Francisco de Miranda

Andrey Iserov

Subject: History of the Caribbean, 1492–1824, Diplomatic History, Military History, Revolutions and Rebellions
Online Publication Date: Aug 2019 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.745

Summary and Keywords

Francisco de Miranda (March 28, 1750, Caracas, Venezuela—July 14, 1816, La Carraca, Spain) was a Spanish American revolutionary who after a career in the Spanish Army from 1783 devoted his life to the cause of Spanish American independence. The various designs of Miranda in the 1780s–1800s were founded upon the idea of a military liberation expedition to Spanish America led by him and organized with the support of a power (Great Britain, United States, France) in conflict with Spain that would then foment existing discontent and lead to a wide-scale revolt and independence. Though these plans failed, as did his attempt to organize an expedition from New York without the support of any power (1805–1807), in 1810 the revolution in Spanish America started without his participation as a consequence of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain. Miranda was called to Caracas and eventually led the short-lived First Venezuelan Republic in 1812. After its defeat he spent the last years of his life in Spanish jails. Miranda's failure influenced the South American revolutionaries who adopted the tactics of unconditional warfare against the Spanish troops from 1813.

A shrewd and sophisticated expert in world affairs and political intrigues and an acclaimed military commander, Miranda was persistently trying to use the conflicts between great powers to achieve his goal though he knew that these powers' leaders were eager to use him as a trump card against the Spanish Empire in their geopolitical games. His contacts ranged from US Founding Fathers, British Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger and Viscount Melville to the Prussian king Friedrich II and the Russian empress Catherine II. He was a respected peer in the high society of the European "republic of letters" in the Age of Enlightenment. In the United States his friends belonged to the Federalist Party, which represents an interesting phenomenon since Federalists are usually viewed as being generally skeptical toward foreign revolutions. In Spanish America Miranda's ideas received no support until 1810–1812, as his failed expedition clearly shows—this is an excellent example of the interplay between "evental history" (*histoire évenémentielle*) and the longue durée, demonstrating how fast and unpredictable radical historical change may be. In spite of this long political solitude, Miranda entered the Spanish American symbolic pantheon as the precursor of independence.

Keywords: Spanish American War of Independence, First Venezuelan Republic, Venezuela, Colombia, Simón Bolívar, relations between Great Britain and Spanish America, French Revolution, relations between Russia and Spanish America

In Spain and in the Americas

Sebastián Francisco de Miranda y Rodríguez de Espinoza (Francisco de Miranda) was born in Caracas on March 28, 1750, into the family of a prosperous merchant Sebastián de Miranda Ravelo (1721–1791) who came poor from Tenerife (Canary Islands) and grew rich from the Spanish textile trade. Before William Robertson found Miranda's baptism certificate, all studies (including a very valuable book by Caracciolo Parra-Pérez) stated his year of birth as 1756, confusing him with his brother Francisco Antonio Gabriel. Curiously, in 1785 Miranda himself indicated 1754 as his birth year (he said that he was eighteen in 1772).[1]

In spite of his wealth, Sebastián de Miranda was viewed by the Caracas *mantuanos* (local Creole elite) with suspicion; he wanted to give his children the best education possible and do everything to integrate them into Venezuelan (and maybe Spanish) high society. Francisco de Miranda attended preparatory classes in the Colegio de Santa Rosa and then studied at the University of Caracas.

In January of 1771 Miranda applied to the captain general of Venezuela, José de Solano (1726–1806), soliciting to enter the Spanish military service. On March 1, 1771, he arrived in Cádiz and spent a year traveling around Spain, studying French, English, Italian, mathematics, and geography and collecting a library. On December 7, 1772, after buying a patent he entered the Spanish service as captain in the infantry regiment (*Regimiento de Infantería de la Princesa*). Miranda first served in Spanish North Africa and defended Melilla from the Moroccan sultan Mohammed III (1757–1790) in the war of December 1774–March 1775. In late 1775–early 1776, Miranda visited Gibraltar where he probably (they definitely knew each other by 1777) met the English merchant John Turnbull (d. 1816) who would later provide him financial support until the very end of his life in a Spanish jail.[2] Miranda's career was gradually developing: for example, in September 1778 Miranda escorted the queen dowager of Portugal from Lisbon to Madrid. In May 1779 he met future Captain General of Cuba Juan Manuel Cagigal (Cajigal) y Monserrat (1739–1811) who had been appointed colonel in his regiment; this connection would soon play a crucial role in his life.

In late April of 1780, Miranda was assigned to Cuba to participate in the war with Great Britain that had been declared by Spain a year before with an aim to return Florida lost in 1763 after the Seven Years War. Eventually he became aide-de-camp of Cagigal. In April–May of 1781, he successfully fought in the Siege of Pensacola (there he also enhanced his library with English books and bought four slaves whom he planned to sell profitably in Havana). In August of 1781 Cagigal entrusted him with an important and delicate mission: to go to Jamaica to exchange Spanish and British prisoners of war and to secretly purchase two British ships. On his successful return to Cuba, he brought back more than

one hundred liberated Spanish war captives and allowed one Jamaican merchant to bring English textiles to Havana—reportedly in exchange for valuable information.

On March 11, 1782, Miranda's patron Cagigal was dismissed from his position and appointed to the Bahamas. Miranda followed him and participated in the successful capture of these islands by the Spanish forces transported by the South Carolinian Navy.[3] The actions and ambitions of the young officer, just as of Cagigal himself, attracted the jealous attention of Bernardo de Gálvez (1746–1786), governor of Louisiana and a nephew of the powerful reformer José de Gálvez (1720–1787). Miranda was accused of illicit trade, but escaped before the trial was over, arriving to the newly independent United States on June 10, 1783. In December 1783 he was condemned *in absentio* in Havana to ten years in the presidio of Orán in contemporary Algeria.[4]

Although at that time Miranda did not formally break his relations with Spain (he did it in 1789–1790), since 1783 he had devoted his life to the cause of Spanish American independence. Much later he would claim that the US War for Independence influenced his idea of struggling for Spanish American liberty, but there is no contemporary evidence that can prove this statement.[5]

With letters of recommendation (the most valuable was from Cagigal) Miranda visited all the large cities in the United States, from Charleston to Boston. Among his numerous acquaintances were George Washington (1732–1799), Alexander Hamilton (1757–1804), Samuel Adams (1722–1803), John Adams (1735–1826), John Hancock (1737–1793), Robert Morris (1734–1806), Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816), Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813), Major General Henry Knox (1750–1806), Major General Friedrich-Wilhelm von Steuben (1730–1794), Thomas Paine (1737–1809), and the Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834).

Eventually, the circle of Miranda's friends and supporters in North America would grow to include Hamilton, Knox, a scion of a New York merchant family and soon a son-in-law of future US President John Adams (1735–1826) William Stephens Smith (1755–1816), New England politicians Rufus King (1755–1827) and Christopher Gore (1758–1827), and merchants Stephen Sayre (1736–1818) and William Duer (1743–1827). In the summer of 1784 in New York, Miranda discussed a plan of liberating America from Spanish dominion with Hamilton and received from him a list of US Army officers. In November of 1784 in Boston, Henry Knox prepared for Miranda a plan on how to recruit in New England five thousand volunteers for this goal.

All North American supporters of Miranda, except Sayre, would later join the Federalists. Thus, later in 1805–1806, when Miranda would organize in New York the first revolutionary expedition to Spanish America, he would be condemned by the Democratic press. This circumstance presents an interesting challenge for a scholar: as a rule, starting from debates on the French Revolution in US public opinion, the Jeffersonian tradition (Jeffersonians, later Democratic Republicans and National Republicans) supported revolutions abroad, sometimes even wishing to provide tangible aid to them, and drew parallels between these revolutions and the US War of Independence. For example, William Duane (1760–1835), the celebrated radical Jeffersonian editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, would

decry the Miranda expedition as “abandoned profligacy” of Federalism; in the late 1810s–1820s Duane became one of the main adherents of *South brethren*—it seems that he was the first North American to compare Simón Bolívar with Washington (fall of 1821).[6] In the same manner, Miranda’s supporters Rufus King and Christopher Gore were very skeptical toward Simón Bolívar and Spanish American prospects in general in the early 1820s. This is a good example of how the attitude to international issues may be defined not by ideology and various interpretations of the national interest but by a domestic partisan strife.

Back in Europe

From the United States Miranda went to London where he arrived on January 31, 1785. On August 9, 1785, Miranda and William Stephens Smith left London to undertake a large European tour, which in the end led Miranda from the Netherlands to the Ottoman Empire and Russia. In September of 1785, Miranda and Smith attended Prussian military drills. On October 14, 1785, they were introduced to Habsburg Emperor Joseph II (1780–1790) in Vienna. There the friends parted, and Miranda continued his voyage to the south, first coming to the manor of Prince Esterházy near Fertőd at the Austrian-Hungarian border where composer Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) showed him this new “Hungarian Versailles.” Then Miranda went to Preßburg (contemporary Bratislava), Trieste, and extensively traveled throughout Italy and Greece with a goal to explore classical monuments and find Jesuits expelled from America in 1767, who were thus discontent with the Spanish government.[7]

From Greece Miranda went to Constantinople, and on October 7 (September 26, Julian style), 1786, arrived in Kherson, a recently established Russian city in New Russia (*Novorossiya*), a large territory on the northern Black Sea acquired from the Ottoman Empire. In Kherson Miranda met Catherine the Great’s close companion, the powerful Serene Prince Grigory Potemkin (1739–1791) who was responsible for the colonization and integration of New Russia. There he also conversed with one of the brightest representatives of the Greek Enlightenment, the first bishop of New Russia, then in retirement, Eugenios Voulgaris (1715–1806). Eventually, Potemkin offered Miranda an opportunity to travel with him through Crimea (which had only become part of the Russian Empire in 1783) to Kiev where he was to meet Catherine the Great (1762–1796). Among other dignitaries, in Kiev Miranda became acquainted with Chancellor Alexander (Aleksandr) Bezborodko (1747–1799) who was largely responsible for the empire’s foreign policy. Empress Catherine II talked to Miranda many times, demonstrating her interest to a stranger from a distant land. Miranda also accompanied a delegation to the small town Kanev, some eighty miles southeast of Kiev (it had belonged to Poland before 1793), where he met the last king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764–1795).

Eventually, in mid-1787 the visibility of Miranda at the Russian Court caused protests at the Spanish Embassy and even provoked a certain cooling of Russian-Spanish relations. Miranda was offered a chance to remain in the Russian service and, taking into consider-

ation the respect that he gained from Catherine the Great, Potemkin, and Bezborodko, he likely would have had a successful career. Thus, it was his decision to continue his travels in search of revolutionary opportunity that transformed him from one of the many "adventurers of the Englightenment" (term of Alexandre Stroev) into the future national hero.[8] Though Miranda declined the offer, Catherine the Great granted him money, asked Bezborodko to send a circular letter to Russian ambassadors at European courts with a demand to offer support to Miranda, and permitted him to order for himself a uniform of a colonel of the *Ekaterinoslavskiy* (Екатеринославский) cuirassier regiment whose colonel-in-chief was Prince Potemkin (this uniform could be used to hide from Spanish agents in Europe).

The favors that Miranda enjoyed at the Russian Court led to several allegations that were later refuted by meticulous research, but still find their way to books.[9] First, the Russian government did not plan to use him for its large geopolitical goals; second, he was never conferred the title of Russian count; and third, he was not a lover of Catherine the Great.[10] Nevertheless, his relations with St. Petersburg were truly exceptional: when Miranda was confined to a Spanish prison at the end of his life, in June and September of 1814 he asked the Spanish king for a pardon and permit to leave to nowhere else but Russia—though his relations with Russian diplomats were cut short in 1792–1798 and finally ended in 1799.[11] The only plausible explanation of this affinity may lie in the sympathy of Catherine II and her circle to strong personalities who were not dangerous to the Russian Empire.

Miranda left Kronstadt on September 7/18, 1787, and went to Sweden and Denmark, and then to German lands, France, Switzerland, and Italy. On June 18, 1789, Miranda returned to London where he tried to use the Nootka Sound Crisis (1790–1791), which brought London and Madrid to the brink of war, for his goal of getting the support of Great Britain in his design for a revolutionary expedition to Spanish America.[12] During this visit Miranda forged a friendship with the former royal governor of Massachusetts Thomas Pownall (1722–1805, since 1789) and a member of various London cabinets Sir Nicholas Vansittart (1766–1851, since 1791). Along with John Turnbull and later, beginning in 1799, with Evan Nepean (1752–1822), Secretary to the Board of Admiralty in 1795–1804, these men would constitute his British circle of ardent and sincere supporters.

Through Pownall Miranda established relations with British Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger (1759–1806). Later, pursuing his goal, Miranda would get acquainted with influential statesmen such as Lord Melville (1742–1811), Arthur Wellesley, future Duke of Wellington (1769–1852), and Viscount Castlereagh (1769–1822). In the end, British leaders were eager to use him as a trump card in the great power politics: Miranda was needed as a potential anti-Spanish weapon when London and Madrid were close to war.

Between France and Great Britain

After the peaceful resolution of the Nootka Sound Crisis, Miranda moved to revolutionary France where he arrived on March 23, 1792. He bought a return ticket for August, 12, 1792, but after the overthrow of Louis XVI on August 10, all the roads were closed.[13] On August 11, the Girondins Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve (1756–1794) and Joseph Marie Servan de Gerbey (1741–1808) convinced Miranda to join the French Revolutionary Army as general (*Maréchal de camp*), promising to provide him Saint Domingue as a foothold for the revolutionary expedition in Spanish America. Miranda agreed although joining the revolutionaries meant that he had to break relations with Russian diplomats on whose support he could always count after his journey to Russia. Hence, Miranda's life in revolutionary France depended on the destinies of the Girondins.

From September 1, 1792, Miranda was fighting in the Army of the North (*Armée du Nord*) under Division General Charles François Dumouriez (1739–1823) against the Habsburg troops on the territory of contemporary Belgium. On November 29, 1792, Miranda took Antwerp. On April 3, 1793, Dumouriez, being afraid of persecution for the defeat under Neerwinden (March 18), unsuccessfully tried to turn his troops against the republic, and on April 4, escaped to Austria. Consequently, on April 20, Miranda was imprisoned in Paris but acquitted by jury on May 16. Nevertheless, from July 9, Miranda was put under home arrest by the Department of Police of the Paris Commune. After the fall of the Girondins on May 31–June 2, 1793, Miranda's position was very insecure, but he survived the Terror and was liberated by the Convention on January 15, 1795.[14]

The situation in France, however, was turning against the plans of Spanish American independence. After French forces crossed the Pyrenees, Paris forced Madrid to leave the First Anti-French coalition (Peace of Basel of July 22, 1795; Treaty of San Ildefonso of August 18, 1796). Just like the conclusion of the Anglo-Spanish Nootka Sound Convention on October 28, 1790 resolved the conflicts between London and Madrid and thus forced Miranda to seek his fortune in France, once again international politics forced him to cross the English Channel. Moreover, after the anti-royalist Coup of 18 Fructidor (September 4, 1797), Miranda was included in the list of those who had to be deported to French Guiana.[15] Though this decision was not reinforced, by the end of 1797 Miranda was contemplating his return to London, intending to come to William Pitt the Younger with a certain blueprint for action.

Miranda composed a plan to achieve Spanish American independence that depended upon the support of Anglo-American allies (the so-called *Acta de Paris* dated December 22, 1797). In exchange for military support, Great Britain would have received the islands of Trinidad (occupied by British troops from February 18, 1797) and Margarita and access to the Isthmus of Panama, as well as commercial privileges and thirty million pounds sterling of compensation. Though this plan was composed by Miranda himself, he arranged it to look adopted by imagined representatives of the invented *Junta de Diputados de los pueblos y provincias de América Meridional* allegedly established back in 1787.[16] Simultaneously, Miranda drafted a constitutional plan for independent Spanish America

that included the cession of Trinidad and Margarita to Great Britain as well as Florida to the United States.

Miranda left France on January 3, 1798, and arrived in Dover on January 12, and in London on January 15. He met Prime Minister Pitt the Younger on January 16, 1798, representing himself as *agent principal des Colonies hispano-américaines*. Though the plans of the joint Anglo-American expedition appealed even to US Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton (1757–1804), they were never considered a real option either by the British cabinet or the US President. On March 26, 1798, British Foreign Secretary Lord William Grenville (1759–1834) informed Rufus King that Great Britain had indicated to the Spanish authorities that London would not support the revolution in Spanish America if Spain would counteract potential French encroachments against British and Portuguese territories in the New World.

The cabinet did not allow Miranda to leave the British Isles, but started to pay him a pension sufficient to live in “an easy & comfortable manner” (September 18, 1799).[17] In 1802 Miranda married Sarah Andrews (1774–1848), a Catholic native of Yorkshire and a shoemaker’s daughter, and settled in a rented London house in aristocratic Fitzrovia. Meanwhile, the Franco-American convention (September 30, 1800); the Treaty of Amiens between Great Britain and France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic (March 25, 1802); and the Sale of Louisiana to the United States (April 30/May 2, 1803) rendered Miranda’s plan useless both for Great Britain and the United States: the British Empire and the United States received most of the territories promised by Miranda (Trinidad and Tobago, but not Margarita; Louisiana, but not Florida) in exchange for their support of his independence plan without getting involved in Miranda’s enterprise.

In 1798 Miranda found a few existing Spanish American radicals, like Neogranadine economist Pedro Fermín de Vargas (1762—*c*. 1811) and a young son of the Peruvian viceroy Bernardo O’Higgins (1778–1842), and hosted meetings with them in his London home. In spite of old historiographical claims, Miranda seems to have never met another early Spanish American revolutionary, the former Neogranadine official Antonio Nariño (1765–1823) who visited France and England in June–October of 1796.[18] This may explain why Nariño failed to receive any attention in French and British political circles—unlike Fermín de Vargas whose plan to achieve Spanish American independence was presented by Miranda to the British cabinet.[19] Another historiographical concept of the Masonic lodge established by Miranda under the title the *Great American Reunion* (*Gran Reunión Americana*) with branches in London and possibly Spain and Spanish America is based upon one obscure phrase from Bernardo O’Higgins and cannot be proven by existing evidence.[20] At the turn of the 19th century, the independence movement in Spanish America was almost nonexistent.[21]

The *Leander* Expedition (1805–1807) and the Return to London

Finally understanding the futility of his attempts to achieve the support of the British cabinet, Miranda left London on September 2, 1805, with the idea to persuade US leaders to help him organize a revolutionary expedition or—in the case of failure—to undertake this expedition with the aid of his old North American friends. Among other people, he met President Thomas Jefferson and State Secretary James Madison (December 7, 11, 13, 1805) and asked if not for direct help then for the friendly nonintervention into his activities. Overall, the public in larger US cities (including European diplomats and, alas, the minister of Spain) was aware of Miranda's intentions that ran against the US neutrality legislation. In the end, with the help of his old friend William Stephens Smith who served as surveyor of the Port of New York, Miranda recruited volunteers in New York and received the merchant vessel *Leander* owned by a young prosperous merchant Samuel Gouverneur Ogden (1779–1860) who also provided a large part of the finances needed for the expedition. The people recruited for the expedition in New York seem to have been largely deceived about its ultimate goal.[22]

The *Leander* expedition, which included *c*. 180 men instead of a standard crew for trade ventures of sixty to eighty mariners, sailed from New York on February 3, 1806, and on February 17 arrived at Jacquemel (Jacmel), Haiti, where Miranda chartered two small schooners, *Bee* and *Bacchus*. On March 12, the yellow-blue-red flag was hoisted over the ships—this was a flag designed by Miranda for future independent Spanish America. On March 27, the expedition finally sailed from Haiti, but on April 27 the Spanish coast guard attacked the *Bee* and the *Bacchus* and took them into captivity. After this disaster, on May 26, 1806, the *Leander* encountered the HMS *Lily* that eventually convoyed it to Grenada where British Lieutenant Governor General Frederick Maitland (1763–1848) helped the expedition to get provisions. On June 6, 1806, the *Leander* under the HMS *Lily* convoy arrived in Barbados where on June 9 Miranda met Rear Admiral Alexander Inglis Cochrane (1758–1832) who commanded the HMS Navy Leeward Station. At his own risk, Cochrane allowed Miranda to recruit new volunteers on Barbados and Trinidad and provided him with a naval convoy.

On June 18, 1806, Miranda arrived in Trinidad where he managed to recruit *c*. 250 new volunteers. Like Cochrane, the governor of Trinidad Thomas Hislop (1764–1843) was eager to support Miranda without consulting his authorities in London. Miranda left Trinidad on July 25 under a naval convoy and on August 3 landed near the Venezuelan town Vela de Coro. By that time Venezuelan Captain General Manuel de Guevara Vasconcelos (1739–1807) had already successfully persuaded the local population that Miranda was a British agent.

Receiving no support from the town dwellers and facing deadly encounters with the approaching Spanish troops, Miranda left the Spanish Main on August 13, 1806. He sailed to Aruba, then to Grenada and on November 8, 1806, returned to Trinidad. His relations

with Governor Hislop were cordial, and Miranda even consulted him on learning the Spanish language. It was Miranda who recommended the first British Governor of Trinidad Thomas Picton (1758–1815) to Arthur Wellesley; Picton fought under Wellesley's command in the Peninsular Campaign in 1810–1814 and remained with him until his own death at the Battle of Waterloo.

Thus, the *Leander* expedition was in the end largely supported by the British colonial administrators and naval officers in the Caribbean who acted independently of London and apparently hoped that in the case of Miranda's victory and the subsequent independence of Spanish America, Great Britain would achieve large commercial and geopolitical benefits. The British cabinet disapproved of their actions, but most probably would have supported them if the *Leander* expedition were a success—just as in the case of the failed attack of another Miranda supporter Captain Home Riggs Popham (1762–1820) against Buenos Aires in July–August of 1806. The failures of Miranda and Popham show that in 1806, just four years before the start of the Spanish American revolutions, the local population was far from supporting the ideas of separating from the mother country, and this evidence helps scholars better understand the origins and nature of the Spanish American wars of independence.[23]

On July 29, 1806, in the fortress of San Felipe near Puerto Cabello, ten out of fifty-eight captives from the *Bacchus* and the *Bee* were executed: by the decision of the Captain General, these were all the officers older than twenty-eight. On July 27, 1806, a jury in New York acquitted Smith and Ogden who were tried for equipping the expedition on a US territory against a friendly power.

Miranda left Trinidad on October 24, 1807, and reached Portsmouth on December 31, 1807. In 1808 Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) introduced Miranda to his follower James Mill (1773–1836), now better known as the father of a celebrated philosopher of liberalism John Stuart Mill (1806–1873). In 1809 in the influential *Edinburgh Review* (№ XXVI, XXVIII) Mill published two articles advocating Spanish American independence that should be achieved with the military and political aid of the British Empire, thus voicing Miranda's plan. Miranda was offered an opportunity to participate in the British Peninsular Expedition against Spain, but he vehemently declined.[24]

Serving the First Venezuelan Republic

In spite of all Miranda's efforts, the revolution in Spanish America started only after Napoleon forced the Bourbons to abdicate in Bayonne (May 1808) and enthroned his brother Joseph Bonaparte as the new Spanish king José I: this subversion of constitutional legitimacy led to the establishment of anti-Napoleon self-governing juntas in various cities and provinces of Spain and its territories, which had started to proclaim their autonomy since the spring of 1810. As was typical for Spanish America, Venezuela was a multiracial society, with complex systems of social and political hierarchies, and also with

a large slave population; thus, a very real threat existed that the revolution would turn into a civil war.[25]

On July 14, 1810, a new generation of Spanish American revolutionaries—Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), Luis López Méndez (1758–1841), and Andrés Bello (1781–1865)—traveled from Miranda's native Caracas to London to seek British support and were hospitably received by Miranda who introduced them to British politicians. By that time, Miranda had already published five issues of the *El Colombiano* newspaper (March 15–May 15, 1810) with an appeal for Spanish American independence; the surviving copies show that *El Colombiano* successfully reached Spanish American ports.

British authorities did not want to let Miranda leave London since in 1810 Great Britain supported the anti-French resistance in peninsular Spain. Eventually Miranda went to the New World through the intercession of Arthur Wellesley; Sir Nicholas Vansittart agreed to informally represent the nascent Venezuelan Republic in London. He left London with his secretary Thomas Molini (1776/1777–1834) on October 10, 1810, and arrived in Venezuela on December 10, 1810—his address to the Junta of Caracas had already been published in the *Gazeta de Caracas* (September 3, 1810).

Miranda was greeted in the port of La Guaira, but was not welcomed by the more conservative majority in the Caracas Creole elite (the so-called *optimates*) who viewed him as a potential rival and were afraid of his pro-independence radicalism that still had to gain ground. Nevertheless, Miranda's military credentials led to his appointment as lieutenant general on December 31, 1811.

At that time the more radical activists, including future *Libertador* Simón Bolívar, grouped in Caracas and other cities and towns of Venezuela around the recently established *Sociedad Patriotica*. Miranda soon became their informal leader and then president and even claimed that Caracas had more enlightened people than any other North American city. On the first anniversary of the establishment of the *Junta de Caracas*, on April 23, 1811, the members of this political club led by Miranda organized a demonstration in the capital burning the portraits of Ferdinand VII and other symbols of the Spanish monarchy. From the very beginning Miranda advocated for the union of revolutionary juntas and on January 22, 1811, addressed the Supreme Junta of New Granada in Bogotá calling for cooperation.[26]

On June 20, 1811, Miranda was chosen as deputy to the Venezuelan Congress (convened on March 2, 1811) from the Pao municipal district of the Province of Barcelona (currently the state of Anzoátegui). He immediately started to press for independence citing the "sovereignty of the American people" (*la soberanía del pueblo Americano*). Eventually the radicals were successful, and the Act of the Declaration of Independence of Venezuela was voted for on July 5, 1811: thus, Venezuela became the first part of Spanish America to formally declare its rupture with the mother country.

On July 19, 1811, a royalist revolt erupted in Valencia slightly more than a hundred miles to the east of Caracas—it was supported by Creoles, *pardos* (colored), and slaves. Miranda was sent there with *c*. four thousand soldiers and finally defeated the royalists by August 13. He remained in Valencia until October 22, 1811. The ambitions of Miranda caused resentment among some of the revolutionaries (including members of the *Sociedad Patriotica*, like the lawyer Miguel Peña [1781–1833]) and provoked an accusation that he "usurped the sovereign rights" of the people; the discussion in Congress lasted from August 31 to October 18, 1811, and only then was Miranda fully acquitted.[27]

On February 12, 1812, royalist troops from Puerto Rico under the command of Juan Domingo de Monteverde (1773–1832) disembarked in Vela de Coro and in the following month started their march to support the royalist, largely Indian uprising in Siquisique, about 150 miles to the south. On March 26, 1812, on Maundy Thursday before Easter, Caracas was hit by a destructive earthquake seen by the local population as divine retribution (the Caracas Junta was also established on Maundy Thursday but two years before). The newly established Venezuelan paper currency was quickly depreciating, and by the summer the threat of famine became evident.

The detachments of Monteverde were advancing fast from the west to the east of Venezueala, and on April 23, 1812, Miranda assumed full control over the First Venezuelan Republic as plenipotentiary dictator and supreme chief (*dictador plenipotenciario y jefe supremo*) of Venezuela and commander-in-chief and general-in-chief of the Venezuelan Army. Back in June of 1811, a US commercial agent in the port of La Guaira had already predicted that the young republic's "poverty, anarchy, and imbecility" would "most probably throw the Government into the hands of General Miranda."[28] Nevertheless, Miranda was unable to stop the deepening social and political crisis.

On May 1, 1812, Miranda left Caracas with an army of *c*. four thousand soldiers. On May 19, at the so-called Conference of Tapatapa in Maracay near Valencia, Miranda along with several other republican leaders, executives, and legislators declared martial law and thus suspended the recently ratified Federal Constitution of Venezuela. Back on May 14, 1812, he had proclaimed liberty to all slaves who would agree to spend ten years in the Venezuelan Army. This action strengthened the anti-revolutionary sympathies of planters, but, notwithstanding, many of the slaves continued to share monarchic ideals and on June 24, they revolted under royalist slogans in Barlovento.

Miranda viewed the Venezuelan Army as a military professional with his experience of conventional, regular warfare and disgust toward guerrilla tactics. His troops did not know racial or social borders: *pardos* could be appointed officers over the *llaneros*, and foreign volunteers were actively employed. He introduced the death penalty for theft and punishments for card games and drinking. Since mid-1811 Miranda advocated tolerance toward European Spaniards, and when José Félix Ribas (1775–1815), a member of the *Sociedad Patriotica* who fought under his command, arrested all Spaniards in Maracay, Miranda ordered him to free them.[29]

The revolt in the fortress of Puerto Cabello on June 30, 1812—when royalist prisoners found support among republican troops, took over the town, and forced their commander Simón Bolívar to escape—became the final blow for the First Republic. By mid-July after a series of military defeats, Miranda decided to negotiate with Monteverde. Although he had more soldiers than Monteverde (more than forty-four hundred soldiers vs. several hundred), their morale was gone. Impending civil war between the races seemed a larger threat than capitulation to royalists. On July 25, 1812, Miranda signed the instrument of surrender, which included universal amnesty for the civil and military servants of the First Venezuelan Republic. On July 30, Caracas was taken by the royalists, and Monteverde largely violated the conditions of the surrender and persecuted many republicans.[30]

On the night of July 30/31, 1812, just before his planned escape to London, Miranda was arrested by young revolutionaries, one of whom was Simón Bolívar, who suspected him of treason and transferred him to the Spanish authorities. The failure of Miranda's military effort influenced Simón Bolívar and those other Venezuelan republicans who were allowed to leave or escaped from Caracas, and in 1813 they developed the tactics of unconditional warfare against the Spaniards, the *Guerra a muerte*.

By January of 1814 Miranda was moved to Spain, and he spent the rest of his life in the prison in La Carraca near Cadiz. Beloved books brought him solace as he explained in a letter to Sir Nicholas Vansittart: "I have by chance obtained some Latin classics, which enable me to pass the time with utility and pleasure: Horace, Vergil, Cicero, Don Quixote, and Ariosto, as well as the New Testament."[31] Miranda passed away on July 14, 1816, waiting for the prison escape carefully prepared by the son of his old friend John Turnbull.

Ideology, Political Views, and Influence

An astute politician, Miranda was more interested in practice and opportunities than in ideology and theory. Nevertheless, his abundant documentary heritage allows scholars to discuss his political views. Miranda belonged to a cohort of the most educated people of the Age of Enlightenment. Apart from his native Spanish, Miranda was proficient in French, English, Italian, ancient Greek, and Latin and was well read in classical, Renaissance, and Enlightenment authors. His cosmopolitanism is best described by his Paris friend, the celebrated art historian Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849): "Miranda is no longer a man of one country, he has become a sort of common, inviolable property" (Miranda n'est plus l'homme d'un pays, il est devenu une sorte de propriété commune, inviolable).[32]

Overall, Miranda's political views may be characterized as the Enlightenment moderate proto-liberalism based on "rational freedom" limiting the "excesses of liberty"—a mindset related to a large extent to Montesquieu. Like Montesquieu, Miranda highly valued the British constitution; back in 1787 Russian Chancellor Alexander Bezborodko noted to the Russian ambassador in London that Miranda was an "enthusiast of England."[33] The expe-

rience of the French Revolution strengthened Miranda's admiration of the British and North American systems. On July 2, 1795, in his pamphlet addressed to the French public in support of the Thermidorian reaction, Miranda called to adopt the political examples of Great Britain and the United States.[34] In late 1799 he would tell Manuel Gual (1759–1800), one of the first radicals in Spanish America: "Two great examples stand before our eyes: the American and French Revolutions; let us discreetly imitate the first; let us carefully avoid the fatal effects of the second!" (¡Dos grandes ejemplos tenemos delante de los ojos: la Revolución Americana y la Francesa; imitemos discretamente la primera; evitemos con sumo cuidado los fatales efectos de la segunda!).[35] Unlike many Creole revolutionaries, Miranda never resorted to the Spanish legal tradition and thus never justified the independence of Spanish America by the 1808 Bayonne Abdications that put an end to the legitimate dynasty in Madrid.

Miranda prepared three constitutional projects (1797, 1801, 1808, in French) for Spanish America and also wrote a proclamation to Spanish Americans (*Proclama a los Pueblos del Continente Américo-Colombiano*) for the *Leander* expedition in 1806.[36] The language he used combines the classical Roman tradition with the influence of the French revolutionary model (in spite of Miranda's criticism of it) and a linguistic appeal to the Native American heritage while keeping two older Spanish terms—*cabildo* and *ayuntamiento*.

Miranda viewed Spanish America as independent and rising from "three hundred years of oppression," united, with a universal citizenship regardless of race or caste, and invented a name for this new integral nation—*Colombianos* or *Americanos-Colombianos*. Later, on June 25, 1811, during the debates in the Venezuelan Congress, he would talk about the "sovereignty of the American people" (*la soberania del pueblo americano*).[37] Nevertheless, in the constitution of 1801 he devised that one-third of the members of *cabildos* and *ayuntamentos* had to be Indians or people of color. Though the constitutions of 1801 and 1808 implied the property census, the constitution of 1797 proposed universal suffrage, which was parallel only to the most radical of the French revolutionary constitutions, that of 1793.

If the constitution of 1797 imitated the British "mixed system" with a constitutional monarch (*Inca*) and two houses of parliament, the republican constitutions of 1801 and 1808 largely relied upon the French revolutionary model, with a multilayered ("pyramidal") legislative corps building up from the *Comices* (assemblies of active voters) to the municipal corps (cabildo), provincial assemblies, and the Colombian Council (in 1801—the Imperial Diet). Following the Roman tradition, the constitutions of 1801 and 1808 proposed to share the supreme executive power between two *Incas*, and the constitution of 1808 introduced the possibility of appointing under extreme conditions a dictator for one year. The controlling function of the censors in all three projects brings to mind the concept of moral power (*poder moral*) proposed by Simón Bolívar in the Discourse of Angostura in 1819. The legal system was based on the Anglo-Saxon model in all three constitutions.

In late 1812 Miranda criticized the Federal Constitution of Venezuela finally ratified on December 21, 1812, for the weakness of central power and the imbalance of its branches. He advocated for a strong executive, and there is evidence that Miranda passed to Bolívar one of his constitutional projects together with the 1799 French Constitution that put the supreme executive powers in the hands of the First Consul.[38]

The constitutions of 1801 and 1808 are precise about faith. The Catholic Church was the "national religion" of Spanish America, but toleration was also proclaimed. The ecclesiastical hierarchy was controlled by provincial assemblies, and even the priests were to be elected or at least confirmed by the parishioners. This control of state and society over the church may bring to mind the statutes of the Church of England but is also a reminder of both the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790) of the French Revolution and of the dreams of the Spanish Bourbons, so evidently manifested in the expulsion of Jesuits in 1767.

Like most of his contemporaries, Miranda preferred not to touch in detail upon the issue of slavery or race, both in his constitutional plans or elsewhere, and in 1798 wrote about his fear of "anarchy and the revolutionary system" in Spanish America that could bring forth "a theatre of blood and crimes" (*un theatre de Sang, et des crimes*), like in Saint-Domingue (Haiti).[39] Nevertheless, Miranda maintained friendly relations with the prominent British abolitionist William Wilberforce (1759–1833).[40] As has already been mentioned, in the critical times of 1812 Miranda proclaimed the emancipation of slaves under the condition of their military service. His instrument of surrender of July 25, 1812, implied the protection of the rights of free colored persons (*Conservar a la clase honrada de pardos y morenos libres los derechos que han obtenido del nuevo gobierno*).[41] Miranda criticized the French revolutionary legislators for not including women's suffrage in the "democratic Government": women, he thought, should be consulted at least in the issues of marriage, divorce, and girls' education.[42]

Did Miranda have any appeal in Spanish America before the revolution started there in 1810? As can be seen above regarding the mystifications of the *Acta de Paris* of 1797 and the *Great American Reunion* lodge (*Gran Reunión Americana*), his plans had no outreach in Spanish America, especially before 1798 when several Creoles started to espouse similar revolutionary ideas.

The most striking example of Miranda's "loneliness" in the Spanish world is that he never met the Jesuit priest Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán (1748–1798) who proposed a plan of an independent Spanish America to the British consul in Livorno back in 1781 and in 1791 wrote the first public appeal for Spanish American independence, the *Letter to the Spanish Americans*.[43] In 1784–1792 Viscardo lived in Italy, where Miranda traveled from November 11, 1785, to March 30, 1786, and from December 23, 1788, to February 10, 1789, before he went to London. In 1798 when Miranda had already arrived in London, a dying Viscardo passed his papers to the US minister in London Rufus King who, in turn, gave them to Miranda who enjoyed the *Letter to the Spanish Americans* and published in London its first editions, in the original French (in 1799—with financial aid from Rufus

King), and then in Spanish (1801) and English (1808) translations; Miranda also planned to distribute this text among Spanish Americans in the 1806 *Leander* expedition.

Finances of a Professional Revolutionary

After 1783 when Miranda embarked upon his dangerous revolutionary career that deprived him of any regular income, but required him to continue his lifestyle of a European aristocrat to be able to communicate with political leaders, he became financially dependent on his prosperous friends. In New York in 1784 Stephen Sayre and William Duer lent him five hundred dollars. In mid-1785 John Turnbull, who would serve as his private banker until the end of his life, lent Miranda two hundred pounds sterling and William Stephens Smith (in Vienna, when they parted)—230.15 pounds sterling. When Miranda left Russia in late 1787, he received five hundred Dutch ducats in cash and two thousand pounds sterling in a letter of credit, which allowed him to repay some of his debts, though in March of 1790 he again received two hundred pounds sterling in credit from Turnbull. In late 1791 he received five hundred pounds sterling from the British prime minister William Pitt the Younger for his exertions in the Nootka Sound Crisis. Since late 1799 and throughout the 1800s, Miranda was receiving a pension of five hundred pounds sterling a year from the British government and two hundred pounds sterling privately from Sir Nicholas Vansittart, which allowed him to settle his financial problems. In 1805 Miranda arrived in New York with a London letter of credit for eight hundred pounds sterling, and in January of 1806 he drew a check for two thousand pounds sterling for his London friends Nicolas Vansittart and John Turnbull and another five thousand pounds sterling for Trinidadian merchants connected with his London friends.[44]

Upon his return to Venezuela in early 1811, in his first letter to the British foreign secretary Miranda informed him that he renounced his British pension.[45] When Miranda planned his failed escape from Venezuela in July of 1812, he put twenty thousand pesos on board the freighted ship *Sapphire*, obviously to continue the struggle, but this money was later claimed by Spain.[46]

The rent of Miranda’s London house where he lived from 1802–1810 constituted seventy pounds a year. Later his wife stayed in this house with their children, Leandro (1803–1886) and Francisco (1806–1831), and his secretary Thomas Molini who returned from Venezuela in 1812—both remained there until their respective deaths.

Legacy and Memory

Though the long exertions of Francisco de Miranda did not result in the revolution that started without him; the First Venezuelan Republic that he eventually led was short-lived; and independent Spanish America did not preserve any form of unity envisioned by him but split into separate, sometimes rival nations, Miranda is remembered in Spanish America and especially in Venezuela as the precursor (*Precursor*) of Spanish American independence along with Simón Bolívar as the liberator (*Libertador*). Consequently, the main

orders in Venezuela bear the names of the *Libertador* (established in 1880 but since 2010 renamed the *Orden Libertadores y Libertadoras de Venezuela*) and Miranda (established in 1939). This image of two national heroes largely dates back to the times of consolidation of Spanish American nations in the last third of the 19th century. The obvious potential controversy (in 1812 Bolívar was among those officers who detained Miranda and passed him to the Spanish authorities) was never concealed by historians or publicists. The cosmopolitanism of Miranda who, using Wallerstein's terms, raised himself from the periphery to the center of European politics and culture also appeals to Venezuelan authors and politicians who often view him as the "most universal American" (*Americano más universal*) and a "hero of three revolutions."

Miranda's idea to call independent Spanish America after Christopher Columbus resulted in the name of the nation (Colombia, the title was given by the *Congreso de Angostura* on December 17, 1819). The colors of the Venezuelan, Colombian, and Ecuadorian flags also date back to the flag devised by Miranda in his *Leander* expedition in 1806 for Spanish America and proposed by him to the Venezuelan Congress in 1811.

Since 1889 a Venezuelan state bears the name of Miranda and later a municipal district that he represented in the Venezuelan Congress in 1811–1812 was also renamed in his honor. After the establishment of the Panteón Nacional in Caracas in 1874–1875, a marble cenotaph of Miranda was erected there by Giulio Roversi (1896). In 1897 and 1899 monuments to the executed members of the *Leander* expedition were built in Maracay and Puerto Cabello—the attention toward participants in the expedition recruited in New York was obviously connected to the Anglo-Venezuelan border dispute in which the United States supported Venezuela.

When under Louis-Philippe (1830–1848) the age of the French Revolution and Napoleon was included in the French heroic narrative, Miranda's name was engraved with the names of other generals on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris (1833–1836) and his portrait (1835) by George Rouget (1783–1869) was hung in historic galleries in Versailles. Today monuments to Miranda stand in Caracas; Havana; São Paulo; Pensacola, Florida; Philadelphia; Cádiz, Spain; London; Paris; Valmy, France; Patras, Greece; and St. Petersburg. In 1978 Miranda's London house with adjacent buildings was bought by the Venezuelan Embassy and since 1983 is open as a museum (58 Grafton Way, formerly 27 Grafton Street).

In the early 21st century, the president of Venezuela from 1999–2013 Hugo Chávez (1954–2013), following his attempt to instill his view of the "socialism of the twentieth-first century" with the Spanish American revolutionary tradition, put Francisco de Miranda to the fore of the public cult as the founder of the liberation tradition that went all the way to Che Guevara (1928–1967), Fidel Castro (1926–2016), and finally to the early-21st-century continental "left turn" (see "Cultural Policies of the Chávez Government"). On June 29, 2003, in Havana Fidel Castro together with Chávez established the youth organization named *Frente Francisco de Miranda* (FFM, Front of Francisco de Miranda). Also in

2003 Chávez established *Misión Miranda* that would deal with the military reserve force as part of his *Misiones Bolivarianas*.

The wide Venezuelan commemoration of the bicentennial of Miranda's death in 2016 used by President Nicolás Maduro to reinforce the ideas of Chávez's socialism caused a rebuke from the *Economist* that claimed—in fact, accurately—that Miranda's political philosophy was "moderate liberalism."[47] Though correct in this respect, the *Economist* article also uses the name and legacy of Miranda for its own ideological goal, that is, to uphold the contemporary mainstream Atlantic liberalism.

Though the life of Miranda may easily serve as a subject for adventure novels and films, in reality his biography rarely became a subject of art. Among the few exceptions are novels by the Venezuelan writer Denzil Romero (1938–1999) and the French retired politician Paul Anselin (b. 1931). Miranda's year on Trinidad became a subject of chapters in V. S. Naipaul's documentary narrative *The Loss of El Dorado* (1969) and in his novel *A Way in the World* (1994). Two biographical films about Miranda were shot in the "fat years" of Chávez's Venezuela: *Francisco de Miranda* (directed by Diego Rísquez, 2006) and *Miranda regresa* (directed by Luis Alberto Lamata, 2007).

Discussion of the Literature

The Scottish-born US historian William Spence Robertson (1872–1955) and the Venezuelan diplomat Caracciolo Parra-Pérez (1888–1964) were the first to conduct scholarly research on Miranda. Robertson was the first scholar to explore the rediscovered large Miranda archive, and his comprehensive biography remains a trustworthy and detailed account.[48] Parra-Pérez meticulously researched the French revolutionary career of Miranda. He also left a comprehensive account of Miranda's preparations for the revolution in Spanish America and his participation in the short-lived Venezuelan Republic in 1810–1812.[49]

Along with Robertson's book, two recent biographies provide sustained and balanced surveys of Miranda's life, one by a prominent Venezuelan *Chavista*, Professor Carmen Bohórquez and another by a professor at the University of Guelph, Canada, Karen Racine.[50] Bohórquez's political stance made her book, which passed through many editions and is available in four languages, standard reading in contemporary Venezuela; though one may suspect otherwise, it is serious research and not an ideological piece. Racine's book is the standard English-language introduction to the theme.

The background of Miranda's formation in the Spanish Empire and his Spanish career is traced by a prominent Dominican Jesuit Láutico García (1923–2009).[51] Manuel Hernández González, a professor at the University of La Laguna, Canary Islands, undertook an in-depth analysis of the reasons for Miranda's rupture with Spain.[52]

Josefina Rodríguez de Alonso (1909–1994) provided a popular documentary account of Miranda's travels in Europe and his communication with the most well-known representa-

tives of the Enlightenment.[53] Miguel Castillo Didier undertook a detailed study of Miranda's Greek connections, including both his reception of ancient Greek and Byzantine heritage and his travels in contemporary Greece and his contacts with Greeks.[54] An exhaustive study of Miranda's Russian connections by Moiséi S. Alperóvich (1918–2015) dispels the earlier hypotheses on the existence of plans to use Miranda for the Russian expansion in the Americas (the so-called Miroshevsky thesis) as well as the assumption that Miranda was a lover of Catherine II.[55]

Miranda's close circle also became an object for scholarly enquiry. Mario Rodríguez (1922–2005) argued that Miranda's British supporter who signed his texts under the name of "William Burke" was the Scottish scholar James Mill.[56] Miriam Blanco-Fombona de Hood (1922–1991), who was instrumental in organizing the purchase of the Miranda house in London by Venezuela, reconstructed the life of his wife, Sarah Andrews.[57]

Primary Sources

Miranda left a voluminous and meticulously arranged archive (more than thirty-two thousand folios in sixty-three volumes) divided into the following sections: *Viajes*, *Revolución Francesa*, *Negociaciones*. When Miranda returned to Caracas from London in 1810, he left his library in his London home but took the archive with him. When Miranda was arrested by the Spanish authorities in 1812, his archive had already been put on the eighteen-gun sloop HMS *Sapphire* (the same vessel that brought Simón Bolívar from England to Venezuela in the autumn of 1810) to be returned back to London. Eventually, the captain of the HMS *Sapphire* passed the archive to the British governor of Curaçao (controlled by Great Britain in 1807–1815) John Hodgson (1757–1846) who sent it to the British Foreign Office. In 1814 the archive was transferred to the Secretary of War and Colonies Lord Henry Bathurst (1762–1834). After his retirement in 1827, Lord Bathurst took the Miranda archive to his Gloucestershire manor in Cirencester Park. The archive was considered lost and was not rediscovered until the summer of 1922 by William Spence Robertson. In 1926 Caracciolo Parra-Pérez negotiated with the then current Lord Bathurst for the sale of Miranda's archive to his home country for three thousand pounds sterling.[58] Since then, Miranda's archive has been kept in a specially designated marble ark at the National Academy of History of Venezuela in Caracas. In 2007 it was included in the UNESCO Memory of the World program.[59]

After the purchase, the archive of Miranda was published in full, following the author's systematization of his papers in *Archivo del general Miranda*, edited by V. Dávila (24 vols.). The contents of volume 24 included materials from Miranda's last year in Venezuela and time in the Spanish prison (1812–1816) and was taken from Marqués José María Rojas's *El General Miranda*.[60] The *Archivo del General Miranda* contains many misprints and does not include commentaries, but has an index and each document is provided with an archival reference.

The project of translating Miranda's archive into Spanish was launched by Josefina Rodríguez de Alonso. The work is organized in a chronological manner, but lacks serious scholarly apparatus.[61]

A good, largely exhaustive, and balanced one-volume selection of Miranda's writing and correspondence (translated in Spanish) is contained in *América espera*.[62]

Miranda's library was sold by his widow and sons in 1828 and 1833; hence scholars know its exact description; details can be found in *Los libros de Miranda* and *Suerte y ventura de un libro de la biblioteca de Miranda*.[63] The early purchases for this library were made in 1772–1789; the catalog of pamphlets may be traced in Miranda's papers.[64]

The three constitutional projects of Miranda are published with a detailed index; see *I progetti costituzionali di Francisco de Miranda*.[65] The issues of Miranda's periodical *El Colombiano* (1810) were reprinted facsimile in *"El Colombiano" de Francisco de Miranda*.[66]

Some documents from the British archives related to Miranda are published. See, in particular, "Miranda and the British Admiralty, 1804–1806" and Carlos Pi Sunyer's *Patriotas americanos en Londres*.[67] Materials from Russian archival collections have also been published, including several unknown letters from Miranda to the Russian ambassador in London in 1785–1806, Semyon Vorontsov (1744–1832).[68]

The materials of the Spanish trial against the captives of the 1806 *Leander* expedition from the *Archivo General Militar de Segovia* were published in full in *De Ocumare a Segovia*.[69]

Overall, apart from Venezuela, important Miranda materials are located in the archives of Spain; the United States (New York, Boston, Washington, DC); the United Kingdom (London, Greenwich, Edinburgh, and Belfast); France; Russia; Germany; and Austria.

Links to Digital Materials

Colombeia: digitized archive of Francisco de Miranda (project realized under the guidance of Carmen Bohórquez Morán).

Bicentenaire de la Mort du Général Francisco de Miranda (1816–2016): French online exhibition on Miranda.

Francisco de Miranda y Rusia: Historia gráfica: a detailed, illustrated project designed and realized by the Venezuelan diplomat in Moscow, José Gregorio Escalona Briceno.

Further Reading

Alperóvich, Moiséi. *Francisco de Miranda y Rusia*. Moscow: Progreso, 1989. Abbreviated translation from Russian [1986].

Bohórquez [Morán], Carmen L. *Francisco de Miranda: Precursor de las independencias de la América Latina*. 3rd ed. Caracas: El Perro y La Rana, 2006.

Castillo Didier, Miguel. *Grecia y Francisco de Miranda: Precursor, héroe y mártir de la independencia hispanoamericana*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1995. Second edition published in 2002.

Dalencour, François. *Francisco de Miranda et Alexandre Petion: L'expédition de Miranda, le premier effort de libération Hispano-Américaine*. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1955.

Dorigny, Marcel, and Marie-Jeanne Rossignol, eds. *La France et les Amériques au temps de Jefferson et de Miranda*. Paris: Société d'études robespierristes, 2001.

García, Láutico. *Francisco de Miranda y el antiguo regimen español*. Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1961.

Henríquez [Uzcátegui], Gloria. *Historia de un archivo: Francisco de Miranda; Reconstitución de la memoria*. Caracas: Fundación para la Cultura Urbana, 2001. Second edition published in 2008.

Hernández González, Manuel. *Francisco de Miranda y su ruptura con España*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Idea, 2006 (parallel ed.: Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 2006).

Maher, John, ed. *Francisco de Miranda: Exile and Enlightenment*. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2006.

María, Nectario. *La verdad sobre Miranda en la Carraca: A la luz de la documentación inédita*. Madrid: J. Bravo, 1964.

Parra-Pérez, Caracciolo. *Miranda et la révolution française*. Paris: Librarie Pierre Roger, 1925.

Pérez Cabrera, José Manuel. *Miranda en Cuba, 1780–1783*. Havana: Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1950.

Pineda, Rafael. *Iconografía de Francisco de Miranda: Retratos, estatuas y medallas; Algunos lugares, personas, hechos y cosas relacionados con su memoria*. Caracas: Banco Industrial de Venezuela, 2001.

Pi Sunyer, Carlos. *Patriotas americanos en Londres: Miranda, Bello y otras figuras*. Caracas: Monte Ávila, 1978.

Quintero [Montiel], Ines. *El hijo de la panadera: Francisco de Miranda*. Caracas: Alfa, 2014.

Racine, Karen. *Francisco de Miranda, a Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003.

Robertson, William S. “Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America.” In *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1907*. Vol. 1, 189–540. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908.

Robertson, William Spence. *The Life of Miranda*. 2 vols. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929.

Zeuske, Michael. *Francisco de Miranda und die Entdeckung Europas: Eine Biographie*. Münster: LIT, 1995.

Notes:

(1.) William Robertson, *The Life of Miranda*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929), 2; and “Representación de Francisco de Miranda al Rey Carlos III” (via Conde de Floridablanca), London, April 10, 1785, in *Archivo del general Miranda*, vol. 5, ed. V. Dávila (Caracas: Parra León Hermanos, Editorial Sur-América, 1930), 141.

(2.) Robertson, *The Life of Miranda*, vol. 1, 17–18. In the spring of 1777, a Gibraltar resident Turnbull visited Cádiz.

(3.) See Eric Beerman, “The Last Battle of the American Revolution: Yorktown. No, the Bahamas! (The Spanish-American Expedition to Nassau in 1782),” *Americas* 45, no. 1 (July 1988): 79–95; James A. Lewis, *The Final Campaign of the American Revolution: The Rise and Fall of the Spanish Bahamas* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991); and Thomas E. Chávez, *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 205–209.

(4.) For the most detailed accounts, see Láutico García, *Francisco de Miranda y el antiguo regimen español* (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1961); and Manuel Hernández González, *Francisco de Miranda y su ruptura con España* (Caracas: Idea, 2006).

(5.) James Mill, “Emancipation of Spanish America,” *Edinburgh Review* 13, no. 26 (October 1808–January 1809): 286.

(6.) *Aurora*, February 19, March 14, April 10, May 10, 13, 28, July 3, 1806, etc. See a reprint of Duane’s article in *Niles’ Weekly Register*, September 8, 1821, 30–31. See also Kim T. Phillips, *William Duane, Radical Journalist in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: Garland, 1989), 493–527; and Nigel Little, *Transoceanic Radical, William Duane: National Identity and Empire, 1760–1835* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007), 172–176, 500; The epithet “Washington of the South” or “new Washington” was applied to Miranda in 1806–1808. See *Haytian Gazette*, July 16, 1806 (*Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 23, ed. V. Dávila [Havana: Editorial Lex, 1950], 173–174); and William Burke, *Additional Reasons for Our Immediately Emancipating Spanish America* (London: J. Ridgway, 1808), 76.

(7.) *Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 2, ed. V. Dávila (Caracas: Parra León Hermanos, Editorial Sur-América, 1929), 10–107; and *Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 15,ed. V. Dávila (Caracas: Parra León Hermanos, Editorial Sur-América, 1938), 98–102, 128–129.

(8.) Alexandre Stroev, *Les Aventuriers des Lumières* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997).

(9.) Moiséi Alperóvich, *Francisco de Miranda y Rusia* (Moscow: Progreso, 1989). Abbreviated translation from Russian [1986].

(10.) For example, here: “Lessons from a Liberal Swashbuckler; Bello,” *Economist*, July 23, 2016, 28. The origins of this myth stem from Miranda’s passport provided by the Habsburg Empire internuncio in Constantinople for his travel to Russia which, by a reason unknown, named him a “count.” Thus, Miranda used this title rather often in Russia and even later.

(11.) Nectario María, *La verdad sobre Miranda en la Carraca: A la luz de la documentación inédita* (Madrid: J. Bravo, 1964), 84, 93. I am grateful to José Gregorio Escalona Briceño (Venezuelan Embassy in Moscow) for pointing out this publication.

(12.) In the 1780s, Nootka Sound, a convenient inlet on the western side of Vancouver Island, was becoming a hub for fur trade with China and thus provoked rivalry between Great Britain, Spain, and Russia. In mid-1789, an expedition from New Spain (Mexico) attempted to proclaim Spanish sovereignty over Nootka Sound, which triggered a wide-scale diplomatic crisis resolved by a series of conventions (1790, 1793, 1794). See William R. Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1905).

(13.) *Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 7, ed. V. Dávila (Caracas: Parra León Hermanos, Editorial Sur-América, 1930), 60.

(14.) *Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 12, ed. V. Dávila (Caracas: Parra León Hermanos, Editorial Sur-América, 1931), 1, 41–62, 62–63, 344–345, 352–354, 448–449.

(15.) Extrait du Moniteur: № 350–Liste des Personnes deportés par le decret du 18 Fructidor An 5–4 Sep^{re}., 1797, in *Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 14, ed. V. Dávila (Caracas: Parra León Hermanos, Editorial Sur-América, 1933), 287–288.

(16.) Tomás Polanco Alcántara, *Francisco de Miranda: ¿Don Juan o Don Quijote?* (Caracas: Melvin, 1997), 347–357; Carmen Bohórquez [Morán], *Francisco de Miranda: Precursor de las independencias de la América Latina*, 3rd ed. (Caracas: Monte Ávila, 2006), 191–199; Andrey Iserov, “Съезд революционеров, которого не было: Франсиско де Миранда (1750–1816) и «Парижский акт» 22 декабря 1797 г.,” [The revolutionary meeting which was a hoax: Francisco de Miranda (1750–1816) and the *Acta de Paris* of December 22, 1797], in *Казус: индивидуальноеиуникальноевистории* [Casus: The individual and unique in history], ed. O. I. Togoeva and I. N. Danilevsky (Moscow: Indrik, 2018), 277–307.

(17.) *Archivo del General Miranda*, 15:377.

(18.) For example, Robertson, *The Life of Miranda*, vol. 1, 166 (in “Paris he [Miranda] had probably conversed with Nariño”).

(19.) Iserov, “Съезд революционеров, которого не было,” 288, 290–292; Francisco de Miranda to William Pitt the Younger, November 25, 1799, in *Archivo del General Miranda*, 15:388–391.

(20.) *Archivo de don Bernardo O’Higgins*, vol. 1, ed. Ricardo Donoso, et al. (Santiago de Chile, 1946), 29; Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, *El ostracismo del jeneral D. Bernardo O’Higgins: Escrito sobre documentos inéditos i noticias auténticas* (Valparaiso, Chile: Mercurio, 1860), 49; Bartolomeo Mitre, *Historia de San Martín y de la emancipación sud-americana (según nuevos documentos)*, vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: La Nación, 1887), 82; Karen Racine, *Francisco de Miranda, a Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), 194; and Bohórquez [Morán], *Francisco de Miranda*, 204–220.

(21.) For a few exceptions, see Pedro Grases, *La conspiración de Gual y España y el ideario de la independencia* (Caracas: Instituto panamericano de geografía e historia, 1949); Rafael Gómez Hoyos, *La revolución granadina de 1810: Idearia de una generación y de una epoca; 1781–1821*, vol. 1 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), 205–274, 275–312; Anthony McFarlane, *Colombia before Independence: Economy, Society and Politics under Bourbon Rule* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 283–293; T. Pinto González and M. Aguiar Fagundez, coords., *Rebeliones, alzamientos y movimientos preindependentistas en Venezuela* (Caracas: Ediciones de la Presidencia de la República, 2001), 89–128; J. C. Rey et al., eds., *Gual y España: La Independencia frustrada* (Caracas: Fundación Empresas Polar, 2008); and Carmen L. Michelena, “Reformas y rebeliones en la crisis del Imperio borbónico: Dos intentos revolucionarios ilustrados; De San Blas (Madrid, 1795) a La Guaira (1797)” (PhD diss., Universidad de Sevilla, 2007).

(22.) See contemporary evidence in [John H. Sherman], *A General Account of Miranda’s Expedition, Including the Trial and Execution of Ten of His Officers* (New York: McFarlane & Long, 1808); Moses Smith, *History of the Adventures and Sufferings of Moses Smith* (Brooklyn, NY: Thomas Kirk, 1812); John Edsall, *Incidents in the Life of John Edsall* (Catskill, NY: Published for the author, 1831); and Edwin Erle Sparks, ed., “Diary and Letters of Henry Ingersoll, Prisoner at Carthagena, 1806–1809,” *American Historical Review* 3, no. 4 (July 1898): 674–702.

(23.) See, for example, John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1973); Jorge Domínguez, *Insurrection or Loyalty: The Breakdown of the Spanish American Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); Timothy Anna, *Spain and the Loss of America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); François-Xavier Guerra, *Modernidad e independencias* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992); David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univer-

sity Press, 1998); and Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

(24.) Francisco de Miranda to Viscount Castlereagh, March 24, 1809, in *Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 22, ed. V. Dávila (Havana: Editorial Lex, 1950), 246–250.

(25.) In 1800 the population of Venezuela constituted *c*. 893,000 men and women, including 20.3 percent whites, 18.4 percent Indians, 9.7 percent slaves, 2.6 percent *cimarrónes* (descendants of runaway slaves and usually Indians), and 49.0 percent mixed races and free blacks. See Alejandro E. Gómez Pernía, *Le syndrome de Saint-Domingue*: *Perceptions et représentations de la Révolution haïtienne dans le Monde Atlantique, 1790–1886* (PhD diss., EHESS, 2010), 500n.

(26.) Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera República de Venezuela* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1992 [1939]), 304, 284–285, 398n.

(27.) Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera República de Venezuela*, 325–329.

(28.) Robertson, *The Life of Miranda*, vol. 2, 125.

(29.) *Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 24, ed.V. Dávila (Havana: Editorial Lex, 1950), 398; and Clément Thibaud, *Républiques en armes: Les armées de Bolívar dans la guerre d'Indépendance en Colombie et au Venezuela* (Rennes, France: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006), 84. See also Racine, *Francisco de Miranda*, xiv–xv.

(30.) See analysis in Stephen K. Stoan, *Pablo Morillo and Venezuela, 1815–1820* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974), 41–50.

(31.) Robertson, *The Life of Miranda*, vol. 2, 211.

(32.) [Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy], *Précis pour Miranda* (Paris: Chez Barrois l'aîné, [1794]), 9–10.

(33.) Alexander Bezborodko to Semyon Vorontsov, October 2/13, 1787, in Alperóvich, *Francisco de Miranda y Rusia*, 119.

(34.) *Opinion du général Miranda sur la situation actuelle de la France et sur les remèdes convenables à ses maux* (Paris: n.p., [1795]); and *Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 14, ed. V. Dávila (Caracas: Parra León Hermanos, Editorial Sur-América, 1933), 387–401.

(35.) Francisco de Miranda to Manuel Gual, December 31, 1799, *Archivo del General Miranda*, 15:404. Cf. Francisco de Miranda to Alexander Hamilton, April 6, 1798, *Archivo del General Miranda*, 15:235; and Alexander Hamilton,*Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 21, ed. H. C. Syrett (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 401.

(36.) P. Mariani Biagini, L. Parenti, and L. Revers, eds., *I progetti costituzionali di Francisco de Miranda (1798–1808): Testi e index verborum* (Rome: ITTIG/CNR, Società Bolivari-

ana di Roma), 2012; *Archivo del General Miranda*, vol. 17, ed. V. Dávila (Havana: Editorial Lex, 1950), 338–341.

(37.) Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera República de Venezuela*, 290.

(38.) Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera República de Venezuela*, 378n. It is important to underline here that Miranda always remained very critical toward Napoleon Bonaparte who initiated this French Constitution of 1799. This attitude is evident, for example, in his *El Colombiano*.

(39.) Francisco de Miranda to John T[urnbull], January 12, 1798, *Archivo del General Miranda*, 15:207.

(40.) See their correspondence in 1809–1810 in *Archivo del General Miranda*, vols. 22 and 23 (Havana: Editorial Lex, 1950); and R. I. Wilberforce and S. Wilberforce, *The Life of Wilberforce*, vol. 3 (London: John Murray, 1838), 434, 459.

(41.) Cited in Clément Thibaud, *Libérer le Nouveau Monde: La fondation des premières républiques hispaniques; Colombie et Venezuela, 1780–1820* (Bécherel, France: Editions Les Perséides, 2017), 476n.

(42.) Francisco de Miranda to Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve, October 26, 1792, *Archivo del General Miranda*, 14:456.

(43.) Miguel Batllori, *El abate Viscardo: Historia y mito de la intervención de los jesuitas en la independencia de Hispanoamérica*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1995 [1953]); Rubén Ramos Ugarte, *La carta a los españoles americanos de Don Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán*, 3rd ed.(Lima: Ed. CMB, 1971); and *Los escritos de Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán: Precursos de la independencia hispanoamericana*, ed. Merle E. Simmons (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1983).

(44.) *Archivo del General Miranda*, 7:75–138 (esp. 98, 99, 106–107, 124–125, 130–133); 15:129–140; 16:341–342; 17:222; 23:91–92.

(45.) Francisco de Miranda to Richard Wellesley, 1st Marquess Wellesley, January 7, 1811 in William S. Robertson, “Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America,” *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1907*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908), 441.

(46.) Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera República de Venezuela*, 557–563; and Vicente Lecuna, “El dinero de Miranda,” *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* (Venezuela) 55 (July–September 1931): 267–270.

(47.) “Lessons from a Liberal Swashbuckler,” 28.

(48.) Robertson, *The Life of Miranda*, 2 vols.

(49.) Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *Miranda et la révolution française* (Paris: Librarie Pierre Roger, 1925); and Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera República de Venezuela*.

(50.) Racine, *Francisco de Miranda*; and Bohórquez [Morán], *Francisco de Miranda*. Original ed. in French: *Francisco de Miranda, précurseur des indépendances de l'Amérique latine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998); it was also translated into Russian and Chinese.

(51.) García, *Francisco de Miranda*.

(52.) Hernández González, *Francisco de Miranda y su ruptura con España*.

(53.) Josefina Rodríguez de Alonso, *Le Siècle des Lumières conté par Francisco de Miranda* (Paris: France-Empire, 1974).

(54.) Miguel Castillo Didier, *Grecia y Francisco de Miranda: Precursor, héroe y mártir de la independencia hispanoamericana* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1995). Second edition published in 2002.

(55.) Vladimir M. Miroshevski, "Catalina II y Francisco Miranda," *La literatura internacional*, no. 9 (1945): 69–77 (reprinted in *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* [Caracas] 41, no. 161 [1958]: 11–25; the original article in Russian was published in 1940). See the support of the "Miroshevsky thesis," for example, in: Terrence J. Barragy, *Francisco de Miranda and the Proposed Russian Invasion in Latin America in 1787* (New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1969); and Russell H. Bartley, *Imperial Russia and the Struggle for Latin American Independence, 1808–1828* (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 22, 167n. For the first critique, see Ekkehard Völkl, *Rußland und Lateinamerika, 1741–1841* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 1968), 38–44. See also Alperóvich, *Francisco de Miranda y Rusias*.

(56.) Mario Rodriguez, *"William Burke" and Francisco de Miranda: The Word and the Deed in Spanish America's Emancipation* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994).

(57.) Miriam Blanco-Fombona de Hood, *El Enigma de Sarah Andrews, Esposa de Francisco de Miranda* (Caracas: Banco Mercantil y Agrícola, 1981).

(58.) William S. Robertson, "The Lost Archives of Miranda," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 7, no. 2 (1927): 229–232; and "Venezuela Acquires the Precious Miranda Archives," *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* 61 (1927): 216–218. For the first mention of Miranda's archive, see Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Earl Bathurst, Preserved at Cirencester Park*, ed. Francis Bickley (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1923), xix; For the history of the Miranda archive, see Gloria Henríquez [Uzcátegui], *Historia de un archivo: Francisco de Miranda; Reconstitución de la memoria* (Caracas: Fundación para la Cultura Urbana, 2001). Second edition published in 2008.

(59.) Memory of the World, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

(60.) Marqués José María Rojas, *El General Miranda* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1884), 249–782.

(61.) Josefina Rodríguez de Alonso, *Colombeia*, 20 vols. (Caracas: Ediciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1978–2006).

(62.) Francisco de Miranda, *América espera*, ed. J. L. Salcedo-Bastardo, chronology by M. Pérez Vila and J. Rodríguez de Alonso (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1982).

(63.) Arturo Uslar Pietri and Pedro Grases, *Los libros de Miranda* (Caracas: Ediciones del Cuatricentenario de Caracas, 1966). Second edition published in 1979. Pedro Grases, *Suerte y ventura de un libro de la biblioteca de Miranda* (Caracas: n.p., 1968).

(64.) *Archivo del General Miranda*, 7:137–155, 158–184, 448–485.

(65.) Biagini, Parenti, and Revers, *I progetti costituzionali di Francisco de Miranda*.

(66.) *"El Colombiano" de Francisco de Miranda*, prologue by C. Parra-Pérez, bibliographical notes by P. Grases (Caracas: Vargas, 1952).

(67.) "Miranda and the British Admiralty, 1804–1806," *American Historical Review* 6, no. 3 (1901): 508–530; and Carlos Pi Sunyer, *Patriotas americanos en Londres: Miranda, Bello y otras figuras* (Caracas: Monte Ávila, 1978).

(68.) Borís Lukín, "Cartas de Francisco de Miranda en un archivo de Leningrado," in *Presencia de Miranda, Bolivar y Páez en los archivos de la URSS* (Moscow: Academia de Ciencias de la URSS, 1976), 9–45; and Alperóvich, *Francisco de Miranda y Rusia*, 330–361.

(69.) *De Ocumare a Segovia: Juicio militar a los expedicionarios mirandinos, 1806*, Equipo de investigación R. Berríos, A. Arismendi et al., 2 vols. (Caracas: Comisión Metropolitana para el Estudio de la Historia Regional, 2006).

Andrey Iserov

School of History, National Research University Higher School of Economics