

## Preface

This volume has a long history. More than forty years ago, in May 1968, I visited Mexico City for the first time to begin research on a doctoral thesis that eventually became my first book, titled *The Emergence of Spanish America: Vicente Rocafuerte and Spanish Americanism, 1808–1832* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). In that volume, I maintained that a great political revolution began in 1808 within the Hispanic world and that Spanish Americans, who had participated in that transformation, initially favored the creation of a constitutional Hispanic commonwealth. But the subsequent failure of the Hispanic Cortes (parliament) (1810–1814 and 1820–1823) forced them to seek independence.

Since that time I have been intrigued by the process of nation building and the factors that stimulate or retard state consolidation. My work in this area has focused on the Americas and Spain. I was perplexed by the question of why one former colony, the United States, succeeded in establishing a stable government and a flourishing economy, while other former colonies, the Spanish American countries, endured political chaos and economic decline. During the last four decades, I have focused my research on two regions: Ecuador—the former Kingdom of Quito—and Mexico—the former Viceroyalty of New Spain. Since the two lands are radically different in size, resources, location, and so on, their comparison allowed me to gain a broader understanding of the impact of regional conditions on their transition from kingdoms of the Spanish Monarchy to independent nations.

In 1986 I began work on a volume on the First Federal Republic of Mexico. But as I examined the secondary literature I became convinced that scholars lacked a genuine understanding of the causes, the process, and the consequences of the movements that led to independence and the formation of the new nation. My opinion was strengthened when the Comité Mexicano de Ciencias Históricas invited me to present a paper on the First Federal Republic for a symposium on Mexican historiography held in Oaxtepec, Morelos, in October of 1988. In the process of preparing that presentation, I realized that because we did not understand the process of independence “all of us who work on the early national period are not only confused, but utterly lost in the miasma of the era.”<sup>1</sup>

Therefore I returned to the archives of Mexico, Spain, and Ecuador to re-examine the independence period. Also, I began a dialogue with colleagues

concerned with similar or related inquiries. Between 1987 and 2008 I organized series of symposia dedicated to various aspects of the question. I have benefited greatly from these in-depth multiyear discussions with colleagues from Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, the United States, Canada, Spain, France, the United Kingdom, and Italy who took part in those meetings. The papers, which were revised as a result of our discussions, were published in the following volumes: *The Independence of Mexico and the Creation of the New Nation* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1989); *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays in Social and Political Change, 1880–1940* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1990); *Patterns of Contention in Mexican History* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1992); *The Evolution of the Mexican Political System* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1993); *Mexico in the Age of Democratic Revolutions, 1750–1850* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994); *The Divine Charter: Constitutionalism and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005); *Revolución, independencia y las nuevas naciones de América* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre-Tavera, 2005); and *Las nuevas naciones: España y México* (Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE—Instituto de Cultura, 2008). I am currently preparing to publish the papers from the 2008 symposium titled “Hispanic Political Theory and Practice, XVI–IX Centuries.” The symposia raised more questions than they resolved, but they proved extremely useful in opening new avenues of inquiry. The more I learned, the more I realized that it was crucial to understand the nature of the Spanish Monarchy and its political culture.

The present volume, which examines the complex process of New Spain’s transition from a kingdom of the Spanish Monarchy to the First Federal Republic of Mexico, is based on two decades of research. During the first ten years, I worked in the archives and repositories of Mexico City; the second decade has been spent researching in the states of Puebla, Veracruz, Oaxaca, Yucatán, Jalisco, Michoacán, and Zacatecas in Mexico as well as in the archives of Madrid and Seville.

An earlier Spanish-language version of this study, “*Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles*”: *La transición de la Nueva España de un reino de la Monarquía Española a la República Federal Mexicana, 1808–1824*, appeared in two volumes and included much detail, many quotes, and tables pertinent to individuals elected to the representative institutions that emerged during that revolutionary period. For this edition I have eliminated much material that is of interest primarily to a Spanish-language audience. As a result of questions from colleagues, who kindly read the original manuscript, I have provided additional explanations in several parts of the work. Also, I have incorporated further research that I conducted in Mexico and in Spain as well as material from new publications that have appeared since the Spanish-language edition went to press.

The cover’s image, known as the “*Alegorías de las autoridades españolas e indígenas*” (Allegories of Spanish and Indigenous Authorities), illustrates the sense of unity that characterized the Hispanic world after the French invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808. Commissioned the following year, in 1809, by the Indian governor of the República de Indios (Republic of Indians; territories of native populations governed by their own legal system) of San Cristobal Ecatepec, José Ramírez, the painting demonstrates his and his people’s patriotism and fidelity to the Spanish Monarchy. The canvas of the painter Patricio Suárez de Peredo, who had learned his art in a master’s shop rather than in the

classical Academy of Art of Mexico City, reflects the profound sense among *novohispanos* (people of New Spain) of belonging to that worldwide entity. The work demonstrates the dignity and prominence of the Indian official, Governor Ramírez, who is clad in richly adorned expensive clothes and displays an elegant staff of office. In contrast, Juan Felipe Mugarrieta, the Spanish *corregidor* (magistrate of a district or province called a *corregimiento*) to his left, wears a simple official black suit that seems inferior to the attire of his Indian counterpart. In the center, King Fernando VII's image and the symbols of Castile appear at the feet of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The coat of arms of the Spanish monarch is displayed on the left between the images of the Virgin and the king while the coat of arms across on the right exhibits the trophies and emblems of Ecatepec. Both coats of arms possess a royal crown. At the bottom appears a dedication to "the beloved and desired" King Fernando VII. There follows the name of the governor, Don José Ramírez, the name of the *corregidor*, Don Juan Felipe Mugarrieta, and the date May 23, 1809. The painting illustrates not only the loyalty of the people of Ecatepec but also their claim of equality within the Spanish Monarchy.

I am grateful to Alicia Hernández Chávez for suggesting the "*Alegorías de las autoridades españolas e indígenas*" for the cover, to Manuel Miño Grijalva for obtaining an adequate reproduction for its publication, and to Jorge Juárez Paredes for expediting the process of receiving the permission to reproduce the painting from the Museo Nacional de Historia de México. Also, I appreciate Rocio Hamue Medina's efforts in obtaining permission from the Archivo General de la Nación de México to use the engraving by Montes de Oca of the election of 1813 in the city of México as the frontispiece. I thank René García Castro for allowing me to consult his unpublished manuscript: "La nueva geografía del poder en México: Provincias y ayuntamientos constitucionales, 1812–1814 (Mexico, 1994) and for graciously sending me some of his other works on elections and politics in Mexico. I am most grateful to Hira de Gortari Rabiela and Jimena Gortari Ludlow for allowing me to reproduce their map: "Pronunciamientos y demostraciones de fidelidad a la monarquía, 1808" (Oaths and Demonstrations of Fidelity to the Monarchy, 1808). I also thank Darin Jenson who prepared the other maps rapidly and with care.

Christon I. Archer, Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, Miriam Galante, Tamar Herzog, Marco Antonio Landavazo, Colin M. MacLachlan, Manuel Miño Grijalva, Mónica Quijada, William Sater, José Antonio Serrano, Alicia Tecuanhuey, John Tutino, Paul Vanderwood, and Eric Van Young read the manuscript in whole or in part. I am grateful to them for their valuable suggestions for improving the work. I did not always take their advice, but I always considered it seriously. Of course these generous academics are not responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation that I may have committed. Indeed, some of them disagree with my interpretations.

As she has for more than four-and-a-half decades, my colleague, friend, and wife—Linda Alexander Rodríguez—encouraged, advised, and supported my work. She read the manuscript in all its versions and offered valuable criticism and insightful suggestions for improvement, which helped clarify and enrich my analysis of the process of independence. I am most grateful to her for intellectual stimulus and the shared academic enterprise that we have enjoyed for many years. For these and many other reasons, I lovingly dedicate this volume to her.

The present book is part of my effort to understand the process by which the American kingdoms of the Spanish Monarchy transformed themselves into independent nation-states. During the years that I have worked on the subject, I have been fortunate in receiving financial aid from the Academic Senate Committee on Research of the University of California, Irvine; the Research and Travel Committee of the School of Humanities at UCI; the University of California Institute for Mexico and the United States (UC MEXUS); the Social Science Research Council; the Fulbright Foundation; and the University of California in the form of a President's Humanities Fellowship. I am grateful to the Rockefeller Foundation for its invitation to reside five weeks in its Study and Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy, which afforded me the opportunity to read, think, and discuss my ideas and theirs with Linda Alexander Rodríguez, Christon I. Archer, and Virginia Guedea as well as other scholars then resident in the Center. I am also thankful to Vice Chancellor for Research John C. Hemminger for a subvention to defray some of the publication costs of this book.

I am particularly grateful for the cordiality, assistance, support and friendship I have received over the years from Laura Gutiérrez-Witt, Adán Benavides, Donald Gibbs, Michael Hyronimous, and Carmen Sacomani at the magnificent Nettie Lee Benson Collection at the University of Texas at Austin. I am most thankful to Leonor Ortiz Monasterio, director of the Archivo General de la Nación de México from 1983 to 1994, and to her staff for many courtesies during those years. I also express my gratitude to the directors and staff of the Biblioteca Nacional de México, the Centro de Estudios de Historia de México of the Fundación Cultural de Condumex (México, D.F.), the Archivo General de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México, the Archivo Histórico del Ayuntamiento de Jalapa, the Archivo Histórico Municipal de la Ciudad de Veracruz, the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Oaxaca, the Archivo del Congreso de Jalisco (Guadalajara), the Archivo Municipal de Guadalajara, the Archivo Histórico del Ayuntamiento de Puebla, the Archivo Histórico de Zacatecas, the Centro de Apoyo a la Investigación Histórica de Yucatán (Mérida), the Archivo del Congreso de Michoacán (Morelia), the Archivo del Congreso de Diputados de las Cortes (Madrid), the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), the Archivo General de Indias (Seville), the British Library (London), the New York Public Library, the Bancroft Library (Berkeley), the UCLA Research Library, and the UCI Langson Library.

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