

Manuel Torres, A Spanish American Patriot in Philadelphia, 1796-1822

REVOLUTIONARY activity that preceded the Spanish American wars of independence propelled not a few republican creoles toward the United States. A case in point was Manuel de Trujillo y Torres (1762-1822), nephew of the Archbishop-Viceroy Antonio Cabellero y Góngora and a native of Spain who had immigrated in 1778 with his uncle to New Granada, the Spanish colony which later became the republic of Colombia. There Manuel Torres, as he came to be called, embraced the teachings of the Enlightenment, participated in a conspiracy in 1794 against the Crown, and hastily fled, leaving behind his wife and his prosperous plantation. Torres made his way to Philadelphia, "where he lived in various degrees of good and evil fortune to his death."¹ At the time that he arrived in the summer of 1796, Philadelphia, still the capital of the United States, was riding the crest of an unprecedented commercial boom.² The city held a particular attraction for Torres. It had been the home of Benjamin Franklin and the birthplace of the Constitution of the United States. His exposure to the influences of both during his association with kindred liberal spirits prepared Torres to accept Philadelphia as the capstone of North American republican ideals, "the asylum of the oppressed, the center of light, a bulwark of liberty, and the inspiration of independence."³ The City of Brotherly Love was, because of political and commercial reasons, an appropriate home for a person of Torres' talents and inclinations.

Trade between the Spanish colonies and Philadelphia was considerable, even during the 1780's. In 1787 \$500,000 worth of specie was

¹ William Duane, *A Visit to Colombia in the Years 1822 and 1823* (Philadelphia, 1826), 609.

² James Weston Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780-1860* (Harrisburg, 1947), 11.

³ Vicente Rocafuerte, *Ideas necesarias a todo pueblo americano independiente que quiero ser libre* (Philadelphia, 1821), 2, quoted in William Spence Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States* (New York, 1923), 64-65.

brought from Spanish America to that port alone.⁴ By 1797 the flour trade with the Viceroyalty of New Granada, inaugurated by Caballero y Góngora ten years earlier, had reached a volume of 6,000 barrels annually.⁵ At the turn of the century the frequent arrival of ships from the Spanish Main was a favorite news item in Philadelphia newspapers.⁶

Commercial contacts were happily accompanied by cultural interests. Philadelphia was easily the capital of Hispanic studies in the United States. Its literary resources went far beyond travel literature into serious historical works which systematized the study of Spanish America.⁷ Outstanding for its store of Spanish American materials was the American Philosophical Society. This society was not satisfied with merely collecting information, however; it earnestly sought to give its materials a direct relevance. With such an objective in view the American Philosophical Society became the first learned group in the United States to nominate Spanish Americans as corresponding members.⁸

Into this congenial atmosphere came Torres, who lost no time communicating to others his advocacy of Spanish American independence.⁹ In so doing he made important political contacts that stood him in good stead later. William Duane—writer, editor, and avid Jeffersonian—was one of the first of many to extend him hospitality.¹⁰ Duane's friendship eventually proved to be invaluable to Torres because Duane freely opened the columns of his newspaper, the *Aurora*, to him for the dissemination of Spanish American prop-

⁴ Arthur P. Whitaker, "Reed and Forde: Merchant Adventurers of Philadelphia," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI (1937), 244-245.

⁵ H. Taylor Parks, *Colombia and the United States, 1765-1934* (Durham, N. C., 1935), 75.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 76; Charles Lyon Chandler, "United States Commerce with Latin America at the Promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXVIII (1924), 470.

⁷ Harry Bernstein, *Origins of Inter-American Interest, 1700-1812* (Philadelphia, 1945), 53.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 54-56.

⁹ One authority has it that "the fame of his alienation from the Spanish governmental regime" preceded Torres' arrival at Philadelphia. Alberto Miramón, "Los diplomáticos de la libertad," *Boletín de historia y antiguñades* (Bogotá), XXXVI (1949), 261.

¹⁰ Duane became editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora* in September, 1798, and remained in that capacity almost continuously until 1822. "His genius in controversy and management, his courage and audacity, the sincerity and intensity of his convictions, and his virile style of writing made him the most effective journalist of his time." Claude B. Bowers, "William Duane," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1958), V, 467.

aganda. Duane held Torres in high esteem and often went to him for advice.¹¹ "His talents as a mathematician, and his general learning, were transcendental," he said of the adopted New Granadan on one occasion. At the same time he placed Torres among "the ablest men of three quarters of the globe. . . ."¹² Besides his friendship with Duane, Torres had the companionship of fellow South Americans from the outset of his residence in Philadelphia. Joaquín Sorondo and Francisco Zinza, both of La Guaira, were there and so were many others.¹³

In his first years in Philadelphia, Torres was described as "opulent." The funds he succeeded in bringing with him, together with remittances from his "connections" in New Granada, "enabled him to hold intercourse with the most fashionable circles."¹⁴ Unfortunately, when he decided to try his luck in the business world, he emerged the worst for it. Being generous by nature and unfamiliar as yet with the financial practices of the United States, Torres suffered a great deal of unreasonable imposition. He entrusted his funds, "in order that they should produce a respectable subsistence without waste, to persons in trade."¹⁵ Typical of those with whom Torres might have cast his lot was John Leamy, a merchant who had an office in Philadelphia and advertised vessels for freight or charter.¹⁶ His frigate, the *John*, is reputed to have been the first North American vessel to enter the broad waters of the Rio de la Plata.¹⁷ The docking of the *John* at Montevideo in November, 1798, opened that port city, and Buenos Aires also, to trade with the United States. Because of its ample capital and excellent harbor,

¹¹ It has been stated that Torres "founded" the *Aurora* with Duane. Nicolás García Samudio, "La misión de Don Manuel Torres en Washington y los orígenes suramericanos de la doctrina Monroe," *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, XXVIII (1941), 477. Duane reorganized the newspaper several times after he became editor. Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, Mass., 1947), II, 891-892. Perhaps Torres was of some help to Duane on one of those occasions.

¹² [William Duane], "Death of Mr. Torres," *Aurora*, July 16, 1822, quoted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXII (July 27, 1822), 347.

¹³ Vicente Dávila, ed., *Archivo del General Miranda* (Caracas, 1929-1950), XVII, 203.

¹⁴ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXII, 347.

¹⁵ Duane, *A Visit to Colombia*, 609.

¹⁶ Charles Lyon Chandler, "The River Plate Voyages, 1789-1800," *The American Historical Review*, XXIII (1918), 816, n.2.

¹⁷ "In Honor of the Patriot Don Manuel Torres," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, LX (1926), 955.

Philadelphia was assured a share in this new commercial bonanza. The profits that stood to be made more likely than not outweighed the risks involved in such an enterprise. Naturally speculators abounded and Torres was unwittingly fair game for them. He was left to suffer the consequences of the shaky transactions of those "men whom he had served."¹⁸ Sometimes he was fortunate but more often than not he was defrauded by those to whom he entrusted his money. Through one person alone he lost \$70,000. At other times he saw himself fleeced of \$40,000 and smaller amounts. His wife in New Granada sent him money occasionally,¹⁹ but Torres found it increasingly difficult to sustain the type of life to which he had grown accustomed as nephew of a Spanish archbishop-viceroy.

The vagaries of his personal fortune did not dampen Torres' enthusiasm for the study of the financial operations of the United States government, a matter to which he devoted considerable energy from his arrival in Philadelphia in 1796.²⁰ Among his sources of information on federal coinage, income, and expenditures were Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin and his Philadelphia confidants Robert Patterson, director of the United States Mint,²¹ and John Sargeant, a director of the second Bank of the United States.²²

Scarcely three years after Torres arrived in the United States, "a Spaniard in Philadelphia" published a pamphlet titled *Reflexiones sobre el comercio de España con sus colonias en tiempo de guerra*.²³ That Torres was its author is not a rash surmise in view of the interest he revealed in Spanish American commercial affairs and the knowledge of such matters that he had obtained while attached to the Royal Treasury in New Granada. The author was obviously a

¹⁸ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXII, 347.

¹⁹ Duane, *A Visit to Colombia*, 609.

²⁰ Torres to James Madison, Feb. 11, 1815, Madison Papers, LVIII, 37, Library of Congress.

²¹ John R. Kline, "Robert Patterson," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 306.

²² John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs of . . . Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*, Edited by Charles Francis Adams (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), IV, 440.

²³ [Manuel Torres?], *Reflexiones sobre el comercio de España con sus colonias en tiempo de guerra*, published by a Spaniard in Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1799). The pamphlet was published in English in 1800. A copy of the Spanish edition with a manuscript note concerning typographical errors is to be found among the Duane pamphlets in the Library of Congress. Harry Bernstein suggests that Torres was the author of the work. Bernstein, 107. A. J. Morrison does also. A. J. Morrison, "Colonel Tatham and Other Virginia Engineers," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Second Series, II (1922), 84.

disciple of Adam Smith and an ardent opponent of monopolies. He argued that it was wantonly unjust for Spain to deprive her colonies of necessary supplies simply because they did not come from "the privileged hands" of Spanish merchants.²⁴ Colonial agriculture ran the risk of being sacrificed "to the unfounded jealousy and unbounded ambition of a few individuals."²⁵ It was doomed to decline unless "a liberal supply of the articles of European manufactures, and the products of the United States" became available to the colonies. Spain, the author reasoned, was unable to furnish vital supplies in time of war, and in peace "she must do it at a higher price than other nations."²⁶ Torres knew better than anyone in Philadelphia the urgency of free trade between Spanish America and other parts of the world. He had witnessed a revolt, the *comunero* uprising in 1781, and had been involved in a conspiracy intended, in part, to bring an end to royal monopolies. *Reflexiones sobre el comercio de España con sus colonias en tiempo de guerra*, in the words of one reviewer, revealed "considerable knowledge of the commercial interests of Spain, and a liberality of spirit, and zeal for the prosperity of the colonies, very honourable to the author."²⁷

While Torres pamphleteered in Philadelphia, General Francisco de Miranda of Venezuela schemed in London for the freedom of South America. Growing impatient when British promises of aid did not materialize, the general decided to try his fortune in the United States. He arrived in New York City on November 9, 1805, and by November 30 he was in Philadelphia.²⁸ The question arises: did Miranda and Torres meet at this time? One feels confident in answering in the affirmative. The Venezuelan had been aware of Torres' presence in Philadelphia at least as early as December, 1799, and he knew of the exile's interest in Spanish American independence.²⁹

²⁴ [Anonymous], *Review of Observations on the Commerce of Spain with her Colonies, in time of War*, by a Spaniard in Philadelphia, *The Monthly Magazine, and American Review*, III (1800), 137-138.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 138.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 139.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 140.

²⁸ Dávila, ed., *Archivo de Miranda*, XVII, 282; Parks, 49.

²⁹ In a notation of Dec. 25, 1799, Miranda included "D. Manuel Trujillo . . . from Santafe" among "some distinguished persons" who had fled "Meridional America" because they had been involved in "disturbances" and "who are presently in Philadelphia." Dávila, ed., *Archivo de Miranda*, XV, 402.

Indeed, the Marqués de Casa Yrujo, Spanish minister to the United States, was so alarmed by Torres' behavior that he relayed his concern to the Spanish authorities.³⁰ Perhaps Casa Yrujo had evidence that Torres took a hand in recruiting the Philadelphians who served in Miranda's ill-fated expedition to revolutionize Venezuela in 1806.³¹

Less than eight months after Miranda sallied forth on his quixotic mission, the future liberator of northern South America, twenty-three-year-old Simón Bolívar, stepped ashore at Boston in September, 1806, returning from Europe to his native land. After visiting the battlefields of Lexington and Concord, he went on to New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Charleston, from whence he sailed for Venezuela in February, 1807.³² It is supposed that in Philadelphia Bolívar became acquainted with Torres and other Spanish Americans.³³ The mutual respect Bolívar and Torres had for one another was possibly founded during their Philadelphia meeting.

The crucial events that occurred in Spain during 1807 and 1808 assured Miranda, Bolívar, and Torres a chance to further the cause to which they had dedicated their lives, the wresting of Spanish America from Spain's grip. The times were fraught with great potentialities. In 1807 Charles IV of Spain and Napoleon signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau, permitting French troops to pass through Spain on their march to Portugal. The unsettled state of the Spanish court after the signing of the treaty furnished the "Little Corsican" the pretext for invading the country and imposing his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne. Napoleon soon discovered he had underestimated the extent of Spanish nationalism. The towns rose in defiance to the French intrusion and formed juntas to carry on in the name of the new Spanish monarch, Ferdinand VII. Repercussions spread quickly to the Spanish colonies. In New Granada,

³⁰ Duane, *A Visit to Colombia*, 609.

³¹ Back in New York Miranda engaged the *Leander* to carry guns, ammunition, and some two hundred volunteers to the Venezuelan coast. On Feb. 2, 1806, the ship put to sea. Miranda's unsuccessful attempt to land near Puerto Cabello, and the lack of response on the part of the colonials to his call to arms, doomed the ambitious project to failure. Charles Lyon Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances* (Sewanee, Tenn., 1915), 23.

³² *Ibid.*, 23.

³³ Elizabeth Reznor Daniel, "Spanish American Travelers in the United States before 1900: A Study in Inter-American Literary Relations" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1959), 44.

Venezuela, Buenos Aires, and Chile revolutionary juntas were organized which fell under the control of liberal-minded creoles. These men grasped the opportunity to throw off the yoke of the motherland and free themselves of their hated colonial status. On April 19, 1810, a supreme governmental junta was created in Caracas; the following July 20, the same action was taken in Bogotá. The Spanish American wars of independence were thereby effectively set in motion fourteen years after Torres had settled in Philadelphia.³⁴

News of the disturbances in the colonies to the south soon reached Philadelphia. Zachariah Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser* and Duane's *Aurora* reported on June 7, 1810, the overthrow of the government at Caracas. The *American Daily Advertiser* presaged that "the people [of Caracas] have no idea than to make themselves independent of every foreign power. In such a circumstance we cannot be indifferent spectators."³⁵ This was and continued to be the general climate of opinion in the United States respecting the independence movements in Latin America. For the next twelve years, Torres took on the task of keeping public sentiment favorable to this cause. By August, 1810, the *Aurora* was speculating on the consequences of a collapse of Spain's trade monopoly with her colonies.³⁶ Such conjecture was in harmony with Torres' aspirations for free trade at last between the new nations and the rest of the world.

Torres had little time to be idle in this critical period. Finding his funds running low, he turned his knowledge of Spanish into ready cash. He became a "professor of general grammar" and took to teaching, as did several other Spanish American revolutionists in the United States.³⁷ In 1811 he and one L. Hargous "adopted to the Spanish" a textbook by Nicholas Gouin Dufief, bearing the sonorous title of *Dufief's Nature Displayed in Her Mode of Teaching Language to Man*. The introduction, written in collaboration with Torres, carried one of the first recommendations to be made in the

³⁴ Victor Andrés Belaúnde, *Bolívar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1938), 87 ff.

³⁵ Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, June 7, 1810, quoted in Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, 38; Charles Carroll Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822* (New York, 1937), 15.

³⁶ Griffin, 49, n.34.

³⁷ Juan Mariano Picornell, a leader of the Gual-España conspiracy in Venezuela in 1797, taught chemistry and physics at "the College of Baltimore" sometime between 1801 and 1806. Harris Gaylord Warren, "The Revolutionary Career of Juan Mariano Picornell," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXII (1942), 77.

United States for the study of Spanish and Spanish American literature.

We have but a few words to say to those who, having gone through the course of the Spanish which we have laid before the reader, and which we deem sufficient for every social purpose whatever, feel ambitious of excelling in that language, and rivalling the most enlightened natives in the knowledge thereof. To such we point out the necessity of studying the graces of style, and the best models of composition, as the works of Calderon [de la Barca], Lopez [*sic*] de Vega, Cervantes, Garcilaso [de la Vaga]. . . .³⁸

All the while Torres was making his translations and adaptations, he kept informed of events in Spanish America through a voluminous correspondence with his friends there. His opportunity to assist the patriot effort directly soon came his way.

The popular juntas established in Spanish America were not long in dispatching agents to the United States to seek arms, supplies, money, and recognition by the government. Invariably they found their way to Philadelphia. Several reasons accounted for that particular city's popularity: it was centrally located, about equidistant between New York and Washington; it was a publishing center where the agents could have their propaganda printed cheaply; and, most important of all, it was the home of Manuel Torres who acted as liaison between the revolutionists and the North American merchants, bankers, volunteers and government.³⁹

To him all the agents from all sections of South America resorted, as the *Franklin* of the southern world; and in his experience and sagacity, they found the counsels and the resources by which the revolution was consummated; divisions quietted [*sic*] or averted; enmities subdued; and the jealousies incident to revolutions frustrated; and a common sentiment, and a due knowledge of their common interests spread over South America.⁴⁰

President Madison permitted the Spanish American agents to reside in the United States, held unofficial correspondence with them,

³⁸ [Nicholas Gouin Dufief], *Dufief's Nature Displayed in Her Mode of Teaching Language to Man; or, A New and Infallible Method of Acquiring a Language in the Shortest Time Possible, Deduced from the Analysis of the Human Mind, and Consequently Suited to Every Capacity*, Adapted to the Spanish by Don Manuel Torres and L. Hargous, professors of general grammar (Philadelphia, 1811), I, xxii. A second edition of the work was published in 1826 in New York and London.

³⁹ José de Onís, *The United States as Seen by Spanish American Writers, 1776-1890* (New York, 1952), 34.

⁴⁰ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXII, 348.

and tolerated their purchasing and shipping munitions to their respective governments. The active sympathy of the North American people sanctioned the outfitting of privateers under the belligerent flags of the various South American countries and the manning of them with North American crews and captains. The success of the Spanish American independence movements was due principally to the patriots' own heroic struggles, but at least some credit must be attributed to the aid received in the United States.

Occupied as he was with circulating information about Spanish America and its fight for freedom, Torres consistently guided his compatriots through the complexities of the business world and the social life of Philadelphia. Several friends he introduced into the prestigious Athenaeum, while in social meetings, held frequently at his home, men from every part of the southern continent gathered to peruse newspapers, read, and to talk.⁴¹ Torres' considerable insights as a political analyst served to keep his little coterie well versed on current affairs.

The first of the revolutionists to arrive in the United States were from Caracas. Juan Vicente Bolívar, brother of the Liberator, and Telésforo de Orea reached Baltimore in June, 1810, charged with buying arms and establishing closer ties.⁴² Orea soon went back to Venezuela, leaving Bolívar to carry on the mission.⁴³ In Philadelphia the latter was introduced to Stephen Girard, from whom he acquired a cargo of arms.⁴⁴ It was Torres who was responsible for bringing the two together for he was a personal friend of Girard. By April, 1811, Orea had returned to the United States accompanied by José Rafael Revenga.⁴⁵

In mid-1811 a mission from Bogotá, composed of Pedro de la Lastra and Nicolás Mauricio de Umaña, arrived to buy arms and

⁴¹ José Manuel Restrepo, *Autobiografía. Apuntamientos sobre la emigración de 1816, e índices del "Diario Político"* (Bogotá, 1957), 136.

⁴² Griffin, 50; Parks, 86.

⁴³ Pedro Manuel Arcaya, "Misiones de Don Juan Vicente Bolívar y Telésforo Orea a Washington," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* (Caracas), XVIII (1935), 731.

⁴⁴ Bolívar was lost at sea while returning to Venezuela in July, 1811. Griffin, 51; Emiliano Jos, "Notas sobre Juan Vicente Bolívar y su misión diplomática en los Estados Unidos (1810-1811)," *Revista de Indias*, II (1941), 161; John Bach McMaster, *The Life and Times of Stephen Girard, Mariner and Merchant* (Philadelphia, 1918), II, 164-167.

⁴⁵ Arcaya, 725; E. A. Yanés, "Don Telésforo de Orea: Su misión diplomática en los años de 1811 y 1812," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, VIII (1925), 40-47.

ammunition. Umaña was close to Antonio Nariño, an associate of Torres' during the conspiracy of 1794.⁴⁶ Like the agents from Caracas before them, Lastra and Umaña made their way to Philadelphia, where they could avail themselves of Torres' good offices. Undoubtedly through Torres Lastra met one Anthony Bailly, "a mechanic and mineralogist," whom he persuaded to go to New Granada. There Bailly "dedicated himself to building a powder factory in Santa Fe [de Bogotá] and lending technical assistance to the battles for independence."⁴⁷ Presumably, Torres also introduced Lastra to his friends Robert Patterson and Robert M. Patterson, members of the American Philosophical Society. Lastra presented the Society a paper from Francisco de Caldas in which the astronomer-republican gave a description of his observatory in Bogotá and expressed a desire to enter into correspondence with astronomers in the United States.⁴⁸ In Philadelphia, too, Umaña contacted "a young professor of languages to teach English in Santa Fe."⁴⁹ The inference is that Torres, himself a "professor of general grammar," acted as the go-between for the meeting.

Lastra and Umaña departed for Cartagena in August, 1811, with their precious cargo of 1,500 muskets and two printing presses.⁵⁰ From a cultural as well as from a commercial viewpoint their mission was one of the most successful to come to the United States from the Spanish colonies. It would be unreasonable to suppose that Torres, a patriot working for New Granadan independence, did not have a hand in its favorable conclusion.

Diego de Saavadra and Juan Pedro de Aguirre were commissioned by the revolutionary government of Buenos Aires to go to the United States on yet another arms-purchasing mission. The two agents, using the respective pseudonyms of José Antonio Cabrera and Pedro López, arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1811,⁵¹ and fell

⁴⁶ [Anonymous], "Biographical Sketch of Dr. Alexander Macaulay—Collected from Authentick Sources," *The Portico*, IV (1817), 475.

⁴⁷ Nicolás García Samudio, *La independencia de hispanoamérica* (México, 1945), 128.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 128; Bernstein, 64.

⁴⁹ García Samudio, *La independencia de hispanoamérica*, 128.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 128; Griffin, 53n., 55, 64n., 118.

⁵¹ Samuel Flagg Bemis, "Early Diplomatic Missions from Buenos Aires to the United States, 1811-1824," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, XLIX (1939), 19.

at once into concert with Torres and Orea.⁵² When the commissioners' attempts to order supplies on credit proved fruitless, Torres and Orea suggested "that it would be very easy to combine our activities for the purchase of arms and supplies for our governments in such a way that both would benefit." They believed that if Venezuela and Buenos Aires jointly pledged their credit they could obtain the necessary purchases from the arsenals of the United States government without great difficulty. The operation required, however, that "a person of respectability and means" be contacted to guarantee the credit. Torres named Stephen Girard as the best suited for underwriting the transaction.⁵³ There was some concern registered over the large number of useless arms that the United States government owned, "some having been used during the [Anglo-American] revolution and others having come from Europe. . . ." Therefore, one of the conditions that had to be stipulated by whoever negotiated with the government was that "the muskets be made in these states and comparable to those in use at the present time."⁵⁴

The treachery of a postman was responsible for an outline of these plans falling into the hands of Luís de Onís, the vigilant Spanish minister to the United States.⁵⁵ Onís now became more than ever alert to Torres' part in the patriot enterprises afoot almost under his very nose.⁵⁶ Like his predecessor, Casa Yrujo, Onís communicated such information about Torres as he had to the Spanish authorities, telling of the exile's "zeal in the revolt of South America, and the effort he was making to furnish the patriots with supplies." Such

⁵² Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830* (Baltimore, 1941), 388. Orea had great trust in Torres. He instructed Saavadra and Aguirre to discuss their plans with him, "the same as with me." Orea to José Antonio Cabrera and Pedro López, Nov. 25, 1811, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Estado, Legado 5637, letter no. 206 (Library of Congress facsimiles). On another occasion Orea told Stephen Girard that "our friend Mr. Torres enjoys the confidence of all." Orea to Girard, Nov. 26, 1811, McMaster, II, 168.

⁵³ Orea to Cabrera and López, Nov. 25, 1811, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, Legado 5637, letter no. 206; Bemis, "Early Diplomatic Missions," XLIX, 21.

⁵⁴ Orea to Cabrera and López, Nov. 25, 1811, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, Legado 5637, letter no. 206.

⁵⁵ Orea's letter of Nov. 25, 1811, to Saavadra and Aguirre was enclosed in a dispatch from Onís to the Spanish Minister of State dated Nov. 28, 1811. Bemis, "Early Diplomatic Missions," XLIX, 21, n.4.

⁵⁶ Onís, like Torres, lived in Philadelphia at this time. Philip Coolidge Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (Berkeley, 1939), 61.

untoward activity resulted in the confiscation of Torres' estate of San Carlos in New Granada "a short time after the death of his last living ties."⁵⁷ His name was also included on a list of "suspects" whom Onís felt it necessary to watch with close scrutiny.⁵⁸

Hounded by Spanish spies and hampered for want of money, the indefatigable patriot

at the crisis of that revolution which his correspondence and counsels, from Mexico to La Plata and Chile, had contributed to promote and regulate . . . suffered in common with the friends who fought the battles, all the vicissitudes of privation incident to a loss of fortune. It was in this trying school that his virtues were tested; and it was in this situation that those who had the honor and the advantage of his confidence, *saw the man*—the *patriot*—the *republican*—never more confident than when all around seemed desperate; and himself devising and suggesting the means, and contributing, by his magnanimous counsels and courage, to cheer the desponding, and invigorate the virtuous.⁵⁹

Shortly after Torres and Orea decided upon their credit plan, Torres took Saavadra and Aguirre on November 30, 1811, to see Girard,⁶⁰ to whom the commissioners proposed the purchase of 20,000 muskets and bayonets for the defense of the United Provinces of La Plata and of Chile. Payment would be made against the joint credit of the governments of Buenos Aires and Venezuela. Girard was willing to accept the proposition, provided the approval and co-operation of the United States government were forthcoming. When Secretary of State Monroe refused to reply to the commissioners' repeated importunities on the subject, Girard dropped the plan. Saavadra and Aguirre were reduced to using their cash funds to buy such arms as they could. By May, 1812, they had reached home with 1,000 muskets purchased from "sundry gunsmiths" in Philadelphia.⁶¹ Torres and Orea fared much better in their dealings

⁵⁷ Duane, *A Visit to Colombia*, 609. In April, 1810, Onís had complained to the Captain General of Caracas about the "schemes of some Venezuelan *criollos*" in Philadelphia. Daniel, "Spanish American Travelers in the United States before 1900," 98.

⁵⁸ Miramón, "Los diplomáticos de la libertad," XXXVI, 261-262.

⁵⁹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXII, 347-348.

⁶⁰ Bemis, "Early Diplomatic Missions," XLIX, 21; Orea to Girard, Nov. 26, 1811, McMaster, II, 168.

⁶¹ Bemis, "Early Diplomatic Missions," XLIX, 21-23; Griffin, 52-53; McMaster, II, 170-171.

and before the close of 1811 had shipped some 24,000 stand of arms to Venezuela.⁶²

The mission of Saavadra and Aguirre, coupled with the representation of their colleagues, Torres and Orea, did much to crystallize a policy for President Madison's administration, naturally predisposed, as it was, in favor of Spain's insurgent colonies. Privateering and the spreading of oral and written propaganda were allowed to continue unhampered. The United States, in effect, acknowledged the belligerency of Spanish America and encouraged the revolutionary governments through manifestations of good will by both the President and Congress.⁶³ Although the United States government adopted "a carefully neutral policy," it was "a benevolent one."⁶⁴ The trade in munitions during the first two years of the revolts was small, but it often supplied vital needs to the rebels.

With the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the United States in 1812 came a sharp decline in commercial and political contacts in the New World. North American enthusiasm for the southern conflicts began to flag and remained in "a state of suspended animation" throughout the war.⁶⁵ At the same time widespread factionalism and dissension in patriot ranks produced complete confusion in New Granada and Venezuela. The upshot was that virtually the entire former Viceroyalty of New Granada fell under the domination of the Royalist armies.

But if patriot victories were initially few, the number of emissaries embarking for the United States was not. From Cuba came the remarkable José Álvarez de Toledo, whose fervid letters and manifestoes were printed in Duane's *Aurora*.⁶⁶ José Bernardo Gutiérrez

⁶² Griffin, 258, n.62.

⁶³ In his message to Congress on Nov. 5, 1811, President Madison spoke of the obligation imposed on "national councils" to take a deep interest in the destinies of the revolted colonies and "to cherish reciprocal sentiments of good will. . . ." Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, 44-45. Congress concurred with the President and expressed "great solicitude" for the welfare of the patriots. It viewed "with friendly interest the establishment of independent sovereignties by the Spanish provinces in America. . . ." Julius Goebel, Jr., *The Recognition Policy of the United States* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 1915), LXVI, 118.

⁶⁴ Griffin, 68.

⁶⁵ Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America*, 109.

⁶⁶ Joseph Byrne Lockey, "Toledo's Florida Intrigues," in *Essays in Pan-Americanism* (Berkeley, 1939), 99; Harris Gaylord Warren, "José Álvarez de Toledo's Initiation as a Filibuster, 1811-1813," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX (1940), 57, 59.

de Lara of Mexico,⁶⁷ Pedro José Gual of Caracas, and Manuel Palacio Fajardo of Cartagena⁶⁸ were among those who came before the end of 1812, seeking men, money, and arms for their respective governments. That Manuel Torres in Philadelphia was wholeheartedly supporting these missions and becoming very dangerous to Spain is indicated by the uneasiness with which Onís interpreted the reports of his secret agents who, since 1810, had harried the rebels with their detective-story tactics.⁶⁹ Their threats and annoyances proved unavailing in Torres' case, however, and in 1814 two of them, Francisco Sarmiento and Miguel Cabral de Noroña, tried to assassinate him. "This affair was in a retired part of Phila[delphia] . . . at night, [and] the circumstances of it are well known to all the Spaniards here [in Philadelphia]. . . . Torres & his friends have not the least doubt as to the guilt of Sarmiento and Noronia [Noroña]." Both before and after the attempt on Torres' life Sarmiento "was very particularly patronized and favor'd by Onís," an indication that the Spanish minister himself was the instigator of the plot.⁷⁰

For the United States the years 1812-1815 were ones of war climaxed by peace and reconstruction; for Spanish America they were years of continuous struggle, the nadir of the patriot cause; for Manuel Torres they were years of relentless effort to keep alive the hope of ultimate independence for New Granada, and to do all in his power to clinch the successful outcome of the patriots' valiant undertaking.

In addition to William Duane of Philadelphia, Torres was on cordial terms with at least three other newspaper editors whom he regularly provided with Spanish American news and views: Baptis Irvine of the Baltimore *Whig* and New York *Columbian*, Jonathan Elliot of the *City of Washington Gazette* and Hezekiah Niles of *Niles'*

⁶⁷ Harris Gaylord Warren, *The Sword Was Their Passport: A History of American Filibustering in the Mexican Revolution* (Baton Rouge, 1943), 4-9.

⁶⁸ Harold A. Bierck, Jr., *Vida pública de Don Pedro Gual* (Caracas, 1947), 68-70.

⁶⁹ One of the secret agents, Diego Correa, went around with "a short dagger, and also kept pistols, powder and balls . . . [and] a box containing vitriol and other drugs." Brooks, 60, 62-63.

⁷⁰ George W. Erving to Monroe, Jan. 4, 1816, Monroe Papers, New York Public Library (photostat); Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America*, 58-59, n.159. Erving stated in his letter to Monroe that the attempt on Torres' life was made "almost 18 months" ago, or about mid-1814.

Weekly Register in Baltimore.⁷¹ Torres also became intimate with such exponents of Spanish American independence as Henry Marie Brackenridge, lawyer, traveler and writer; Postmaster John Stuart Skinner; and Judge Theodorick Bland, all of Baltimore; and William Thornton, head of the Patent Office at Washington.⁷² He had been introduced to Henry Clay, who as early as January, 1813, publicly expressed an interest in "the movements of South America."⁷³ All these men were active and articulate in aiding the cause which they favored. Together with Torres they endeavored to create a public opinion that would force Congress and the President to lend direct support to the patriots. In pursuit of such a goal, Torres was frequently called to Washington to argue his case. Duane and Clay by their influence⁷⁴ greatly facilitated his entrance into political circles in the capital. Duane gave him letters of introduction to William Branch Giles, John W. Eppes, and "a few other" members of Congress. He suggested that Monroe introduce Torres to President Madison and to Secretary of the Treasury Alexander J. Dallas, informing Monroe that Torres "is a gentleman of South America who has resided here for a considerable number of years and is attached to our government and country. . . . [He is] a man of practical experience and [of] principles and views perfectly in the Spirit of our Government."⁷⁵

Personal contacts were indispensable in winning United States backing for the Spanish Americans, but scarcely less important were Torres' many literary contributions. Through his multitudinous writings the spirited republican was able to stir widespread sym-

⁷¹ Torres to José Servando Teresa de Mier Noriega y Guerra, Oct. 16, 1821, The Mier Archives, folio 312, microfilm, University of Texas Library (Austin); Torres to Mier, Oct. 29, 1821, *ibid.*, folio 322; Laura Bornholdt, *Baltimore and Early Pan-Americanism: A Study in the Background of the Monroe Doctrine* (Smith College Studies in History, 1949), XXXIV, 115.

⁷² William Thornton to Pedro José Gual, Apr. 23, 1817, William Thornton Papers, V, Library of Congress; Torres to Mier, Oct. 29, 1821, The Mier Archives, folio 322.

⁷³ *Annals of Congress, 1789-1824* (Washington, 1834-1856), 12 Cong., 2 Sess., XXV, 663.

⁷⁴ Duane was a friend of Thomas Jefferson, during whose administration (1801-1809) the *Aurora* was the official organ of Republicanism. President Monroe apparently thought the editor capable for he repeatedly declared to Torres that "no man who has risen since the Revolution, had rendered such effective service as Colonel Duane." Duane to Jefferson, Nov. 8, 1824, Worthington C. Ford, ed., "Letters of William Duane," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, XX (1906-1907), 383.

⁷⁵ Duane to Monroe, Oct. 25, 1814, *ibid.*, XX, 375.

pathy among the North American people for the patriot cause and to acquaint those in his own country with the ways of democratic procedures. Principally in the columns of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, he waged his vigorous campaign in behalf of the rebel governments, bombarding the public with news from South America, especially from New Granada and Venezuela. These items in turn were "clipped" by other newspapers and gained a large circulation.⁷⁶ He used the *Aurora* to keep up a steady fire of propaganda, now enlarging upon the commercial importance of Spanish America, now pointing out the dangers to the United States if a European power should be allowed to retain even a foothold there.⁷⁷ It is possible that Torres was partly responsible for shaping Duane's views on these matters.⁷⁸ The two men worked in the closest confidence, with Torres translating Spanish news and pamphlets for Duane and occasionally putting the fiery editor's "effusions" into Spanish for the use of patriot gazettes.⁷⁹

Besides his work for Duane and the *Aurora*, Torres was the author of numerous unsigned articles and pamphlets.⁸⁰ In 1812 he probably published at Philadelphia the pamphlet titled *Manual de un Republicano para el uso de un Pueblo libre*. The author's purpose was to spread political concepts and governmental practices current in the United States throughout Spanish America. The pamphlet represented a defense of the North American government in the form of an exposition of the ideas of Rousseau. It upheld the judiciary as an independent branch of the government and defended the bicameral system, the presidential veto, and the election of senators by the state legislatures.⁸¹ Torres, more than any of his compatriots, was qualified to write such a treatise. He was well steeped in the teachings of Rousseau and by 1812 had lived in the United States some sixteen years. He certainly possessed a working knowledge of North American republicanism in which the system of checks and balances is a distinctive feature. His later letters moreover were invariably

⁷⁶ Bornholdt, 37, 50.

⁷⁷ Richard Dana Skinner, "A Century of the Monroe Doctrine," *New York Times Magazine* (Dec. 2, 1923), 3.

⁷⁸ Griffin, 124.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 252; Nicolás García Samudio, *Capítulos de historia diplomática* (Bogotá, 1925), 46.

⁸⁰ Onís, 34.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 35; Belaúnde, 28.

peppered with the expression "republican principles." The fact that he supported the indirect election of senators implies that he was a conservative partisan of Jeffersonian democracy.

Two articles appeared in *Niles' Weekly Register* in the fall of 1815⁸² which Torres assuredly helped to prepare. Their general title was "Viceroyalty of New-Granada." Hezekiah Niles himself attributed the authorship to "a native of the country—a highly accomplished gentleman, with whom the editor had the pleasure to become acquainted."⁸³ The first of the "sketches" consisted of a brief geographical description of the region, a "comparative table of the population, extent, commerce and coinage of the United States of America and the provinces of New Granada, at the epoch of their independence," and a commentary on New Granada's popular government.⁸⁴ The second article gave a detailed account of the *comunero* revolt of 1781 in which Torres' uncle, Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Góngora, served as peacemaker.⁸⁵ Internal evidence strongly suggests that the author was personally familiar with the circumstances involved in the revolt. As for the comparative table, it was the type of which Torres was very fond. Some of the population figures contained therein were the same as those he later used in a more elaborate project.⁸⁶ Moreover, the coinage statistics for the United States seem to have been obtained from the United States Mint, to which Torres had easy access through Robert Patterson, the director. Other material also appears to have come from governmental sources.⁸⁷ The statistics for New Granada could only have been secured from official Spanish sources.

In 1815 Torres wrote a guide for North American merchants intending to do business in Spanish America. This work may be considered something of a milestone for it was the first inter-

⁸² *Niles' Weekly Register*, IX (Sept. 30, 1815), 68-70; *ibid.*, IX (Oct. 14, 1815), 109-110.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, XVII (Oct. 16, 1819), 111.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, IX (Sept. 30, 1815), 69-70.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, IX (Oct. 14, 1815), 109.

⁸⁶ Notably the figure of 2,500,000 as the population of New Granada.

⁸⁷ The author set the number of slaves in the United States in 1790 at 697,626. Alexander Humboldt used that same figure, which he had received from Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury (1801-1813), as "official information. . . ." Alexander Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the years 1799-1804* (London, 1818-1826), VI, pt. I, 367. Torres himself had the use of various reports of the Treasury Department.

American handbook ever published. Its title was *An Exposition of the Commerce of Spanish America; with some Observations upon its Importance to the United States*.⁸⁸ In October, 1815, Torres sent copies to Robert Patterson and to Robert M. Patterson, vice-provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Both gave the book their hearty endorsement, finding it to be "formed on correct principles, and with a scrupulous accuracy . . . well calculated to facilitate foreign mercantile [*sic*] transactions, especially those with Spanish America."⁸⁹ The *Exposition* was published early the following spring in Philadelphia.⁹⁰

Torres rightly deemed his work valuable to "everyone who buys, sells, or exchanges in any way": merchant, farmer, "insurer" and banker. Specifically, the *Exposition* comprised

a precise statement of the articles annually exported from the different departments of Spanish America to foreign countries, and their value; the rates of duties on imported foreign goods; a correct analysis of the custom-house system in that country; examples and rules for calculating the import duties; and tables of those calculations already made.⁹¹

The aid that this statistical data afforded the North American merchant "will enable him to calculate his mercantile operations . . . more accurately than it has ever been before done."⁹²

Once the independence of Spanish America was indeed a reality, its countries could not fail "to influence the commerce, policy, and even the power of other nations, to an extent, at this time, not easy to calculate: but to the United States of North America, the particular circumstances, contiguity, and resources of the southern section of this continent, must be, above all, interesting."⁹³ These glowing

⁸⁸ Manuel Torres, *An Exposition of the Commerce of Spanish America; with some Observations upon its Importance to the United States. To which Are Added, a Correct Analysis of the Monies, Weights, and Measures of Spain, France, and the United States; and of the Weights and Measures of England: with Tables of their Reciprocal Reductions; and of the Exchange between the United States, England, France, Holland, Hamburg; and between England, Spain, France, and the Several States of the Union* (Philadelphia, 1816).

⁸⁹ Robert Patterson and Robert M. Patterson to [Manuel Torres], Oct. 12, 1815, *ibid.*, viii.

⁹⁰ Extracts appeared in *Niles' Weekly Register*, X (Apr. 6, 1816), 93; and in *The Analectic Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, VIII (1816), 173-176. Niles commented that Torres' handiwork "contains information very useful to commercial men."

⁹¹ Torres, *An Exposition of the Commerce of Spanish America*, 4-5.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 8.

prospects made it all the more imperative for North American merchants and statesmen alike to be "minutely acquainted" with the area and its commercial practices.

The significance of trade with Spanish America was based on two essential considerations. First, the value of the area's annual imports reached upwards of \$1,000,000,000. Secondly,

it is there, and only there, that all nations can obtain, with facility, those precious metals, which have become so necessary to trade throughout the world . . . to sustain the credit of that paper money, which is now everywhere generally adopted; and to pay the balance of commerce, when unfavorable. On all these accounts, the United States, more than other nations, have a powerful interest in an extensive participation of it [the commerce], in carrying thither foreign or domestic mercantile articles, either from their own ports, or from those of Europe . . . to be changed in South America for the precious metals, or for raw materials, and for other articles of general commerce. . . .⁹⁴

Torres concluded that while the commercial outlook for all the new southern republics was bright, the Spanish Main "must always hold the first place among the different parts of Spanish America" because of its location ("the centre between Asia, Europe, and the United States"), its fine rivers, and the fact that in its provinces was "all the production of the world." He soundly advised that the North Americans who went to the region to trade "be acquainted with the Spanish language, with the habits and manners of the inhabitants and with their way of buying and selling, which differs somewhat from that of other nations."⁹⁵

The same year the "Deputy from the States of New Granada"⁹⁶ published his *Exposition* in Philadelphia, the most forceful of the agents to come to the United States joined up with Torres. Dispatched by Cartagena and the United Provinces of New Granada, Pedro José Gual reached Washington in late August, 1815, only to learn shortly afterwards that both Cartagena and Bogotá had fallen to Royalist forces under Pablo Morillo.⁹⁷ Finding himself without a

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

⁹⁶ Extract from *An Exposition of the Commerce of Spanish America*, in *The Analectic Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, VIII, 173.

⁹⁷ Harold A. Bierck, Jr., "Pedro Gual and the Patriot Effort to Capture a Mexican Port, 1816," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXVII (1947), 457.

country to represent, Gual went to Philadelphia, where he stayed at the residence of Manuel Torres, 289 Spruce Street.⁹⁸ While under Torres' roof and probably with his inspiration, Gual hit upon a scheme for freeing Mexico from Spanish control. It was his conviction, and Torres' also, that Mexico's large population, its resources and economic importance made that country's emancipation the key to the emancipation of all Spanish America.⁹⁹ Torres, because of his propensity for seeing the broad view of the revolutions, especially realized the usefulness of securing a port on the coast of Mexico to furnish an outlet for arms bought in the United States and a harbor for patriot privateers.¹⁰⁰ In essaying to execute their plan Torres and Gual were sustained by the host of revolutionists in the United States and by Dr. William Thornton, architect, inventor, and head of the Patent Office at Washington. Thornton, an uncritical disciple of Rousseau, had espoused the Spanish American revolutionary cause at the beginning of the struggles for independence.¹⁰¹ He was a close associate of the patriots and more particularly a confidant of Torres.¹⁰² It was Torres who likely fired Thornton with the notion that a community of interest existed between the United States and Spanish America calling for a North American policy oriented away from Europe and toward the southern republics.¹⁰³

The accommodating José Álvarez de Toledo displayed zeal for Gual's proposal to liberate Mexico, and both set about "popularizing their cause among American merchants and financial interests, purchasing supplies and recruiting troops."¹⁰⁴ Consultation with Torres was essential in carrying out these operations. In an effort to get aid from Haiti, Gual communicated with Mariano Montilla and Luís-Aury at Aux Cayes, where Bolívar was preparing his first campaign against the Spanish forces in Venezuela.¹⁰⁵ The two adventurers saw

⁹⁸ Item no. 785, William Thornton Papers, V.

⁹⁹ Bierck, "Pedro Gual and the Patriot Effort," 458.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 460.

¹⁰¹ Griffin, 126.

¹⁰² Thornton to Gual, Apr. 23, 1817, William Thornton Papers, V.

¹⁰³ Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America*, 184, 186. In March, 1815, Thornton drew up in Washington a design for a voluntary federal union of the Americas. N. Andrew A. Cleven, "Thornton's Outline of A Constitution for United North and South Columbia," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XII (1932), 198-215.

¹⁰⁴ Bierck, "Pedro Gual and the Patriot Effort," 459.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 462.

possibilities in Gual's scheme and Montilla left for the United States to arrange the disposition of Aury's fleet.¹⁰⁶ Montilla sought out Gual and Torres in Philadelphia and in short order this triumvirate formed a revolutionary junta, which by mid-1816 had a definite line of action, that is, to strike a blow against the Royalists in New Spain. In the months that followed the junta came to include—in addition to Torres, Gual, and Montilla—José Rafael Revenga, Telésforo de Orea, and Juan Germán Roscio of Venezuela, Miguel Santamaría of Mexico, and Vicente Pazos of Buenos Aires.¹⁰⁷ But the grand design of the junta was never realized. The primary reason for its failure to capture a port on the Gulf of Mexico and to invade New Spain was the sudden reduction of Aury's squadron to seven vessels. These were hardly enough to attack Vera Cruz, Tampico, or any other Gulf port.¹⁰⁸

All hope of freeing Mexico was not lost, however. In June, 1816, a ship en route from London dropped anchor at Norfolk, Virginia, and two of its passengers stepped ashore. They were the refugee Spanish liberal, General Francisco Xavier Mina, and the Mexican author and exiled priest, Father José Servando Teresa de Mier Noriega y Guerra.¹⁰⁹ The general immediately got in touch with Pedro Gual, who acted as his press agent. Before long Mina and Mier were in communication with Manuel Torres, Miguel Santamaría, and José Rafael Revenga.¹¹⁰ Together they enlisted the financial support of a group of Baltimore merchants headed by Dennis Smith. This stroke of good fortune prompted the calling to Baltimore of Torres and the other agents for the purpose of making final arrangements for an invasion of Mexico.¹¹¹ The principal task now lay in finding officers to command the forces Mina expected to recruit in Mexico.¹¹² With preparations going forward in Baltimore, Mina and Mier departed

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 463.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*; Bierck, *Vida pública de Don Pedro Gual*, 113.

¹⁰⁸ Bierck, "Pedro Gual and the Patriot Effort," 465.

¹⁰⁹ Warren, 151.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 152.

¹¹¹ Mier to Sres. P. and A., Sept. 15, 1816, J. E. Hernández y Dávalos, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia de México de 1808 a 1821* (México, 1877-1882), VI, 918.

¹¹² Harris Gaylord Warren, "The Origin of General Mina's Invasion of Mexico," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLII (1938), 7.

for Philadelphia and New York to assemble men and supplies. While they were in Philadelphia, the *Aurora* gave them a helping hand by advertising that "the revolutionists of the southern republics, appear to derive vigor from disaster. They are solicitous to obtain *officers* and *artificers* from the United States—and hold out very strong inducement, by their private letters."¹¹³

In and out of these proceedings moved José Álvarez de Toledo, "an old friend of Manuel Torres."¹¹⁴ Apparently the ubiquitous Toledo deceived Torres and all the other patriots for he had, unbeknown to them, returned to his Spanish allegiance and was spying for Onís, the Spanish minister. He nearly broke up the expedition before it left the United States by starkly reporting the collapse of the Mexican revolution to the rebel agents. Torres and Gual were able to calm the ensuing misgivings, and Mina and his followers sailed in September, 1816. The outcome was a fiasco. After a few initial successes the general's small army was dispersed, and Mina himself was captured and shot.¹¹⁵

The Mina expedition did have one positive result. During the months that Father Mier was in the United States, he struck up a friendship with Torres that developed into a sincere and lasting one. The famous priest succinctly described Torres in 1816 as the "author of several excellent works [written] in behalf of our America and a martyr to its liberty."¹¹⁶ When Mier returned to Mexico he carried with him two copies of Torres' *Exposition of the Commerce of Spanish America* and one of his *Manuel de un Republicano para el uso de un Pueblo libre*.¹¹⁷

The patriot agents in the United States could draw satisfaction from the renewed interest that North Americans began to show in the Spanish American revolutions after the Anglo-American war had ended. Editor Niles, who complained in 1815 of the indifference of the public, was able to say a year later that the people of the United States were generally "heartily devoted to the patriots of South

¹¹³ *Aurora*, Aug. 6, 1816, quoted in Warren, *The Sword Was Their Passport*, 153.

¹¹⁴ Onís, 79.

¹¹⁵ Griffin, 110.

¹¹⁶ Mier to Sres. P. and A., Sept. 15, 1816, Hernández y Dávalos, ed., *Co'lección*, VI, 918.

¹¹⁷ "Inventario de los libros y papeles recogidos al Dr. Mier en Soto la Marina y Entregados al Tribunal de la Fé," *ibid.*, VI, 841, 848.

America . . . and desirous of *doing* something for them, as well as wishing them well.”¹¹⁸ The notable change in public opinion was due largely to the efforts of Torres and his corps of propagandists. In Baltimore were Vicente Pazos, Manuel Dorrego, José Agrelo, and Manuel Moreno—all from Buenos Aires.¹¹⁹ These men, through their editor friends such as Irvine and Niles, worked fervently for independence. At the same time Torres, Gual, Orea, Roscio, and Revenga in Philadelphia and Washington were similarly employed. Torres, because of his experience and position, was the co-ordinator of the newspaper campaigns and other patriot activities.

The coming of peace in 1815 released a number of North American ships and men in time to join the service of the rebels who lacked capital, ships, and trained seamen but who wanted to attack Spanish commerce through privateering. Agents in the United States issued letters-of-marque and fitted out ships operated under the colors of Cartagena, Venezuela, Mexico, and Buenos Aires. The government of Venezuela became especially useful to the privateers because of its control of the port of Juan Griego on the island of Margarita, a convenient base in the Caribbean.¹²⁰

Toward the end of 1816 Lino de Clemente, brother-in-law of Simón Bolívar, arrived in the United States as Venezuelan *chargé d'affaires*.¹²¹ Thereafter occurred an unfortunate incident in which Torres was wisely not implicated, at least not directly. With more enthusiasm than discretion Clemente, on March 31, 1817, affixed his name as deputy for Venezuela, jointly with Pedro Gual, deputy for New Granada, and Martin Thompson, deputy for Rio de la Plata, to a commission from “the deputies of free America, resident in the United States of the North, to their compatriot, Gregor MacGregor, General of Brigade, in the services of the United Provinces of New Granada and Venezuela” authorizing the invasion of East and West

¹¹⁸ *Niles' Weekly Register*, IX (Nov. 4, 1815), 170; *ibid.*, X (July 20, 1816), 351.

¹¹⁹ Torres to Mier, Dec. 11, 1821, The Mier Archives, folio 335

¹²⁰ Charles Carroll Griffin, “La opinión pública norteamericana y la independencia de hispanoamérica, 1810-1822,” *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, XXIV (1941), 13-14; Charles Carroll Griffin, “Privateering from Baltimore during the Spanish American Wars of Independence,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 2.

¹²¹ Bierck, *Vida pública de Don Pedro Gual*, 137.

Florida in the name of the Spanish American patriots.¹²² MacGregor mustered a force in Philadelphia and proceeded at once to the east coast of Florida, a Spanish possession. There he captured Amelia Island without a struggle. Dissension within the ranks of the filibusters arose almost at once, and in September MacGregor resigned his command to Luís-Aury.¹²³ The corsairs and buccaneers that commenced sailing forth from the island under revolutionary flags foolishly failed to distinguish between Spanish and North American commerce. President Monroe and his Cabinet reluctantly agreed that Amelia Island had been converted into a pirates' nest, a menace to the peace and commerce of the United States. On these grounds Monroe ordered the establishment broken up by a landing force in December, 1817.¹²⁴

Monroe's move drew a cry of indignation from the agent from Buenos Aires, Manuel Hermenegildo Aguirre, who with Gregorio Gómez, had superseded the indisposed Martin Thompson.¹²⁵ In January, 1818, after he had been appointed Venezuelan envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States, Lino de Clemente instructed Vicente Pazos to protest the occupation of Amelia Island in the name of the government of Venezuela.¹²⁶ Whatever hopes Clemente entertained for securing recognition for his government were dashed when Secretary of State John Quincy Adams advised him that the Washington government would have no traffic with him because he had been one of those who had signed MacGregor's commission to seize Amelia Island.¹²⁷ As for Aguirre, he was ignored by Adams, who considered him merely a public agent with no diplomatic character.¹²⁸ Torres, throughout these proceed-

¹²² Thomas Frederick Davis, *MacGregor's Invasion of Florida, 1817* (Jacksonville, 1938), 7-8.

¹²³ Alfred Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish America* (New York, 1928), 141-142.

¹²⁴ Stanley Faye, "Commodore Aury," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1941), 646.

¹²⁵ Bemis, "Early Diplomatic Missions," XLIX, 47, 50, 62-64.

¹²⁶ Francisco José Urrutia, *Páginas de historia diplomática. Los Estados Unidos y las repúblicas hispanoamericanas de 1810 a 1830* (Bogotá, 1917), 75.

¹²⁷ Samuel Flagg Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949), 347.

¹²⁸ Bemis, "Early Diplomatic Missions," XLIX, 63-66.

ings, remained in the background, an interested but circumspect participant. He preferred less offensive ways of going about his business. Working quietly and legally for recognition and for munitions, he continued to hold a respected position in the eyes of government officials.¹²⁹

The listening post for politicians, merchants, bankers, writers, editors, and rebel agents, Torres was the most significant figure in the Spanish American diplomacy of his day. He was admired by everyone even as his home in Philadelphia served as headquarters for the revolutionists.¹³⁰ At one time or another, most Spanish American patriots who came to the United States visited him.¹³¹ One by one the agents from New Granada, Venezuela, Buenos Aires, Chile, and Mexico "found in his counsel, in . . . his valuable social connections, and in . . . his multiple influences, the only means for carrying out their assignments."¹³² Because Torres was known and trusted by men in responsible places at Philadelphia and Washington, it was to his advantage and to the advantage of those with whom he co-operated that he not embarrass the North American government or its representatives in any way. Consequently, discretion became his watchword. It was discretion that kept him from being openly involved in the Mina expedition and the Amelia Island episode, just as it was indiscretion that prompted Gual, Clemente, and Thompson to sign MacGregor's commission, thereby gaining the ill will of President Monroe and Secretary of State Adams.¹³³ The actual participation of Torres in these affairs was nevertheless substantial. He and his circle of collaborators worked hand-in-glove with Mina and Mier to win support for their protracted attack on Mexico, a step that all believed would give impetus to the revolutions in the rest of

¹²⁹ W. P. Cresson, *James Monroe* (Chapel Hill, 1946), 404.

¹³⁰ Onís, 34.

¹³¹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXII, 347.

¹³² Miramon, "Los diplomáticos de la libertad," XXXVI, 262.

¹³³ Monroe was quite piqued by the behavior of these men. "The conduct of several of the agents of the [insurgent Spanish] Colonies has been . . . in the highest degree reprehensible, particularly of Mr. Aguirre, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Clemente, and Mr. Gual [*sic*]. Mr. Thompson is dead, and Mr. Gual has left the country, whose offense consisted in granting the commission to Gen[era]l McGregor. Mr. Aguirre and Mr. Clemente . . . have insulted the government, and in many instances in the most offensive manner." "Sketch of Instructions for Agent for South America—Notes for Department of State," Mar. 24, 1819, in Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, ed., *The Writings of James Monroe* (New York, 1898-1903), VI, 99-100.

Spanish America. The active resistance of the Mexicans to Spanish authority in 1815 and 1816, together with the considerable available manpower there, persuaded Torres that an invasion of New Spain was feasible. "Take 100,000 pieces of calico and 2000[00] dollars," he was quoted as saying, "and a piece of calico and 2 \$ each will bring forth 100,000 men capable of being led any where and doing good or evil at the absolute discretion of their paymaster."¹³⁴ The Mexicans were not so easily mustered and led as Torres imagined, however.

The disavowal by Bolívar of any connection with MacGregor and his expedition¹³⁵ dealt a death blow to the Philadelphia junta. During the years of its existence Torres, Gual, and Clemente had managed to buy sizeable quantities of military supplies from various merchants in Philadelphia and New York¹³⁶ as well as from the United States government.¹³⁷ Together they had sought recognition of the independence of New Granada and Venezuela, but without success. Madison, Monroe, and Adams, although professing sympathy for the new republics, preferred to await the development of events. Torres bided his time lending "constant and invaluable service to the cause of the revolution, particularly placing his influence and connections at the disposal of the agents from the different sections of America who came to the great Republic [of the North]."¹³⁸

As Clemente's secretary in Philadelphia,¹³⁹ Torres knew well the pitfalls into which the Venezuelan envoy had fallen when signing

¹³⁴ Quoted in Duane to Thomas Jefferson, June 25, 1824, Ford., ed., "Letters of William Duane," 380.

¹³⁵ Report of the Secretary of State to Congress, Jan. 28, 1819, in *State Papers* (Washington, 1819), 15 Cong., 2 Sess., VI, 8.

¹³⁶ John Bassett Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party* (Washington, 1898), IV, 3492-3493. William Duane was a friend of the successful merchant Jacob Idler of Philadelphia, and knew Clemente and, of course, Torres. The editor served as advisor for the two patriots in their transactions with Idler. Jane Lucas de Grummond, "The Jacob Idler Claim against Venezuela, 1817-1890," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXIV (1954), 137.

¹³⁷ Adams referred in his diary (Mar 29, 1820) to "a certain loan of gunpowder" made by the Ordnance Department in 1816 to the agent of Venezuela. He drily described this transaction as the "gunpowder plot" and complained that the loan had become a total loss although "it went to those same South Americans who with the richest mines in the world want arms on credit and offer to furnish specie hereafter for arms to be delivered." Adams, *Memoirs*, V, 46.

¹³⁸ Raimundo Rivas, *Relaciones internacional entre Colombia y los Estados Unidos, 1810-1850* (Bogotá, 1915), 12

¹³⁹ García Samudio, *La independencia de hispanoamérica*, 148

MacGregor's commission as spokesman for the Philadelphia junta. He was greatly relieved to discover that the growing interest of the North American government to enter into relations with the new states had not been discouraged by what had transpired. Adams instructed Baptis Irvine, then United States special envoy at Angostura, "to give suitable explanations to the government of Venezuela, of the motives for declining further communication with Mr. Clemente, and assurances that it will readily be held with any person not liable to the same or like objection."¹⁴⁰ There was no doubt in Bolívar's mind that the person best qualified to plead the case for Venezuelan recognition before the Washington government was Manuel Torres. Accordingly, in October, 1818, the Liberator authorized Clemente to transfer to Torres his duties as Venezuelan *chargé d'affaires* in the United States and to return home.¹⁴¹ This designation opened the way for "the most transcendental negotiations [to be undertaken] in behalf of the general cause of Spanish America."¹⁴² In his capacity as *chargé d'affaires*, Torres was responsible for a host of enterprises: propagandizing the patriot cause in the United States, purchasing arms, arranging a loan for his government, and, of course, securing recognition for the republic that in 1819 became Gran Colombia, a union of New Granada and Venezuela. His long years of devoted and effective service to the cause of Spanish American independence were fittingly rewarded on June 19, 1822, when President Monroe received Torres as the official *chargé d'affaires* from the republic of Gran Colombia. This signal event was the first act of recognition by the United States of an independent Latin American nation.

Following his reception at the White House, Torres returned at once to his new house in Hamiltonville, a suburb of Philadelphia.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Report of the Secretary of State to Congress, Jan. 28, 1819, in *State Papers*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., VI, 8.

¹⁴¹ Francisco José Urrutia, *Los Estados Unidos de América y las repúblicas hispano-americanas de 1810 a 1830. Páginas de historia diplomática* (Madrid, 1918), 159.

¹⁴² García Samudio, *La independencia de hispanoamérica*, 148.

¹⁴³ Torres had moved from his house on Spruce Street to 193 South Tenth Street, and, finally, in the spring of 1822 to Hamiltonville, "a handsome village of West Philadelphia." Mier to Charlotte Stephenson, June 20, 1821, The Mier Archives, folio 203; Sarah Torres to Gual, Sept. 25, 1822, Archivo Nacional de Colombia: Secretaría de guerra y marina, tomo 1464 (microfilm); W. Wallace Weaver, *West Philadelphia: A Study of Natural Social Areas* (Philadelphia, 1930), 44.

There his health deteriorated alarmingly. Duane described the nature of his friend's illness as primarily asthma, aggravated by the harshness of Philadelphia winters: "Severe application to his duties, and the desire to perform himself what is usually performed by amanuenses, were effects too severe for a frame naturally delicate."¹⁴⁴ On July 15, 1822, Torres died at his home,¹⁴⁵ aged fifty-nine.¹⁴⁶ His funeral took place from the residence of Richard W. Meade, long a leading merchant in the Spanish trade and father of General George Gordon Meade. From Meade's house a large and impressive array of military figures, city authorities, judges, and "a large concourse of citizens" proceeded to St. Mary's Church. After a solemn requiem Mass, the *chargé d'affaires* was buried in the churchyard with full military honors. The shipping in the harbor had their colors at half-mast. "This spontaneous tribute to talent, patriotism and personal worth will be duly appreciated by his countrymen," observed Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*.¹⁴⁷

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¹⁴⁴ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXII, 348.

¹⁴⁵ Duane to Monroe, July 15, 1822, Monroe Papers.

¹⁴⁶ Torres to Mier, Nov. 18, 1821, The Mier Archives, folio 329.

¹⁴⁷ Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, July 16, 18, 1822.