

# Latin American and Caribbean Section

*Southern Historical Association*

## LACS/SHA Newsletter Spring 2011

### *From the President...*

Saludos and greetings! As this year's president of the Latin American and Caribbean Section of the Southern Historical Association, I am honored to follow in the footsteps of a distinguished group of scholars whose leadership of LACS began with Kimberly S. Hanger in 1998 and continued most recently with Jane Landers last year.

Along with the European History Section and affiliated groups like the Southern Association for Women's Historians and the Southern Conference on British Studies, LACS expands the reach of the SHA to include historians *in* the US South whose research and teaching focus on areas *other* than the US South. As an affiliate for the history of Latin America, the Caribbean, Borderlands, and Atlantic World, we are now recognized with *at least* five panels on the annual conference program for scholars working in those fields in addition to a Phi Alpha Theta session for graduate students.

A highlight of the LACS sessions at the annual SHA conference is our luncheon that centers on keynote talks by leading scholars (see the 2010 address by Lyman Johnson that begins on p. 15 of this newsletter). This coming fall we are honored and delighted to have as our speaker John Tutino of Georgetown University. His talk is entitled: "Capitalism and Patriarchy, Community and Revolution: Power and Resistance in Mexico, 1750-1940." We look forward to a fun and engaging presentation, and invite you to come join the discussion.

At the luncheon, we will also be announcing the winners of our annual book and article prizes. The Murdo J. MacLeod Prize honors the best book from the previous year by a LACS member in the fields of Latin American, Caribbean, Borderlands, or Atlantic World History; the Kimberly S. Hanger Prize recognizes the best article in those fields that appeared in print in the previous year. In addition, the Ralph Lee Woodward Jr. Prize honors the best graduate student paper in those fields presented at the annual meeting, thus is announced in the weeks following the conference.

We have an exciting schedule of LACS sessions for the coming 2011 meeting, which will be held October 27-30 at the Sheraton Baltimore City Center, Baltimore Maryland. I encourage you all to come and take part in the opportunity to see friends, support our graduate students, enjoy the intellectual exchange, and further invigorate the influence of Latin American, Caribbean, Borderlands, and Atlantic World History. I hope to see you all there!

*Juliana Barr, University of Florida*

## LACS Officers, 2011

President	Juliana Barr, University of Florida <a href="mailto:jbarr@ufl.edu">jbarr@ufl.edu</a> <a href="http://www.history.ufl.edu/new/directory/faculty_profiles/barr.htm">http://www.history.ufl.edu/new/directory/faculty_profiles/barr.htm</a>
Vice-President	Brian Owensby, University of Virginia <a href="mailto:bpo3a@virginia.edu">bpo3a@virginia.edu</a> <a href="http://www.virginia.edu/history/user/48">http://www.virginia.edu/history/user/48</a>
Past-President	Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University <a href="mailto:jane.l.landers@vanderbilt.edu">jane.l.landers@vanderbilt.edu</a> <a href="http://www.vanderbilt.edu/historydept/landers.html">http://www.vanderbilt.edu/historydept/landers.html</a>
Treasurer	Matt Childs, University of South Carolina <a href="mailto:childsm@mailbox.sc.edu">childsm@mailbox.sc.edu</a> <a href="http://www.cas.sc.edu/hist/Faculty/childs.html">http://www.cas.sc.edu/hist/Faculty/childs.html</a>
Secretary and Webmaster	Theron Corse, Tennessee State University tcorse@tnstate.edu <a href="http://faculty.tnstate.edu/tcorse/">http://faculty.tnstate.edu/tcorse/</a>
Editor, LACS Newsletter	Richmond Brown, University of Florida rbbrown@latam.ufl.edu <a href="http://www.latam.ufl.edu/People/brown.stm">http://www.latam.ufl.edu/People/brown.stm</a>
LACS Program Chair (Baltimore, 2011)	Ben Vinson, III, Johns Hopkins University <a href="mailto:bvinson2@jhu.edu">bvinson2@jhu.edu</a> <a href="http://history.jhu.edu/Faculty_Bio/vinson.html">http://history.jhu.edu/Faculty_Bio/vinson.html</a>
LACS Program Chair (Mobile, 2012)	Sarah Franklin, University of North Alabama <a href="mailto:sfranklin@una.edu">sfranklin@una.edu</a> <a href="http://www.una.edu/history/faculty-staff/franklin.html">http://www.una.edu/history/faculty-staff/franklin.html</a>
SHA Representative (2011-2013)	Barbara Ganson, Florida Atlantic University <a href="mailto:bganson@fau.edu">bganson@fau.edu</a> <a href="http://www.fau.edu/history/ganson.php">http://www.fau.edu/history/ganson.php</a>

**2011 LACS Program Committee**

Ben Vinson, Johns Hopkins, Chair

Thomas Rogers, UNCC

Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University

**2012 LACS Program Committee**

Sarah Franklin, University of North Alabama, Chair

Robert Smale, University of Missouri (chair for 2013)

Ben Vinson III, Johns Hopkins University

Thomas Rogers, UNCC

**Call for Nominations**

Please feel free to nominate yourself or other worthy individuals (with their consent) for Vice-President or for service on LACS committees. Send nominations to Matt Childs at [childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu)

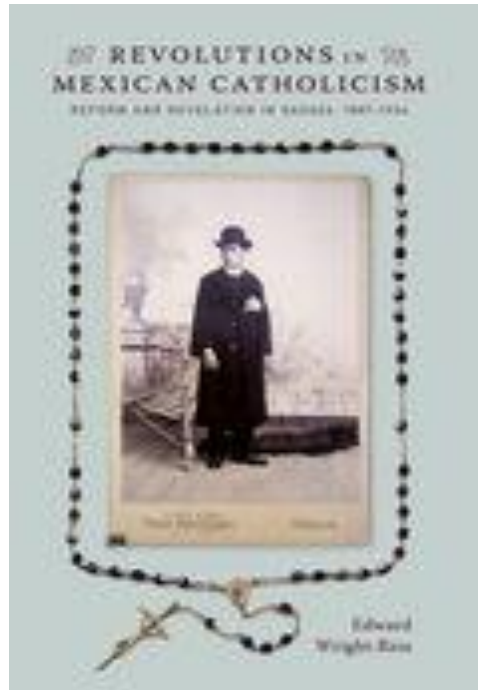
*For more information* about LACS/SHA, its officers, prizes, and meetings, see our website at <http://www.tnstate.edu/lacs/>

## LACS 2010 Prizewinners

### *Murdo J. MacLeod Book Prize*

**Edward Wright Rios, Vanderbilt University**

*Revolutions in Mexican Catholicism: Reform and Revelation in Oaxaca, 1887-1934* (Duke University Press, 2009)



**Committee Citation:** “Edward Wright-Rios provides a beautifully written and cogently argued analysis of the survival and evolution of the Catholic Church against a backdrop of secularizing political and cultural forces in modern Mexico. Committee members were most impressed by his scholarly agility in moving back and forth from the institutional level to the ethnographic, teasing out the tensions between the local church's modernizing impulses and popular religious devotions. Based on extensive archival research and selected oral interviews, Wright-Rios explores vying interpretations of the miraculous through an interwoven story of church reforms and indigenous revival movements. In doing so, he draws a complex portrait of the urban v. rural, church v. state, and clergy v. the faithful tensions that shaped continuing processes of syncretization of Spanish-Mexican Catholicism and indigenous - especially female - spirituality in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century. The committee read many excellent books, but felt that with riveting characters, engaging prose, and meticulous research, Wright-Rios has given us a stand-out study of Mexican religious culture. His scholarship is innovative for its ability to take seriously the connection between the religious and the political, without reducing one to the other, as so often happens in historical accounts, especially of the "modern" period (usually reducing religion to political instrumentalism). This special sensitivity, in the past a hallmark of the colonial historiography, promises extraordinary insight as more scholars take up Wright-Rios's challenge. *Thanks*

to committee members Juliana Barr, Florida (chair), Brian Owensby, Virginia, and Yanna Yannakakis, Emory.

*Kimberly S. Hanger Article Prize*

**Betsy Konefal, College of William and Mary**

"Subverting Authenticity: Reinas Indígenas and the Guatemalan State, 1978,"  
*Hispanic American Historical Review*, 89:1 (February 2009): 41-72.

**Committee Citation:** "Betsy Konefal provides a thoughtful examination of diverse and often disparate representations of indigenous authenticity as conveyed in fairs, festivals and pageants in an environment of murder, mayhem, and massacre. The struggle to control meaning of the pageants offers insight into the use of otherwise commonplace venues to register protest. Based on extensive field work, Konefal provides original insight into the Guatemalan national condition at a critical period through local circumstances. A model of scholarship, Konefal blends creatively ethnographic method within a larger historiographical framework." *Thanks* to committee members Louis Pérez, UNC Chapel Hill (chair), Jane Mangan, Davidson, and Barry Robinson, Samford.

*Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. Graduate Student Paper Prize*

**Mark J. Fleszar, Georgia State University**

"To See How Happy the Human Race Can Be": A Colonization Experiment on  
Haiti's Northern Coast, 1835-1845

**Committee Citation:** The selection committee for the Ralph Lee Woodward Jr. Graduate Student Prize is delighted to announce the 2010 winner, Mr. Mark J. Fleszar. Mr. Fleszar's paper, "...to see how happy the human race can be": A Colonization Experiment on Haiti's Northern Coast, 1835-1845, is a rich and nuanced narrative of the conflicting projects merging in the creation of a United States ex-slaves' colony in northern Haiti during the mid-nineteenth century. His research opens new avenues for the exploration of the complex, and at times unexpected, ways through which the African Diaspora proceeded in the Atlantic world. *Thanks* to committee members J. Michael Francis, University of North Florida (chair), Marc Eagle, Western Kentucky University, and Pablo Gomez, Texas Christian University.

## 2011 LACS Prize Committee Members and *Calls for Submissions*

### ***Murdo J. MacLeod Book Prize***

The 2011 Murdo J. MacLeod Book Prize will be awarded for the best book published in 2010 in the fields of Latin American, Caribbean, American Borderlands and Frontiers, or Atlantic World history. Authors must be or become LACS members at the time of submission.

**Deadline: May 31, 2011**

Send one copy of the book to *each* to the following *four* prize committee members:

Yanna Yannakakis (committee chair)  
Department of History  
Emory University  
221 Bowden Hall  
561 South Kilgo Circle  
Atlanta, GA 30322-3651  
[yanna.yannakakis@emory.edu](mailto:yanna.yannakakis@emory.edu)

Edward Wright-Rios  
Department of History  
PMB 351802  
2301 Vanderbilt Place  
Nashville, TN 37235-1802  
[edward.wright-rios@vanderbilt.edu](mailto:edward.wright-rios@vanderbilt.edu)

Andrés Reséndez  
Professor of History  
University of California, Davis  
Davis, CA 95616-8504  
[aresendez@ucdavis.edu](mailto:aresendez@ucdavis.edu)

Matt Childs (ex-officio)  
University of South Carolina  
Department of History  
817 Henderson St.  
Gambrell Hall, Room 245  
Columbia, SC 29208  
[childsm@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:childsm@mailbox.sc.edu)

### ***Kimberly S. Hanger Article Prize***

The 2011 Kimberly S. Hanger Article Prize will be awarded to the best article appearing in 2010 in the fields of Latin American, Caribbean, American Borderlands and Frontiers, or Atlantic World history. Authors must be or become LACS members at the time of submission.

**Deadline: May 31, 2011**

Send one *electronic copy* of the article to *each* to the following *four* prize committee members:

Jane Mangan, Davidson College (committee chair)

[jamangan@davidson.edu](mailto:jamangan@davidson.edu)

Omar Valerio-Jimenez, University of Iowa

[omar-valerio@uiowa.edu](mailto:omar-valerio@uiowa.edu)

J. Michael Francis, University of North Florida

[jfrancis@unf.edu](mailto:jfrancis@unf.edu)

Matt Childs, University of South Carolina (ex-officio)

[childsmid@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:childsmid@mailbox.sc.edu)

### ***Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., Graduate Student Prize***

The 2011 Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. Prize will be awarded for the best graduate student paper presented at the Baltimore Meeting of the SHA (October 2011) in the fields of Latin American, Caribbean, American Borderlands and Frontiers, or Atlantic World history. Students must be or become LACS members at the time of the meeting to be considered for the prize. Students will be asked to submit electronic versions of their paper to the committee members shortly after the 2011 meeting (the deadline will be set by the committee).

Barry Robinson, Samford University (committee chair)

[bmrubins@samford.edu](mailto:bmrubins@samford.edu)

Charlotte Cosner, Western Carolina University

[ccosner@email.wcu.edu](mailto:ccosner@email.wcu.edu)

Celso Castilho, Vanderbilt University

[celso.t.castilho@vanderbilt.edu](mailto:celso.t.castilho@vanderbilt.edu)

**TENTATIVE PROGRAM  
OF THE LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN SECTION (LACS)  
OF THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, OCTOBER 27-30, 2011**

**[HTTP://WWW.UGA.EDU/SHA/MEETING/INDEX.HTM](http://www.uga.edu/sha/meeting/index.htm)**

Check back later in the spring at the link above for the actual, detailed program. We'll also include the LACS panels with presenter information, meeting times and locations in the LACS Fall Newsletter.

For further information, contact Ben Vinson, III, Johns Hopkins University  
[bvinson2@jhu.edu](mailto:bvinson2@jhu.edu)

LACS-organized panels for the Baltimore meeting include the following:

*Anthropologists, Scientists, and the Study of Latin America*

*War, Race, and Religion in the Colonial Spanish Caribbean*

*Religious Orders, Indigenous Resistance, and Aristocratic Women in the Early Spanish Caribbean*

*Emerging Nations, Contested States: Nineteenth-Century Politics in Latin America*

*Choice and Consequence in Central American Slaves' Lives*

*Representations of Slavery in Latin America*

*The Kimberly Hanger Panel: Colonial Florida and the Caribbean*

*Phi Alpha Theta Latin American Panel for Graduate Students*



## 2012 LACS Call for Papers

SHA Meeting  
Mobile, Alabama  
November 1-4, 2012

*Deadline: October 1, 2011*

The Latin American and Caribbean Section (LACS) of the Southern Historical Association welcomes individual paper and panel proposals for the 2012 SHA meeting in Mobile, Alabama, November 1-4, 2012.

LACS accepts papers and panels on all aspects of Latin American and Caribbean history, including the fields of the borderlands and the Atlantic World. Panels and papers that highlight the connections between people, cultures, and regions are especially welcome.

Submissions should include a 250-word abstract for each paper and brief curriculum vitae for each presenter. We encourage faculty as well as advanced graduate students to submit panels and papers. Graduate students are eligible for the Ralph Lee Woodward Jr. Prize, awarded each year for the best paper presented by a graduate student in a panel organized by LACS.

Please note that the program committee may revise proposed panels. All panelists are required to be members of LACS. For information about membership, please visit the website at: <http://www.tnstate.edu/lacs/> or contact Matt Childs of the University of South Carolina at [childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu). For more information about the Southern Historical Association, visit the website: <http://www.uga.edu/~sha/>

Deadline for submissions is **October 1, 2011**. Complete panels are appreciated, but not required.

Submit panels and papers (with a preference for electronic submissions) to:

Sarah Franklin  
University of North Alabama  
[sfranklin@una.edu](mailto:sfranklin@una.edu)  
(256) 765-5774

## THE HISTORY OF LACS

### *About LACS*

LACS was formally established in 1998, at the SHA meeting in Birmingham, Alabama. Founded in 1934, the Southern Historical Association is the professional organization of historians *of* the South, but also of those *in* the South. In recent decades it has perhaps become more recognized as the former, but through the European History Section and the Latin American and Caribbean Section, and the affiliated groups, the Southern Association for Women Historians (SAWH) and the Southern Conference on British Studies, it also supports the work of historians located in the US South whose research and teaching areas fall outside of the region in which they happen to be employed.

Although historians of Latin America, the Caribbean and the Spanish Borderlands have long been active in the SHA, particularly through the aegis of the Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies (SECOLAS, founded in 1954), the relationship has sometimes been an awkward one. LACS was established to formalize relations between historians of Latin America and the Caribbean, on the one hand, and the SHA on the other hand, and to secure a place for Latin American and Caribbean specialists at the annual meeting. The late Kimberly Hanger, a talented young historian at the University of Tulsa who played an important role in establishing the group, was elected its first president. Tragically, Kim died just a few months into her term, at the age of 37. Jürgen Buchenau of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, another key figure in the establishment of LACS, completed Kim's term in office and then his own term the following year. Jürgen later became the first LACS representative to the SHA Executive Council in 2002. The LACS representative was accorded full voting rights beginning with the 2005 meeting.

In addition to these and other founders of LACS, longtime SHA Secretary-Treasurer John Inscoe of the University of Georgia has been especially helpful in supporting LACS' participation in the SHA and advancing the exchange of ideas among historians of the US South and the historians of Latin America, the Caribbean and the Spanish Borderlands. For more on the history of LACS, see John Britton's piece in the September 2008 newsletter at the LACS/SHA website: <http://www.tnstate.edu/lacs/>

### *LACS Officers and Awards, 1998-2011*

#### *President*

Kimberly Hanger, University of Tulsa (1998-9)  
Jürgen Buchenau, University of North Carolina, Charlotte (1999-2000)  
Todd Diacon, University of Tennessee (2000-1)  
Timothy Henderson, Auburn University Montgomery (2001-2)  
Richmond Brown, University of South Alabama (2002-3)  
Marshall Eakin, Vanderbilt University (2003-4)  
Virginia Gould, Tulane University (2004-5)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (2005-6)  
Sherry Johnson, Florida International University (2006-7)  
Barbara Ganson, Florida Atlantic University (2007-8)

Matt Childs, University of South Carolina (2008-9)  
Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University (2009-10)  
Juliana Barr, University of Florida (2010-11)

*Treasurer*

Rosemary Brana-Shute, College of Charleston (1998-2003)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (2003-2005)  
Michael LaRosa, Rhodes College (2005-2009)  
Matt Childs, University of South Carolina (2009-present)

*Secretary*

Rosemary Brana-Shute, College of Charleston (1998-2003)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (2003-2005)  
Theron Corse, Tennessee State University (2005-present)

*Program Chairs*

Todd Diacon, University of Tennessee (Louisville, 2000)  
Timothy Henderson, Auburn University at Montgomery (New Orleans, 2001)  
Richmond Brown, University of South Alabama (Baltimore, 2002)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (Houston, 2003)  
Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University (Memphis, 2004)  
Michael Polushin, University of Southern Mississippi (Atlanta, 2005)  
Jay Clune, University of West Florida (Birmingham, 2006)  
William Connell, Christopher Newport University (Richmond, 2007)  
Rosanne Adderley, Vanderbilt University (New Orleans, 2008)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (Louisville, 2009)  
Thomas Rogers, University of North Carolina at Charlotte (Charlotte, 2010)  
Ben Vinson, III, Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, 2011)  
Sarah Franklin, University of North Alabama (Mobile, 2012)

*SHA Executive Council Representative*

Jürgen Buchenau, UNC Charlotte (2002-2004)  
Richmond Brown, University of Florida (2005-2007)  
Sherry Johnson, Florida International University (2008-10)  
Barbara Ganson, Florida Atlantic University (2011-13)

*Luncheon Speakers*

2000 Murdo MacLeod, University of Florida: “Native Cofradías in Colonial Guatemala”  
2001 Thomas Skidmore, Brown University: “Confessions of a Brazilianist”  
2002 Franklin Knight, Johns Hopkins University: “Regional vs. Global History”

- 2003 Thomas F. O'Brien, University of Houston: "Inter-American History from Structuralism to the New Cultural History"
- 2004 John Chasteen, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: "What Dance History Teaches about the Latin American Past"
- 2005 Susan Socolow, Emory University: "Constructing the Nation: Monuments in Buenos Aires and Montevideo"
- 2006 Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University: "Ecclesiastical Records and the Study of Slavery in the Americas"
- 2007 N. David Cook, Florida International University: "Anecdotes from the Archives: The Times they are A-changing"
- 2008 Dauril Alden, Professor Emeritus, University of Washington: "Terror on Land and Sea: The Barbary Corsairs and Their Rivals, 16th to 19th Centuries"
- 2009 Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr, Professor Emeritus, Tulane University: "Latin American History: Reflections on a Half-Century of Teaching and Research."
- 2010 Lyman Johnson, UNC Charlotte: "Populist Politics in Late Colonial Buenos Aires"

***Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. Prize Winners (Best Graduate Student Paper)***

- 2001 Matthew Smith, University of Florida: "Race, Resistance and Revolution in Post-Occupation Haiti, 1934-46"
- 2002 Barry Robinson, Vanderbilt University: "Treachery in Colotlán (Mexico): The Problem of Individual Agency in Regional Insurgency, 1810-1815"
- 2003 Sophie Burton, Texas Christian University: "Free Blacks in Natchitoches"
- 2004 David Wheat, Vanderbilt University: "Black Society in Havana"
- 2005 Magdalena Gomez, Florida International University: "La primera campaña de vacunación contra la viruela y el impacto del establecimiento de las Juntas de Vacuna en la administración de la salud pública, en el Caribe Hispano y la Capitanía de Venezuela, a comienzos del siglo XIX"
- 2006 Pablo Gomez, Vanderbilt University: "Slavery and Disability in Cartagena de Indias, Nuevo Reina de Granada"
- 2007 Tatiana Seijas, Yale University: "*Indios Chinos* in Colonial Mexico's *República de Indios*"

- 2008 Leo B. Gorman, University of New Orleans: "Immigrant Labor Strife and Solidarity in Post-Katrina New Orleans"
- 2009 Sitela Alvarez, Florida International University: "Cuban Exiles' Rejection of Imperialist Catholicism in Key West, 1870-1895"
- 2010 Mark Fleszar, Georgia State University: "'To See How Happy the Human Race Can Be': A Colonization Experiment on Haiti's Northern Coast, 1835-1845"

***Murdo MacLeod Book Prize Winners***

- 2003 Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001
- 2005 Barbara Ganson, *The Guaraní under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003
- 2007 Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- 2008 Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007
- 2009 Brian Owensby, *Empire's Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008
- 2010 Edward Wright-Rios, *Revolutions in Mexican Catholicism: Reform and Revelation in Oaxaca, 1887-1934*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009

***Kimberly Hanger Article Prize Winners***

- 2002 Hal Langfur, "Uncertain Refuge: Frontier Formation and the Origins of the Botocudo War in Late-Colonial Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82:2 (May 2002): 215-56.
- 2004 María Elena Martínez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico," *William and Mary Quarterly*, July 2004.
- 2006 Paulo Drinot, "Madness, Neurasthenia and 'Modernity': Medico-Legal and Popular Interpretations of Suicide in Early Twentieth-Century Lima" *Latin American Research Review*, 39:2 (2004).
- 2008 Ida Altman, "The Revolt of Enriquillo and the Historiography of Early Spanish America," *The Americas*, 63:4 (2007): 587-614.

- 2009 David Carey, "'Oficios de su raza y sexo' (Occupations Consistent with Her Race and Sex): Mayan Women and Expanding Gender Identities in Early Twentieth-Century Guatemala." *Journal of Women's History* vol. 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 114-48.
- 2010 Betsy Konefal, "Subverting Authenticity: Reinas Indígenas and the Guatemalan State, 1978," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 89:1 (February 2009): 41-72.

## LACS Luncheon Address, Charlotte, NC, November 6, 2010

“The Porteño Plebe Transformed: An Empire Lost”

Lyman L. Johnson  
University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Buenos Aires was the first Spanish viceregal capital to gain effective independence. While a formal declaration of independence would wait until 1816, the creation of the first revolutionary junta in Buenos Aires on May 25, 1810 permanently ended Spanish colonial government in the city as well as in most of what is now the nation of Argentina. Not only were the experiences of Mexico City, Bogotá and Lima very different from those of Buenos Aires, but most second-tier Spanish political and judicial centers, like Guatemala City, Caracas, Quito, and La Paz, also remained in colonial orbit much longer than did Buenos Aires.

Because the time available to us today is short, I will compress my discussion of the period before May 25, 1810 by focusing narrowly on three transformative moments in the last five years of the colonial period. The period 1806-10 witnessed the mobilization and mounting political confidence of the city’s plebeian masses as well as the precocious appearance of first-generation populist political leaders like Santiago de Liniers, Martín de Álzaga, and Cornelio Saavedra. These new political actors and their mass supporters soon transformed the political culture of Buenos Aires and swept aside Spanish colonial institutions. My modest hope is that my discussion today will raise the visibility of the Argentine case as we examine the broad phenomenon of independence in the Iberian Atlantic in the current cluster of revolutionary anniversaries. More selfishly I hope some of you will seek out the larger story in my forthcoming book with Duke University Press, *Workshop of Revolution: Plebeian Buenos Aires and the Atlantic World, 1776-1810*.

The stage for these transformative events was set by the surrender of Buenos Aires to a small British invasion force in June 1806. The subsequent "Reconquest" of the city 46 days later by a mixed force of militia volunteers, regular Spanish units and a popular force of artisans, laborers and slaves erased this humiliation and launched the city on the path to May 25. There is no doubt that Viceroy Marqués de Sobremonte behaved badly when informed of the approaching British threat. He ordered treasury funds loaded on carts and then exited Buenos Aires escorted by the Spanish garrison’s most effective units. A British force of less than 1600 men led by

General William Carr Beresford then swept aside local resistance and occupied this city of 60,000.<sup>1</sup> All contemporary sources agree that the city reacted to occupation with shock. Typical was Juan Manuel Beruti's characterization as "this fatal unforeseen disgrace," remembering "a day and night without the flow of tears ceasing."<sup>2</sup>

The comprehensive military victory over Beresford on August 12 was overwhelmingly a local achievement. While the chief architect of the "Reconquest" was Santiago de Liniers, a French noble serving in the Spanish Navy, and while hundreds of Spanish regulars fought heroically to defeat the British, the patriotic leadership, the funds, as well as the armed masses that propelled the city to victory were local. The principal institutions of the colonial regime, the viceroy and the *audiencia*, had performed badly during the emergency and occupation as had the professional Spanish military. Only the *cabildo* managed to enhance its reputation during the occupation. Moreover, the defeat of Beresford was an authentically "popular" victory. Every class and sector of colonial society had participated in this mass mobilization and, as a result, any effort to settle accounts or prepare for future threats would necessarily be more broadly framed and public, more *democratic* if you will, than customary practice. In this fluid political environment we see for the first time the beginnings of the political transformation that would culminate on May 25, 1810, a deepening connection between a more assertive and more politically confident plebe and a new cadre of leaders who self-consciously sought to "represent" the wishes of the popular classes.

Two days after Beresford's surrender, the *cabildo* convoked a "Junta General."<sup>3</sup> The *cabildo*'s intention to transfer the viceroy's military command to Santiago de Liniers, the hero of the reconquest, was clear well before this exceptional assembly met.<sup>4</sup> If the Junta General was a novelty in the previously tame political life of the city, the massed crowd of thousands that congregated in a parallel assembly in the Plaza Mayor was unprecedented and less predictable. The crowd dominated by market women, artisans and laborers pressed past the thin security around the *cabildo* building, filling the stairwells and hallway outside the meeting room.<sup>5</sup> Plebeians closest to the debate passed news and rumors to their friends in the plaza, moving the crowd's mood from anger to exultation and back. While the crowd outside shouted out "Long Live the King!" and "Long Live Spain!" or, alternately, "Death to the Traitors!" those in the stairwells chanted their support for Liniers and beat on the doors of the *cabildo* council room with canes or fists.<sup>6</sup>



The fact that the assembled dignitaries did not directly condemn this boisterous demonstration or call for the assistance of armed patrols suggests that the patriotic enthusiasm of the masses in the "Reconquest" had served, at least temporarily, to legitimize the expression of popular opinion, especially when this opinion coincided with the desires of the powerful. Sobremonte, safely camped across the estuary, later provided a useful summary judgment of these events. He complained bitterly of what he saw as Liniers's dangerous solicitation of popular support, noting that "the people and enlisted troops cheered you while insulting me." Worse still, the authorities had done nothing to prevent the crowd from vilifying him, "including threats against my life."<sup>7</sup> One contemporary observer looked back on the decision to elevate Liniers on August 14 as the moment when "democratic enthusiasm made its first appearance face to face with the privileged classes."<sup>8</sup>

If this was the moment when "democratic enthusiasm made its first appearance" in Buenos Aires, it was also the moment when the Río de la Plata's first populist political figure, Santiago de Liniers, previewed an inventory of public gestures and poses calculated to fuse his large ambitions to those of the newly mobilized plebeian masses. While Liniers knew that the Junta would strip the viceroy of his military command, he absented himself from the city center in order to attend the funerals of some captured British soldiers who had died of their wounds. As a result, he claimed to be "surprised when a multitude of people" approached "proclaiming me as their Captain General." Liniers later alleged in a letter to Sobremonte that he had attempted to deflect the crowd's entreaties, refusing to be "the leader of a mob" and threatening "to return to Montevideo if pressured to assume the command." Undeterred, the crowd followed their hero back to the city center crying out his name.<sup>9</sup>

Despite his protestations, we know that Liniers had campaigned directly for this honor. His closest allies, the commanders of recently formed volunteer units like Juan Martín Pueyrredón, were present in the Plaza Mayor as the Junta General met, mingling with the massed plebe and pressing for the transfer of military command.<sup>10</sup> While this result was inevitable, given the failures of the viceroy, the event had been carefully staged so that a reluctant hero, Liniers, could be compelled to accept the will of the people. Once formally notified of the decision to strip the viceroy of his military authority, Liniers dropped his pose of cool indifference so that he could accept this extraordinary appointment from the open gallery of the cabildo building as the crowd assembled in the plaza cried out his name.<sup>11</sup> The game was on.

The incremental destitution of the viceroy begun on August 14, 1806 was completed in February 1807.<sup>12</sup> With Montevideo under attack by a second, much larger British force, Viceroy Sobremonte withdrew from that city's defense without risking his troops.<sup>13</sup> The surrender of Montevideo days later destroyed what was left of his authority. Again the reaction of authorities in Buenos Aires was preceded by days of massed demonstration in Buenos Aires. Martín de Álzaga, serving as the cabildo's alcalde of the first vote, called a second Junta General that met on February 10 while the crowd of thousands again pressed against the doors of the cabildo.<sup>14</sup> Repeating the events of 1806, demonstrators forced their way into the building, climbed the cabildo's bell tower and rang the bell. According to eye witnesses the crowd shouted "No viceroy! No Royal Audiencia! Down with them, hang them!" as well as "Death to the Viceroy, Death to the Oidores, and Long Live Liberty!"<sup>15</sup>

On the eve of the second British attack Buenos Aires had undergone systemic political change. The cabildo was now the dominant civilian political institution and locally recruited militia, commanded in most cases by elected officers, bore responsibility for the city's defense. Indeed, the plebe was effectively militarized with more than 10 thousand men under arms. Even slaves were called to arms as the British approached the city in 1807. If Liniers was the chief beneficiary of these changes, the alcalde Martín de Álzaga had also established himself as a highly visible and popular leader.<sup>16</sup> Sobremonte, in fact, saw Álzaga as his most dangerous enemy, referring to him as "one of the principal motors of the insurrection."<sup>17</sup> If a new style of leadership was made visible in the events of August 14, 1806 and February 10, 1807 the dependence of this leadership on the masses and the role of the masses in sanctioning political legitimacy were clear as well.<sup>18</sup>

If the plebe's mounting assertiveness had its origins in the popular character of the "reconquest," the successful "defense" of the city against a much larger and more determined invasion force in 1807 led inexorably to an even less inhibited exploration of political alternatives as events in Europe pushed Spain into a long period of institutional experimentation. The effort to defend the city against the massive British assault of 1807 began badly. Liniers massed the region's militia and regular forces outside the city and suffered a crushing defeat.<sup>19</sup> With the survivors disorganized and dispersed and with Liniers and many senior commanders out of contact with the city, Martín de Álzaga directed the city's defense from the cabildo.<sup>20</sup> In place of a set piece battle in the open he ordered remaining forces and thousands of volunteers to take positions on roof tops and doorways and placed snipers in church towers. As had been true

in the earlier defeat of Beresford, the city's fate was again in the hands of an organic popular force that included both civilians and militiamen and that fought with little formal direction from the upper ranks. Against all odds this mixed force won a comprehensive victory as British columns bogged down and under intense fire surrendered.<sup>21</sup>

Even as the city celebrated this extraordinary victory, free plebeians and slaves sought to protect newly-won advantages in this more fluid political environment. The antipathy of the city's elite towards the armed plebe had grown as the militia became larger, more assertive, and less deferential. As early as the weeks following Beresford's surrender, the cabildo began to complain of "outrages" and "scandals" in the streets and public places caused by armed militiamen who saw themselves as heroes, regardless of former condition, each declaring his willingness to respond to any insult to his honor.<sup>22</sup> As the cabildo argued for demobilization, the militia resisted.<sup>23</sup> The issue was put in stark terms in July 1807 by the Sargento Mayor of the Cuerpo de Arribeños, Ildefonso Pasos, who wrote to Liniers to urge that his unit, recruited from migrant casta laborers and journeymen from the interior provinces, continue to receive military wages. He noted that "the majority of these men would be indigent ... [and] if deprived of this income [12 pesos per month salary] would likely turn to robberies."<sup>24</sup>

The more pressing task was disarming the city's slaves. Thousands of slaves had participated in the military action and scores had distinguished themselves.<sup>25</sup> The cabildo proclaimed that slaves had fought "with the fierceness of free men" armed with their "lances and machetes," but signaled that no manumissions could be granted without compensating owners, even though "this was the reward granted to slaves in the past" when they defended the king.<sup>26</sup> As a result, the cabildo sought to find a way to celebrate the heroism and selflessness of the slaves while trimming the number of manumissions to fit a tight budget. It first committed to freeing only slaves "mutilated and disabled," but panicked in the resulting uproar.<sup>27</sup> Civilian officials and militia officers rushed to pay for additional manumissions, freeing 60 slaves wounded in the battle and another 70 through a lottery.<sup>28</sup> Liniers, now serving as interim viceroy, suggested the repressed anger and disappointment of the slave community when he explained his decision to suspend the death sentence of the slave Sebastian by telling the audiencia that "it is necessary, taking into account the current situation, to manifest with concrete action [our] recognition for the good services of the lower classes.... I am waiting for a similar sentence passed upon a white defendant so that the blacks do not have any reason to think that they are the only ones suffering such harsh punishment."<sup>29</sup>

The evacuation of the estuary by British forces left unresolved the incipient political conflicts previously papered over by the need to defend the city. Two men, Santiago de Liniers and Martín de Álzaga, now struggled for political control of the city by mobilizing popular opinion and militia support in addition to more traditional appeals to Spanish authorities. Both men had been elevated by their roles in defending the city and both had found broad public support. Liniers had been the prime beneficiary of the Crown's gratitude, confirmed as Interim Viceroy and then granted the title of Conde de Buenos Aires, but the Spanish abdications and French invasion of Spain had left him vulnerable. The cabildo, representing the wealthiest and most influential Spanish merchants, now sought a test of strength led by the alcalde Martín de Álzaga, the hero of the "Defense."<sup>30</sup> On January 1, 1809 Álzaga was elected for an unheard of third successive term as alcalde of the first vote with the expectation that Liniers would reject the vote, creating a pretext for the creation of a loyalist junta in Buenos Aires.<sup>31</sup>

As Álzaga and his allies presented the cabildo's election results, three of the city's militia units recruited from Spanish immigrants mobilized to control the plaza supported by the massed employees and dependents of Spanish wholesale merchants and shopkeepers.<sup>32</sup> Before Liniers could resign, Cornelio Saavedra, senior officer in the local-born militia, deployed the Patricios, Arribeños and Pardos and Morenos, the urban units with the highest concentrations of black and casta artisans and laborers.<sup>33</sup> This force was supported by a large popular demonstration in the plaza. A limited exchange of threats and shots settled the contest in favor of the native born. The Spanish militia units were then disarmed and disbanded and Álzaga and his closest allies were exiled to Patagonia by order of Liniers.<sup>34</sup>

This victory proved both conclusive and temporary. Álzaga had sought to legitimize his ambitions by the creation of a tamed "pueblo" (massed Spanish civilians and militia) unambiguously committed to the preservation of essential colonial social and economic hierarchies. His intention was openly revealed in his complaints to Spanish authorities about the character of the local militias that had crushed his ambitions. These he condemned as "low people," and "vagrants, adventurers, and plotters."<sup>35</sup> Returning to this topic in another letter sent to Spain, Álzaga remembered that "the plaza and streets were occupied [on January 1] by the Patricios, without exclusion of the blacks, mulattos, and Indians.... [and as a result] these castas, too numerous and as well instructed [as the Spanish militias] in military tactics, gained for the first time the full comprehension of their power...." Unwittingly signaling future events, he condemned the "willful pride, the arrogance, and ferocity" displayed by the "numerous armed

and [militarily] trained castas” towards the Spaniards assembled in the plaza.<sup>36</sup> From his perspective, class and racial deference were as comprehensively defeated in 1809 as General Whitelocke had been in 1807.

If the crowds that helped push Sobremonte from office in 1806 and 1807 had precociously manifested popular and democratic elements, the massed civilian and militia demonstrations of January 1, 1809 had a less ambiguous modern character. The Spanish Crown and, after the French invasion of Spain, the Spanish Junta had celebrated and rewarded the patriotic actions of both Liniers and Álzaga in 1806 and 1807, seeking to hold their loyalty in a period of crisis. But the political authority of both men depended much more directly on popular demonstrations and massed militias in Buenos Aires than on the actions of the Spanish Junta. By 1809 both men had become sophisticated in the mobilization of these constituencies to legitimize their actions in an environment of debilitated colonial institutional authority.

Despite the apparent victory of Liniers, both men were gravely wounded by the events of January 1. With French troops occupying much of Spain, the Junta decided to replace the Frenchman Liniers as viceroy with Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros, a hero of the Spanish resistance. Liniers retired to Córdoba after refusing the invitation of militia officers to form a junta in Buenos Aires.<sup>37</sup> Álzaga escaped the exile imposed in the wake of January 1 and was ultimately permitted to return to Buenos Aires by Viceroy Cisneros, but the hostility of the local-born militias made his full rehabilitation impossible. Both Liniers and Álzaga would ultimately be executed by forces loyal to patriotic governments, Liniers in September 1810 and Álzaga in July 1812. Neither man had sought independence or formal political autonomy for Buenos Aires and its political dependencies. Yet, their actions in the dramatically altered political situation created by the two British invasions served to awaken a new style of politics that fused political leaders and their supporters in novel, fundamentally revolutionary, ways.

On May 14, 1810 the English sloop *Mistletoe* brought news of a succession of devastating Spanish military defeats and the suppression of the Seville Junta. All of Cisneros's efforts to manage the powerful political energies loose in Buenos Aires now failed comprehensively. On the May 18 the viceroy was forced to publish the news from Spain.<sup>38</sup> Wary of the effect, he simultaneously sought the support of local military commanders.<sup>39</sup> Crucial to this political process was Cornelio Saavedra, commander of the Patricios, who had previously resisted calls to form a junta. Saavedra had been a key ally of Liniers, saving him from the Álzaga conspiracy on January 1 urging him to reject the transfer of authority to Cisneros in 1809.

With events moving quickly and with popular support for the creation of a junta at high tide, Saavedra now assumed a pose of political disinterest similar to that affected by Liniers in 1806 and again in 1809, leaving the city for his country estate. With Buenos Aires on edge by the news from Spain, his allies went en masse to beg him to return. Once returned to the city in the company of massed supporters, Saavedra asserted that it was "... not only is it time [for a junta], but that we cannot lose one hour."<sup>40</sup> He and other commanders now placed their units on alert and then met with the viceroy, compelling him in the end to accept that the government that had appointed him no longer existed.<sup>41</sup> Saavedra sealed the viceroy's fate by asking "if ...this immense territory [the viceroyalty] should recognize the sovereignty of the merchants of Cádiz and the fishermen of León [the two parts of Spain still outside French control]?"<sup>42</sup>

Events now moved quickly. On May 20 the *alcalde de primer voto* Juan José de Lezica reported to Cisneros "the convulsion that had affected the masses."<sup>43</sup> The next day a large demonstration pressured the *cabildo* to act; the result was the *cabildo abierto* held on the 22nd. Cisneros later wrote to Spain to say that for all intents and purposes he had been under arrest as the *cabildo* met, since forces loyal to Saavedra garrisoned his residence and appropriated the keys.<sup>44</sup> In the end only 221 of the 450 *vecinos* invited to the *cabildo abierto* actually attended.<sup>45</sup> Cisneros later claimed that the militia "refused to let honorable *vecinos* pass while allowing those allied with the conspiracy through."<sup>46</sup> With many loyalists excluded (or voluntarily absent) from the assembly and with the "Legión Infernal", the militants led by Beruti and French, pressing into the *cabildo's* chambers, the assembly determined to create a junta, but delegated to the *cabildo* the selection of junta members.

When the *cabildo*, temporarily the region's *de facto* government after the resignation of Cisneros, announced the composition of the junta on the 24<sup>th</sup>, the news that the viceroy would serve as president provoked an irresistible wave of protest. The protests that originated in the barracks of the *Patricios* and in those of allied native-born militia units were reinforced by a new wave of demonstrations in the Plaza Major.<sup>47</sup> Plebeian crowds also roamed the streets pulling down the *cabildo's* notices identifying the junta membership.<sup>48</sup> The attempt of those fearful of a complete rupture with Spain to tame the city's revolutionary momentum by granting the viceroy the key position in the junta was simply unsustainable in the heated climate of May, 1810. The *cabildo* surrendered quickly to the protestors, calling a new *cabildo abierto* for the 25<sup>th</sup>.<sup>49</sup>

Throughout this tight cycle of protest and argument the city's two experienced and self confident manifestations of popular opinion, the urban militia and the civilian plebe, were active

and undivided in pursuit of their objectives. Once the new *cabildo abierto* met on the 25<sup>th</sup> participants quickly set aside the first junta and dispossessed Cisneros of any residual political power, inevitably granting Saavedra the presidency of the new junta. The remainder of the new junta included Juan José Castelli, long an active supporter of independence, Manuel Belgrano, previously an Alzaga ally with some ties to the Carlota faction, Manuel Alberti, a cleric, Miguel de Azcuenaga, militia officer and powerful landowner, two Spanish merchants, Juan Larrea and Domingo Matheu, and two non-voting secretaries, Juan José Pasos and Mariano Moreno. The presence of both Saavedra, Liniers's chief ally, and Moreno, Alzaga's visible supporter on January 1, in the Junta suggests the city's complex political trajectory that led from January 1, 1809 to May 25, 1810.<sup>50</sup>

At each stage of this rapid political evolution the city's militias and "popular opinion" as expressed by the crowds that gathered in the Plaza Victoria and in the halls and galleries of the *cabildo* helped propel events and determine outcomes.<sup>51</sup> Crowds were present in the Plaza Victoria in front of the *cabildo* from the 17 through 25 May. Francisco Saguí affirmed the presence of a "multitud de pueblo... todos armados" as the crucial decisions were made. He also claimed that militia commanders made clear to the *cabildo* that their forces would not sweep the crowd from the plaza, leaving the delegates no alternative to the removal of Cisneros and the creation of a second junta.<sup>52</sup> While it is also true that "leaders" and "managers" were more obviously present in the crowd that gathered on the 25<sup>th</sup> than in earlier moments of popular action, we must also recognize that public demonstrations had a cumulative effect by May 1810. One British witness to these events that it was "...an unanimous proceeding of all the people, which had been long in preparation...."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> One eye witness, Francisco Saguí, claimed that Sobremonte's flight had led to panic and the collapse of the city's defense. See his *Los Últimos Cuatro Años de la Dominación Española en el Antiguo Virreinato del Río de la Plata Desde 26 de Junio de 1806 Hasta 25 de Mayo de 1810, Memoria Historica Familiar* (Imprenta Americana: Buenos Aires, 1874), 13. The confusion and helplessness of the city's leadership in the wake of the viceroy's flight is described in a first-hand account by Mariquita Sánchez de Thompson available in a modern collection *Intimidación y política, Diario, cartas y recuerdos*, edición crítica, María Gabriela Mizraje, ed., (Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo Editora, 2003), 150-155.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Manuel Beruti, *Memorias Curiosas* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 2001), 46-47.

<sup>3</sup> The *cabildo* called the event a "Junta General" in its letter of August 14, 1806, informing Viceroy Sobremonte of the decision to give Liniers political and military authority. See

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*Reconquista y Defensa*, 255. On August 18 Sobremonte wrote to Liniers and used the term “cabildo abierto” to describe the same event. *Ibid.*, 261.

<sup>4</sup> See *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*, Serie IV, Tomo II, Libros LIX, LX, LXI, LXII, Años 1805-1807, 265-269 for the official cabildo record of the decisions. See also Bernardo Lozier Almazán, *Liniers y su tiempo* (Emecé Editores: Buenos Aires, 1990), 109.

<sup>5</sup> Historians have estimated a crowd of 4,000 or more. See, for example, Carlos S. A. Segreti, *Bernardino Rivadavia* (Planeta: Buenos Aires, 1999), 25.

<sup>6</sup> See Ignacio Núñez, *Autobiografía* (Academia Nacional de la Historia: Buenos Aires, 1996), 141. He confirmed the estimated crowd size at 4000 or more.

<sup>7</sup> *Reconquista y Defensa*, 261, letter from Marques de Sobremonte to Santiago Liniers, 18 August, 1806.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>9</sup> Ignacio Núñez, caught the political and personal complexities of this moment for Liniers, noting that Liniers was caught between his “desire to seize all the advantages of his position [after the reconquest] ... and the desire to avoid responsibility for any abuse [perceived] by the viceroy or the Spanish Court.” See his *Autobiografía*, 140.

<sup>10</sup> Lozier, *Liniers y su tiempo*, 108.

<sup>11</sup> *Reconquista y Defensa*, 261262-263, letter from Santiago Liniers to Marques de Sobremonte, 22 August, 1810.

<sup>12</sup> A brief summary of the career of Marqués de Sobremonte is provided by John Lynch in *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810, The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata* (Greenwood Press: New York, 1969), 299-300. For a first-hand account see Beruti, *Memorias Curiosas*, 58-59. This is also briefly mentioned in the contemporary anonymous memoir *Diario de un Soldado* (Ministro del Interior: Buenos Aires, 1960), 147-148

<sup>13</sup> Francisco Saguí summarized the general opinion of Sobremonte in the wake of these disasters in his memoir. He stated, “Este hombre, capaz del mando supremo en plena paz por sus virtudes y buena capacidad, carecia por desgracia de las mas preciosas calidades en un mandatario de su rango para una época como aquella: carecia de valor y de pericia military.” See *Los Últimos Cuatro Años de la Dominación Española*, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Viceroy Sobremonte’s actions during the British attack on Montevideo are provided in detail in a very useful contemporary account. See Ignacio Núñez, *Autobiografía*, 173-189. See also Alberto M. Salas, *Diario de Buenos Aires, 1806-1807* (Editorial Sudamericana: Buenos Aires, 1981), 353-354.

<sup>15</sup> Found in David Curtis Deforest Papers, Journal, Volume 6, January 29, 1807, (Yale University Library). See also the memoir of Francisco Saguí, *Los Últimos Cuatro Años de la Dominación Española*, 49. See also Carlos A. Pueyrredón, *1801. La revolución de Mayo según amplia documentación de la época* (Peusar: Buenos Aires, 1953), 36.

<sup>16</sup> Álzaga wrote admiring letters about Liniers in the wake of the British defeat, but by early 1807 he had pulled back and was more likely to find fault. See Williams Álzaga, *Martín de Álzaga, Cartas (1806-1807)*, 124, letter to Josef de la Brena, August 24, 1806.



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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>18</sup> Lozier, *Liniers y su tiempo*, 108. Lozier claims in summary of this remarkable meeting, “The seed of May [the cabildo abierto of May 25, 1810 that signals the first step towards independence] was planted.”

<sup>19</sup> See Francisco Saguí, *Los Últimos Cuatro Años de la Dominación Española*, 65.

<sup>20</sup> Salas, *Diario de Buenos Aires*, 476-510.

<sup>21</sup> *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*, Serie IV, Tomo II, Libro LXI, Años 1805 a 1807, 611-623, provides the cabildo’s summary of events. See also Beruti, *Memorias Curiosas*, 61-64. Liniers’s description of the defense is available in full in Klaus Gallo, *Las Invasiones Inglesas* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2004), 111-121. For a modern summary see Lozier, *Liniers y su tiempo*, 150-161.

<sup>22</sup> In the period before the second British attack militia soldiers were often in the streets with weapons without any supervision by officers. As a result, the elite complained repeatedly to the cabildo and to Liniers about acts of violence and petty robberies carried out by armed enlisted men. Salas, *Diario de Buenos Aires*, 447, 449-450, 452 and 454. An anonymous member of the Patricios noted an attack on an officer by an enlisted man in the Montañeses militia on March 3. See *Diario de un Soldado*, 154.

<sup>23</sup> The cabildo and colonial fiscal authorities used various short-term measures to try to cover the costs of defense, including the use of lapsed salaries from bureaucratic positions and, finally, taking a percentage of the salaries of civil officials. See *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*, Serie IV, Tomo II, Libros LIX, LX, LXI y LXII, Años 1805 a 1807, 532-533.

<sup>24</sup> This report is quoted in Salas, *Diario de Buenos Aires*, 530. See also, Francisco Saguí, *Los Últimos Cuatro Años*, 63-64. Ignacio Núñez, *Autobiografía*, 150, confirmed that the Arribeños were recruited among migrants from the interior and cart drivers.

<sup>25</sup> Francisco Saguí, *Los Últimos Cuatro Años de la Dominación Española*, 95-96, provides a fulsome appreciation to the heroic actions of the slave community in defense of the city.

<sup>26</sup> *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*, Serie IV, Tomo II, Libros LIX, LX, LXI y LXII, Años 1805 a 1807, 476.

<sup>27</sup> These first efforts to manage the expectations of the slave community are found in *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*, Serie IV, Tomo II, Libros LIX, LX, LXI, LXII, Años 1805-1807, 694-695.

<sup>28</sup> Carlos Roberts, *Las invasiones inglesas* ( Emecé Editores: Buenos Aires, 2000), 396-397. For a brief first-hand account see *Diario de un Soldado*, 196. Manumissions continued at a much reduced rate after this event. In 1808 2477 pesos were spent by the cabildo to free slave volunteers, a number that fell to 984 pesos in 1809. See JCB, “Estado General Que de Orden del Excmo. Cabildo de Esta Capital Forma su Contaduria para Demonstrar los Caudales,” Documentos 1807-1809.

<sup>29</sup> Quotation is found in Osvaldo Barreneche, *Crime and the Administration of Justice in Buenos Aires, 1785-1853* (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, Nebraska, 2006), 37.

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<sup>30</sup> Relations between Liniers and Álzaga worsened in the last months of 1808. In this environment where every action had political meaning, Liniers challenged the Spanish leadership of the cabildo by pushing for the appointment of Bernardino Rivadavia, the son of an ally and benefactor, as *alférez real*. The cabildo replied by dismissing the young Rivadavia as “incapaces” and as a “joven sin ejercicio.” Álzaga’s faction simultaneously went on the attack complaining to the Junta Central that Liniers had violated law and precedent by agreeing to the marriage of his daughter with Juan Bautista Perichón, a French national, militia officer, and brother of his mistress. See Segreti, *Bernardino Rivadavia*, 36-37.

<sup>31</sup> See Francisco Sagú, *Los Últimos Cuatro Años de la Dominación Española*, 107-119.

<sup>32</sup> Cornelio Saavedra remembered long after these events that Álzaga and his allies had developed this plot over months and that he had advance notice, since he had posted spies near the cabildo and bishop’s residence. See Cornelio Saavedra, “Memoria Autografa de Cornelio Saavedra” in *Los Sucesos de Mayo Contados por Sus Actores*, 34 and 42-51.

<sup>33</sup> Even before the successful defense of the city in 1807, the Patricios had had a number of confrontations with both Spanish militias and regular army units. On the eve of the defense a group of Spaniards provoked the Patricios by dressing a figure of Judas in the uniform of the regiment prior to setting the image on fire. See Francisco Sagú, *Los Últimos Cuatro Años de la Dominación Española*, 93, note a.

<sup>34</sup> In the aftermath of the confrontation a mob entered the homes of some of the better-known plotters and, in one case, appropriated a very large sum of money (300,000 pesos). See Francisco Sagú, *Los Últimos Cuatro Años de la Dominación Española*, 121.

<sup>35</sup> The letter from Diego Ponce de León Junta to Count Floridablanca on behalf of the Montevideo was sent 10 February 1809, *Mayo Documental*, VIII, 111-115. The characterization made by Francisco Javier Elío in a letter to Eusebio Bardaxí y Azara on December 4, 1810 is quoted at length in Williams Álzaga, *Dos Revoluciones*, 213. Martín Rodríguez, Saavedra's chief lieutenant, similarly dismissed Álzaga's civilian supporters as "chusma." See his *Memorias* in Museo Historico Nacional, *Memorias y Autobiografías*, T. I, 123-125.

<sup>36</sup> The full document is found in *Ibid.*, VII, 208.

<sup>37</sup> The English merchant Thomas Kinder claimed that Saavedra and other militia commanders had urged Liniers to form junta and reject the transfer of authority to Cisneros. “Journal of Thomas Kinder,” 185-186, John Carter Brown Library. Manuel Belgrano also reported this discussion in his *Autobiografía*, Museo Historico Nacional, *Memorias y Autobiografías*, T. I, 103-105. The cabildo of Buenos Aires on July 13 formally noted that Cornelio Saavedra and other militia commanders had met on the 11<sup>th</sup> to discuss resistance to the transfer of power to Cisneros. Ricardo Levene published this document in *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, t. III, 204-211.

<sup>38</sup> Roberto H. Marfany, *La Semana de Mayo, Diario de un testigo* (privately published: Buenos Aires, 1955), 9-10.

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<sup>39</sup> We must suspect that Cornelio Saavedra played a leadership role during this period, but one contemporary, Ignacio Núñez, wrote that political allies had to “almost drag” Saavedra back to the city from his rural estate. Quoted in Lozier Almazán, *Martín de Álzaga*, 194.

<sup>40</sup> Cornelio Saavedra, “Memoria Autografa de Cornelio Saavedra” in *Los Sucesos de Mayo Contados por Sus Actores*, 61.

<sup>41</sup> The effect of accumulating bad news on the plebe is suggested in *Ibid.*, 293-294 where the anonymous author wrote, “Each day things are getting worse.” In the confrontation between the viceroy and the officers, Cisneros asked if they would support him as they had supported Liniers in 1809. Saavedra replied that the situation was different since “all of the provinces and cities [of Spain] are occupied by this conqueror [Napoleon] except Cádiz and the Island of León....” Quoted in Lozier Almazán, *Martín de Álzaga*, 195.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>43</sup> Pueyrredon, *La Revolución de Mayo*, 248.

<sup>44</sup> Cisneros is quoted at length in Roberto H. Marfany, *El Cabildo de Mayo* (Ediciones Theoria: Buenos Aires, 1961), 28.

<sup>45</sup> Marfany provides a list of those attending the May 22<sup>nd</sup> cabildo abierto in *Ibid.*, 38-42.

<sup>46</sup> Quote found in Carlos A. Pueyrredón, *1810. La revolución de Mayo según amplia documentación de la época* (Peusar: Buenos Aires, 1953) 588.

<sup>47</sup> Roberto Marfany closely examined these events in “La Primera Junta de Gobierno de Buenos Aires (1810),” *Estudios Americanos*, 19: 102 (1960), 223-234.

<sup>48</sup> Pueyrredon, *La Revolución de Mayo*, 278-279. See also This succession of events is described in Beruti, *Memorias Curiosas*, 137-139.

<sup>49</sup> When the cabildo failed to publish the results of the cabildo abierto of 22 May by nightfall, Cornelio Saavedra demanded an explanation and discovered that Cisneros had been named president of the junta. Therefore the partisans of de facto independence had a full day to plan their response before the official announcement on the 24<sup>th</sup>. See “Memoria Autografa de Cornelio Saavedra” in *Los Sucesos de Mayo Contados por Sus Actores*, 65-67.

<sup>50</sup> The most hostile and unfair characterization of Liniers was provided by Mariano Moreno via his brother Manuel Moreno in *Memorias de Mariano Moreno*, (Carlos Pérez Editor: Buenos Aires, 1968), 115-118. Among Moreno’s charges against Liniers was that he had cowered in fear in a monastery during the 1806 attack on Beresford. He similarly claimed Liniers had fled the battle field during the 1807 attack, claims refuted by numerous eye witness accounts published by contemporaries. Perhaps closer to the mark was Moreno’s claim that Liniers had dangerously solicited the attentions of Napoleon before news of the French invasion of Spain reached Buenos Aires.

<sup>51</sup> One British eyewitness to the events of May made the logical connection to the removal of Sobremonte by “an extraordinary Junta of the people, who assembled in the Cabildo....” See the

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description of the May Revolution by an anonymous witness in the Appendix of Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 338.

<sup>52</sup> Francisco Saguí describes these events in *Los Últimos Cuatro Años de la Dominación Española*, 156-161.

<sup>53</sup> This statement by an unknown informant was included in Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 337.