

THE ENIGMA OF LATIN AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE:

Analyses of the Last Ten Years

Víctor M. Uribe

Florida International University

- RESPONSE TO REVOLUTION: IMPERIAL SPAIN AND THE SPANISH AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS, 1810-1840.* By Michael Costeloe. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. 272. \$64.95 cloth.)
- LA INDEPENDENCIA: ENSAYOS DE HISTORIA SOCIAL.* Edited by Germán Colmenares. (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1986. Pp. 186.)
- INDEPENDENCIA Y REVOLUCION (1780-1840).* 2 vols. Edited by Alberto Flores Galindo. (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1987. Pp. 144, 331.)
- THE INDEPENDENCE OF LATIN AMERICA.* Edited by Leslie Bethell. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Pp. 261. \$59.95 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)
- THE INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO AND THE CREATION OF THE NEW NATION.* Edited by Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1989. Pp. 374. \$32.50 cloth.)
- LA LUCHA DE HISPANO-AMERICA POR SU INDEPENDENCIA EN INGLATERRA, 1800-1830.* By María T. Berruezo. (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1989. Pp. 655.)
- LA INDEPENDENCIA DE MEXICO.* By Ernesto de la Torre. (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992. Pp. 304.)
- MODERNIDAD E INDEPENDENCIAS: ENSAYOS SOBRE LAS REVOLUCIONES HISPANICAS.* By François-Xavier Guerra. (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992. Pp. 406.)
- TRADE, WAR, AND REVOLUTION: EXPORTS FROM SPAIN TO SPANISH AMERICA, 1797-1820.* By John R. Fisher. (Liverpool: Center for Latin American Studies, University of Liverpool, 1992. Pp. 145.)
- LA INDEPENDENCIA AMERICANA: CONSECUENCIAS ECONOMICAS.* Edited by Leandro Prados and Samuel Amaral. (Madrid: Alianza, 1993. Pp. 329.)
- MEXICO IN THE AGE OF DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS, 1750-1850.* Edited by Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1994. Pp. 329. \$40.00 cloth.)
- INDEPENDENCE IN SPANISH AMERICA: CIVIL WARS, REVOLUTION, AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT.* Second edition. By Jay Kinsbruner. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994. Pp. 178. \$16.95 paper.)

INDEPENDENCE IN LATIN AMERICA: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH. Second edition. By Richard Graham. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994. Pp. 179. \$12.75 paper.)

LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS, 1808–1826: OLD AND NEW WORLD ORIGINS. Edited by John Lynch. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994. Pp. 416. \$24.95 cloth.)

The most recent wave of scholarly attention to Latin American independence dates back more than two decades, to the early 1970s when three important comparative works appeared in the United States. The pioneering work was Richard Graham's *Independence in Latin America: A Comparative Approach* (1972). This short but rich monograph analyzed independence as a significant stage and an accelerating factor in Latin America's long path to "modernization" and "Europeanization," which according to Graham began in the early eighteenth century. This work successfully combined synchronic and diachronic aspects. To highlight regional diversities within and across countries and to compare and contrast the reactions to modernization among different regions and social groups, Graham studied pairs of countries, comparing Argentina with Chile, Venezuela with Mexico, and Peru-Bolivia with Brazil. After reviewing the international crisis prior to independence, he went on to distinguish two distinct stages of independence, from 1808 to 1814 and from 1814 to the 1820s. Finally, *Independence in Latin America* presented for each stage a chronology of revolutionary events in the countries under consideration. Graham attributed independence generally to a chain of events starting with the constitutional crisis in Iberia and culminating in increasing militarization in the 1810s in Latin America. His study gauged the significance of independence in terms of how the movement speeded up Latin American integration into the European capitalist system and the region's march toward modernity.

The second innovative comparative work to appear in the early 1970s was John Lynch's *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826*, which was structured around synchronic aspects occurring within a short period. It focused separately on specific geographical regions, following a straightforward chronology of the events in each case. The study highlighted the negative impact of Spain's "new imperialism" (meaning the Bourbon reforms) during the second half of the nineteenth century; the importance of growing nationalistic feelings among late colonial creole elites; and the revolutionary opportunity provided by the political crisis in the Iberian peninsula after the Spanish monarchy collapsed in 1808.

The third important work, Jay Kinsbruner's *The Spanish American Independence Movement*, emphasized the diachronic dimension, focusing not on regions but on "stages" across the entire spectrum of countries over a longer period of time. Kinsbruner characterized the independence

movement as a civil war rather than a revolution and added the Enlightenment to the long list of causes. This work also studied late-colonial political and social revolts and civil protests, which were presented as indicators of the prevailing revolutionary mood.¹

In the late 1970s, country studies appeared that suggested the idiosyncrasies of specific independence movements—especially those of the two most traditional vicerealties, Mexico and Peru, as well as more marginal regions.² Additional comparative works appeared shortly thereafter. One by political scientist Jorge Domínguez examined a limited number of cases (Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and Venezuela) in attempting to provide a social scientific explanation of the causes, timing, and nature of the independence struggle and its aftermath in those countries. He ruled out several of the most common hypotheses proposed to account for independence (restrictions on foreign trade, collapse of imperial legitimacy, and lack of access to public office). Domínguez focused instead on the responses to dissent made by the royal governments in America, particularly political bargaining and coalition formation, as the keys to understanding loyalty and insurrection in those and other countries.³

Another comparative work by historian Timothy Anna followed an opposite strategy in studying not the American end of things but the movement from outside the hemisphere. In the belief that little attention had been paid to peninsular policies during the wars for American independence, Anna concentrated on Spanish politics at the “highest levels of power in the empire” and showed the Spanish elite’s failure to adopt consistent policies and reach consensus during the era of Latin American independence. This failure facilitated revolutionary activity. Although he focused mainly on political aspects, Anna referred to this limitation as a “complex (institutional, economic, and human) structural impediment.”⁴

1. See Richard Graham, *Independence in Latin America: A Comparative Approach* (New York: Knopf, 1972); John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826* (New York: Norton, 1973); and Jay Kinsbruner, *The Spanish American Independence Movement* (New York: Dryden, 1973).

2. See A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975); Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Politics, Economics, and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); *Dos revoluciones: México y los Estados Unidos*, edited by Hugh Hamill, Jr. (Mexico City: Jus, 1976); Brian Hamnett, *Revolución y contrarrevolución en México y el Perú: Liberalismo, realismo y separatismo (1800–1824)* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978); Timothy E. Anna, *The Fall of Royal Government in Mexico City* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978); and Anna, *The Fall of Royal Government in Peru* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). See also Richard Alan White, *Paraguay's Autonomous Revolution, 1810–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978); and Miguel Izard, *El miedo a la revolución: La lucha por la libertad en Venezuela (1777–1830)* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1979).

3. Jorge I. Domínguez, *Insurrection or Loyalty: The Breakdown of the Spanish American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

4. Timothy E. Anna, “Institutional and Political Impediments to Spain’s Settlement of the American Rebellions,” *The Americas* 38, no. 4 (Apr. 1982):481–95; and Anna, *Spain and the*

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the work of historical sociologists Theda Skocpol and Immanuel Wallerstein led to more structural explanations of Latin American independence in at least two essays. One by George Reid Andrews compared various countries' paths to independence by looking at the interaction between states and societies. He attributed the movement to several sources: the crisis resulting from the breakdown of traditional mechanisms of social control, particularly the caste regime; the colonial state's unilateral rupture of its compact with the dominant classes; and the collapse of the metropolitan state. The other structural essay by Nicole Bousquet emphasized the imperatives created by the world economy between 1789 and 1814, particularly in terms of Spain's semiperipheral status. She also argued that Great Britain's expansion and its cautious policies toward the independence movements in the Spanish colonies helped determine the nature and duration of the independence movement.⁵

Throughout the rest of the 1980s and into the early 1990s, several individual essays, collections, and monographs have assessed aspects of the Latin American movement for independence. These studies have offered single-case and comparative perspectives, event-centered and structural viewpoints, and short- and long-term emphases. The body of literature produced over the last decade now calls for an evaluation of trends and gaps. For the most part, the books will be reviewed in chronological order, from the earliest published to the most recent, except in a few instances where books of a similar nature will be discussed together.

Spanish Reactions to Independence and Movements in the Andes

Michael Costeloe's *Response to Revolution: Imperial Spain and the Spanish American Revolutions, 1810–1840* follows up on earlier works that emphasized revolution from an external vantage point, like those of Juan Friede (1972), Timothy Anna (1982), and Brian Hamnett (1985). Costeloe concentrates on how Spaniards in Spain who were experiencing the loss of their American empire viewed and responded to the Spanish American revolutions. His study draws on abundant contemporaneous printed

Loss of America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983). See also Brian Hamnett, *La política española en una época revolucionaria, 1790–1820* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985). Antecedents of these approaches can be found in Juan Friede, *La otra verdad: La independencia americana vista por los españoles* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo, 1972).

5. George Reid Andrews, "Spanish American Independence: A Structural Analysis," *Latin American Perspectives* 12, no. 1 (Winter 1985):105–32; and Nicole Bousquet, "The Decolonization of Spanish America in the Early Nineteenth Century: A World Systems Approach," *Review* 11, no. 4 (1988):497–531 (published by the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations). For a perspective that is global and attentive to material structures but also emphasizes individual actions and ideas, see Peggy K. Liss, *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713–1826* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

material (newspapers, memoirs, and pamphlets), several national Spanish archives in Madrid and Seville, and limited information from provincial and local sources (in Barcelona and Málaga). Costeloe organized his book by topic, looking in turn at military, economic, political, and diplomatic activities and perspectives. Each section follows a chronological sequence in arguing (much as Anna did) that failures in Spanish political institutions inhibited and delayed Spain's responses, which led to loss of most of its American colonies.

Costeloe conveys the sense of disbelief and confusion prevailing in Spain concerning events occurring in its remote colonies. He follows the controversies that led up to the adoption of two successive policies: the first one combined economic and commercial reform, internal and external diplomatic persuasion, and military force; the second was based mostly on a hard-line approach, as exemplified by the thirty military expeditions launched between 1811 and 1820. Military ventures were finally halted in the early 1830s, after the death of Ferdinand VII. Costeloe's discussion of the military aspects includes an intriguing account of the "logistics of reconquest." This effort, made amidst general government bankruptcy, required a combination of financial speculation, new taxes, donations, and forced loans. All these activities affected a broad segment of the elites, who became further alienated when their claims for repayment went unattended.

Finally, Costeloe studies the initially damaging but ultimately beneficial economic impact of the loss of America on Spain and the gradual establishment of a new political relationship during the period of turmoil and its aftermath. *Response to Revolution* inevitably leans toward the elite, institutional, and political angles on events and is short on sociohistorical information. The work nonetheless provides valuable snapshots of Spanish society, such as brief descriptions of the recruitment of soldiers and their dissatisfactions. Costeloe also adds significant economic information to Anna's earlier work and presents a wealth of well-organized background information for future social historians who choose to study these same events, whether from inside or outside the colonies.

Sociohistorical research on Latin American independence from all angles has been sorely missing and still is, despite some progress. For instance, the same year that Costeloe's work appeared, the first collection of essays on the social history of New Granada's independence was published. Edited by Germán Colmenares, the brilliant late Colombian historian, *La independencia: Ensayos de historia social* features four major essays prefaced by his brief but insightful historiographical commentary. Colmenares evaluates how the work of nineteenth-century lawyer, historian, and bureaucrat José Manuel Restrepo on the revolution for independence in New Granada became a "historiographical prison." Restrepo participated actively in politics during and after independence and held mas-

sive documentation on the subject. Guided by the belief that history results from institutional forces as well as individual human passions and psychological drives, Restrepo was a captive of different biases, including his personal fears about popular participation in politics. He produced a multivolume conservative and patriotic, but somewhat paranoid, version of events. His *Historia de la Revolución de la República de Colombia* in ten volumes (1827) became the *historia oficial* and has yet to be replaced by any equally compelling studies by professional historians.

Restrepo's opus was published at different times and in several revised and edited versions. Limited as it was, the work offered the advantage of providing possible points of departure for social historians. The contributors to Colmenares's *La independencia* address distinct socio-historical issues. This team of three historians associated with the Cali-based Universidad del Valle in the Cauca region and a fourth from the Universidad del Cauca in Popayán leave aside the national dimension and emphasize instead distinct social facets of independence in the single region where they work. Their essays touch on the condition of the labor force in the southern region of Cauca from 1810 to 1830 (Zamira Díaz de Zuluaga); the nature of class formation in Cali during independence and afterward (Jose Escorcia); patron-client networks backing Cauca guerrillas in the Valle del Patía, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Francisco Zuluaga); and the ethnic and social characteristics and settlement patterns of various communities in the Cauca provinces from 1810 to 1830 (Colmenares).

Francisco Zuluaga traces the social origin of the royalist guerrillas in the Patía region south of Popayán. As he demonstrates, numerous blacks—freemen and slaves alike who were long settled in this mining area—rallied to the king's cause. Some did so in response to promises of freedom by the Spanish governor. This region had long been notorious for intense banditry by networks of mostly black friends and relatives. The area was controlled by elite networks of white ranchers and their peasant clients. Independence provided an unusual opportunity for both networks to "join" in defending the king. The joining of the two forces is not altogether elaborated, but Zuluaga provides valuable social information on some of the most active regional agents of counterrevolution.

Zuluaga's colleagues provide equally insightful information on their topics. But despite their common regional focus, the essays in the volume are not fully integrated with one another. Even more unfortunate is the fact that this collection has not been followed by similar histories of other regions of Colombia. Furthermore, until recently no other significant sociohistorical research had been undertaken on topics relating to New Granada's transit to political independence.⁶ Other countries' move-

6. See, for instance, Mario Aguilera and Renán Silva, *Ideal democrático y revuelta popular*:

ments have benefited from the collective endeavors of social historians in the mid-1980s, but they too have experienced a similar falling off since then.

Somewhat like the Colmenares volume but wider in coverage is the collection edited by another insightful and recently deceased Latin American social historian, Alberto Flores Galindo of Peru. His two-volume *Independencia y revolución* is primarily an anthology of essays on broader topics published elsewhere between 1978 and 1984 by Peruvian authors Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, Alfonso Quiroz, Heraclio Bonilla, Jorge Basadre, and Carlos Malamud and by Spaniard Josep Fontana. The single unpublished essay was read at a 1986 conference. Ranging from discussions of the economic impact in Spain of the loss of the American colonies to Peru's political and economic evolution in the first four decades of the postrevolutionary period, these essays make good points of departure for future sociohistorical research on the Peruvian independence movement.⁷ The political aspects of this movement were already covered in an extensive 1979 monograph by Timothy Anna and are also touched on in David Bushnell's essay in Leslie Bethell's *Independence of Latin America*. The Flores Galindo collection brings together fragments and pieces from which to build a more comprehensive economic, political, and social interpretation in the future.

Two noteworthy essays on the antecedents and nature of the movement are Flores Galindo's "Independencia y clases sociales" and O'Phelan Godoy's "El mito de la 'independencia concedida.'" The first (originally published in 1982) explores the social configuration of the late-colonial aristocracy and the popular sectors, both discussed as diverse "social classes." Flores Galindo viewed the aristocracy as a stubbornly royalist clique of merchants, titled nobles, and high-ranking bureaucrats who were changing and prone to internal quarrels but essentially unified. The popular groups are presented as socially and ethnically fragmented, ultimately unable to provide alternative models of state and society, especially after the colonial aristocracy collapsed. Flores Galindo therefore attributed the perception of Peruvian independence as an "unfulfilled promise" to the nature and dialectical interaction of these two groups. They were further explored in his interesting monograph *Aristocracia y plebe: Lima, 1760-1830* (1984).

O'Phelan Godoy's piece (first published in 1985) was probably a

Bosquejo histórico de la mentalidad política popular en Colombia (Bogotá: Ismac, 1991); Margarita Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones: Variaciones sobre la política en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1993); and Víctor Uribe, "'Kill All the Lawyers!': Lawyers and the Revolution for Independence in New Granada, 1810-1820s," *The Americas* 52, no. 2 (Oct. 1995):175-210.

7. The same is true of the essays edited in 1981 by Heraclio Bonilla and Karen Spalding, published as *La independencia en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1981).

by-product of her extensive research on rebellions and revolts in eighteenth-century Peru and Upper Peru. Here she reexamines the connections between such revolts and early-nineteenth-century Andean rebellions. O'Phelan Godoy's evidence leads her to argue that in understanding the nature of popular protest, Peru and Upper Peru must be studied as a single region—the Andean South. These social movements belong to the same tradition of anti-colonial social protest, despite the diverse composition of their various ethnic groups. The tradition began in Cochabamba and Oruro in the 1730s, continued with Túpac Amaru's revolt in Cuzco (and Arequipa) in 1780, and ended with the revolutions of 1809 in La Paz and 1814 in Cuzco. Thus the roots of Peruvian insurgency are presented as going back to the early eighteenth century, and understanding them requires careful reassessment of the connections among regional movements. This approach suggests that, contrary to Bonilla and Spalding's controversial claims, Peruvian independence was not conceded by outside forces but was deeply rooted in the colonial past of the Andean South.

Works on Mexican Independence

Similar to O'Phelan's research on the Peruvian case, Brian Hamnett's (1986) monograph on Mexico also examined the regional and social roots of the process of independence, establishing links between the political upheaval and localized social tensions of the late colonial period and those of the early national period.⁸ This research as well as subsequent monographs opened new territory by pointing out the significance of the popular and regional dimensions of independence.⁹ Several articles followed by Eric Van Young on popular mobilization and culture before and during the revolutionary period, along with a retrospective collection of essays in Spanish on similar topics.¹⁰ Two other anthologies, both edited

8. Brian Hamnett, *Roots of Insurgency: Mexican Regions, 1750–1824* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). It was reviewed in John K. Chance, "Recent Works on Colonial Mexico," *LARR* 23, no. 3 (1988): 213–26.

9. For a clearer and more comprehensive volume touching on some of the same issues, see John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).

10. Eric Van Young has published a fair number of articles in English since the mid-1980s. Some of his most important articles and essays are "Conflict and Solidarity in Indian Village Life: The Guadalajara Region in the Late Colonial Period," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (Feb. 1984):55–79; "Millennium on the Northern Marches: The Mad Messiah of Durango and Popular Rebellions in Mexico, 1800–1815," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28, no. 22 (1986):385–413; "Island in the Storm: Quiet Cities and Violent Countrysides in the Mexican Independence Era," *Past and Present*, no. 118 (Feb. 1988):130–55; "The Raw and the Cooked: Elite and Popular Ideology in Mexico, 1800–1821," in *The Middle Period in Latin America: Values and Attitudes in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, edited by Mark D. Szuchman (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1989), 75–102; and "Agrarian Rebellion and Defense of Community: Meaning and Collective Violence in Late Colonial and Early Independence Mexico," *Journal of Social History* 27, no. 2 (1993):245–69. See also Van Young,

by Jaime Rodríguez, have kept academic attention focused on the subject of Mexican independence.

Jaime Rodríguez's edited volume *The Independence of Mexico and the Creation of the New Nation* (1989) features eighteen separate essays originally delivered by U.S. and Mexican historians at a symposium held at the University of California, Irvine, in early 1987. The contributions are grouped into three sections. The first addresses political, social, and economic aspects of Mexican independence. The second focuses on political, economic, and intellectual aspects of the early post-independence period. The third deals with longitudinal and spatial comparative issues, drawing comparisons among Mexican independence, other revolutionary periods in Mexico, and other independence processes in Latin America. U.S. independence is addressed comparatively in the introduction.

As might be expected from a lengthy collection, the quality and size of the essays vary considerably. Yet the volume as a whole makes a valuable addition to unfolding research on Mexican independence. The first section is most relevant to this review. Two of its seven essays address economic issues. John TePaske analyzes the financial disintegration of the royal government in New Spain, which began in the 1780s and went through several stages until the heavy costs of quelling the Hidalgo and Morelos revolts in the 1810s undermined the state's fiscal structure. TePaske's documentation of the breakdown of the treasury of New Spain adds further credence to the structural explanations of independence proposed by Andrews and Bousquet in the mid-1980s. But the state's fiscal collapse appears less dramatic than might be expected and does not alone account definitively for the success of independence.

Hira de Gortari's contribution examines another economic aspect but focuses on effects rather than on causes. The author surveys the impact of the war for independence on the Mexican economy, especially the mining sector, from 1810 to 1824. He reminds readers that the destruction and seizure of haciendas and mines, especially in the Bajío region, significantly damaged royal finances and helped finance the insurgents. Royalist efforts to restore mining to its normal levels failed during the mid-1810s, and when independence came, the victorious Mexicans inherited a crippled extractive industry. It recovered very slowly, and not without significant reform efforts and resort to active foreign participation and investment, starting around 1823. Even so, Mexican elites were still complaining in the mid-1820s about the serious mining crisis.

The rest of the essays in the first section of *The Independence of Mexico* focus on specific political actors and issues, one of them also

La crisis del orden colonial: Estructura agraria y rebeliones coloniales en la Nueva España (Mexico City: Alianza, 1992). A major monograph is Timothy E. Anna, *The Mexican Empire of Iturbide* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990). See also *Repaso de la independencia*, edited by Carlos Herrejón (Morelia: Colegio de Michoacán, 1985).

discussing popular mobilization and ideology. Jaime Rodríguez, Virginia Guedea, and Christon Archer explore respectively the roles of *los autonomistas*, the secret societies, and the counterinsurgency army during the struggle for independence. The Autonomistas were proto-nationalist, anti-French segments of the creole elite, which was based mainly in Mexico City. Although they wanted to retain ties with Spain, after mid-1808 they advocated a scheme in which the viceroy would remain in provisional charge of the government while a committee of prominent local creoles was being established to govern New Spain and deputies were elected to attend the Spanish Cortes. Rodríguez offers a traditional political narrative of the unfolding of the Autonomistas' "movement" for home rule when they temporarily obtained power in 1821 before being defeated in 1823.

Guedea glances at urban elite secret societies, particularly the Jalapa Masons and the Guadalupes. Her essay provides little fresh information on the cliques' exact social composition and networks but points out their general links to insurgent groups. Having discussed some of their revolutionary activities, Guedea acknowledges that their participation was not crucial to the ultimate success of independence.

Archer's well-documented piece surveys different forms and events of the royal counterinsurgency to stop "one of the greatest guerrilla insurgencies in modern history." Severe punishment of "examples" and terror soon became the favorite methods. Later, royalist officers arriving in Mexico with the Spanish Army introduced many of the counterinsurgency techniques they had seen used by the French, especially *destacamentos volantes* (flying detachments) to chase down, isolate, and punish the rebels. Next the Spaniards tried forming patriot militias in cities, towns, and rural districts by means of a *reglamento político militar* issued in mid-1811. They then attempted to defend urban areas by erecting guardhouses and barracks. Insurgents, however, endured all those methods, which were plagued by problems in recruitment, administration, and discipline as well as by dire exhaustion. Archer rejects the common notion of a general lull in the war for independence by 1816. The revolution lurched onward, and the counterinsurgency army ultimately collapsed around 1820.

A key leader in one such army, Felix Calleja, and the revolutionary leader and priest Miguel Hidalgo are the subjects chosen by Hugh Hamill, Jr., in *The Independence of Mexico*. Contending that debate on post-colonial Mexico's tragic fate has centered on economic concerns, Hamill selected these two figures to examine the question of political leadership, particularly the origins, social bases, and interests of caudillos and caciques. Hamill ends up dedicating more attention to Calleja, whom he considers "more important as a model for future caudillos than Hidalgo." Hamill hints at Calleja's family, military, and social networks and highlights his technical talent but perhaps overestimates his 1812 victorious military parade in Mexico City as inaugurating Latin America's "age of

caudillismo." Like most of the contributors, Hamill deals with a mainly elite-centered issue.

At least one other contributor to *The Independence of Mexico* surveyed a wider segment of society. Eric Van Young's essay restudies elements of what he considers a long series (or tradition) of collective messianic and millenarian movements among rural Indians in New Spain. Here he examines how Indian messianism functioned as part of popular ideology in the struggles for independence from Spain. Van Young discusses the cultural antecedents of popular messianic beliefs, preconditions for their activation in the late colonial period, specific manifestations, and their meaning in the context of revolutionary insurgency, notable for its facile blending of political and religious imagery. The most striking irony of such messianism is that it focused on the Spanish king, Ferdinand VII (and on other surrogate figures): even as the Indians revered and respected the king, they were enthusiastically advocating the brutal assassination of European-born Spaniards. Van Young ultimately perceives these Indian messianic hopes as a basically conservative and reactionary ideology, opposed in many ways to the revolutionary creole ideology, although both lines of thinking coalesced around notions of mystical kingship. When the Indians took up arms against the Spanish regime, they seemed to have markedly different objectives from those of the creoles. Van Young is to be commended for helping scholars begin to understand colonial popular culture and the uneven pace of acculturation in different regions and settings.¹¹

Jaime Rodríguez deserves credit as well for bringing together diverse perspectives and analytical focuses, which he has continued to do in subsequent collections. *Mexico in the Age of Democratic Revolutions, 1750–1850* represents a broader follow-up to *The Independence of Mexico*. Two of its twelve essays are dedicated to independence-related themes. The rest address earlier and later political issues, such as disputes over bureaucratic and institutional reforms under the Bourbons and their protagonists, postcolonial constitutional and parliamentary issues and factions, federalist trends, church- and state-building, and the early postcolonial elites. These issues along with independence per se are all part of the historical experience of the "age of revolution" from 1750 to 1850. This unconventional periodization is gaining credibility among current academics. The research it is inspiring promises to shed new light on old issues as well as to raise new research issues previously obscured by the orthodox colonial-national periodization, such as continuities and changes in class, race, gender and cultural relations.

11. In addition to those cited in the previous note, see Eric Van Young, "The Messiah and the Masked Man: Popular Ideology in Mexico, 1810–1821," in *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity*, edited by Steven Kaplan (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 144–73.

Of the essays on independence in *Mexico in the Age of Democratic Revolutions*, one by Virginia Guedea treats the *andanzas* (deeds) of Ignacio Adalid y Gómez, a wealthy creole merchant and landowner who played dual roles during the independence crisis. On one side, he aligned himself with the Autonomistas and participated actively in the Guadalupe, a secret society in sympathy with the Morelos revolt. On the other, evidence presented in his defense after he was arrested in mid-1814 under suspicion of conspiracy showed that he had also supported the royalists, a finding that earned his freedom and subsequent commendations in Spain. This microstudy allows Guedea to showcase some of the social intricacies of the Guadalupe's revolutionary activities, thus making up for gaps in her earlier essay. Her work exemplifies what some have termed the *ideología de lo circunstancial*, referring to contradictory (and usually opportunistic) attitudes and behaviors common during the independence struggle.¹²

Rodríguez discusses in this volume the institutional and political changes taking place in 1820, particularly the impact of restoration of the Spanish Constitution in that year. This document generated feverish political activity in New Spain, especially in response to the election required to send deputies to the Spanish Cortes. Rodríguez examines in detail the political events and mostly elite activities that led to Agustín de Iturbide's Plan de Iguala (24 February 1821) and to its acceptance in the Treaty of Córdoba (in late August 1823) by the recently arrived liberal Spanish captain general, Juan O'Donojú. Rodríguez contributes further information on the Autonomistas, highlighting their possibly opportunistic flexibility and broad social appeal. This valuable essay is a profusely documented institutional and political narrative centering on events occurring in a short period. But despite its interesting suggestions about popular involvement in electoral politics at this juncture, the essay suffers from a lack of sociohistorical information. Readers learn much about elite attitudes, mobilization, and shifting coalitions, about the way institutional developments in Spain unleashed political events in Mexico, and about the ultimate course of independence. Yet little information is added to currently scant knowledge of popular actions, ideas, experiences, and general contributions during independence. Even so, this political narrative far excels others produced in the early 1990s.

Completing this extensive series of works on Mexican independence is *La independencia de México*, a survey by Mexican historian Ernesto de la Torre, who wrote a multivolume work on the same topic a decade

12. See Hermes Tovar, "Guerras de opinión y represión en Colombia durante la independencia (1810-1820)," *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 11 (1983):187-232. Guedea had already offered further information on revolutionary secret societies in *En busca de un gobierno alterno: Los Guadalupe de México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1992).

earlier.¹³ Part of a Spanish series entitled *La Independencia de Iberoamérica*, *La independencia de México* is essentially a traditional political history, written in textbook style and lacking academic citations. It provides little fresh information or interpretation but features some pedagogical elements: formal biographical snapshots of the main actors of the independence movement, a chronology of the independence war, and a long appendix that reproduces twenty-nine contemporary documents, mainly speeches and *representaciones* (petitions).

Summaries written with clarity are welcome and necessary, especially for pedagogical purposes, but I fear that students exposed to this kind of text will get a slighted view of what history is all about. *La independencia de México* provides a rather dull perspective on a truly exciting historical event and a polemical and challenging field of academic research that is evolving rapidly. None of this intellectual ferment is reflected in de la Torre's presentation. Rather than awakening students' curiosity, this account might elicit their apathy.

Despite these drawbacks, the most refreshing trend notable in at least a few of the works already reviewed is the introduction of socio-historical concerns and research questions, particularly a concern with popular participation and ideology. It is to be hoped that researchers moving in this direction will soon provide challenging studies of the social history of popular ideology and protest in the years before and during Mexican independence. Van Young has previewed the work to come in his recent retrospective collection of essays, *La crisis del orden colonial*, especially in the third part on popular ideology and insurgency. Judging from the state of current research, however, book-length studies on other Latin American countries may not appear for some time. Even many studies on Mexican independence continue to approach independence mostly from a conventional political and elite-centered angle.

International Politics and Political Economy

Beyond studies of Mexico, recent work on Latin American independence has produced studies of the international politics and political economy of the era, a set of interpretative essays on the larger cultural meaning of independence, and a couple of important new syntheses and documentary collections suited for classroom use. María Berruezo's *La lucha de Hispano-América por su independencia en Inglaterra, 1800-1830* belongs to the first category. Berruezo follows her earlier line of inquiry here in discussing political and intellectual activities promoting independence of elite creoles and a few sympathetic Spaniards in London between 1800

13. Ernesto de la Torre, *La independencia mexicana*, 3 vols. (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982).

and 1830.¹⁴ This group included Venezuelan former royal army officer Francisco Miranda, Mexican Dominican Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, wealthy Ecuadorian diplomat Vicente Rocafuerte, Argentine former royal bureaucrat Manuel Moreno, and later envoys from the insurgent colonies, including Andrés Bello, Francisco Antonio Zea, and Luís López Méndez.

La lucha de Hispano-América por su independencia en Inglaterra is a classic traditional political and intellectual history that relies on abundant information in English and Spanish newspapers and other contemporary printed materials. Berruezo follows a straightforward chronological sequence and claims to have discerned five different stages or waves of activism by successive groups of peripatetic Americans. During some of these periods, political propaganda predominated, while educational and pedagogical activities prevailed in others. This book gathers diverse information on illustrious American activists in an important foreign arena during a critical period. Yet it fails to capture the social, economic, and cultural complexities of that period and the individuals under discussion.

In their focus on the political economy of years before and after the revolutionary period, John Fisher's *Trade, War, and Revolution: Exports from Spain to Spanish America, 1791–1820* and *La independencia americana: Consecuencias económicas*, edited by Leandro Prados and Samuel Amaral, complement each other. Fisher's monograph looks at a particular dimension of the economic antecedents of independence—that of international trade, while the Prados and Amaral volume considers the economic consequences. Fisher adds yet another contribution to the ongoing debate over the evolution of trade between Spain and America from the eve of independence until the final collapse of most of Spain's American empire in the early 1820s. *Trade, War, and Revolution* provides a concise historiographical summary of that debate as well as fresh data gathered in the late 1980s on the value, composition, and distribution of registered exports to Spanish America from Spanish ports.

The figures Fisher has assembled show a relatively steady decline in Spanish exports. They also suggest the increasing capacity of foreign merchants to bypass Spanish ports and send their products directly to America. His data show that Cádiz continued to be the dominant Spanish port and that New Spain remained the unchallenged destination of most Spanish exports. The Pacific ports (especially Callao) maintained their position as second in importance. Cuba also continued to be a significant market, and the Río de la Plata received a surprisingly large share of Spanish exports, given the region's high degree of penetration by Anglo-Saxon merchants and shippers. Fisher makes no specific judgments about

14. See also Berruezo's previous monograph, *La participación americana en las Cortes de Cádiz, 1810–1814* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1986).

the connections between such trends and different independence movements, leaving it to readers to come up with their own conclusions.

La independencia americana: Consecuencias económicas looks at the other side of the coin: the economic situation after independence, an issue partly addressed in earlier research by Michael Costeloe, Josep Fontana, and John Coatsworth. This comparative volume resulted from a seminar led by Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz in July 1991 at the Universidad Carlos III in Madrid. It features a short essay by John Coatsworth introducing ten more essays by leading economic historians in the field. They discuss how independence affected the economies of Mexico (Richard Salvucci and Linda Salvucci), Central America (Héctor Lindo-Fuentes), Cuba (Salvucci, Salvucci, and Pedro Fraile Balbín), Colombia (Marco Palacios), Peru (Alfonso Quiroz), Brazil (Stephen Haber and Herbert Klein), Paraguay (Mario Pastore), and Argentina (Samuel Amaral). Two other pieces assay the impact of independence on the metropolis, one focusing on Portugal (Jorge-Miguel Pereira Lima) and the other on Spain (Leandro Prados).

Coatsworth summarizes the main hypotheses emerging from the volume's diverse contributions. Most of them suggest that independence brought minimal economic benefits to the new countries by halting the drain of fiscal resources and ending Spain's trade monopoly, an achievement far outweighed by the costs of material destruction and the establishment of inefficient economic systems. Some contributors contend that the economic benefits accruing from destruction of the colonial order were far greater than the costly burdens imposed by the inefficient colonial economies. But others, especially those writing on Cuba and Brazil, propose that institutional continuity benefited a few countries' economies in the short run but delayed and complicated their institutional and economic modernization. Most contributors concur on three broad conclusions: the meager economic benefits of independence varied according to each region's openness to external trade; the short-term costs of independence in terms of institutional change and reconstruction were steep; but the demise of the colonial period caused significant benefits in the long run, even though they did not become apparent in many countries until at least two decades after independence.

Each of these remarkably consistent essays is to be recommended. Readers should be warned, however, that they are not light reading. Professional historians are the intended audience. Even they may need economic dictionaries at hand to refresh their knowledge of frequently mentioned technical concepts such as inflation, transaction costs, balance of trade, and the infamous "elasticity" of demand and prices. Social historians are in for some disappointment, however. Excellent as *La independencia americana* is, it offers far more hard macroeconomic data than information about Latin Americans' daily lives.

Politics and Culture

In contrast with the economic emphasis of the two works just reviewed, *Modernidad e independencias: Ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispánicas* offers a major global treatment stressing political and cultural aspects. This volume consists of ten substantial essays by the insightful French historian François-Xavier Guerra. Unlike the narrow focus of some research already mentioned, Guerra's analysis strives to link Latin American independence to larger processes of political and cultural change in Europe, particularly the French Revolution and the liberal revolution in Spain. Guerra argues that these processes as a whole brought about *la modernidad*. His essays underscore the revolutionary nature of all those transformations in the institutional, social, and political changes they precipitated, particularly the modern "global system of references" based on new "ideas, social mindsets, values, and behaviors." These references were made on a public stage that had not existed before. For the first time, participants could be referred to as true "political actors" (p. 13).

Guerra believes that the leading agents of such transformations belonged to a new cultural world—an attribute more significant than their belonging to a particular social group (the bourgeoisie). He is mainly concerned with cultural meanings and values, collective understandings, identity, and representation. Guerra's essays accentuate these aspects while discussing the commonalities and differences in the *imaginario* of prerevolutionary and revolutionary French and Hispanic societies; the historical and cultural roots of absolutism and its compatibility (or lack thereof) with emerging modernity; the geography, chronology, and idiosyncrasies of modernity as it encroached on the Hispanic world; and the ideological, cultural, and political impact of the 1808–1809 conjuncture. Guerra also touches on the impact of the press in Spain in 1808–1810 and in New Spain in 1808–1812. In doing so, he addresses the transformations and ultimate triumph of the modern "nation" and the ubiquity and legitimating functions of *el pueblo*.

Once again, however, social history is left aside as political history takes center stage in *Modernidad e independencias*. But what is remarkable is that Guerra looks at politics with fresh eyes and asks new questions, those of a first-rate cultural historian of politics. In combination with Van Young's ongoing research on the social history of prerevolutionary and revolutionary popular protest and ideology in Mexico, Guerra's work makes the Mexican independence movement the most exciting of all. It is to be hoped that the endeavors of these two scholars will animate similar undertakings on other countries.

Closing the Cycle of Survey Works

The most recent syntheses include Leslie Bethell's *Independence of Latin America* and monographs by the three authors who initiated com-

parative research back in the 1970s: Jay Kinsbruner, Richard Graham, and John Lynch. It is as if a new historiographical cycle is being closed.

Bethell's *Independence of Latin America* opens with an excellent overview of the origins of Latin American independence by John Lynch himself. He provides a knowledgeable synthesis on Spain's weak economy in the late eighteenth century, the Bourbon reforms, and their impact on the balance of power in Latin America. He also discusses deftly Spain's crumbling political control over the colonies and summarizes the main causes: numerous popular rebellions in the late-colonial period, British military and economic challenges, and creole resentment of the Spanish Crown's policies favoring both *peninsulares* and *gente de color*. Lynch claims that independence was a preemptive move by the creole elites to avoid social revolution. When the monarchy collapsed in 1808, the creoles "had to move quickly to anticipate popular rebellion, convinced that if they did not seize the opportunity, more dangerous forces would do so" (p. 30).

The last major essay in the Bethell collection, "International Politics and Latin American Independence" by D. A. G. Waddell, is equally informed and comprehensive. A good piece of diplomatic history, it supplements nicely Berrueto's *La lucha de Hispano-América por su independencia en Inglaterra*. Waddell summarizes the policies and attitudes toward Latin American independence of France, Russia, Prussia, Austria, the United States, and especially Great Britain. In her view, Britain's foreign policies and overall stance reflected concern over maintaining European peace rather than pursuing trade advantage. The essay discusses the 1800s to midcentury, when Britain's relations with Latin America were determined by the desire to dominate the export-import trade.

The rest of the contributions to the Bethell volume are case studies, separate essays on the independence of Mexico and Central America by Timothy Anna, on Spanish South America by David Bushnell, and on Brazil by Bethell. Although these essays generally offer few citations and references, all provide straightforward accounts and interpretations of independence based on research as of 1985, when they were first published as part of the third volume of *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Given what has transpired in the last ten years of scholarship on key issues like pre-independence popular revolts and the Bourbon reforms, some of the essays seem dated. The one on Mexican independence would certainly profit from incorporating fresh information provided by the research of Rodríguez, Guedea, Van Young, Guerra, and author Anna himself. Yet all the essays in the volume remain first-rate syntheses for beginners and specialists alike. A final strength of *The Independence of Latin America* is found in its closing biographical essays. They indicate the most significant research available on the topic discussed in each chapter. Bethell also contributes a short note on the Catholic Church and Latin American independence.

Jay Kinsbruner's *Independence in Spanish America* is a revised and

enlarged edition of his 1973 work, *The Spanish American Independence Movement*. The essential structure of the original version remains unaltered, except that sections of the old chapter on the causes of independence have been expanded into a new chapter on late-colonial revolts and protests to take notice of recent scholarship. In addition, the style and content have been modified and updated, incorporating some of the sociohistorical information produced over the last two decades. One now finds a brief new section on "the women of independence" and an enlarged one on the "great social rebellion" of Túpac Amaru.

The general arguments advanced in *Independence in Spanish America* also have undergone significant modification. Specifically, the former assertion that the struggle for independence was a civil war instead of a revolution has given way to the view that it was both. Kinsbruner still contends that the independence movements were civil wars: the leaders wanted self-government, not vast social changes; they fought with each other; and participants often switched sides, among other arguments. But these struggles also set in motion "short- and long-term changes in social arrangements and relationships that would have been impossible under Spanish imperialism"—numerous slaves were freed, the caste regime was shattered, and citizenship was broadened. Therefore these movements must also be considered revolutionary.

Perhaps the greatest enlargement in the new edition is found in the sections dealing with Simón Bolívar. Kinsbruner candidly acknowledges that although it would be "salutary if someone could write a book about the independence movement without ever mentioning the great liberators," he personally could not help being "interested again" in those individuals (p. xii). Indeed, the "women of independence" are afforded little more than a page, but the section "Bolívar in the North" ballooned from three to eighteen pages—even more if one counts the new pages dedicated to the narrative of every case where Bolívar played a central role (including Venezuela and New Granada) and the new section "Bolívar, Writer of Constitutions." Such enhancement demonstrates that Kinsbruner still favors political and institutional narrative over the sociohistorical dimension. This quibble aside, the revised text offers a clear and intelligent synthesis suitable for the classroom.

Richard Graham's new edition of *Independence in Latin America: A Comparative Approach* presents a new chapter outline. The introductory and concluding chapters have been revised to incorporate new scholarship, accentuate ideological and social tensions and changes, and highlight changes in the world economy before and after independence. Other chapters have been fused and enlarged to include sections on Haiti, Central America, and Paraguay and to update discussions of Argentina, Peru, and Mexico. Underlying these alterations is a major conceptual shift. Graham leaves behind the original edition's emphasis on modernization

and employs a new conceptual framework. The second edition reveals three main themes: the influence of European events on Latin American developments; the role played by Latin American elites, which determined a particular course of action within the parameters set by Europe; and lower-class pressure on Latin American elites as a force that also shaped the course of historical events.

Recognizing the significant scholarly production since the first edition appeared in the early 1970s, Graham also incorporates social history into his revised version and places more emphasis on the social pressure mounted from below by poor sectors, Indians, and slaves. Yet he continues to follow a predominantly structural interpretation. In it the economic, ideological, and cultural expansion of Europe and the peripheral place of Latin America within the world economy are considered central to explaining the ultimate course of historical events. Much less weight is given to elite or popular agency.

Lynch's *Latin American Revolutions, 1820–1826: Old and New World Origins* barely resembles the original book edited in 1965 with R. A. Humphreys, even though it professes to be a new edition. The volume now consists of thirty-two short chapters, two-thirds of them excerpted from monographs or essays by leading U.S. and Latin American scholars past and present, including Mark Burkholder, D. S. Chandler, David Brading, Eric Van Young, Alberto Flores Galindo, Heraclio Bonilla, and Caio Prado Júnior. The remaining selections come from primary sources, mainly letters, speeches, pamphlets, historical writings, and *representaciones* by participants, including Mariano Moreno, Manuel Salas, Manuel Abad y Queipo, Manuel Belgrano, Antonio Nariño, and Bolívar. The materials are grouped in seven sections on Bourbon policies, the growth of the colonial economy and its crisis, the shape of late-colonial society, popular protest, late-colonial ideas, nationalism, and the Brazilian transition from colony to empire. Each chapter starts with a useful short preamble by Lynch, who skillfully situates the respective contribution in historical and scholarly context. He also provides a substantial introduction.

Latin American Revolutions makes an excellent addition to the literature and a particularly attractive pedagogical tool. It brings together some of the most important scholarship on topics ranging from late-colonial mining and Indian resistance to creole patriotism and nationalism. Lynch's introductory essay is one of the best summaries on independence now available. He relies on the most current scholarship on independence-related economic, social, political, and cultural topics in reiterating his long-held belief that the "new imperialism" (the shift from Hapsburg compromise and consensus to Bourbon absolutism) exacerbated the tensions that ultimately led to independence. Lynch acknowledges that this new imperialism did not exhibit the same stages or produce similar results in all regions. But the symptoms of rebelliousness—popular protests

and demands for office, trade, and tax cuts—became widespread in the last decades of the colonial period. Echoing his early arguments, Lynch concludes that the creole elites eventually moved against the Spanish authorities to preempt a social revolution and save themselves. This fine volume wraps up two decades of scholarship on independence, a body of work to which Lynch himself has contributed a great deal.

Space does not permit review here of several other recent works on Latin American independence,¹⁵ and more publications on this topic can be expected. For example, the Institute of Latin American Studies in London recently sponsored the conference "Rethinking the Independence of Latin America." This gathering in the spring of 1995 seems likely to produce another volume of essays, which I hope will provide badly needed social histories and microhistories.

In the meantime, independence remains an elusive subject. Despite the rather abundant historiographical production of recent years, one is left with the sense that our views on independence have been predominantly created from the top down, notwithstanding a few case studies and regional approaches. The reason may be that comparative historical research began decades ago, when little was known about specific "national cases" and even less about regions and localities. Structural explanations, exciting as they are, may have blinded scholars to the idiosyncrasies of different movements and the nuances of popular and elite agency. The information available when comparative and structural works were written concerned mostly the actions and views of elite actors. Sociohistorical research was only beginning to influence historians of Latin America. Macro, structural, and elite-centered interpretations at one extreme and politically centered narratives at the other seem to have shaped our perspectives on independence. Thus the impact of social history remains limited, a major challenge to future research on this complex and central topic.

15. See Colloque de Bordeaux, *Les révolutions ibériques et ibéro-américaines à l'aube du XIXe siècle: Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux, 2-4 juillet 1989* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1989); René Ortiz Caballero, *Derecho y ruptura: A propósito del proceso emancipador en el Perú del ochocientos* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1989); Noemi Goldman, *Historia y lenguaje: Los discursos de la revolución de Mayo* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1992); José A. de la Puente Candamo, *La independencia del Perú* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Luis Durand Flórez, *El proceso de independencia en el sur andino: Cuzco y La Paz, 1805* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1993); and Roderick Cavaliero, *The Independence of Brazil* (New York: St. Martin's, 1994). A few other works worthy of attention include *La Revolución Francesa y el mundo ibérico*, edited by Robert M. Marquis et al. (Madrid: Turner, 1989); Guadalupe Jiménez Cordinach, *La Gran Bretaña y la independencia de México* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991); Juan D. Balcacer, *La independencia dominicana* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Jorge Siles Salinas, *La independencia de Bolivia* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Luis Navarro García, *La independencia de Cuba* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, *La independencia de Chile* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); José A. de la Puente, *La independencia del Perú* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); Merle E. Simons, *La Revolución Norteamericana y la independencia hispanoamericana* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); and Alberto Solange et al., *La Revolución Francesa en México* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1992).