass an enemy.

Hacienda A large ranch or estate.

Hessians Germans who fought for Britain.

Heterogeneous societies Societies seriously divided by race and class.

Home rule Self-government by the people of a particular area.

House of Braganza The ruling family of Brazil at this time.

House of Commons One of the two chambers of the British Parliament. (The other is the House of Lords.)

Huasos The cowboys of Chile.

Hyper-inflation A huge rise in the cost of living, resulting from an undue increase in the quantity of money in circulation.

Inauguration The ceremony at which the president is formally sworn into office.

Incan The Incan royal family had ruled most of the Andes region before the arrival of the conquistadores.

Indentured servants Labourers, usually recent immigrants, who agreed (by contract) to work for an employee for a specified period of time (often seven years).

'Infamous propositions' Disgraceful proposals.

Inquisition The police arm of the Catholic Church; its main purpose was to combat heresy.

Investment capital Money that can be borrowed to support new projects or to secure extra income.

Iroquois The main Native American confederation in New York State.

Jesuits Members of a missionary order who owed allegiance first and foremost to the Pope.

John Locke John Locke (1632–1704) was an English philosopher. His *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) were enormously influential. He dismissed any divine right to kingship and supported the rights of people to resist misgovernment.

Junta(s) Governing council(s).

Liberal constitutionalism A system that combines the right to individual freedom with the right to representative government.

Liberals People who advocated democracy and economic and individual freedom.

Libertarian The belief that there should be as much freedom as possible.

Liberty Tree An actual (but also symbolic) tree in Boston, representing freedom from tyranny.

Llaneros Cattle herders of the plains.

Louisiana Purchase The USA's purchase (from France) in 1803 of all non-Spanish land west of the Mississippi River. The purchase, costing $15 million, more than doubled the size of the USA.

Loyalist Americans who remained loyal to Britain.

Manumission laws Laws allowing owners to free slaves.

Martial law The temporary suspension of ordinary administration and policing and the exercise of military power.

Masonic Following the institutions and practices of Freemason organizations – secret societies in which the members pledge to help each other.

Members of Parliament (MPs) People elected to the House of Commons in Britain. Relatively few Britons could vote in elections in the eighteenth century.

Mercantalism The belief that economic self-sufficiency is the key to national wealth and power.

Merchant guilds Associations of powerful businessmen and traders, set up to look after common interests and provide mutual support and protection.

Mestizo A person of mixed Spanish-Amerindian descent.

Middle Colonies Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Delaware.

Middle states New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Militia A force, made up of all military-aged civilians, called out in time of emergency.

Minutemen Men pledged to rush to America's defence at a minute's notice.

Mita Tribute labour, associated with the forceful recruitment of Amerindians to work in the mines of Peru.

Money bills Measures (usually taxes) passed by the assemblies to raise money to ensure the colonies could be administered.

Municipal councils The (appointed) assemblies that helped govern the main towns.

Mutiny A military or naval revolt against military authority.

Napoleonic Wars Napoleon, the military leader – and ultimately Emperor – of France waged a series of wars in Europe (mainly against Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia) from 1799–1815.

Nationalism Loyalty and great attachment to one's country.

Native Americans The indigenous people of America (who were once known as American Indians).

Nativism The tendency to favour the natives of a country in preference to immigrants.

Neutral rights The rights of nations not committed to either side in a war to trade and communicate with both sides in the conflict.

New World The name given, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to North, Central and South America.

Northwest Ordinance An Act, passed in 1787, which laid down how the territories of the Northwest – present-day Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin – would be administered.

Oligarchy Government by a small exclusive (usually the richest) class.

Pamphleteers Those who wrote pamphlets. Pamphlets were small, unbound books, usually on controversial subjects of the day.

Pan-Americanism The notion that all Americans should work together for common goals.

Papacy The office and government of the Pope.

Pardos People of mixed race.

Patriarchal Under the control of men.

Patriot A person who vigorously supports their country and is prepared to defend it against enemies. Here used for those who supported independence for their country.

Patronage Support given by a patron who is often able to bestow offices, jobs and privileges.

Peninsula War The war in Spain and Portugal from 1808–14. Britain, Portugal and Spain fought against France.

Peninsulares People born in Spain.

Peons Poorly paid rural labourers.

Per capita income The earnings and wealth of the average household.

Peso A Spanish American dollar.

Polymath A person whose knowledge covers a wide variety of subjects.

Primus inter pares First among equals.

Prince regent The son of a monarch who has been invested with authority to rule on behalf of his father or mother.

Privateering The seizing and plundering of an enemy's ships in wartime.

Privateers Privately owned vessels granted permission by a government to capture enemy ships.

Proprietary colonies Colonies in which the Crown had vested authority in the hands of certain families, for example, the Penn family in Pennsylvania.

Protective tariff Duties levied on foreign imports which are intended to protect the makers of products in the home country.

Provincial Congress A convention of representatives that had replaced the 'official' Massachusetts assembly which had met in Boston.

Quakers Members of the Religious Society of Friends founded in England by George Fox (1624–91). Quakers were – indeed still are – opposed to war.

Rapprochement Improvement of relations.

Republicanism Support for a form of government without a monarch in which the supreme power is vested in the people and their elected representatives.

Revenue cutter A small boat employed by the government to apprehend smugglers.

Revisionist historians Historians who disagree with established views and offer alternative opinions.

Royal paternalism The father-like supervision/control of a monarch.

Royalties Money due to the monarchy, resulting from the mining of silver. The Spanish monarchy had rights over the mining of minerals in Latin America.

Secretary of State The official in the USA responsible for foreign policy.

Sectional tensions The main tensions in the USA were between the (free) northern and southern (slave) states.

Sedition Acts These were four laws passed by the US Congress in 1798 in anticipation of war with France. They restricted the rights of foreigners in the USA and curtailed newspaper criticism of the government.

Self-determination The power of a population to decide its own government and political institutions.

Seminole Indians These were mainly refugees from the Creek confederation. The Native American word meant runaway or wild.

Senate Usually the upper house of a national or state legislature.

Ships of the line The wooden battle ships of the time.

Specie Gold or coined money

State constitutions After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, each state devised its own form of government.

Strategy Long-term military planning.

Tallow Cattle fat used for a variety of purposes but especially for making soap and candles.

Tarred and feathered Victims were stripped naked, covered with hot tar and then rolled in feathers.

Tea agents Men responsible for collecting tea duties.

Tithe Money owed to the Church, usually a tenth of the produce of land and stock.

Tories Members of the Tory Party, which usually opposed change.

Trade deficit The shortfall when a nation imports more than it exports.

Trans-Appalachian region The land west of the Appalachian mountains.

Transatlantic slave trade Slaves, purchased in West Africa by European traders, were taken across the Atlantic and sold in the New World.

Tribute A centuries-old institution that forced Amerindians to pay a tax simply because they were Amerindians.

Triumvirate A government in which three men share supreme power.

Two-chambered legislatures Legislatures with two assemblies: for example, the American Congress is composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

US Senate The upper house of Congress (after the 1787 Constitution came into effect).

Viceroy The governor of an area, appointed by and acting in the name of the monarch.

Virginia House of Burgesses The Virginia assembly.

Western Hemisphere North, South and Central America and the Caribbean.

Whigs Members of the Whig Party, which usually upheld popular rights and opposed royal power.

Yeoman farmers Men who owned and farmed their own relatively small plots of land.

Further reading

The American War of Independence

E. Countryman, *The American Revolution*, Hill and Wang, 1985
A readable and accessible account of the struggle for independence.

S.B. Griffiths, *The War for American Independence: From 1760 to the Surrender at Yorktown*, University of Illinois, 2002
Another well-written and comprehensive text.

R. Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution 1763–1789*, OUP, 1982
A wonderful book – engaging and masterful.

H.M. Ward, *The American Revolution: Nationhood Achieved 1763–1788*, St Martin's Press, 1995
An excellent work, covering the entire Revolutionary War period.

E. Wright, *The Search for Liberty: From Origins to Independence*, Blackwell, 1995
A splendid overview of early American history.

S. Conway, *The War of American Independence*, Edward Arnold, 1995
This provides an excellent coverage of the War of Independence – and not just from an American perspective.

J.E. Ferling, *Almost a Miracle: The American Victory in the War of Independence*, OUP, 2007
A gripping account of the War of Independence.

The American Revolution

C. Bonwick, *The American Revolution*, Macmillan, 1991
A succinct account of the Revolution in all its aspects.

F.D. Cogliano, *Revolutionary America 1763–1815*, Routledge, 2000
An excellent introduction to the American Revolution.

H.M. Ward, *The War for Independence and the Transformation of American Society*, Routledge, 1999
Very good on the social history of the war.

Comparative history

J. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830*, Yale University Press, 2004
Comparative history at its very best!

L.D. Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution 1750–1850*, Yale University Press, 1998
Not a light read by any means but still an excellent study.

L.W. Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba and the United States*, CUP, 2007
A good comparison of the 'peculiar institution' of slavery in North and South America.

The Wars of Liberation

L. Bethel (ed), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, CUP, 1985
An excellent collection of essays by a fine array of experts.

E. Williamson, *The Penguin History of Latin America*, Penguin, 1992
Nice and concise.

C. Archer (ed), *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2000
A useful collection of articles and documents, originally written in Spanish.

J.C. Chasteen, *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence*, OUP, 2009
A compact, enjoyably written book on the Wars of Liberation.

J. Kinsbruner, *Independence in Spanish America: Civil War, Revolutions and Underdevelopment*, University of New Mexico Press, 2000
A clear and concise account of the wars.

J. Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808–1826*, Norton and Company, 1986
A splendid survey of the various liberation movements and events.

J. E. Rodriguez, *The Independence of Spanish America*, CUP, 1998
Similarly good.

Biographies

R. Chernow, *Washington: A Life*, Penguin Press, 2010
An award-winning biography which presents Washington warts and all.

J.E. Ferling, *First of Men: A Life of George Washington*, OUP, 2010
Another wonderful, well-written and compelling book on Washington.

J. J. Ellis, *His Excellency: George Washington*, Knopf, 2004
An excellent book on His Excellency!

E.G. Lengel, *General George Washington: A Military Life*, Random House, 2005
This book deals specifically with Washington's military career.

J.E. Ferling, *John Adams*, Holt Paperbacks, 1996
This remains a sterling study of Adams' work and character.

D.S. McCullough, *John Adams*, Simon and Schuster, 2002
A best-selling popular biography and deserved winner of the 2002 Pulitzer Prize.

R. Bernstein, *Thomas Jefferson*, OUP, 2005
The definitive short biography of Jefferson.

F.D. Cogliano, *Thomas Jefferson*: *Reputation and Legacy*, Edinburgh University Press, 2006
A probing study of this revered American.

J. Ferling, *Setting the World Ablaze: Washington, Adams, Jefferson and the American Revolution*, OUP, 2000
Three for one! Not to be missed.

J. Lynch, *Simon Bolívar: A Life*, Yale University Press, 2006
Probably the most definitive volume on Bolívar.

D. Bushnell and L.D. Langley (eds), *Simon Bolívar: Essays on the Life and Legacy of the Liberator*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2008
A very useful collection of essays.

J. Lynch, *San Martín: Argentine Soldier, American Hero*, Yale University Press, 2009
One of the few recent books on San Martín's fascinating career.

R. Harvey, *Liberators: Latin America's Struggle for Independence 1810–1830*, John Murray, 2000
A vivid, romantic account of the wars. Contains perhaps the best account of O'Higgins' achievements.

M. Arana, *Bolívar: American Liberator*, Simon and Schuster, 2013
Excellent new biography that brings the Liberator to life.

Internet sources

Independence from Britain

www.archives.gov/education
Repository of key American Revolutionary and early US documents at the National Archives.

www.ConSource.org
Constitutional Sources Project. Many primary sources for the Constitution, Federalist and anti-Federalist papers. Documents on State Ratification debates also can be found here.

www.loc.gov/index.html
Library of Congress website. See in particular American Memory and American History sections.

www.loc.gov//rr/program/bib/revolution/external.html
Portal with links to websites and documents on the American Revolution.

www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/modsbook.asp
Site with many documents on American independence.

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/18th.asp
The Avalon Project provides documents in Law, History and Diplomacy.

Independence from Spain and Portugal

www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/42/index.html
Sources on the history of South America at World History Archives.

http://lanic.utexas.edu/
Latin American Network Information Center at the University of Texas.

www.oberlin.edu/faculty/svolk/latinam.htm
Sources and general resources on Latin America.

http://guides.lib.fsu.edu/content.php?pid=46490&sid=359459
Florida State University Libraries portal. Many sites accessible to non-FSU students.

http://lcweb2.loc.gov/hlas/hlashome.html
Access the Handbook of Latin American Studies at the Library of Congress.

www.bbc.co.uk/history
The BBC History website is worth viewing for the American War of Independence.

Internal assessment

The internal assessment is a historical investigation on a historical topic. Below is a list of possible topics on Independence Movements that could warrant further investigation. They have been organized by chapter theme.

Chapter 1: Independence movements in the Americas

1. How was Jean-Jacques Dessalines able to defeat well-trained French armies during Saint-Domingue's struggle for independence?
2. Why were the Jesuit missionaries expelled from Spanish America in 1767?
3. To what extent did the Coercion/Intolerable Acts galvanize colonial opposition to British rule?

Chapter 2: The Declaration and War of Independence

1. How did Tom Paine's 'American Crisis' papers raise colonial morale in the colonies?
2. What role did Spain play in the American War of Independence?
3. To what extent did Hessian troops aid Britain's war efforts?

Chapter 3: Independence movements in Latin America

1. To what extent did the 1821 Plan of Iguala contribute to Mexican independence?
2. How was the Army of the Andes able to defeat Spanish forces in Chile?
3. In what ways was the defeat of two British expeditions against Buenos Aires helpful in the independence of Río de la Plata?

Chapter 4: Leaders of the independence movements

1. To what extent was the Battle of Maipú in 1818, the turning point in Latin America's fight for independence?
2. How did the Whiskey Rebellion illustrate the government's willingness to suppress opposition to its policies?
3. Why were Simon Bolívar's goals for a unified Latin America unsuccessful?

Chapter 5: Latin American independence and the USA and Britain

1. To what extent did Russia's activities in North America prompt President Monroe to issue his 1823 Doctrine?
2. Why and with what consequences was the White House burned down in 1814?
3. Why did the Panama Conference in 1826 end in failure?

Chapter 6: The impact of independence on the economies and societies of the Americas

1. What role did the Quakers play in the virtual abolition of slavery in the northern states?
2. How did the Peruvian war for independence impact its international trade?
3. Why did independence in Spanish America lead to the abolition of slavery there?

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