

The Wars for Independence

The wars for independence in Latin America must be seen within the larger context of an "age of revolution" in the Atlantic world. Between 1776 and 1826, ten nations (the United States, Haiti, Mexico, United Provinces of Central America, Gran Colombia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil) achieved their independence, arising out of the colonial empires of the British, French, Portuguese, and Spanish in the New World. Some of these emerging nations would fragment further in the aftermath of independence, leading to the creation of another nine new nations within a generation. (Gran Colombia split into Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador; Central America split into Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica; Uruguay split from both Argentina and Brazil; and Texas separated from Mexico. The Dominican Republic would go through a complicated process of independence from Spain and Haiti.) Despite this impressive wave that created so many new nations in the Americas, we should remember that many colonies did not revolt, or failed to achieve their independence. Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under Spanish control until 1898. Panama would not break away from Colombia until 1903. Canada and the British West Indies did not follow their creole cousins in the Thirteen Colonies, and France, Britain, and the Netherlands would hold on to their Caribbean and mainland territories (the Guianas and British Honduras) well into the late twentieth century. The half-century after 1776, however, was the first great "moment" of decolonization and nationalism in the modern world, and the next moment would not come for another century, in the aftermath of the Great War in Europe in the early twentieth century.

As we saw in the previous chapter, a century of change arising out of the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the French and American Revolutions had prepared the way for the revolts in early nineteenth-century Latin America. The Napoleonic wars, and the invasion of the Iberian peninsula had provided the opportunity and the incentive for the ambitious and discontented creole elites in Spanish America. Across the region, leaders would arise, some out of the elites, others from the lower classes, to challenge Spanish rule. Eventually, the wars would mobilize all social and racial groups. In some regions, the wars would be bloody, prolonged, and divisive. In others, independence would come with little bloodshed, and no significant social change. By and large, creole elites would replace peninsular elites, leading some historians pessimistically to describe the aftermath of independence as "same mule, new rider."

NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA

Although he would fail in his efforts to liberate Spanish America, Francisco de Miranda would blaze the path for the creole "liberators" who would succeed in creating sixteen new nations by the 1840s. In the words of his most recent biographer, Karen Racine, Miranda was ultimately important "not because he himself brought independence to his fellow citizens but because he convinced them that they could do it for themselves." He traveled, talked, debated, and propagandized across the Caribbean, the United States, and all of Europe. Miranda was also the epitome of the American revolutionary of the age, in his reading, travels, and friendships on both sides of the Atlantic. Born in Caracas in 1750, Miranda fought in the Spanish army in North Africa and then in Cuba during the 1770s. In the 1780s, he fought in Florida and the Bahamas, and then traveled throughout the young United States, meeting all the major revolutionary leaders. In the fateful year of 1789, Miranda arrived in France as the Revolution began, and he soon became a general in the French Revolutionary Army. Miranda then moved to London and his home became a focal point of activity for some of the greatest figures of the revolutionary era. In 1810, a young Venezuelan, Simón Bolívar, sought out Miranda in London.

Bolívar is the greatest of all the Latin American revolutionary figures, the "George Washington" of a half-dozen South American nations. True to the spirit of his age, Bolívar was an idealist and a romantic. Bolívar was born in 1783 into an elite Venezuelan family that could trace its local roots back to the conquest of the sixteenth century. Orphaned at an early age, he was raised by tutors and his beloved black maid, Hippólita. Between the ages of nine and fourteen, Simón Rodríguez, his most important tutor, took his young charge to the remote countryside and educated him in a mix

of what one writer has described as cowboy life and Enlightenment philosophy. In 1799, at the age of sixteen, Bolívar was sent to Spain to complete his education. He fell madly in love with María Teresa Rodríguez y Alaiza and they married in Spain in May 1802. Tragically, María Teresa died of a fever within months of her arrival in Venezuela. Bolívar would never remarry. He later confided to one of his associates, "If I hadn't been widowed, perhaps my life would have been different. . . . The death of my wife placed me on the path of politics very early; it made me follow thereafter the carriage of Mars rather than the arrow of Cupid."

The grieving Bolívar returned to Paris. In December 1804, he attended the coronation of Napoleon and Josephine in Notre Dame Cathedral. He and his old tutor, Simón Rodríguez, embarked on a sort of pilgrimage to Rome in 1805 where they witnessed the coronation of Napoleon as King of Italy. Supposedly, as the sun set on Rome, standing amidst the ancient ruins, Bolívar committed his life to the liberation of Spanish America. According to Rodríguez, Bolívar dropped to his knees and "his eyes wet, his breath heaving, his face red, and with an almost fevered manner he told me: 'I swear that I will not give rest to my arm nor my sword until the day we have broken the chains of Spanish power which oppress us.'"

Bolívar's homeland was one of the first colonies to break with Spain. In 1808, the first news of the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy came to Venezuela from the British governor in nearby Trinidad. Local creole leaders declared the formation of a council in Caracas to rule in the absence of Fernando VII. They stopped short of declaring independence. Caracas was a wealthy commercial center that exported cacao (chocolate) to Spain. Venezuela probably had a population of less than a million, and only 200,000 were whites, with an equal number of Indians, and some half a million blacks. In early 1810, the Venezuelan creoles formed a delegation (led by Bolívar) to seek support for Venezuelan independence in the United States and England. After receiving a cold shoulder from the British government, Bolívar persuaded the charismatic Miranda to lead an invasion of Venezuela. On July 5, 1811, the Venezuelans declared the colony independent from Spain, the first of all the Spanish American colonies to break openly from the empire. Revolts against the new Venezuelan government by Spanish loyalists began to break out, with some towns refusing to submit to the authority of the new regime. As the loyalists regained control of the colony, Bolívar arrested Miranda, and handed him over to Spanish authorities. In exchange, the Spanish authorities gave him a safe conduct passage out of the country and he fled to Curaçao. The Spanish shipped Miranda back to a prison in Cádiz where he spent the last four years of his life, dying in 1816. The Precursor had perished, betrayed by his heir to the leadership of the liberation of Spanish South America.

The liberation of Venezuela and the rest of northern South America were bitter civil wars pitting creole against *peninsulares* and creole against creole with the poor nonwhite masses often divided as well. In early 1813, Bolívar brilliantly defeated the Spanish forces on the eastern side of the Andes mountains at Cúcuta on the Venezuelan border. In this new campaign, Bolívar engaged in a bloody and brutal "war to the death" with the loyalists. With several thousand men, Bolívar swept down the Andes from western Venezuela. In a series of brilliant maneuvers, he defeated the Spanish forces, and in August 1813, Simón Bolívar returned triumphant to Caracas. He was acclaimed the Liberator in October 1813 and Dictator in January 1814. Venezuelans were still divided, as the majority of the "Spanish" forces were, in fact, creoles. In particular, the lower classes (free and slave) had no reason, as yet, to join the struggle, and the creoles feared igniting a racial and class war.

The greatest scourge of Bolívar was not the Spanish, but the cowboys and horsemen (known as the *llaneros* or plainsmen) of the southern part of the country in the Orinoco River basin. The tough, racially mixed people of the plains lived on horseback and their leader was a Spanish immigrant, José Tomás Boves. Bolívar once said of Boves, "He was not nurtured with the delicate milk of a woman but the blood of tigers and the furies of hell. . . . He was the wrath of heaven which hurled its lightning against the patria [fatherland] . . . a demon in human flesh which drowned Venezuela in blood." Boves was a classic example of the Latin American *caudillo*—the so-called "man on horseback" who led by the force of his charisma and his ability to relate to the common man. His mounted warriors were known as the Legion of Hell. The Spanish forces and the lancers of Boves defeated Bolívar's rebel forces at La Puerta in June 1814, and then captured Valencia in July, forcing Bolívar, yet again, to retreat into exile—on Curacao in September 1814.

Bolívar did not tarry long in Curacao before heading to New Granada. Compared to the complex racial politics of Venezuela, the situation was simpler in New Granada, with a population of about 1.5 million. Some 900,000 were white and about 300,000 Indians. About 140,000 were free blacks and only 70,000 were slaves. In December 1814, allied with a variety of rebel forces, Bolívar took control of Bogotá, the old capital of the Viceroyalty of New Granada. At the same time, Fernando VII had returned to the throne and had sent 15,000 men to "retake" the rebellious colonies. Bolívar left New Granada in March 1815, taking up exile again, this time in Jamaica. With his departure, the Spanish arrived and reestablished control of Venezuela and New Granada.

Bolívar would have to spend two years cooling his heels in Jamaica and Haiti. While in Jamaica he wrote and published his most famous manifesto.

The "Jamaica Letter" is a long indictment of the atrocities Spain had wrought on the colonies since the conquest of the sixteenth century. The Jamaica Letter reviews the state of all of Spanish America and offers his advice for the future new nations of the Americas. He rejects federalism (the United States model), prescribing a strong central government with a powerful executive. "Pure representative government," Bolívar declares, "is not suitable to our character . . . we are dominated by vices which, developed under the guidance of Spain, became weighted with ferocity, ambition, vengeance and cupidity." Always the practical politician, he goes on to say, "Do not adopt the best system of government, but the one most likely to succeed." His most heady call was for a united federation of American states with its capital in the centrally located Panama.

Several events converged to produce success on this final stage of the war for the liberation of northern South America. Bolívar forged a crucial alliance with José Antonio Páez, the charismatic leader of the *llaneros*, and the successor to his old rival Boves. Páez may have had as many as 10,000 men under his command. In one of the most dramatic and daring moves of the revolutionary era, Bolívar marched from eastern Venezuela into Colombia. Moving from tropical lowland jungles up over mountains through snowy mountain valleys above 10,000 feet, thousands of his men died from the cold, exposure, and altitude sickness. It was, as John Lynch describes it, one of the "great feats of the human mind and great exploits of the human will." On August 7, 1819, Bolívar and his forces defeated the Spanish on the plains near Bogotá at Boyacá. Spanish officials fled and New Granada came definitively under the control of the patriot forces. The local leaders declared Bolívar the Liberator and President of New Granada. He headed back to Venezuela, leaving his vice-president, Francisco de Paula Santander, in charge. On the return trip, he met the 25-year-old José Antonio de Sucre. Born in eastern Venezuela, Sucre was destined to become Bolívar's trusted protégé and lieutenant.

Defeating the Spanish forces at the Battle of Carabobo on June 24, 1821, Bolívar effectively achieved Venezuelan independence. At a congress at Cúcuta in eastern Colombia, Bolívar dictated a constitution that gave birth to Gran Colombia (Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador) and made him its first president. He now turned his attention to Ecuador. Sending Sucre with a large army by sea to Guayaquil, Bolívar headed through the mountains of southern Colombia. Sucre won a decisive battle at Pichincha, fought at an altitude of almost 10,000 feet above sea level near Quito on May 24, 1822. The victories of Sucre and Bolívar in New Granada and Ecuador completed the struggle that had begun a decade before with the declaration of Venezuelan independence.

SOUTHERN SOUTH AMERICA

José de San Martín was the counterpart of Simón Bolívar in southern South America. San Martín was born in 1778 in the interior of Argentina, the son of a Spanish army officer. At the age of seven, José returned to Spain and soon thereafter began a military career, eventually rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In September 1811, after 22 years in the army, and having lived most of his life in Spain, San Martín deserted the Spanish army and fled to London. At the old home of Miranda, now occupied by Bolívar's Venezuelan friend Andrés Bello, he met other rebels in exile. Within weeks, he was on a ship for Buenos Aires, where he arrived in March 1812, in the port city he had left 27 years before.

Like Venezuela, the region around the La Plata River basin was on the periphery of the Spanish empire. The pampas (plains) became a breeding ground for cattle and mules, and Buenos Aires, a small center for smuggling. Buenos Aires would eventually become the main port at the mouth of the La Plata River. On the pampas, a strong ranching culture developed around the Argentine cowboy, the gaucho. Racially mixed, living in the rough interior, the gaucho was similar to the *llaneros* of Venezuela. The pampas and gaucho culture stretched through Argentina into southern Brazil on the opposite side of the La Plata. In 1776, Spain created the Viceroyalty of La Plata and Buenos Aires grew to a thriving port with some 40,000 inhabitants by 1800. All of Argentina probably had fewer than half a million inhabitants.

Along with Venezuela, Buenos Aires was one of the early leaders in the break from Spanish rule. Many historians have pointed out that this is no accident. Both areas were later-developing commercial centers on the fringes of the empire, not old core regions like Mexico and Peru. Both had experienced and desperately wanted more free trade, especially with the British. The Argentines also have a legitimate claim to priority as the first of the colonies to break with Spain. Two British invasions triggered the struggle for independence. In 1806, Sir Home Popham and Colonel William Beresford and their fleet, operating out of what is now South Africa, crossed to the La Plata and occupied Buenos Aires. While the Spanish viceroy fled and the elites covered, the lower classes and some of the creole leadership rallied behind Santiago Liniers, a French officer serving in the Spanish Army. Liniers defeated and captured more than a thousand British troops. He then became the military governor and the effective ruler of the viceroyalty. A second invasion in February 1807 was also repelled under the leadership of Liniers. When notables called for a *cabildo abierto*, or open town meeting, in May 1810, they seized and deported the viceroy and claimed governing authority in the name of the captive Fernando VII. Although the junta did not declare independence,

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in Argentine history the "Revolution of May 1810" is celebrated as the moment of national independence.

While the struggle between Buenos Aires and the interior provinces would hold back the completion of the war for independence in Argentina for some time, the people of the "Eastern Shore" of the La Plata moved to achieve independence from both Spain and Buenos Aires. The area that would become Uruguay had been a contested region between the Spanish and Portuguese empires for centuries. In the Treaty of Madrid in 1750, the two Iberian monarchies agreed to a rough division between their South American possessions. Spain kept the Jesuit missions in what is today Paraguay, and soon expelled the Jesuits. Portugal agreed to cede its rights to the *Banda Oriental*, but both Portugal and then Brazil would continue to claim the region into the 1820s. The major figure in the struggle for Uruguayan independence was José Gervasio Artigas. Born in 1764, Artigas was the son of a wealthy rancher. He had an elite education, and spent long periods on his father's ranches as a youth learning the ways and skills of the gauchos. He was, in some ways, the perfect combination of the skills of the elites and masses, a mixture that made him an astute and formidable caudillo (man on horseback). He served in the Spanish army in the region until deserting in 1811. He rose to become the Chief of the Easterners (*jefe de los Orientales*) and led an independence struggle with greater and more broad-based participation by the masses than perhaps anywhere else in the Americas, save Haiti. He declared the independence of what he called the *Estado Oriental* (Eastern State), abolishing slavery and calling for land redistribution. The Portuguese and the government in Buenos Aires both attacked the new government. The Portuguese invaded in 1816 and seized Montevideo in January 1817. For the next three years, Artigas fought a guerrilla war, leading his tough gauchos through the interior. He was finally forced into exile in 1820 and he would spend the next 30 years of his life in Paraguay, a virtual prisoner of its dictatorial leaders. Uruguay would not achieve its independence until 1828, after a long struggle between the governments in Buenos Aires and Brazil.

Paraguay was perhaps the most unusual country in the Americas in the nineteenth century. Ostensibly under the control of the Viceroyalty of La Plata at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was probably the most racially, culturally, and linguistically mixed area in Spanish America. More than 1,000 miles upriver from where the Rio de la Plata empties into the South Atlantic, the Jesuits established an extensive mission system in the region in the seventeenth century to escape the predations of slave hunters. By the mid-eighteenth century, some 30 missions had possibly as many as 100,000 Guaraní Indians concentrated around them. The few Spanish colonists and the numerous Guaraní Indians intermixed, producing a truly bilingual and bicultural society. The colonial economy consisted

primarily of subsistence agriculture and some exports, especially a strong tea, yerba mate. With the creation of the Viceroyalty of La Plata in 1776, Paraguay reported to the royal government in Buenos Aires. The key grievance of the local creoles was the taxation of yerba mate exports, shipments that were taxed repeatedly as they made their way to buyers in Buenos Aires.

The Argentines forced the issue of Paraguayan independence. After the May 1810 upheaval in Buenos Aires, an open meeting of more than 200 prominent citizens in Asunción chose to support the Council of Regency in Spain. Although they supported the Regency, they also refused to accept the authority of the leaders of the May Revolution in Buenos Aires. The leaders in Buenos Aires decided to send a military force (of about 700) upriver to assert their authority. Several thousand Paraguayans organized to fight this invading force. In a series of skirmishes and battles, the Paraguayans resisted the Argentine intervention in early 1811. By this time, the principal Spanish official in Asunción had already fled, fearing the defeat of Paraguayan forces. It was the creole-led troops who defeated the Argentines, and a Paraguayan creole officer who negotiated the surrender. The creoles were now in control of the military and local government. With the revolts in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, there was little the royal officials there could do to reassert control over isolated Paraguay. Led by José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, local elites declared their independence from Spain and Argentina on May 17, 1811. In 1814, an enormous congress with more than 1,000 members elected Francia "Supreme Dictator of the Republic" for a five-year term. (Asunción, the capital, had just 8,000 inhabitants.) In June 1816, the congress voted to appoint Francia "Perpetual Dictator" and agreed that the congress would only meet "when the dictator requires it." It would not meet again until 1841, after Francia's death. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia would rule Paraguay as *El Supremo* from 1814 to his death at the age of 74 in 1840.

The struggle between Buenos Aires and the Argentine provinces complicated the war for independence, and afterward the situation of the new nation. Despite the proud title of the United Provinces of the Rio de La Plata, the provinces and caudillos of the interior effectively refused to recognize that Buenos Aires had any control over them. Although a congress in the northern city of Tucumán would declare the independence of the United Provinces of South America in 1816, it would be many years before any central government in Buenos Aires would establish effective control over the interior of what today is Argentina.

San Martín became a powerful figure in local politics. He began to believe, like Bolívar, that the independence of his own country would not be guaranteed until the rest of Spanish America achieved independence.

For him, the key was to cross the Andes, liberate Chile, and then head north to the viceregal capital in Lima, Peru. In the midst of this battle over centralism versus federalism in Argentina, San Martín secured an appointment in the northern province of Cuyo. From 1814 to 1817, while Argentine political leaders fought over control of the "nation," San Martín recruited and trained an army. He recruited Chileans fleeing Spanish forces, including the future hero of Chilean independence, Bernardo O'Higgins. Often accused of acting too slowly and with little creativity, San Martín assembled a force of some 5,000 men, 10,000 mules, 1,600 horses and 700 head of cattle by the end of 1816. Rather than moving to subdue and unify the provinces of Argentina, he turned instead to an invasion of Chile.

Although on the periphery of the Spanish American empire, Chile was not as isolated as Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, and it had developed into a thriving creole colony by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Santiago, located in a fertile river valley in the center of the country, was the capital of the captaincy. A small but vibrant mestizo society developed in Santiago, built around a Mediterraneanlike climate and agriculture. The population of the captaincy-general of Chile was less than a million, and probably half of the inhabitants were of racially-mixed blood, primarily Indians and Spaniards. There were probably fewer than 20,000 blacks and only about 5,000 slaves. About 100,000 Indians were primarily concentrated in the southern half of the colony in what amounted to virtually an autonomous state. A wealthy and powerful elite was dominated by some two hundred families whose wealth came primarily from the land (farming, ranching, and mining) and commerce. The Bourbon reforms had given the Chileans greater trading opportunities and administrative independence, and a stronger sense of regional autonomy.

As was done in Buenos Aires, in 1810 the Chileans convened a junta of upper-class creoles and Spaniards professing their loyalty to Fernando VII. Chileans now governed themselves, but the junta, and most others, remained loyal to the imprisoned Fernando VII. An invasion force of Spanish troops from Peru landed in March 1813 to take on the rebels. One of the most outspoken proponents of independence was Bernardo O'Higgins, and he quickly emerged as a popular military hero. O'Higgins is one of the most unusual and fascinating figures in that small pantheon of the great liberators of the Americas. His Irish father, Ambrosio O'Higgins, rose through the ranks of the Spanish American bureaucracy, eventually becoming the Viceroy of Peru. (It was not unusual for Catholics from outside Spain to work in imperial administration, but few rose so high in the system.) Born in 1778 in Chillán, Bernardo was educated in England, where he came under the influence of Miranda. Ambrosio O'Higgins died in 1801, and his son received an inheritance of considerable estates. Bernardo returned to Chile

in 1802 to the life of the rich landowner. By 1810, he had begun to raise his own militia. O'Higgins viewed the formation of the junta in September 1810 as a "revolution" and he did not use the term lightly. He wrote to a friend that he had not yet "dared to declare openly that . . . independence from Spain and the establishment of republican institutions . . . has been our real aim from the beginning of the revolution."

When the viceroy of Peru sent troops into Chile in 1813, O'Higgins accepted the post of commander-in-chief for the forces of the rebels. Divisions among the Chilean rebels weakened their efforts and after a defeat at the Battle of Rancagua in October 1814, O'Higgins fled across the Andes to Argentina. Fortunately for the rebels, the Peruvian viceroy attempted to reimpose a harsh system that reasserted Spanish control and alienated large numbers of creoles. While O'Higgins helped San Martín train and equip an "Army of the Andes" in Mendoza, the royalists imprisoned creole patriots. The government confiscated their properties, destroyed their homes, and compelled them to make forced loans. Spanish royalists became the most effective force in creating patriots anxious for independence.

The years 1814-16 were tough ones for the rebels all over Spanish America, with the return to power of Fernando VII. He repudiated the Constitution of 1812 and chose foolishly to return to a regime more absolutist and colonial than his father or grandfather had imposed. Fresh troops arrived by the thousands from Spain and, in many colonies, shifted the balance of power against the rebels (as we have already seen in northern South America). In the period 1814-16, in northern South America, Upper Peru, and Chile, the rebel forces were in retreat.

San Martín's march through the Andes and the defeat of the Spanish in Chile is a story of epic proportions. In early January 1817, the Army of the Andes began its ascent in the dead of winter. San Martín's main forces moved through passes around the towering Aconcagua peak. It took them more than three weeks to reach the summit of the pass at more than 12,000 feet above sea level. As they ascended through the Los Patos Pass the cold and altitude sickness began to take their toll—on the men and animals—and San Martín lost nearly half of his supplies and hundreds of men. The battered forces moved into the central valley of Chile, regrouped, and defeated the royalists at Chacabuco (near Santiago) in February 1817. San Martín entered Santiago in triumph. At his insistence, the glory went to Bernardo O'Higgins, who was named Supreme Dictator of Chile. (For most Chileans, O'Higgins is one of the two greatest figures in the creation of the nation.) The royalists regrouped and defeated San Martín in March 1818 before he definitively vanquished them on the plains of Maipó outside Santiago in April 1818. Maipó was, according to San Martín, the battle that "decided the fate of South America." He returned to Buenos Aires, once again, to mobilize funds and men for the final assault on Peru.

PERU

The first wave of wars for independence in Spanish America barely touched Peru, the great prize in South America, the wealthy heartland of the Andean world. Along with Mexico, Peru was one of the two core regions in Spanish America. Although they had been eclipsed by the Mexican silver mines in the eighteenth century, the mines at Potosí in Upper Peru were still rich and productive. The geography of the viceroyalty was imposing and spectacular, from the deserts of the coast to the towering mountains of the interior to the east. The Andean highlands were overwhelmingly Indian. Whites lived primarily on the coast around Lima, with another cluster around the old Inca capital of Cuzco in the highlands. With a population over one million in 1800, the descendants of the Incas probably accounted for 60 to 65 percent of the population. Mestizos probably accounted for about 20 percent and black slaves less than 5 percent. About 10 to 15 percent of the population was white. The Peruvian upper class was notorious for its conservatism and loyalty to the Crown. As in Mexico, the creole elites in Peru feared the specter of Indian uprisings and they were reluctant to challenge Spanish authority. The bloody Túpac Amaru uprising in 1780-81 remained a vivid memory.

In the aftermath of the Napoleonic crisis, Viceroy José Fernando de Abascal worked energetically and effectively to blunt any moves toward independence. Abascal arrived in Peru in 1806, and when the crisis erupted in Spain in 1808, he moved quickly to mobilize troops, both Spanish and creole. Building up his armed forces, he used them repeatedly across the region, and countered every move toward constitutionalism and reform. Peru became a base for countering rebellions in Ecuador, New Granada, Chile, and even Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Abascal had enormous disdain for creoles, calling them "men born to vegetate in obscurity and abasement." The return of Fernando VII to the throne in 1814, and his rejection of the Constitution of 1812, reinforced the authoritarian rule of Abascal and the loyalists.

After his return from Argentina, San Martín finally moved north from Chile in 1820 on the final stage of his strategy to liberate Spanish South America. He was assisted by one of the most colorful of all the figures of the wars for independence, the renegade British naval officer, Thomas Cochrane, the Earl of Dundonald. Cochrane was an exceptionally brilliant naval officer who always managed to create trouble for himself, with his commanding officers, and with powerful politicians. Scandals, military and financial, seemed to follow him throughout his life. He left England in 1818 and was hired by the Chileans to create a naval force for the invasion of Peru. In August 1820, Cochrane sailed with 4,500 troops to the coast of Peru, landing at Pisco, 150 miles south of Lima. Spanish forces eventually