8-1-1949

The South American Career of General William Miller

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THE SOUTH AMERICAN CAREER
OF
GENERAL WILLIAM MILLER

BY

ROBERT W. DELANEY

A THESIS
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
1949

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

E. A. Castetter
DEAN

Aug. 1, 1949
DATE

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PREFACE

The purpose of this work is to present in compact form the South American career of General William Miller, who was active in the affairs of Chile, Peru, and Bolivia during the years from 1817 to 1839.

To the best of this writer's knowledge there has never been any effort to gather General Miller's entire South American career into one presentation and for that reason sources are quite scattered. Although numerous historians have used his memoirs liberally as a basis for their works, there seems to have been no attempt to evaluate the man himself. Alfred Hasbrouck and W. K. Koebel surveyed the general field of British assistance to Latin America[1] and have given Miller a prominent place among foreign legionaires for his military exploits. Evaristo San Cristoval, noted Peruvian historian, claims to have in his personal library a "rare folio of limited circulation" which the General himself compiled on his activities in South American and from which Mr. San Cristoval made a résumé of Miller's services in Chile and

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1 Alfred Hasbrouck, Foreign Legionaires in the Liberation of Spanish South America, (New York; Columbia University Press, 1928); W. H. Koebel, British Exploits in South America, (New York; The Century Co., 1917).

Peru.[2]

As a man of action who collaborated in a most active manner throughout the Independence period and who cast his shadow over many years of Peruvian history, both as a military and political figure, Miller's deeds and writings should be accorded a higher place in the annals of Latin America.

Facilities of the Library of the University of New Mexico seem adequate for the purpose of this work as General Miller had published his memoirs covering his efforts in the Wars of Independence from 1817 to 1825. Other volumes of the Biblioteca Ayacucho and general historical works make frequent mention of General Miller and extend the time range over the formative years of the Republics until his expulsion from Peru in 1839.

It will be recognized that this is merely one segment of the entire career of this man. A definitive study would require much beyond the scope of this work--documents in England, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and Territory of Hawaii, not

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2 Evaristo San Cristoval, "Juan Miller," Diccionario Biografico Histórico del Perú, (Lima: Libreria e Imprenta Gil, 1933), Vol. VII, p. 386. Referred to throughout this work simply as Diccionario. There are some discrepancies in dates between General Miller's memoirs and those given in this résumé. Since the memoirs were written closer in time to the actual happenings, dates where given therein are used in preference to those given in this work.

to mention time and money necessary to procure them--and will have to wait until a later date.

It would be presumptuous to continue without making acknowledgement of indebtedness to my professors for their kind and generous assistance. Special thanks to Dr. Dorothy Woodward are indicated for her guidance and suggestions which saw this thesis develop from a seminar paper.

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

There is a paucity of material in this country regarding the early life of William Miller. We know only that he was born on December 2, 1795 at Wingham, Kent of an "old and well-known family"[1] and that he was educated according to his position. Scarcely fifteen years elapse and we find him and his brother, John, serving in the field-train department of the British Royal Artillery, where William was appointed assistant-commissary on January 1, 1811.[2] He served throughout the Peninsular Campaign, disembarking in August 1811 at Lisbon and seeing action in the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, San Sebastián, in the battle of Vittoria, and in the siege of Bayonne under the command of Wellington.[3]

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1 Jacinto R. Yaben, "Guillermo Miller," Biográficas Argentinas y Sudamericanas, (Buenos Aires: Editorial "Metrolis," n.d.), Vol. III, p. 790.

2 H. Manners Chichester, "William Miller," Dictionary of National Biography, Sidney Lee, Ed., (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909), Vol. XIII, pp. 426-27.

3 John Miller, Memorias del General Miller al Servicio de la Republica del Peru, José María Torrijos, tr., Biblioteca Ayacucho, XXVI and XXVII, (Madrid: Editorial-America, n.d.), Vol. XXVI, p. 156. Hereinafter referred to simply as Memorias. According to Edward Baines, History of the Wars of the French Revolution, 2 vols., (London: 1817). Wellington commanded at all the above battles, Ciudad Rodrigo, Jan. 1812; Babajoz, March and April 1812; Vittoria, mid-1813; San Sebastián, August and September, 1813; and Bayonne, December, 1813.

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

There is a paucity of material in this country regarding the early life of William Millar. We know only that he was born on December 2, 1895 at Glasgow, Kent of an "old and well-known family"[1] and that he was educated according to his position. Generally fifteen years elapse and we find him and his brother, John, serving in the Field-Artillery Department of the British Royal Artillery, where Millar was appointed assistant-commissary on January 1, 1913.[2] He served throughout the Peninsular Campaign, disembarking in August 1913 at Lisbon and seeing action in the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, San Sebastián, in the battle of Vitoria, and in the siege of Bayonne under the command of Wellington.[3]

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1 Jacinto R. Yaban, "Guillermo Millar," Biografías Argentinas y Sudamericanas, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Tarquinia, n.d.), III, 750.

2 H. Manners Chichester, "William Millar," Dictionary of National Biography, Sidney Lee, ed., (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909), XIII, 526-27.

3 John Millar, Memorias del General Millar al Servicio de la República del Perú, (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico, 1917), 2 vols., (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico, n.d.), I, 1-3. Brigadier Millar referred to himself as a "Peninsular" having to Edward Baines, History of the Wars of the French Revolution, 2 vols., (London: [illegible]), I, 1-3. Millar commanded in all the above battles, Ciudad Rodrigo, June, 1812; Badajoz, March and April 1812; Vitoria, June-1 1813; San Sebastián, August and September, 1813; and Bayonne, December, 1813.

In 1812, evidently soon after the capitulation of Badajoz to Allied troops, Miller made an excursion with permission of his superiors and apparently in the nature of a furlough from Badajoz to Seville, Cadiz, and Gibraltar. Not being able to return from Cádiz by the Sierra Morena road because of movements of French troops, he embarked in a small boat with his servants and horses for Algarve. The weather, however, forced them to Lepe near the mouth of the Guadiana from where they were able to rejoin the British forces.[4]

The abdication and exile of Napoleon in April 1814 allowed England to adopt a more agressive attitude toward the United States toward the latter part of the War of 1812 and to send many British soldiers, seasoned in Spain and Portugal, to fight in the Western Hemisphere. A three-fold plan was adopted: (1) invasion of New York along Burgoyne's old route via Lake Champlain; (2) attack on Washington and other Atlantic coast cities; (3) an expedition to sieze New Orleans and detach the Mississippi valley from the Union.[5] Among the Soldiers sent to the New World was William Miller who, in June 1814, left Bordeaux and embarked on H.M.S. Madagascar

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4 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 156.

5 Ferdinand Schevill, A History of Europe, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1947), p. 444.

for the Bermuda Islands, from where he continued to the Chesapeake area in the expedition against Washington and Baltimore and in which he witnessed the death of the British General Robert Ross[6] killed while making a reconnaissance of North Point,[7] preparatory to an attempt on Baltimore.

Failing to take Fort McHenry, this British Chesapeake force withdrew from the Atlantic coast and united at Jamaica under Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane with 12,000 to 15,000 tropps ready to sail for the mouths of the Mississippi.[8] On November 27, 1814 Miller sailed with these English troops destined to operate against New Orleans.[9] From documents at present available it is impossible to establish definitely whether or not Miller actually fought in the battle of New Orleans. It is more probable that he was aboard one of the Ordnance transports lying off shore. However, that battle was fought after an agreement to end hostilities had been reached by agents of England and the United States and it became the concern of the British forces in America to be

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6 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 156.

7 J. N. Larned, The New Larned History, Donald E. Smith, et. al., eds., (Springfield: C. A. Nichols Publishing Co., 1924), X, 8737.

8 Memorias, Vol XXVI, p. 157.

9 Ibid.

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6 Memoirs, XXVI, 156.

7 J. R. Larned, The New Larned History, Donald E. Smith, et. al., eds., (Springfield: C. A. Nichols Publishing Co., 1924), X, 6737.

8 Memoirs, XXVI, p. 157.

9 Ibid.

returned to their homeland for demobilization. After leaving the Mississippi, Miller suffered shipwreck off Mobile but immediately reembarked on Dauphin Island for Havana, arriving in England in the summer of 1815.[10]

So, at less than twenty years of age, Miller was a veteran of considerable land and sea fighting experience and a valuable adjunct to any military force.

The years 1816 and 1817 were spent almost entirely on the European continent working for a French commercial house, but Miller soon abandoned the idea of trying to augment his fortunes in this prosaic manner. Returning to England he rapidly tired of a life of leisure and, being desirous of military glory, turned his attention to the state of the struggle for independence in Latin America.[11]

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10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

CHAPTER II

CAMPAIGN IN CHILE

It cannot be determined exactly as to what prompted Miller to consider Latin America. It is known that Bolívar had agents in London to recruit volunteers for the wars in northern South America with promises of handsome renumeration in money and rank.[1] It is not improbable that their activities focused Miller's attention once more on the Western Hemisphere as a place to win renown. A more thorough study is needed of the legionaires who entered the wars of independence through the gateway of La Plata area. The economic situation in England also probably increased his determination to seek a new field of operations as demobilization of the British army held little hope for a future in the military service of his native country. Hasbrouck describes the situation thus:

> For nearly five years after Waterloo, England suffered from conditions similar to those which befell it during the like number of years immediately after the close of the Great War.... Unemployment and strikes were then, as a hundred years later, the order of the day.[2]

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1 Gerhard Masur, Simón Bolívar, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948), pp. 334-43.

2 Hasbrouck, op. cit., p. 31.

CHAPTER II

SALIENCE IN CHILE

It cannot be determined exactly as to what prompted Miller to consider South America. It is known that Bolivar had agents in London to recruit volunteers for the wars in northern South America with promises of handsome remuneration in money and land.[1] It is not improbable that their activities focused Miller's attention once more on the Western Hemisphere as a place to win renown. A more thorough study is needed of the legionaries who entered the wars of independence through the gateway of la Plata area. The economic situation in England also probably increased his determination to seek a new field of operations as demobilization of the British army held little hope for a future in the military service of his native country. Hasbrouck describes the situation thus:

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1 Gerhard Masur, Simón Bolívar, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948), pp. 324-25.

2 Hasbrouck, op. cit., p. 31.

After 1810 Buenos Aires practically enjoyed free trade and there was a great influx of British merchants anxious to foster commercial relations between their homeland and the huge area of Latin America which seemed destined to free itself from Spanish control. Since Miller was furnished with letters of introduction to these merchants it is likely that businessmen in England were doing a bit of propagandizing to help along the rebellious colonists and thus reap sooner the anticipated benefits.

Again quoting Hasbrouck:

> A further factor that bore on the situation was a demand on the part of British merchants and manufacturers for new markets in which they might hope to dispose of their accumulated stocks. Such a market was to be found in the revolted Spanish colonies in America.[3]

Miller's memoirs only indicate that after a "scrupulous" investigation he considered that the River Plata was the place for him because few or no Englishmen, anxious of military glory, had gone to that area for which reason Miller preferred it to Colombia which had its share of adventurers of all kinds. After dedicating some months to studying the military knowledges which he lacked, he embarked at Dunas in August of 1817 and arrived at Buenos Aires the next month.[4]

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3 Ibid., p. 38.

4 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 157.

Some letters of recommendation already referred to facilitated his being well received by the more important people of that city. A compatriot, Mr. Dickson,[5] presented him to Juan Martín Pueyrredón,[6] Supreme Director of the United Provinces of Río de la Plata, of whom he asked and received a captian's commission in the Buenos Aires Artillery of the Army of the Andes, then in Chile under command of General San Martín. While waiting for his appointment he rose in the esteem of some of the higher class of Buenos Aires and was tempted by offers of commercial propositions of a lucrative nature but he remained firm in determination to follow a career of military glory.[7]

He also made an extended excursion into the pampas adjacent to Buenos Aires and became acquainted with the gauchos and their ways and other aspects of rural Argentine life of that day which are preserved in his memoirs in vivid descriptions.[8] After enjoying the diversions of Buenos Aires for several months, Miller left that city on January 6, 1818

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5 Apparently a British merchant of Buenos Aires.

6 Pueyrredón, a man from the west, was chosen as Supreme Director at the Congress of Tucumán in 1816 in an effort to unify the country. He was friendly to San Martín and sponsored the Army of the Andes in opposition to the people of Buenos Aires.

7 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 157-58.

8 Ibid., pp. 158-77.

to make his way to Chile and join his regiment. In nine days he reached Mendoza at the foot of the Andes. This city apparently intrigued Miller for he devoted several pages in his memoirs to a description of it and its inhabitants. A stay of short duration and Miller was ready to continue his trip to Chile crossing the mountains by way of Uspallata Pass and descending to Santiago, the capital city.[9]

The Army of the Andes lay encamped at Las Tablas, a suburb of Valparaíso and there Miller reported for duty and met for the first time a man who was to play an important part in his future life, General José de San Martín. The particular unit to which he was assigned, the Buenos Aires Artillery, consisted of ten cannons of six pounds, one howitzer, and four companies of 120 men each.[10] Miller soon became well acquainted with the other officers and men and found them a very congenial and cosmopolitan group of friends.[11]

Eight or nine days after his arrival at Las Tablas, he went to see the port of Valparaíso carrying a letter of introduction to Commodore Bowles, which Mr. Sharpe, a friend and captain of the British navy, had provided him in Buenos Aires.

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9 Ibid., pp. 178-83.

10 Ibid., p. 183.

11 Ibid., p. 187.

Miller had the pleasure of dining with the Commodore on H.M.S. Amphion along with Captain Biddle of the U.S.S. Ontario.[12] These ships were in the harbor of Valparaíso during war time to protect rights of their respective nationals. Basil Hall indicates that the volume of British trade with Latin America necessitated stationing ships of the line at Río de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Valparaíso, Lima, and San Blas in Mexico with occasional visits to other points.[13] The U.S.S. Ontario was sent to Chilean waters in 1817 to protect the extensive whaling fleet and merchantmen engaged in trade with the northwest coast of the United States from depredation by Spanish privateers operating from Peru.[14]

The Spanish army had been defeated almost a year before in the battle of Chacabuco on February 12, 1817. However, the remnant of the Spanish forces had taken refuge at Talcahuano, a fortified seaport near Concepción. Ranks of these troops swelled by others sent by the Viceroy of Peru under General Osorio drove back the patriots at the rout of Concha Rayada

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12 Ibid., pp. 189-90.

13 Basil Hall, Extracts from a Journal Written on the Coasts of Chile, Peru, and Mexico in the Years 1820, 1821, and 1822, (London: Edward Moxon, 1840), p. 8.

14 Charles Carroll Griffin, The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire 1810-1822, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 99.

where Miller displayed extreme coolness under fire and succeeded in saving two pieces of artillery from capture by the royalists.[15] For this example of bravery and ingenuity Miller received a special recommendation and was appointed aide-de-camp of San Martín on March 25, 1818.[16] This was the first display of confidence in Miller on the part of San Martín, the beginning of mutual trust and friendship which was to last throughout the lifetimes of both.

The royalist general failed to take advantage of his success at Concha Rayada and allowed San Martín time to reorganize his forces and administer a crushing defeat early in the following month at Maipú.

In preparation for this military move and due to the Spanish blockade of the coast, on March 30, Captain Miller was detached with a company of the Coquimbo battalion of infantry with instructions from San Martín to aid in the purchase of the 800 ton frigate, Windham. When purchase arrangements had been completed he was to take possession of the ship and was also charged with the responsibility of holding fast

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15 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 194; Diccionario, p. 386; Larned, op. cit., II, 1634.

16 Diccionario, p. 386.

any boats which might be in the harbor of Valparaíso so that, in case of new reverses, they might serve to transport to Coquimbo by sea any patriot soldiers that might have to retreat.

Miller carried out these instructions of his chief and embarked with his detachment in the new addition to the Chilean fleet, which was renamed the Lautaro and armed with forty-four cannons. Command of the ship was confided to Captain O'Brien, a former lieutenant in the British navy, who had distinguished himself in the capture of the United States Frigate, Essex, in the War of 1812.[18]

Since the purchase of the frigate was not completed until the day before the battle of Maipú, Miller was not present at that decisive engagement which largely broke Spanish power in Chile. However, the following day, April 6, Miller covered the road from Valparaíso with his squad and took prisoner some Spanish soldiers who had escaped from Maipú.[19]

The Chileans felt that celebrations were in order to commemorate the purchase of the Lautaro and Miller assisted

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17 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 199-200; Diccionario, p. 386.

18 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 199-200; Diccionario, p. 386.

19 Diccionario, p. 387.

at them due to his position as purchasing agent. He also seized the opportunity offered to procure for its crew several volunteers from neutral ships in the harbor. These recruits were to embark with his company and serve as marines aboard the frigate.[20]

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20 Ibid.

CHAPTER III

SERVICE UNDER BLANCO ENCALADA

As long as Spain controlled the coastline, Chile could not be wholly free nor could San Martín attain his ultimate objective, the liberation of Peru. For some months Valparaíso had been blockaded by the forty-four gun Spanish frigate, Esmeralda, and the brigantine, Pezuela, with eighteen cannons. Acquisition of the Lautaro, therefore, put the Chileans in a position more nearly to equalize things. Manned mostly by foreign sailors the Lautaro sailed out of harbor to break the blockade. Soon sighted by the Esmeralda the Chileans raised the English flag and the Esmeralda, thinking it was approaching the H.M.S. Amphion, sailed up within close quarters. The Lautaro had the advantage, the Union Jack was hauled down and the flag of Chile substituted, and a broadside from the patriot cannons ruined the rigging of their enemy so that it was impossible to maneuver successfully. The Esmeralda was so severely crippled, although not captured, by further firing that it was necessary to raise the blockade of Valparaíso. The patriots, however, suffered a loss in the death of Captain O'Brien during this engagement.[1]

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1 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 199-201.

For his participation in this action, Miller was recommended a second time and promoted to the rank of Major on July 1, 1818. His duty assignment was to be commandant of troops destined to garrison the ships of the Chilean navy,[2] which was composed of the following ships of the line: San Martin commanded by Vice-Admiral Blanco Encalada and Captain Wilkinson; Lautaro with Captain Worster; Chacabuco with Captain Morris.[3]

September 18, 1818 was the date of formal declaration of independence for Chile and Major Miller was present with his regiment at the ceremonies.[4] He then continued in command of the increasing body of marine troops and embarked in the Chilean fleet, now composed of four warships plus some transports, under order of Blanco Encalada. This versatile patriot had much in common with Miller since they both were active in the artillery branch of the army and both held important commands on land and sea. Blanco had been trained in Spain for a naval career, in 1809 he had fought against the French blockade of Cádiz, and in 1810 was stationed at Callao as aide

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2 Ibid., p. 203; Diccionario, p. 387.

3 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 203.

4 Diccionario, p. 387.

to the chief of the Spanish naval division in the Pacific. News of revolution in Buenos Aires caused Blanco to decide to work for the independence of that town where he had been born. The offer of his sword was refused and Blanco passed over to the Army of the Andes and rendered valuable service in the rout of Concha Rayada and the victory of Maipú. Immediately after the latter battle Blanco was appointed to serve as commander of the Chilean fleet.[5] Since Blanco spoke no English and most of the captains spoke no Spanish, Miller was commissioned to act as interpreter for the new admiral. On October 9, this task force set sail and that night Blanco opened his secret instructions. Since Miller had to translate their contents to the respective officers, he soon learned that the object of their voyage was to proceed to the Isle of Mocha in search of the Spanish frigate, Reina María Isabel, which was expected to round Cape Horn at any time convoying eight or ten transports loaded with troops from Cádiz. Since the voyage down the coast occupied some time, Major Miller devoted his spare time to teaching the art of cannon firing to the crew.[6]

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5 Yaben, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 604-05.

6 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, 203-05; Diccionario, p. 387.

The quest for the Reina was crowned with success as she was found in harbor at Talcahuano with a sick crew and empty of provisions. Again the Chileans had all the advantage and Miller was landed under a flag of truce to arrange surrender terms. However, he was captured, blindfolded, made to suffer other indignities, and the Spanish general, Sanchez, intended to have him shot but was prevented from doing so by the noble intervention of the Spanish colonels, Loriga,[7] Cabanas, and Hoyos. They did not, however, keep General Sanchez from placing the prisoner in the direct line of fire from the Chilean ships, which had opened fire in the meantime.

Sanchez hoped that Miller would be killed by his own cannons and the death could be termed accidental. He was kept prisoner all night and released only when it was evident that the patriots were going to have the victory and Blanco sent word that reprisals would be visited on all Spanish prisoners in his possession.[8] The Reina was grounded during the action and only after many difficulties was she

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7 Miller had known intimately some freinds of Loriga on the Peninsula and this was the beginning of a friendship which lasted many years. Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 209-10.

8 Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 207-09; Diccionario, p. 387.

refloated and towed toward Valparaíso as a prize of war together with seven transports loaded with Spanish soldiers.[9] On returning to the flagship Miller was pleased to learn that his marines had banded together to ask Blanco's permission to land and attempt to rescue their leader whose flag of truce had been betrayed.[10] The success of this mission not only augmented the Chilean fleet but also kept several thousand Spanish troops from joining others to threaten again the independence of Chile.

On November 7, the successful group entered the port of Valparaíso and as soon as anchors were cast Blanco accompanied by Major Miller marched to Santiago amid the applause of the populace. The Vice-Admiral had formed a sincere attachment to the capable Englishman which was to endure through many years of friendship. Celebrations of the naval victory and official naval business kept both men busy in the capital for eight or nine days.[11] The Reina, carrying fifty cannons, was renamed the O'Higgins and gave the infant republic another ship of the line with which to drive Spanish shipping from the west coast of South America.[12]

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9 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 212.

10 Ibid., p. 210.

11 Ibid., pp. 214-15.

12 Ibid., p. 213.

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9 Memorias, XXVI, p. 212.

10 Ibid., p. 210.

11 Ibid., pp. 214-15.

12 Ibid., p. 212.

CHAPTER IV

SERVICE UNDER LORD COCHRANE

Toward the end of November 1818, Lord Cochrane arrived at Valparaíso and in accordance with stipulations made in London was named commanding general-in-chief of the naval forces of Chile.[1] Blanco Encalada graciously agreed to serve under the famous Englishman to avoid a disputed leadership of the fleet. Since the fame of Cochrane[2] had preceeded him to South America and the Chileans expected great achievements of their new admiral, he was greeted with a round of celebrations irksome to his adventurous nature.

Cochrane's first move after taking command of the fleet was to reconnoiter Callao, the port of Lima, and capture if possible the two Spanish frigates, Esmeralda and Venganza, anchored under shot of the ground batteries protecting the harbor. With this end in view he sailed out of Valparaíso with his recently acquired "navy" consisting of "two East Indiamen, now named the Lautaro and San Martín, of forty-four and sixty-four guns, four American and English brigs

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1 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 216.

2 Lord Cochrane's daring exploits on sea during the Napoleonic Wars had won for him a world wide reputation.

mounting eighteen or sixteen guns each, and the recently captured forty-eight gun frigate O'Higgins, the flagship of the squadron.[3] Miller continued to serve as commandant of troops garrisoning the ships and was stationed aboard the flagship,[4] where his memoirs indicate frequent conversations with Lord Cochrane, and the beginning of mutual respect for the fighting qualities of each.

Cochrane ordered the name of the O'Higgins to be painted out and Macedonia to be substituted and the name of Lautaro to be changed to John Adams, the names of two frigates of the United States which were daily expected in the Pacific. He also planned to feign to carry dispatches from the Spanish ambassador in Washington to the Viceroy of Peru.[5] These disguised ships appeared off Calao in February 1819 but heavy fog foiled the elaborate plans of Cochrane, even being responsible for the Lautaro's getting separated from the others and

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3 Cristopher Lloyd, Lord Cochrane, (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1947), pp. 145-46. It is interesting to note that Lloyd says that Miller's memoirs are much more accurate than those of Lord Cochrane and the basis, therefore, for much of this book. However, Miller gives a different version of the fire power of the above mentioned ships in Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 218.

4 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 218.

5 Ibid., pp. 218-19

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4 *Memoirs*, XXVI, p. 218.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 218-19

wandering alone for four days.[6] However, on March 2, Captain Forster[7] and Major Miller were ordered to take possession of San Lorenzo, a sterile island three miles off shore in the Bay of Callao.[8] An explosives laboratory was to be set up there under direction of Miller, for Cochrane intended to make use of fireships and rockets to reduce Callao as he had formerly advocated and used such novel devices in action against the French fleet at Aix Roads.[9] The project, however, was not a success as Miller was severely burned along with some of his soldiers by an explosion while cleaning and ramming some cannons with a mixture of powder which the laboratory was preparing for a fireship.

All the skin and the fingernails of both hands were torn off, one hand was wounded by a piece from the exploded cannon, and his face was cut and burned so badly that he was blind for many days and carried scars for the rest of his life. Miller's popularity with his men is attested to by the action of the

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6 Ibid.

7 A relative and friend of Lord Cochrane who performed great service to Chile and Peru during the fight for independence.

8 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 223.

9 See Lloyd, op. cit., for an account of Cochrane's ingenuity in inventing new methods of warfare.

soldiers wounded with him who refused to allow themselves to be treated until the surgeon had assured them that he had already attended to their chief.[10]

This accident kept Miller in his bunk for six weeks during which two attacks were made on enemy ships.[11] By May 8, he was well enough to disembark in the little port of Supe to secure some provisions for the squadron. Accompanying him were Captain Forster as standard-bearer and one hundred and thirty marine soldiers, a force with which Major Miller defeated a squad of enemy cavalry which charged him the following day. The object of the mission was accomplished as cattle, sugar, and other provisions were sent aboard and the detachment embarked on May 13 in the presence of 500 royalist troops commanded by Lieutenant Colonels Zevallos and García Camba.[12]

The ships returned to Valparaíso in mid-June 1819 for repairs and provisions. Lord Cochrane passed three months of work in preparing rockets and other preparations with which to attack again Spanish boats in Callao harbor.[13] Apparently

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10 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 222-23; Diccionario, P. 387.

11 Diccionario, P. 387.

12 Ibid., pp. 387-88. García Camba, later a Spanish general, whose memoirs form Volumes VI and VII of the Biblioteca Ayacucho, wherein frequent mention of Miller is made.

Miller helped in these operations and in September sails were again set toward the north for the attempt on the chief port of Peru. Major Miller was placed in command of 400 marines aboard the flagship O'Higgins. By using his influence with some British merchants he was able to provide his 120 veteran marines with articles of clothing and other things for their comfort aboard ship.[14] This would again indicate that British merchants were willing to abet the revolution in spite of their country's role of ally to Spain. It would also indicate that Miller continued his connections with his merchant compatriots.

On September 28, commanders of the other ships came aboard the flagship to receive orders and become acquainted with plans of attack. Miller was present at this staff meeting as he recounts in his memoirs the duty assignment of each captain.[15] In the attack, Cochrane sent Miller in command of a raft carrying a mortar and two others carrying rockets. These were anchored at a distance of 500 yards from the Spanish boats and proceeded to attack them throughout the night of October 2nd and 3rd. Again this new type of naval warfare

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13 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 234.

14 Ibid., pp. 234-35; Diccionario, p. 388.

15 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 235.

produced no good results as the rockets failed and the fire-ships exploded prematurely.[16] Direct assault was considered by Cochrane to be too risky for the patriot cause[17] and he ordered his ships to withdraw.

Supplies were running low so Miller was then sent with two brigs under command of Captain Guise[18] to Pisco to obtain more provisions for the fleet. Miller disembarked in Paracas Bay[19] with 350 marine soldiers and after a march of three leagues[20] up a sandy beach toward Pisco found himself confronted with a body of enemy troops. These troops were formed in columns in the plaza supported by one hundred and fifty horsemen under command of Lieutenant General Gonzales.[21] Miller ordered bayonets to be fixed and charged at the head

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16 Ibid., pp. 236-37; Diccionario, p. 388.

17 Memorias, VI-XXVI, p. 238.

18 George Martin Guisse, an Englishman, later Vice-Admiral of Peruvian navy.

19 Miller calls this bay, Pararca Bay, and the spelling Paraccas has been encountered but, where discrepancies occur, spelling will be adopted according to Atlas América Latina, (New York: General Drafting Co., Inc., 1919).

20 One league varys from 2.42 miles to 4.6 miles.

21 Former Captain General of the Philippines and holder of other high Spanish offices, at this time Commandant of the Coast to the south of Lima.

of his troops the more than 700 royalist soldiers. The charge was successful and the enemy dispersed but Miller received three serious wounds in the act of crossing the square at the front of his forces. One ball went completely through his body, piercing his liver, another maimed his left hand for life, and a third wounded his right arm.[22] His life was dispaired of for days and the injury to his liver was to cause trouble for the remainder of his life. Bleeding profusely Miller was carried aboard the Lautaro where he lay for many days hovering between life and death.

In the meantime Cochrane had sailed north and captured after some resistance two Spanish frigates anchored in the Guayaquil river.[23] Cochrane then sent the San Martín and the Independencia to Valparaíso while he himself continued south in the Lautaro in search of a Spanish ship in the Pacific by way of Cape Horn. Before the parting, Blanco Encalada came aboard the Lautaro and offered to take Miller to Chile aboard another ship but he was considered too sick to be moved and continued with Cochrane aboard the Lautaro.[24]

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22 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 238-40; Diccionario, P. 388.

23 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 242; Diccionario, P. 388.

24 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 242.

of his troops the more than 700 royalist soldiers. The charge was successful and the enemy dispersed but Miller received three serious wounds in the act of crossing the square at the front of his forces. One ball went completely through his body, piercing his liver, another maimed his left hand for life, and a third wounded his right arm.[22] His life was despaired of for days and the injury to his liver was to cause trouble for the remainder of his life. Bleeding profusely Miller was carried aboard the Lautaro where he lay for many days hovering between life and death.

In the meantime Coquimbo had sailed north and captured after some resistance two Spanish frigates anchored in the Huayquil river.[23] Coquimbo then sent the San Martin and the Independencia to Valparaiso while he himself continued south in the Lautaro in search of a Spanish ship in the Pacific by way of Cape Horn. Before the parting, Alvarez Condarco came aboard the Lautaro and offered to take Miller to Chile aboard another ship but he was considered too sick to be moved and continued with Coquimbo aboard the Lautaro.[24]

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22 Memorias, XXVI, p. 298-401; Mendizabal, I, 380.

23 Memorias, XXVI, p. 242; Mendizabal, p. 280.

24 Memorias, XXVI, p. 242.

Lord Cochrane felt that the Chileans were expecting greater things of him[25] and so far his efforts had been twice foiled at Callao which would provide his enemies with ample material for more attacks on his ability. Accordingly he was casting about for an opportunity to prove his true worth and daring. He had not far to seek as Valdivia, in the southern part of Chile, was still held by the Spanish and constituted a thorn in the side of independent Chile, being the Spanish supply depot for the southern half of Chile.[26] Valdivia was located fifteen miles up an estuary approached by a mile-wide fiord. The narrowest portion of the fiord was protected by batteries and forts on either side and was considered impregnable, as the forts boasted one hundred and eighteen pieces of heavy artillery and was garrisoned by 800 Spanish soldiers of the line and as many civilians.[27] Land approaches were protected by almost impenetrable forests.

Knowing that a Spanish Frigate was expected daily, Lord Cochrane sailed boldly into the harbor flying the Spanish flag and demanded a pilot. This request was forthcoming. The

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25 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 246; Lord Cochrane, Memorias de Lord Cochrane, Biblioteca Ayacucho, Vol. XIII, (Madrid: Editorial-America, n.d.), p. 38.

26 Cochrane, op. cit., p. 47.

27 Diccionario, p. 388.

pilot along with some compatriots, eager to greet some new arrivals from Spain, put forth from shore and came aboard the O'Higgins. They were immediately seized and forced to give information as to the state of defence of the place.[28]

Reinforcements were indicated so Cochrane sailed north to borrow 400 soldiers from Governor Freyre[29] of the next province at Concepción, his ambition to take Valdivia nowise slackened by information received. Writing in his memoirs, he said:

> At that time, I had only one boat, so there were no other inclinations to consult: of the assistance of Major Miller I was sure, above all when it treated of attack, although one ball in the arm, another in the chest which had gone out his back, and the left hand maimed for the rest of his life, were not incentives to fight which promised much as regards physical force; the moral force of my guest was, nevertheless, intact and his capacity to carry forward my plans was still better than before, for being more mature because of severe experience.[30]

Miller was able to disembark and went on horseback to Concepción. However, he was not able to mount and dismount without aid. He also crossed the Bío-Bío and inspected the fort of San Pedro.[31]

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28 Lloyd, op. cit., p. 149; Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 243.

29 Later President of Chile, sometimes spelled Freire.

30 Cochrane, op. cit., p. 38.

31 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 244.

Two transports were also borrowed to carry the soldiers. On going out of the Bay of Talcahuano, the O'Higgins ran aground and was cleared only with difficulty.[32] Still Lord Cochrane's ambition was not lessened. His words to Miller on this occasion indicate something of his nature and partially explains why the Spanish called him "El Diablo" due to his unexpected assaults and new techniques of warefare.

> "Well, Major," he said, "Valdivia we must take. Sooner than turn back it would be better that we all went to the bottom. Cool calculation would make it appear that the attempt to take the town is madness. There is the one reason why the Spaniards will hardly believe us in earnest and you will see that a bold onset, and little perseverance afterwards, will give a complete triumph, for operations unsuspected by the enemy are, when well executed, certain to succeed, whatever the odds."[33]

This and other references to conversations between the admiral and his commander of marines lends credence to the supposition that Cochrane conferred often with Miller when developing plans of action.

Thus with two transports loaded with soldiers and the O'Higgins leaking so badly that powder in the hold was ruined, Cochrane's force sailed to assault the strongest point on the coast of Chile, cautioning Miller to take precautions that the

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32 Diccionario, p. 388.

33 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p 246, cited in Lloyd, op. cit., p. 149.

men not learn the true state of affairs.[34]

The Spanish flag was hoisted to forestall the ground batteries but this ruse was soon discovered and Miller was ordered to make a dash through the surf to the only practicable landing beach. As usual, Miller suffered a wound; this time a bullet creased his scalp as he was reaching for the rudder after the helmsman had been seriously injured. Only with difficulty was a beachhead effected as Spanish troops descended the cliffs to contest the operation. Miller's men were able to put these to flight and drive them back up the cliffs at bayonet point.[35]

It was then late in the afternoon so Miller waited for welcome darkness before climbing in single file the rocky path toward the first big fort. The patriot soldiers under Miller and Major Beauchef,[36] displayed extraordinary courage and ability, beating the Spanish from fort to fort. Cochrane maintained contact from a gig rowed along shore. By dawn all forts on the southern side of the fiord were in patriot hands

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34 Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 246-49; Diccionario, p. 388.

35 Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 250-52; Diccionario, pp. 388-89.

36 George Beauchef, a Frenchman and veteran of the army of Napoleon, entered South America through La Plata area and was active in Latin America until 1828.

and the northern side soon surrendered, giving clear access to the town.[37] So, the "Gibraltar of Chile" fell in a single night due to "Cochrane for his skillful plans and Miller for his gallant leadership, all the more remarkable because of recent wounds."[38] There was also gained an addition to the Chilean navy in the capture of the Spanish merchant ship, Dolores, lying at anchor in the harbor.

In Cochrane's official dispatch to the Chilean government we read the following:

> I enclose you the letters of Major Beauchef, who commanded the brave detachment of 250 men with which the patriot Colonel Freyre supplied me, and of Major Miller, who commanded the marines. Of the gallant conduct of these two officers....I can say nothing in praise adequate to their merit, and consequently, I shall recommend them in expressive silence to the consideration of His Excellency the Supreme Director.[39]

To which the Minister of Marine replied:

Minister of Marine of Santiago de Chile Feb. 22, 1820

> His excellency, the Supreme Director, highly gladdened by such an inestimable conquest, ordains that I tell you (as I have the pleasure of fulfilling) to receive in his name and in the name of the whole nation, the most intimate congratulations for such a distinguished victory. The officers, Beauchef, Miller....the sailor Rojas and all other officers and soldiers worthy of such an enterprise,

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37 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 253-54; Diccionario, p. 389; Cochrane, op. cit., p. 44.

38 Lloyd, op. cit., p. 150.

39 Hall, op. cit., p. 15.

who in imitation of you knew how to defy such imminent danger, occupy today the attention of the government, which is considering the recompense and suitable distinction with which to be able to decorate them, so that, publishing their names to the utmost corners of the land, all nations may know that Chile knows how to reward the virtue of the heroes who defend it...

Signed, José Ignacio Zenteno[40]

Valdivia fell to the forces of Cochrane on February 5, 1820 and several days were required for the republican forces to reorganize defense of the city and set up a provisional government under Major Beauchefs.[41] "El Diablo," not content to rest on his laurels, contemplated an attack on the island of Chiloé for he had information that the governor of that island feared an uprising at San Carlos and Cochrane hoped that a show of force would enable many of the opposition to come over to the side of the patriots.[42] Accordingly on February 12, the schooner, Moctezuma, with two hundred soldiers aboard, and the merchant frigate, Dolores, sailed out of the harbor of Valdivia to attack Chiloé, the largest island in an archipelago extending from the Straits of Magellan to Valdivia. However, Governor Quintanilla had learned of Cochrane's plans

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40 Cochrane, op. cit., p. 73.

41 Ibid., p. 51.

42 Ibid., p. 48; Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 261-62.

on February 10 and had taken steps for defense of the island.[43] On the 17th Miller effected a landing with his marines, dispersing a detachment of the Spanish garrison which tried to beat off the invasion and taking possession of the small fort called "La Corona."[44]

At dawn the following day, Miller led an assault on the fort, Agüy, which mounted twelve eighteen pound cannons and was defended by a force of 600 men and two gunboats. The attack proved abortive and was repulsed with heavy loss. Miller himself received his usual three wounds, two of them quite severe. One ball went through his right thigh, and another broke the instep of his right foot, leaving him lying less than thirty yards from the fortress. He avoided falling into enemy hands only by the generous heroism of Corporal Rojas[45] who carried him on his shoulders to safety. Other soldiers, no less valiant, three times repulsed enemy forces who came out of the fort in pursuit.[46] The ambitious plans of

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43 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 261; Cochrane, op. cit., p. 48.

44 Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 262-63; Cochrane, op. cit., p. 52; Diccionario, p. 389.

45 Former royalist soldier who had come over to the patriots.

46 Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 264-65; Diccionario, p. 389; Cochrane, op. cit., pp. 52-54.

Cochrane had to be abandoned due to the advance notice of the island and the inadequacy of the assault force, which returned to Valdivia and soon set sail for Valparaíso where it arrived March 5, having stopped off at Talcahuano for a short time.[47]

While recovering from his wounds, Major Miller stayed in a room of Lord Cochrane's house in Santiago. However, Vice-Admiral Blanco Encalada and his lovely wife waited upon Miller daily and finally persuaded him to transfer to their home to recuperate and receive their care day and night.[48] Before he was fully recovered he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel of the Artillery of Chile.[49]

The taking of Valdivia had relieved San Martín of the threat of an attack from the rear and allowed him to devote full time to preparing for the liberation of Peru. Before launching this project, Miller was transferred to Battalion Number Eight of the Army of the Anders.[50] This was an all-Negro battalion composed of former domestic slaves[51] who soon won the entire respect of Lieutenant Colonel Miller.[52]

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47 Diccionario, p. 389.

48 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 266.

49 Diccionario, p. 389.

50 Ibid.

51 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 270.

52 Ibid., pp. 270-71.

Several years later when writing his memoirs, Miller wrote to San Martín:

> I believe that the Negroes who served in our armies merit great praise for their constancy and valor. I do not know whether or not my opinion will be supported by yours.[53]

This is indicative of Miller's characteristic solicitude for the welfare of those under his command, for whom he tried to get credit and promotions.[54] Moreover, his memoirs are full of praise for other officers and enlisted men.

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53 Miller to San Martín, April 9, 1827, preserved in San Martin: Su Correspondencia 1823-1850, Biblioteca Ayacucho, (Madrid: Editorial-America, 1919), Vol. XXXIX, p. 86, hereinafter referred to as Correspondencia.

54 See Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, Historia del Peru Independiente 1822-1827, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XLIII and XLIV, (Madrid: Editorial-America, 1919), Vol. XLIV, p. 60.

CHAPTER V

BATTLE FOR PERU 1820-1822

The incessant labor and perserverance of San Martín combined with the successes at sea of Cochrane and Blanco Encalada made possible the fruition of the planning of San Martín to liberate Peru. Originally his plan had been for General Belgrano[1] to invade Peru by land from Buenos Aires while he himself went with an army from Chile by sea to avoid the Atacama desert to the north and the towering Andes to the west. Of course, due to the altercation between San Martín and the government at Buenos Aires, the overland invasion had to be abandoned and San Martín prepared to transport his army and invade Peru by sea only.

Accordingly, on August 20, 1820, the Liberating Army of Peru sailed out of the harbor of Valparaíso and reached, on September 7, the port of Pisco, 100 miles south of Lima. Miller had embarked with two companies of his battalion number eight and two companies of the Buenos Aires artillery.[2] Miller's many friends saw him off amid rousing Vivas from some of his former marines who happened to be present waiting to

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1 Argentine general and patriot.

2 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 278.

embark.[3] By the 12th the entire army had disembarked and was ready to commence operations as no resitance was met because the Viceroy of Peru had concentrated his troops for the defense of the old colonial capital, Lima.[4] It is interesting to note here that Miller was the only field officer who sailed from Valparaíso and remained to see the final triumph of Ayacucho.

The remainder of the year, 1820, as far as Miller was concerned, was spent in comparative peace and quiet as San Martín wanted the Peruvians patriots to liberate themselves. San Martín and his army planned to stand by to lend whatever assistance might be required, for the Argentine general believed sincerely that his mission was emancipation not conquest. However, he sent General Arenales and a small force into the interior to rouse the inhabitants, and, if possible, create a split in the royalist forces. In the meantime, due to intelligence reports which San Martín had received, the main army was re-embarked at Pisco and landed at Huacho, seventy miles north of Lima.

On January 25, 1821 Lieutenant Colonel Miller was instructed to embark with 600 infantrymen and seventy cavalry-

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3 Ibid., p. 279.

4 Ibid., pp. 277-80; Diccionario, p. 389; Cochrane, op. cit., p. 79.

men, all hand chosen from various units, for a secret mission under Lord Cochrane. It was not surprising that Cochrane recalled his former leader of marines as he admired Miller's fighting qualities and ability of leadership, as shown throughout the memoirs of Cochrane. The embarkatation was accomplished on January 30, and then Miller learned that the object of their mission was nothing less than the forts of Callao, the port city for Lima. Some royalist officers in that garrison had indicated that they wished to pass over to the patriot cause and Cochrane and San Martin hoped that these forts might be surrendered upon assistance from patriot forces to support the movement.[5]

However, other events caused the project to fall as Pezuela, the legitimate Viceroy, was deposed and General La Serna, elected by army generals to serve as Viceroy, relieved the garrisons of Callao with troops,[6] whom he knew to be loyal to himself for the forts of Callao constituted a main defense of his office.

So Cochrane's expedition went to the south and Miller and his troops disembarked in the Bay of Paracas during the

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5 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 298; Diccionario, p. 389.

6 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 297-98; Diccionario, p. 389.

night of March 21 and at dawn entered Pisco and his advance guard occupied Chincha on the afternoon of the 22nd.[7] The object of this project was to create diversion and harass the royalist forces while Cochrane maintained an effective blockade of the coast. Miller succeeded in cutting the communications of the royalists with the coast and occupied the attention of 600 Spanish soldiers under García Camba. Continuation of the campaign was made impossible as attacks of tertian fever rendered Miller unable to lead his troops into further labors and they re-embarked in the San Martín and sailed away to the south on April 22.[8]

After two unsuccessful attempts to disembark near Arica, key to the interior provinces, Miller, by now recovered from his sickness, finally took possession of Tacna after a painful march from Morro de Sama.

While absent on this expedition Miller was awarded the honor of being named Legionaire of the Legion of Merit of Chile,[9] an honorary organization founded by O'Higgins to reward meritor-

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7 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 300; Diccionario, p. 389; Cochrane, op. cit., p. 103.

8 Diccionario, pp. 389-90; William Bennet Stevenson, Memorias de William Bennet Stevenson, (Luís de Terán, tr.), Biblioteca Ayacucho, (Madrid: Editorial-America, n.d.), Vol. XV, p. 149.

9 Diccionario, p. 389.

ious military services.

While in the region of Tacna, Miller received information that three royalist divisions were advancing on him from Moquequa, Oruro, and Puno with the intention of joining at Tarata. Miller chose to attack first the strongest column under Colonel La Hera.[10] After a forced march of sixteen leagues he surprised the enemy at Mirave, having crossed the maritime cordillera during the night. In a lively and bloody battle La Hera was completely defeated, and only a small number of his cavalry escaped. Miller followed closely on the heels of these retreating soldiers and surprised them thirty-six leagues away from Mirave, where almost all of the enemy were taken prisoner or killed.[11] For this action Miller received the congratulations of Lord Cochrane in the following letter:

> My Dear Colonel:
>
> I congratulate you from the depths of my heart for the glorious gains which your well-meditated and energetic dispositions have produced. The fame of your deeds will fill with joy all the hearts of Chile and in Jaura; and today will go out a boat for each one of these places. Give thanks to the officers and men in name of

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10 Ibid., p. 390; Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 315; Cochrane, op. cit., pp. 104-05.

11 Diccionario, p. 390; Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 315-21.

the government of Chile, of General San Martín, and myself, promising them a medal and just recompense for their valiant behavior.

Cochrane[12]

By rapid marching, Miller was then able to fall upon and rout one of the other divisions in the mountains seventeen leagues from Moquegua. This was accomplished on May 28 with Miller leading 100 foot soldiers supported by several cavalrymen.[13]

Meanwhile La Hera who had escaped from the battle of Mirave was able to gather two battalions of infantry and some cavalry in the interior and began marching toward Tacna to give battle to Miller. On arriving within four leagues of that city, he learned that Miller was approaching rapidly from Moquegua to intercept him. Miller then used one ruse which he was to employ many times again. Having captured some dispatches intended for La Hera, Miller dictated others, cleverly forging the signature, and sent them on their way.

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12 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 445.

13 For an account of these and following actions from the royalist point of view, see Andrés García Camba, Memorias del General García Camba, Biblioteca Ayacucho, VI and VII, (Madrid: Editorial-America, n.d.), Vol. VI, pp. 528-581. Although disagreeing on interpretation with Miller's memoirs, the facts are substantiated and Miller is treated with respect throughout.

These led the royalist general to believe that Miller's forces were much larger than they actually were. La Hera, on the basis of the counterfeited letters, decided that it was advisable to countermarch toward Santiago de Machaca.[14]

Miller's forces then occupied the city of Tacna on June 14.[15] However, he was not in an enviable position. Lord Cochrane, on learning of the armistice of Punchaca,[16] had sailed for Lima not leaving behind any boats which could be used as troop transports. Fourteen hundred royalist troops were ready to attack Miller,[17] having received more exact information on the size of the patriot forces. By fighting a delaying action for thirty-six hours around Tacna, Miller was finally able to locate and seize some boats in which he embarked at Arica during the night of July 21 and 22.[18]

Before sailing he sent ashore a flag of truce, asking that his wounded and sick, whom he was forced to leave in

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14 Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 325-27; Cochrane, op. cit., pp. 104-06.

15 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 327; Stevenson, op. cit., p. 150; Diccionario, p. 390.

16 A twenty day armistice arranged by San Martín to gain time by imposing conditions impossible to the Spanish agents.

17 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 337; Stevenson, op. cit., p. 155; Diccionario, p. 390.

18 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 337; Diccionario, p. 390.

Tacna, be assisted humanely. The spanish chief answered that soldiers who had comported themselves as his had would be treated in preference to those of the king.[19]

Miller then proceeded to Pisco and took possession of that town on August 2, 1821. Without loss of time he mounted 140 of his soldiers and covered the fourteen leagues to Ica. This town was held by a detachment of 360 royalist soldiers who fled upon Miller's approach.[20] Being desirous of making safe the entire province of Ica for the patriot operations, Miller followed closely upon the royalists, overtook and defeated them in a battle at Caguachi. He then returned and early in August assumed the military and political government of Ica,[21] upon the invitation of some of the leading inhabitants. However, the royalist General, Canterac, had left his position around Jauja and was marching on Lima. A general action seemed probable and accordingly Miller marched to reinforce San Martín in the surroundings of Lima, leaving Major Videla in charge of the government of Ica. The royalists had gone out of Lima on July 6 due to lack of provisions caused

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19 Diccionario, p. 390; Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 338.

20 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 339-42.

21 Cochrane, op. cit., p. 126; Memorias, vol. XXVI, pp. 349-50.

by the patriot blockade and were now returning in an effort to establish a footing in that portion of Peru. Miller rejoined San Martín at Mirones on September 15, two days after Canterac had entered Callao.[22] The congratualtions of San Martín were extended to Miller for the operations to the south.

A few days later the English soldier was promoted to Colonel and designated to form the First Peruvian Corps. This was later named the Peruvian Legion with the Limeñan General Torre-Tagle as commanding general. Colonel Miller was placed in command of a reiment of infantry of this unit, which he formed from selected Spanish deserters, a number of negroes and mulattoes recruited in Lima, and some Indians from the interior.[23]

On September 18, Colonel Miller was given command of a column composed of all the companies of light cavalry, some 700 men, in order to act as scout in the surroundings of Lima and be ready on an instant's notice to operate against the enemy. A few days later on September 21, a squadron of horse

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22 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 350.

23 Ibid., p. 390.

grenadiers under O'Brien[24] was added to Miller's column and he was sent in pursuit of the troops of Canterac who were retiring from Callao toward the mountains.[25] San Martín had allowed Canterac's men to march into Callao knowing that their presence would only increase the difficulties of the garrison there, as they were already short of food and provisions. His strategy proved to be correct for royalist forces decided to evacuate the entire coast being without ships and cut off from all means of communication.[26]

Canterac's troops succeeded in gaining the protection of the coastal range of mountains and immediately turned to charge their most advanced pursuers who were caught off guard and suffered some losses. The majority of the advance guard, however, was able to retreat to a hill where Colonel Miller had placed the rest of the column and which the royalists considered too strong to attack. The troops under Miller continued to harass the royalists until they crossed the crest of the mountains to the east and inflicted severe losses in killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters, including some 1000 men

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24 Cf. post., Chapter VIII, footnote 10. Frequently, in Spanish writings spelled O'Briend.

25 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 357.

26 Markham, op. cit., p. 250.

who came over to the patriot side.[27]

Miller then returned to Lima and dedicated himself again to the formation of his corps, The Peruvian Legion of Guard. On December 16, 1821, he was awarded the distinction of being named by San Martín, Founder of the Order of the Sun, a body instituted by San Martín to reward outstanding military achievements and to provide Peru with the stability of an aristocracy.

The disputes between the cautious San Martín and the adventurous Cochrane are too well-known to occupy space here. In like manner, the interview between San Martín and Bolívar at Guayaquil has been debated at length. However, it seems well to interpose the reactions of Miller to the latter incident. Writing in his memoirs, he says simply:

> General San Martín sailed again from Callao for Guayaquil, where he saw the Liberator Bolívar, on July 26, 1822. The interview which took place between these two distinguished men seemed not very satisfactory. The Protector remained in Guayaquil only forty-eight hours, and re-embarked for Callao where he arrived on August 21, 1822.[28]

Apparently Miller desired to return to Peru and while the first volume of his memoirs were at press wrote nothing to

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27 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 357-61.

28 Ibid., p. 398.

irritate Bolívar on whose good will all important jobs depended. In his second volume he included some derogatory remarks concerning the Liberator and in a letter to San Martín written at the same time as his memoirs he wrote the following:

> According to some insinuations which I have laid at the door of a certain personage, he wished it to be known that you desired to crown yourself in Peru and that that was the principal object of the interview of Guayaquil. If you wish, perhaps, that can be contradicted in six words.[29]

Since, in the letter, Miller had previously mentioned Cochrane by name it seems that the certain personage referred to is Bolívar. San Martín made the following reply to the letter:

> If, as I do not doubt (and that only because General Miller assured me of it) the certain personage has put forth these insinuations. I say that, far from being a gentleman, to me he only merits the name of a noted imposter and a despicable knave, being able to assure you that if such had been my intentions it was not he who might have caused my project to change.
>
> As for my trip to Guayaquil, it had no other object than that of claiming from General Bolívar the aid that he could lend to end the war of Peru, aid that a just retribution (keeping in mind the general interest of America) was demanding for that which Peru so generously loaned to liberate the territory of Colombia.[30] My confidence in the good result was so much more founded as

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29 Miller to San Martín, April 9, 1827, Correspondencia, p. 86. Italics are those of Miller.

30 Peru had sent quite a body of troops to fight with the Colombians in Ecuador and they contributed signally to the victory of Pichincha.

the army of Colombia, after the battle of Pichincha, had been augmented with the prisoners and counted 9,600 bayonets; but my hopes were frustrated on seeing that, in my first conference with the Liberator, he declared to me that, making all efforts possible, he could only give away three battalions with a total force of 1,070. This aid did not appear to me sufficient to end the war, since it was agreed that the good outcome of it could not be hoped for without the active and efficient cooperation of all the forces of Colombia; so it is that my resolution was taken at once believing that it was my duty to make the ultimate sacrifice to the benefit of the country. On the following day and in the presence of Vice-Admiral Blanco, I told the Liberator that, having allowed the congress to convene the next month, the day of its installation would be the last of my sojourn in Peru; adding, 'Now I leave to you, General, a new field of glory on which you are going to place the last stamp to the liberty of America.'

(I authorize and beg that you write to General Blanco to verify this point at issue). At 2:00 P.M. the following day I embarked, Bolívar having accompanied me to the boat, giving me his portrait as a memorial of the sincerity of his friendship. My stay at Guayaquil was not more than forty hours, sufficient time for the object which I had.[31]

Several years later, San Martín wrote to Miller:

If I had had the happiness to have in the army that I commanded only six chiefs that had combined in them your virtues and knowledges, I am very sure that the War of Peru would have ended two years before it did.[32]

San Martín resigned all authority into the hands of representatives of the people, and a governing junta succeeded

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31 San Martín to Miller, April 19, 1827, Correspondencia, pp. 88-89. Italics are those of San Martin.

32 San Martín to Miller, September 8, 1826, Correspondencia, p. 81.

him in command of the army and decided to adopt his previous plan of carrying the war to the south around the intermediate ports.[33] General Alvarado, one of the junta, was designated as chief of the army.

On October 10, 1822, Miller sailed from Callao in command of three battalions and one regiment of cavalry (1900) which, distributed in seven transports, formed part of an expeditionary force under General Alvarado to operate against the intermediate parts.[34]

After much suffering from scarcity of water, due to a long voyage, they arrived at Arica on December 3. It seems that, due to the prevailing winds, a voyage northward along the west coast of South America could be made with comparative ease, but a trip southward was hazardous and apt to consume much time for sailing ships. After landing Miller was ordered to the north of Arequipa to attract the attention of the enemy with one hundred twenty of his light cavalry, being promised 400 more soldiers which never arrived.[35] At midnight of Christmas day he disembarked with this small force at Quilca

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33 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, pp. 7-8.

34 Ibid., p. 11; Diccionario, p. 391.

35 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, p. 26.

in spite of a royalist force which had been observed at sunset posted in the surrounding heights and the roughness of the sea which made landing operations exceedingly dangerous.

At dawn the following day one of his advance guards captured a Spanish agent, who was carrying a large amount of correspondence for Spain in which were important pleas from Viceroy La Serna to the Minister of War in Madrid, one of which contained the Viceroy's resignation from his position.[36] Miller sent these dispatches on to his superior officer, General Alvarado.[37]

In the afternoon of December 26, Miller marched with all his force to Camaná, and pursued some royalist soldiers beyond that point. On Sunday morning, Miller returned to Camaná and went to hear Mass. The inhabitants, from his first arrival among them, had wanted to know what his religion was, and this step not only satisfied their curiosity but also from that moment they considered him _como buen cristiano_, and spread the news throughout the country.[38] Although always an Englishman and a Protestant, Miller had a great affec-

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36 _Ibid._, p. 27; _Diccionario_, p. 391.

37 _Memorias_, Vol. XXVII, p. 27.

38 _Ibid._, p. 28.

tion for the people of South America, and tried to identify himself with their best interests and with their culture.

Miller left Camaná December 30, and crossed the desert of Siguas on the road to Arequipa to reconnoiter. He took prisoner a royalist captain who had been sent to learn what troops had landed at Quilca,[39] and from him learned that the Spanish General Carratalá was advancing from Arequipa.

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39 Ibid., p. 31.

CHAPTER VI

BATTLE FOR PERU 1823-1824

After having pursued and taken prisoner almost all the enemy soldiers who had fled from Quilca and afterwards taking others in the valleys of Camana and Siguas, by rapid marching with a trumpeter, a corporal, and three farmers who knew the country, Miller captured a Spanish officer and ten dragoons in the valley of Vitor. That same morning he sent a note of warning from Siguas to the city of Arequipa, intimating that he had a large force under orders and would soon appear to occupy Arequipa. This bluff and other deeds caused great consternation among the royalist forces,[1] and served to keep them expending their energies in ways least dangerous to the cause of Independence.

As soon as General Canterac learned that patriot forces had gone out of Arica to the north of Arequipa and supposing that they numbered more than eight hundred men, according to one of his intercepted letters, he detached from Puno nine hundred infantrymen, a squadron of cavalry, and four pieces of artillery to protect Arequipa. Miller succeeded in drawing these forces toward Ocona and while they were detained

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1 Diccionario, pp. 391-92; Memorias, vol. XXVII, 31-34.

two days for lack of rafts with which to cross the river, since Miller had collected all available ones up and down the river, Miller marched rapidly with twenty-seven men to Caraveli, where he surprised the guard of troops protecting the governor. This sudden apparition and others demoralized the enemy for they knew not where he would strike next. All throughout February and the early part of March, Colonel Miller continued operating along the coast, harassing the cities of Palpa, Planchada, Atico and Chala, among others. By planting more clever minisformation in the enemy's hands, Miller succeeded in making the royalists believe that he had been reinforced with Battalion Number Four of Chile, or that his light cavalry were dissatisfied and on the point of mutiny. This misinformation kept the enemy from learning the true situation and allowed Miller to accomplish the object of his mission of keeping busy a portion of the Spanish army. His soldiers performed valiantly and the inhabitants gave most decided aid to Miller or he would never have survived with his small force in the middle of a country technically in royalist hands. However, due to so much action packed into a few weeks, the Englishman fell sick; his soldiers carried him on a stretcher from Acari to the port of Lomas where he re-embarked with his small force and arrived at Callao on March 12. For these distinguished services behind the line, Miller was promoted to

the rank of Brigadier General on April 8.[2]

Many royalist sympathizers in Lima had given out false information which led General Canterac to believe that recapture of the region around the capital would be relatively easy. The governing Junta failed to provide any definite decision for the defense of the capital. General Sucre, diplomatic agent for Bolívar, was chosen to head the army.[3] When the royalists under Canterac were approaching Lima, after an uprising among the garrison at Callao, Miller, somewhat recovered from his illness, took a squadron of cavalry on June 13 to find out the size of enemy forces and watch their movements. This he was able to do, always retreating but keeping them in view until they entered Callao.[4]

On June 19 he made a reconnaissance of the royalist forces in Lima and finding one entrance unguarded he penetrated some blocks into the city. On that afternoon the Royalists were at Bellavista and the patriot army at Callao.

The following day General Canterac deployed his entire army within cannon shot of the forts of Callao and the light

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2 Diccionario, p. 392.

3 Memorias, vol. XXVII, pp. 61-62.

4 Diccionario, p. 392.

troops of both sides maintained a lively fire. General Miller who had advanced to reconnoiter was able to hold a conversation between the lines with his friend of Talcahuano, Loriga, now a general.

On July 4 Miller, with cavalry and artillery, embarked in three transports forming the vanguard of the expeditionary army of General Sucre, and sailed from Callao,[5] to prepare the way for the army's intended operations in the south.

On July 21 he disembarked at Chala and immediately sent parties of soldiers to Caravelí, Acari, San Juan de Lucanas, and Pausa. By forced marches and rapid attacks he was able in seven days to control all the territory fifty leagues into the interior and sixty leagues from north to south.[6] In August he joined the infantry and headquarters squadron which had in the meantime disembarked at Quilca.

On August 30 General Sucre detached General Miller with two hundred cavalry and a handful of infantry to Arequipa which he occupied after putting to flight toward Puno more than eight hundred enemy soldiers.

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5 Ibid., pp. 392-93.

6 Ibid., p. 393.

Bolívar landed at Callao on September 1, 1823, and devoted the remainder of the year to organization of the army, which consisted of 7,000 men, two-thirds of whom were Colombians.[7]

On October 26, 1823 Bolívar wrote to Miller the following letter:

> My Dear General:
>
> For a long time I have desired to meet you because your services have recommended you to the gratitude of all American lovers of liberty and merit.
>
> Now receive most sincdre testimonies of the esteem which I profess for you, and believe that I have the greatest desire to manifest to you the consideration to which you are entitled for your noble conduct in the Army of Peru. I am...
>
> Bolívar[8]

The patriot cavalry suffered a defeat at Tarata, near Arequipa, at the hands of Spanish General Valdés and Miller reunited some of his retreating soldiers and charged the pursuing enemy cavalry but again the patriots suffered a rout. In the engagement Miller with four men held the bridge of Uchumayo until nightfall while his soldiers were rejoining the infantry at Vitor. Miller's battalion was cut to pieces but officers and men behaved nobly. The action of these re-

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7 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, pp. 91-92.

8 Ibid., p. 417.

cruits of the Peruvian Legion which Miller had formed drew the applause even of General Canterac.

The patriots continued to withdraw toward Lima followed closely by General Canterac and his army. Miller was able to save himself and some troops only by the good will of the inhabitants of the country. Toward the end of November he arrived at Lima,[9] and was named Chief-of-staff of the army of Peru.[10] Due to the reopening of the old wound in his right thigh and the general bad state of his health he obtained permission from Bolívar to seek cure in the baths of Chile. He accordingly left Peru in H.M.S. Tartar on January 24, 1824. He was also charged with the responsibility of expediting the sailing of a force from Chile to help in the liberation of Peru.[11]

Soon after his arrival in Chile he learned of the uprising at Callao. Some soldiers in the army, natives of Chile and Buenos Aires had risen up demanding their back pay and inviting General Canterac to take possesion of the forts in the name of the King. Accordingly a royalist division entered

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9 Diccionario, p. 393.

10 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, p. 93; Stevenson, op. cit., p. 243; Diccionario, p. 393.

11 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, pp. 100-01.

Callao on March 3, 1824.[12] Acting on this news, Miller immediately re-embarked for Peru in the Peruvian brigantine, Congreso. From the port of Cobija he sent a letter to the governor of the province of Salta which, as intended, fell into enemy hands. The result was that General Valdés, who was marching with a considerable force against General Olañeta, who was trying to be Viceroy instead of La Serna, in the Department of Potosí, stopped several days at Puno, for the letter indicated that an expedition from Chile was about to land near Arica.[13] It happened that in the port of Cobija a fight took place between a patriot ship and a ship armed by a pirate, who was inclined to the royalist side. In trying to get out of the way, the Congreso was almost run aground.[14] Soon afterwards Miller disembarked in the port of Supe and on May 19 presented himself to Bolívar at his headquarters at Huarás, where 10,000 patriot soldiers had been collected to begin offensive operations.[15]

The following day he was appointed commanding general of the cavalry of Peru. While the main army was preparing to

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12 Ibid., pp. 101-03.

13 Ibid., pp. 111-12.

14 Ibid., pp. 112-17.

15 Ibid., pp. 120-21.

begin an active campaign against Canterac's army in the valley of Jauja, Miller crossed the mountains to take command of a squadron of cavalry and more than one thousand guerrilla fighters and occupied the country around Tarma and Jauja.[16] He watched the roads, established an efficient espionage, revived communications with patriots of different points held by the enemy, and sent daily to Bolívar news that he had collected. He also gathered together food, fuel and forage for horses, all the while keeping the enemy from gaining exact intelligence.[17]

In the meantime enemy troops had occupied Cerro de Pasco and Bolívar accordingly sent to Miller the Bogotá battalion, the horse grenadiers, the Colombian Hussars, and the squadron of grenadiers of the Andes. These were to be used to dislodge the enemy from the surroundings of Pasco.

In a foray which the enemy made toward Ucumarca to withdraw from their tormenters, Miller was given command of the Peruvian Legion and Number Three Battalion to drive back the incursions of the royalists and cover the march of the army, which was crossing the mountains to rout the enemy.

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16 Ibid., p. 122; Diccionario, pp. 393-94.

17 Diccionario, P. 394; Memorias, Vol. XXVII, pp. 124-131.

Miller recommended that after crossing the mountains the main army take the road on the right bank of the river instead of the Carhuamayo road to the east of the Lake of Kings, as had been proposed, and his suggestion was accepted by Bolívar and Sucre.[18]

Meanwhile the Liberating Army, after crossing the mountains, rejoined near Pasco. Miller was ordered by the Liberator to take units of the army and interpose them between Jauja and Guamaga to cut the communications of Canterac with the city of Cuzco,[19] where Viceroy La Serna had his headquarters.

At Ucumarca Miller received information that Canterac, marching to the east of the Lake of Kings was advancing on the Liberating army. Miller sent word to Bolívar and took it upon himself to countermarch and join the rest of the army, which had moved to Conocancha, on August 5.[20]

The following day occurred the famous battle of Junín in which Miller as leader of the Peruvian cavalry played a

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18 Diccionario, p. 394.

19 Ibid.,

20 Memorias, vol. XXVII, pp. 142-43.

very decisive role. Clements R. Markham, basing his narrative on Miller's memoirs, describes this battle thus:

> The royalists were a little to the south of Reyes, marching over the plain of Junin, which is 12,000 feet a above the level of the sea. On seeing the enemy, the patriot cavalry, about nine hundred strong, dismounted from their mules, removed their saddles to the led horses, quickened their pace, and, somewhat imprudently, advanced to within a mile of the royalist army, which, therefore, halted. Ordering his infantry and artillery to continue their retreat, Canterac then placed himself at the head of his cavalry, upward of 1,000 strong, and formed in line, each squadron in column, and doubled at each flank. He charged before the patriot cavalry had time to deploy, after passing a defile formed by an extensive morass. Miller, with two Peruvian squadrons, was ordered to outflank the enemy's right. Wheeling to the left he was separated from the rest of the cavalry, but the enemy's right, also breaking from the royalist line and diverging to its right, came on too quickly to enable him to accomplish his object. He could only again wheel to the right and charge the enemy in front. His squadrons were soon overpowered, and fled for a short distance along the border of the morass. At this critical moment, Colonel Suarez came up with a fresh squadron, charged the enemy in his rear, checked the pursuit, and gave time for Miller to face about and form again. The enemy was then attacked with renewed ardor, and ultimately routed.
>
> All was thought to be lost when the Peruvian cavalry thus turned defeat into victory, for the Colombian and Argentine squadrons had also been driven back, and Necochea was severely wounded. The Spaniards left two hundred and fifty dead on the field, and sixty prisoners. They retreated in the utmost confusion, while the patriot loss did not exceed fifty killed and wounded. The dictator conferred the title of "Husares de Junin" on the Peruvian cavalry. Not a musket or pistol shot was fired, the formidable lance doing all the work. No infantry was engaged. Necochea being disabled by wounds, the command of the whole of the cavalry devolved upon General Miller. The battle of Junin opened the Sierra country to the patriots, for Canterac retired in great disorder to join the viceroy at Cuzco.[21]

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21 Clements R. Markham, A History of Peru, (Chicago: Charles H. Sergel & Co., 1892), pp. 273-74.

For the next two months Miller served as commander of the entire cavalry of the United Army. General Sucre, confided to him various important missions. With the Hussars of Junín and a battalion of infantry he was sent to attack isolated parties of the enemy, while the main army marched toward Cuzco. While making a reconnaissance near Santo Tomas, Miller, with a small force, was cut off by a body of enemy troops. He took to the mountains and wandered aimlessly there for two days in constant danger of being taken prisoner. Finally he was able to excape but his servant, leading his battle horse, was taken prisoner.[22]

La Serna, by rapid marching, had placed his army between Sucre and his base of operations. There was nothing for Sucre to do but try to cut his way through. Accordingly delaying actions were fought while Sucre was trying to find means of getting his army through,[23] and reestablish communication with Lima.

In the journey from Matara, Miller saved the cavalry by means of a ford in the river discovered the day before

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22 Diccionario, pp. 394-95; Memorias, vol. XXVII, pp. 157-61.

23 Memorias, vol. XXVII, p. 164.

while scouting for General Sucre. He was able to round up some hundred men of a Colombian battalion which was trying to cross by the ford and with these he contributed effectively to holding off the enemy who were pursuing rapidly.[24]

The two armies were now marching near each other on parallel lines near the plains of Ayacucho. Again quoting Markham, who used Miller's memoirs liberally for the following account:

> When morning dawned General Sucre formed his order of battle. General Gamarra was his chief of staff, and Colonel Ramon Castilla was adjutant-general. The Colombian division of General Cordova was posted on the right, with Hatun-huayccu on his right flank. The second Colombian division under General Don Jacinto Lara, was in the center, and the Peruvian division of Lamar was on the left, resting on the Vendamayu ravine. The cavalry, under General Miller, was in the center. The patriots had one field-piece--a four-pounder. The total number of men was 5,780, of whom 4,500 were Colombians, 1,200 Peruvians, and eighty Argentines.
>
> The viceroy had his encampment on the steep ascent among bushes. La Serna's rank had been recognized by the Spanish government, in spite of the irregularity of his first appointment, and he had been created Count of the Andes. He posted the division of Villalobos on the left, facing Cordova; Monet in the center; and Valdez on the right. The field-pieces, reduced to eleven, were planted in a place called Chichicancha, on the edge of the ravine of Hatun-huayccu. The total number of the royalists was 9,310.
>
> The morning of the 9th of December dawned particularly fine. At 9:00 A.M. the division of Villalobos began to descend and the viceroy La Serna, on foot, placed himself in its front ranks. Canterac remained on the heights with a reserve force. The division of Monet began to move a few minutes after Villa-lobos, the cavalry leading their

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24 Diccionario, p. 395; Memorias, vol. XXVII, pp. 166-72.

horses between the infantry of each division. As the troops rached the plain they formed into column.

At this juncture Cordova, shouting, "Onward with the tread of conquerors!" charged with his Colombians in four parallel columns. The Colombian cavalry, under Colonel Silva, charged at the same time, and he fell, covered with wounds. After a fierce and prolonged encounter the royalist infantry lost ground, and were driven back. The viceroy was wounded and taken prisoner; while Monet and Villalobos retreated up the steep ascent in confusion. Meanwhile Valdez had made a tour of nearly a league, and threatened the left flank of the patriots along the Vendamayue stream. He opened a heavy fire on the Peruvians under Lamar, and drove them back. A part of the division of Lara, sent to support them, also began to waver and give way.

The royalists crossed the stream and pressed upon them. At this critical moment General Miller led a charge of the "Husares de Junin" against the advancing enemy, and drove them back in some confusion, giving time for the Peruvian infantry to rally and renew the fight. They crossed the stream under the lead of Colonel Jose Maria Plaza, a native of Mendoza, but naturalized in Peru. The Peruvians now fought so resolutely that the division of Valdez was broken, the cavalry flying in disorder, and the infantry dispersing.[25]

The victory of Ayacucho was complete. General Canterac sued for terms and officers and men of the Spanish army passed over as prisoners of war. There remained only mopping up operations against General Olañeta in upper Peru. So the liberation of Peru was accomplished for only with foreign aid could Spain hope to threaten again the new republic.

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25 Markham, op. cit., pp. 277-79.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL CAREER

We have seen how Miller entered into the wars of independence in Chile in 1818 and fought gallantly in almost every engagement in Chile and Peru until Ayacucho; how he advanced in grade from captain to general; how high he stood in the esteem of some of the most important South American leaders, viz., San Martín, Blanco Encalada, Lord Cochrane, General Sucre, and Bolívar; and how he contributed in no small way to the final victory. Final and complete independence from Spain was to usher in, mixed with further military labors, another phase of his career, that of administrator and political chief.

In almost every struggle for independence, there have been foreign legionaires who volunteered their services. Generally, however, their contributions have been confined to military affairs and their services ended with the establishment of a new regime. The career of William Miller deviates from this pattern and projects its contradictory shadow over the whole formative period of the Peruvian Republic, an Englishman as political chief of thousands of Latin Americans, a citizen of a monarchical state holding high office in a new republic, a Protestant elevated to high position by Roman Catholics.

It seems that the dilemma can be resolved and the explanation found for these apparently antithetical facts by recognition of three factors, one born of expediency, another engendered by gratitude to those responsible for new freedom, and the third due to personal qualities of the man himself.

As for the first factor, peace did not come automatically with independence. For fifteen years nothing but force had been known; loss in lives and money had been terrific; lawlessness was rampant; there were few leaders with administrative experience; economic life was at a standstill; social life still depended on class lines; geographic obstacles impeded unity; the type of government itself was no fixed matter; and danger still lurked from outside. Peru's heritage of colonialism was greater than that of other areas being the strongest center of Spanish control and the last area to receive its independence. For these and other reasons it was expedient that the government appoint officials in the outlying areas who would be loyal to the central authority, with enough political and military power to check the strong and menacing pattern of caudillismo, which was forming, due to inherent factors in the society of Indian and mestizo masses supporting an upper strata of exploiters. About the only place to secure men of this type was from former officer personnel,

men who had been subject to authority for years and who had proved themselves faithful to duty.

In gratitude to those chiefly responsible for independence Congress decreed that all individuals who had served in the campaign of Peru from February 6, 1824 until the victorious day of Ayacucho be declared of the quality of Peruvians by birth, with option to all jobs of the Republic if they met other constitutional requirements.[1] Since Miller was absent from the army for a time because of wounds, he wanted Bolívar to declare him equal with the others to comply with the spirit of the law.[2] Although Miller held political office previously under authority of General Sucre, Bolívar wrote the following letter in the autumn of 1825;

> I certify that General William Miller has been under my orders throughout the whole campaign of the year 1824, in which he has complied with his duty in a manner worthy of admiration. In the battle of Junin he commanded our cavalry with the valor which has always distinguished him. At Ayacucho he had the same command and discharged it with that intrepidity and ability which contributed so much to victory. General Miller was one of the first that undertook the liberty of Peru and is of the last ones who has seen it triumph. His activity, his moderation, and his moral conduct have rendered him commendable in the

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1 Daniel F. O'Leary, Correspondencia de Extranjeros Notables con el Libertador, Biblioteca Ayacucho, (Madrid: Editorial-America, n.d.) Vol. L, 48. Hereinafter referred to as Extranjeros.

2 Ibid.

> eyes of his chiefs and the people whom he has commanded have respected him as a good magistrate. General Miller has never participated in any of the factions which Peru has formed, and, on the contrary, the successive governments and different generals which have commanded the army have placed complete confidence in his loyalty. As a result of these services, the government of Peru has worthily rewarded Division General Miller.[3]

This provides an insight into the action of the government and also shows some personal characteristics of the man as confirmed by Bolívar. Another factor which might well bear on Miller's political life was the fact that Peru had been ruled by foreigners from pre-Colombian days. Independence from Spain was largely achieved under Bolívar and Sucre, both foreigners to Peru. The people, therefore, were conditioned to accept the administration of foreigners and their appointment to office occasioned no embarrassment for the government.

Perhaps a brief resume of Miller's political offices will shed further light on his person and show up in relief some salient points of his personality.

His first political experience came before the end of the war, in 1821, when he assumed the military and political command of Ica.[4] It was of short duration but long enough to

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3 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, pp. 273-74.

4 Diccionario, pp. 390-91; Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 349-50.

demonstrate that he had the welfare of the people at heart, for they addressed the following plea to the government for his return:

> The people of Ica which had the happy fortune to be the first that sheltered in their bosom their liberating brothers was equally that which enjoyed the preference of giving from then on an unmistaken proof of their adhesion to the sacred cause of Independence, as also to their generous protector. Therefore, flattered by this glory, they always count on the happy outcome of their pretentions when they are directed to the worthy person of Your Excellency.
>
> When this defenseless city was grieved by the tyrannical oppressor, Santalla, Providence, interceded to befriend this happy soil, furnished a distinguished chief to protect and defend it, such is Colonel William Miller with his politeness, his delicacy, his disinterestedness of self, in short, with the entirety of political and military perfections which constitute him a gentleman in every sense of the word, he knew, as a good disciple of Your Excellency, how to take possession of all hearts.
>
> But what an unhappy fate, suddenly the beneficient, guarding genius disappeared to fill your superior orders in the court of Lima. All joy is converted into confusion and hearts are filled with grief. But no: this people knows how Your Excellency esteems it and so hopes to acquire the favor that its cheif be returned to it continuing in command of this coast.
>
> Let Your Excellency not believe that their own interests alone stimulate this plea. No: There is carrying on throughout the north the best and bravest remnants of the enemy race. The locality of this point needs above all a man like Mr. Miller since it furnishes the best occasion to cut off resources of the enemy, so that they cannot be helped by the reserve body of Arequipa nor retire, as is more credible, into Upper Peru. Be that as it might, Ica situated in the center, can with such a chief take measures to frustrate the designs of the enemy or attack him.

For such weighty motives, they do not doubt for one moment the generousity of Your Excellency. They say again that they hope for the favor and it is promised that in any invasion of enemies whatsoever there will not be a single individual that would dispute the glory of sacrificing his existence.

Those that subscribe have the honor of offering Your Excellency all their consideration and respect.

Ica, September 10, 1821[5]

In contradiction to Miller's words immediately following the Battle of Ayacucho, when he said, "The last cannon shot given today on this field ought to serve as a warning to all us foreigners to leave this country since now there there will not be room in it for us,"[6] an appointment to office came only two months after Ayacucho, when he was intrusted with the post of Prefect and commanding general of the Department of Puno.

This Department of Puno, rich in silver mines, was composed of five provinces with a population of 300,000, five-sixths of which were Indians.[7] During the wars Miller had operated in this area and was known to the inhabitants

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5 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 454-55.

6 F. O'Connor D'Arlach, Independencia Americana, Biblioteca Ayacucho, (Madrid: Editorial-America, n.d.) Vol. III, p. 179.

7 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, pp. 207-13; Diccionario, p. 395.

who received his appointment with gladness. However, the position was of short duration for, on March 12, he was called by Sucre to march at the head of a division against the Spanish General Olañeta who was causing a considerable amount of trouble for the government. This call found Miller bedfast due to the reopening of a wound from riding too much in visiting the provines under his charge. Still he left Puno on March 29, carried on a stretcher to La Paz, to prosecute the war, which ended with the death of Olañeta.[8]

Then Miller was named Prefect and commanding general of the mining department of Potosí, population 300,000, where he arrived April 25. This appointment was due to the recommendation of General Sucre, who wrote to Bolívar:

> I intend to tell Miller that he will command this Department, since it has been a disappointment to have him elected Prefect of Puno...he will be more content here because this is worth twenty Punos.[9]

Fifteen hundred Peruvian troops were placed under his command. As Supreme Chief of Upper Peru, General Sucre delegated specifically to Miller powers of vicepatron of the

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8 Diccionario, p. 395.

9 Daniel F. O'Leary, Cartas de Sucre al Libertador 1820-26, Biblioteca Ayacucho, (Madrid: Editorial-America, 1919), vol. XXXVI, p. 294. Hereinafter referred to as Sucre.

Church within his department, and, moreover, he was authorized to displace those clergymen whom he judged it necessary to remove by virtue of former conduct or political opinions and to propose to the archbishop of Charcas others who he believed ought to succeed them and whose ecclesiastical nominations were not valid until ratified by the vicepatron. The same powers of removal and appointment applied to civil employees. He was also named superintendent of the casa de moneda and Director of the Bank.[10]

In his position as political administrator, Miller cut down government expenses by abolishing many useless positions and diminishing many salaries, among them that of the Prefect. Various decrees were promulgated to give force to proclamations of the central government which were directed to better conditions of the Indians.[11]

He was also charged with establishing a colegio in Potosí and took effective steps for its initiation but had to leave that city before the school could be opened.[12] As first magistrate he received Bolívar in October 1825 and entertained him

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10 Memorias, vol. XXVII, pp. 241-49; Diccionario, p. 395.

11 Memorias, vol. XXVII, pp. 250-51; Diccionario, p. 395.

12 Memorias, vol. XXVII, pp. 254-55.

in the government house. However, because of the bad state of his health he was forced to ask the Liberator for a leave of absence to seek a cure for his infirmities in Europe.[13] This permission was granted and Miller left Potosí on November 26 to the mutual sorrow of himself and the populace.

He made his way from Mendoza, Tucumán, Córdoba, Santiago del Estero to Buenos Aires, where he arrived eight years to the day from the time he had left it on the way to Chile.[14] He spent six weeks in Buenos Aires renewing old acquaintances and on the 14th of March, 1826 embarked for England.[15] The ship touched at Montevideo and from there went to Río de Janeiro where Miller tarried six weeks and where he had occasion to observe the slave market and slave ships which disgusted him a great deal and almost embroiled him in a fight with a slave dealer.[16]

While in Río Henry Chamberlain, an agent of Great Britain, had occasion to talk with Miller and sent the following letter to George Canning, the Foreign Minister of England:

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13 Extranjeros, p. 49.

14 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, p. 350.

15 Ibid., p. 376.

16 Ibid., pp. 379-82.

Rio de Janerio, April 22, 1826.

In this Packet, General Miller of the Peruvian Service, whose name must be well known to you, takes his passage for England. As he has lately filled the station of Governor of Potosi, and is intimately acquainted with the resources of those countries, and even with the feelings and inclinations of the liberator Bolivar, of General Sucre, and of the people and army towards Brazil, in the event of their taking part in the present unfortunate hostilities between her and Buenos Ayres, I have endeavoured to draw from him all the information which I thought might be useful to His Majesty's Government, and I must add, in justice to the General, that he has not shown any reluctance to satisfy my enquiries, of course, confidentially. The following is, in substance, the result.

The Liberator, who is gone to Peru, will be back at Potosi early in the present month to open the Chambers and install the Government of Bolivia on the 25th. He is himself not well disposed towards the Emperor of Brazil, whose character he dislikes and whose acts he dislikes still more. The General's words were: "He has a personal hatred for the Emperor." If Brazil and Buenos Ayres do not settle the Banda Oriental Question, of which unfortunately, there is no present appearance, the Liberator, whose view of the case coincides with that of the Government of Buenos Ayres, has promised and he certainly will take an active part on behalf of the latter against Brazil. General Sucre is at Potosi with 8,000 effective, well-disciplined troops, ready to march wherever they are ordered, and particularly desirous to attack Brazil from an expectation of the great booty to be made there. This number can be considerably re-inforced from Peru and Columbia, and 20,000 additional troops can easily be raised in the new Republick of Bolivia. In case of hostilities being commenced, these forces, or whatever portion of them may be employed, will probably make an irruption into Matto Grosso and Cuyaba, in preference to proceeding southward, or to co-operating with the troops of the River Plate Republic; because, however much the Argentine Government may desire the Liberator's assistance, they would not like to see any part of his troops enter their territory. And as their own forces will be equal, if not superior, to those of Brazil on her southern frontier, the important diversion he can very easily

make in the very heart of the Empire is likely to produce all the effect they wish, and will be more agreeable to them than a co-operation on the Uruguay or in the Missiones.

. . . . . .

...General Miller, having traveled by land all the way from Potosi to Buenos Ayres, and having passed some time in the latter city, and at Monte Video, had an opportunity of learning the feelings of the people on the subect of of the existing war, and he assures me that he never saw so general and so determined a spirit amongst the South Americans, upon any subject, as that which now exists to compel Brazil to give up the Banda Oriental. He says that at Buenos Ayres, the Government would not dare to avow an intention of ceding the point, and that within the very walls of Monte Video, notwithstanding the presence of the Brazilian garrison, and the influence naturally produced by holding offices under the Government, the party against the connection with Brazil is more numerous than that in favor of continuing united to it.

I should perhaps have felt inclined to hesitate in giving credence to the full extent of General Miller's intelligence respecting the feeling of the population of those places (from its being so entirely on one side of the question) but that I have received the fullest confirmation os his assusances through a French naval officer (Capitaine La Susse, for some time past employed as a diplomatic agent at San Thiago de Chile, and who returns to France on board the "Arethusa" Frigate), who having separately and lately traveled over a great part of the same ground, describes the feelings of the people to be everywhere precisely as they are represented by the General...[17]

Miller disembarked at Falmouth on July 6, 1826, eight years and eleven months after leaving Dunas and was received by his friends, neighbors, and countrymen in the most welcome

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17 Henry Chamberlain to George Canning, April 22, 1826, quoted in C. K. Webster, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 307-09.

manner. He was also accorded honors reserved for men of distinction in Canterbury, London, Milan, Paris, Florence, Rome, Amsterdam, Brussels, and other parts of the European continent, which he toured when not occupied with editing his memoirs.[18]

General José María Torrijos, translator of Miller's memoirs, who saw him at this time describes him as tall, white, and blond, "of tender look and affable countenance," frank without lacking in dignity, and entirely agreeable to his friends.[19]

In June 1830, Miller returned to Peru disembarking at Callao. On the 17th of the next month he was named President of the Tribunal of the Third Instance, a relatively unimportant position requiring no legal training and depending on political patronage.[20] In September, command of the Third Division was confided to him.[21] The following year, 1831, Miller was forced to go out of the country due to a revolt, which he would not support because of devotion to the legally constituted authority.[22]

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18 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, p. 386.

19 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 16.

20 Similar to a District Judge in this country.

21 Diccionario, p. 395.

22 Ibid.

At this time he made his way to the Sandwich Islands and was surprised to learn that the inhabitants already knew the name of Bolívar, San Martín, and O'Higgins. He demonstrated to them the advantages of commercial relations with Peru and, in fact, they sent a representative who was received in Peru on May 8, 1832.[23] Before his departure from the islands, Miller wrote out a memorandum for the king and chiefs in which he referred to the growing commercial importance of their islands:

> This, therefore, being the natural order of things it can barely be supposed that foreign nations will permit so important a source of commerce to be impeded or seriously molested by capricious and arbitrary measures of the native rulers... If then the natives wish to retain the government of the islands in their own hands and become a nation, if they are anxious to avoid being dictated to by any foreign commanding officer that may be sent to this station, it seems to be absolutely necessary that they should establish some defined form of government, and a few fundamental laws that will afford security for property; and such commercial regulations as will serve for their own guidance as well as for that of foreigners; if these regulations be liberal, as they ought to be, commerce will flourish and all classes of people will be gainers.[24]

Miller did not return to Peru until General Orbegoso was named President and expressly called for him in February

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23 M. Nemesio Vargas, Historia del Peru Independiente, (Lima: La Abeja, 1906) Vol. VI, pp. 163-64.

24 Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938), pp. 121-22.

1834. Since Orbegoso's election was contested, he was forced to defend his position by recourse to arms, and it was natural that he should remember Miller's fighting qualities and devotion to legal authority. Four days after Miller's arrival he was named assistant chief-of-staff of the national army, the Minister of War being chief ex-oficio.[25] Since Generals Gamarra and Bermudez had started an active revolt against the government, Miller received the superior command, civil and military, of the three northern departments and was authorized to call into service all former and acting officials, to judge delinquents according to military law in verbal councils of war, and to execute sentences which seemed just to him. This campaign lasted some two months and ended favorably for the governmental forces. On June 11, in appreciation for services rendered to the existing regime, Miller received promotion to the rank of Grand Marshall, highest military rank wich the Republic had to offer.[26]

Since a strong and loyal hand was needed in the interior provinces, later that same year, October 25, 1834, the office of commanding general of the departments of Arequipa, Puno, and

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25 Diccionario, p. 396.

26 Ibid.

Cuzco was confided to Miller, and the following year was occupied in stilling the revolts of Generals Salaverry and Gamarra, against the government of President Orbegoso. For these services rendered to the government on September 15, 1836, Miller was named Grand Dignitary of the Legion of Honor of Peru,[27] an honorary organization providing pensions for its members and similar to the Legion of Honor of France.

When Peru and Bolivia formed the confederation called "Peru-Boliviana," under the auspices of General Santa Cruz, Miller received the post of Minister Plenipotentiary to the government of Ecuador. In May 1837 a treaty of friendship and alliance was celebrated between that state and the confederation.[28] The treaty, by the way, was never ratified especially because of the fears it engendered in the government of Chile which was afraid of agression, from a united front of central South American states.[29]

After that tour of diplomatic duty, the versatile Englishman was designated by the confederation as chief-of-staff of the Army and Navy, a post that includdd the ministries

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27 Ibid., p. 397.

28 Ibid.; Vargas, op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 68.

29 Vargas, op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 69.

of both branches.[30] On August 22, 1837, he was appointed political and military governor of the costal province of Callao, and charged with the administration of its customs and with the added obligation to see that the liberal code of commerce, just put into effect, was not violated. While holding this post he began many public works, among them being a subterranean aqueduct, construction of offices on the wharf, and a colegio for both sexes of Callao. He put an end to contraband and customs receipts soon were quadrupled. A campaign of cleanliness was initiated and a police system was formed for security. The number of robberies were cut down and the general health was improved as a result.[31] This position as high official at Callao is a prime example of the confidence Miller enjoyed, since practically all of Peru's revenue came through the custom house of Callao.

However, civil war again broke out, coupled with an invasion from Chile, and Miller resigned this post. Early in 1839, when Santa Cruz lost out to the Peruvian opposition and the Chilean invaders, Miller was dropped by decree from the military list along with many other officers without being heard or judged and was forced to leave the country.[32] This

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30 Diccionario, p. 398.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

move was in retaliation for support given to the confederation, wherein Miller hai supported President Orbegoso, who had been used as a tool by Santa Cruz. Six years later that decree was revoked as illegal and unjust and on October 30, 1847, the Peruvian congress reestablished in their jobs and rights all the generals created by Peruvian authority,[33] but Miller never again held political office in Peru after 1839.

It is evident that Miller's political activities were secondary to his military career and that he held political office mostly in conjunction with military commands by virtue of martial glory and reputation. It is incidental that at the same time he proved to be an able and just executive and became endeared to the Peruvian people through his warm, generous, and affable conduct in relations with them.

Perhaps the main attribute evidenced by successively high offices held is the quality of complete loyalty to legal authority as already affirmed by Bolívar. Also readily apparent is the characteristic of personal honesty and integrity shown by his being chosen head of the mint, Director of the Bank, and chief administrator of the province of Callao. General Sucre attests Miller's virtue in this respect:

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33 Ibid.

"General Miller is he that has obtained with the most proficiency the interests of the state at Puno,"[34] a statement which could well have been said of any position held by William Miller.

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34 Sucre, p. 338.

CHAPTER VIII

LITERARY LIFE

Since General Miller's name appears frequently in the historical literature dealing with the independence period in southern South America, it seems well to devote attention to some particular references by contemporaries and to some criticisms by later writers which might shed a little more light on this personality.

General Miller's memoirs, covering the period from 1817 to 1826, were written up by his brother, John, and published in London in 1828 with a second edition, containing added information, appearing in 1829. This second edition was translated into Spanish by José María Torrijos, and has since gone through the following printings, all in Spanish: Madrid, V. Suarez, 1910; Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Universitaria, 1912; and the Biblioteca Ayacucho edition, 1918. The latter one is the basis for this thesis. General Miller himself spent the the better part of two years helping edit the work and checking frequently with San Martín[1] (then living in Brussels) as to dates, figures, battalions, and arrangement of forces. Indeed, the work can well be considered the collective enter-

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1 Correspondencia, pp. 79-138.

prise of the Miller brothers and San Martin, with the result that it is often difficult to tell exactly what is to be attributed to the General and what is the work of his brother, with the collaboration of San Martín adding a touch of authenticity to points on which he consulted.

The brothers saw fit to include four chapters of their own interpretation of the state of affairs in Latin America, which have elicited considerable criticism. The first chapter contains a resume of the Spanish colonial system, extracted from documents of "undeniable authenticity and corroborated with personal observations."[2] There follows a rapid examination of the effects of such a systdm, presenting the immediate causes of the great political changes which elevated the former Spanish colonies to the station of independent nations. Among their sources were: Noticias Secretas, by the brothers Ulloa; Moreno, La Vida del Dr. Moreno; and Dr. Manuel Palacio, Bosquejo de la Revolución en la América Española;[3] hardly works likely to yield an impartial view of Spanish Administration.

Prejudice is easily discernible in a statement of the the Miller brothers' aims:

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2 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 34.

3 Ibid., pp. 34-35.

> One of the principal objects of this work is to paint in their true colors the merit, valor, steadiness, and natural benevolence of the countrymen and troops of Peru, Chile, and Buenos Aires, which possess these good qualities in spite of other vices, consequences of Spanish infection and bad government.[4]

However, John Miller claims objectivity for views presented, saying:

> I personally have traveled in Peru from Payta to Arequipa; have crossed the Isthmus of Panama and gone up toward Angostura on the Orinoco River; have crossed the continent from Valparaíso to Buenos Aires and passed some time in Río de Janeiro and other parts of Brazil. Having traveled as a neutral without having relations with military or commercial operations my narrative can rightly be considered to the merit of impartiality.[5]

However, the translator, General Torrijos, a Spanish liberal forced to leave Spain after the barracks revolt of 1820 and no friend of Spanish absolutism, feels called upon to refute somewhat the attacks of the author on things Spanish.[6]

Rufino Blanco Fombona, noted Venezuelan writer, as editor of the Biblioteca Ayacucho has some criticisms of Miller's work, as he has of other volumes of the Biblioteca:

> Unfortunately, not always does Miller adjust himself to that unencumbered reality which seems the best adornment, the best guarantee of that kind of work. In this

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4 Ibid., p. 34.

5 Ibid., p. 35.

6 Ibid., pp. 9-32.

> sense, his admiration and his friendship for General San Martín prejudice him. And he is accustomed to give to himself in his memoirs an importance which he did not have in the reality of life.... Therefore, the work of Miller ought not to be read without one's being on guard against the weaknesses of the memorialista.[7]

Attacks on bias encountered in the memoirs of General Miller seem justified to the present writer, but most of Miller's accounts of his own participation can be substantiated with documentary ease, and it is felt that Blanco Fombona might well be accused of subjectivity where Bolívar is concerned. The editor states that when ready to return to Europe, Miller asked the Liberator for the post of consul of Colombia in London.[8] For one reason or another, Bolívar did not give hime the post. In the memoirs of Miller, says Blanco Fombona:

> ...it is quite apparent, for those who know how to read and even for those who do not always know how, the antipathy of the memorialista toward the Liberator. One time this antipathy arrived at unbelievable extremes; to the extreme of insinuating in 1847, and in a letter to San Martin, a calumny, more stupid than vile, against the Liberator, dead seventeen years previously.[9]

It might be pointed out, without disparaging in any way the accomplishments of Bolívar, that several other persons, who

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7 Ibid., p. 5.

8 See letter of Sucre to Bolivar in D. F. O'Leary, Cartas de Sucre al Libertador, 1820-1826, Biblioteca Ayacucho, (Madrid: Editorial-America, 1919), vol. XXXVI, p. 385.

9 Memorias, vol. XXVI, p. 6.

were not refused posts of government, had the same unsympathetic opinion of the Liberator.

In spite of obvious faults, these memoirs of Miller have been considered by eminent historians as the best eyewitness account of the Wars of Independence in Chile and Peru. Moreover, they are of importance in other fields, for it is evident that General Miller had a keen eye and the mind of a sociologist, having left excellent descriptions of life in South America as he saw it. He describes the pampas and ways of the gauchos, life in Mendoza, Valparaíso, and Lima, hardships of crossing the Andes, toughness of the South American soldier, and gaieties of Santiago de Chile.

These memoirs did not always enjoy such a distinguished reputation for in 1835, it is reported, General O'Briend,[10] abusing the hospitality which was dispensed to him by consideration of General Santa Cruz, placed himself in front of a drunken populace and burned in the public square the memoirs of General Miller. He claimed that Miller had appropriated to himself the glories of his companions. Miller was in Cuzco at that time but believed himself sufficiently avenged

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10 John Thomond O'Briend, an Irishman who was active in the wars of independence in Peru and who had fought under Miller in 1821.

were not taken seriously in Europe, and were interpreted
thetic opinions of the Mexicans.

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of General Miller. He stated that
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Guaco at that time had bestowed

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10 John Thomond O'Brien, an Irishman who served
in the wars of independence in Peru and rose to the rank of
Miller in 1821.

of the insult and false imputation by the applause of the drunken crowd accompanying the burner.[11]

When Miller left for Europe in 1825, he had the ambition to occupy some time in preparing biographies of Bolívar and Sucre but was unable to realize it because the Liberator would not send material which he had promised.[12] While crossing from Río de Janeiro to England on the packet boat, in order not to be idle, he translated into Spanish the Rasselas of Dr. Johnson.[13]

On one occasion Miller's opinion on Spanish poetry was challenged. At one place in his memoirs, he had called Melgar[14] the Moore of Peru,[15] referring to a work of the poet and comparing it to the Irish Melodies of Thomas Moore. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo takes him to task, saying:

> They are, doubtless, the most agreeable verses of Melgar, natural and simple, pure of all trace of affectation; but we believe that General Miller, who did not

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11 M. Nemesio Vargas, Historia del Peru Independiente, 9 Vols., (Lima: Imprenta "Artistica," 1916) Vol. VII, p. 69.

12 Extranjeros, p. 53.

13 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 15.

14 Mariano Melgar, a native of Arequipa and famous Latin American poet.

15 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 113.

have much obligation to understand Spanish Poetry, ventured too much when he came to compare them to nothing less than the Irish Melodies of Thomas Moore.[16]

One reference to General Miller indicates that he is "celebrated" in Latin American poetry.[17] However, a search through anthologies and dictionaries of Latin American poetry yields only one mention.[18] This is in J. J. Olmedo's[19] La Victoria de Junín, Canto a Bolívar in which we read the following eulogy to Miller's fighting qualities:

Ya el intrépido Miller aparece
Y el desigual combate restablece.
Bajo su mando ufana
Marchar se vé la juventud peruana
Ardiente, firme, a perecer resuelta,
Si acaso el hado infiel vencer le niega.
En el árduo conflicto opone ciega
A los adversos dardos firmes pechos,
Y otro nombre conquista con sus hechos.[20]

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16 Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de la Poesía Hispano-Americana, (Madrid: Libreria General de Victoriano Suarez, 1913), vol. II, p. 139.

17 James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., "Wm. Miller," Appleton's Cyclopoedia of American Biography, (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1888), vol. IV, p. 330.

18 The writer has in his possession a letter from Dr. A. Torres-Rioseco, authority in the field of Latin American poetry, who says that to the best of his knowledge Olmedo was the only major poet of Latin America who makes mention of Miller. If minor poets have "celebrated" his deeds the poems are lost in obscure periodicals.

19 Dr. Olmedo was a native of Guayaquil and head of the junta there before Bolivar annexed it to Columbia. After Ecuador became independent Olmedo held government posts of importance.

20 J. J. Olmedo, La Victoria de Junín, Canto a Bolívar, (Londres: Imprenta Española de M. Calero, 1826), p. 15.

. . . . . .

Mientras por sierras y hondos precipicios
A la hueste enemiga
El impaciente Córdova fatiga:
Córdova, a' quien inflama
Fuego de edad, y amor de patria y fama;
Córdova, en cuyas sienes con bello arte
Crecen y se entrelazan
Tu mirto Vénus, tus laureles Marte.
Con su Miller los Usares recuerdan
El nombre de Junín: Vargas su nombre,
Y Vencedor el suyo con su Lara
En cien Hazañas cada cual mas clara.[21]

A literal translation from the Spanish with no attempt at rhyme would produce the following:

Now appears the intrepid Miller
And recovers the unequal combat.
Under his masterly command
Is seen to march the Peruvian youth
Ardent, firm, resolved to perish
If perchance fickle fate should deny it victory.
In the ardous conflict it resists, blind
To the adverse darts with resolute will,
An another name conquers with its deeds.

. . . . . .

Meanwhile, over sierras and deep precipices
The enemy host
The impatient Cordova tires:
Cordova, whom fire of age inflames
And love of fatherland and fame;
Cordova, on whose temples with beautiful art
Bud forth and are entwined
Your myrtle, Venus, your laurels, Mars.
With their Miller, the Hussars remember
The name of Junín: Vargas, your name
And Vanquisher, yours with your Lara
In a hundred heroic deeds, each more brilliant.

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21 Ibid., p. 35.

Upon first reading this poem, Bolívar wrote the following to the author:

> You fire...where a shot has not been discharged; you burn up the earth with coals from the axle and wheels of a chariot of Achilles which never revolved at Junín; you make yourself master of all the personages; of me, you form a Jupiter; of Sucre, a Mars; of Lamar, an Agamemnon and a Menelaus; of Córdova, an Achilles; of Necochea, a Patroclus and an Ajax; of Miller, a Diomedes; and of Lara, an Ulyssus...[22]

For a man as covetous of glory as the Liberator appeared to be this is a strange statement but it does show that in Bolívar's mind General Miller ranked high in the list of military men responsible for the independence of Peru.

Another reference is made to Miller's help in preparing a historical work. Vicuña Mackenna, famous Chilean historian and prolific writer, acknowledges gratitude for help received at Miller's hands. He says;

> ...he has been my most constant and generous guide through this world of labor and remembrance which lies as hidden under the sweet and apparent softness of the Rimac. He has taken me, let us say, by the hand as a young and foreign guest to the door of those of his former brethern-in-arms which survive in his memory and to the remembrance of the glories which they saw or admired; he, moreover, has confided to me all that could be useful of his valuable collection of papers, and, more than all, he has opened to me without reserve the page of those historical secrets which men carry in their breast until there closes about them the coldness of eternal silence; ...no man can com-

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22 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 125.

plain individually of these revelations and history, on the other hand, will gain immensely in them.[23]

In a footnote, Mackenna adds:

> After these lines had gone to press, we were informed that the government of Peru has discharged this illustrious veteran. If the fact is certain, we offer condolence for it to the nation and to the government. To erase the name of General Miller from the register of the Peruvian army is to tear out of the book of gold, which guards the glories of the fatherland, the most beautiful of its pages--that of gratitude! Of that gratitude which is not the dubious duty of one man or of one authority but the sacred duty of a whole people. Strange remembrance, meanwhile, given that it is true, to a magistrate so many times superior and whom even his adversaries recognize as magnanimous.[24]

It seems, then, that General Miller can justly be accused of prejudice in his memoirs, as regards Spanish administration in America. Perhaps this is due to the influence of his brother, John, but it is not surprising that any soldier after ten years of almost constant fighting would develop a powerful bias toward any phase of activity of his enemy. However, had Miller been able to achieve his desire to chronicle the lives of Bolivar and Sucre it is probable

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23 B. Vicuña Mackenna, La Revolución de la Independencia del Peru, Obras Completas de Vicuña Mackenna, (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1938) Vol. VIII, pp. 493-94. The complete works of Vicuña Mackenna are gathered into fourteen volumes and deal principally with the independence period in Chile and Peru.

24 Ibid., p. 494. Miller was expelled from Peru in 1839.

that his works would today occupy a high place in historical literature, as his memoirs are admitted to be source material for the war period.

It is significant that when the Pan-American Centennial Congress met in 1926 it remembered William Miller specifically for his labors in behalf of independence, mentioning especially his "Battling constancy" and the fact that he was one of those who laid the basis for the history of Spanish America by collecting for posterity the first fragments of the immense Bolivarian legend.[25]

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25 N. Andrew N. Cleven, "The Pan American Centennial Congress," Hispanic American Historical Review, 1926, Vol. VI, pp. 175-93, cited in C. K. Webster, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 79.

that his works would today occupy a high place in historical literature, as his memoirs are admitted to be source material for the war period.

It is significant that when the Pan-American Congress met in 1926 it remembered Milton S. Mecham especially for his labors in behalf of independence, mentioning especially his "battling economy" and the fact that he was one of those who laid the basis for the history of Spanish America by collecting for posterity the first fragments of the American Bolivarian legend.[25]

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25 R. Andrew W. Cleven, "The Pan American Fraternal Congress," Hispanic American Historical Review, 1926, VII, pp. 173-93, cited in G. K. Webster, op. cit., p. 76.

CHAPTER IX

ESTIMATE OF SOUTH AMERICAN LEADERS

Miller probably had a better opportunity to observe the chief leaders on the west coast of South America during the wars of independence than any other foreigner and perhaps any other person. The innate qualities of a man become nowhere so obvious as in the intimate connections of military life, and Miller had served in close association aboard ship with Lord Cochrane and Blanco Encalada and in land campaigns with Bolívar, San Martín, and Sucre. For these reasons Miller's opinions of these men, written far from their arena of action, can be considered to have some degree of authenticity.

Concerning the Liberator, General Miller writes the following in his memoirs:

> General Bolívar is slender and of something less than regular stature. He dresses well and has a frank and military mode of walking and appearance. He is a very strong and daring riding and capable of resisting great fatigues. His manners are good and he has an unaffected air but one that does not predispose much to his favor. It is said that in his youth he was of good figure, but now he has a pale countenance, graying black hair, and black, penetrating eyes, which are generally inclined to the ground or to the side when he speaks. The expression on his face is cautious, sad, and sometimes fierce. His character, corrupted by adulation, is arrogant and capricious. His opinions with respect to men and things are variable, and he has almost a propensity to insult. He favors too much those who humble themselves to him and with them he harbors no resentment. He is a passionate

admirer of the fair sex, but extremely jealous. He likes to waltz and is very light, but he doesn't dance gracefully. His imagination and his person are of marvelous activity; when he isn't moving, he is always reading, dictating letters, or speaking. His voice is heavy and harsh but he speaks eloquently on almost any subject. His reading has been dedicated almost exclusively to French authors and those provide the gallicisms which he employs so commonly in his writings. He writes in a manner that makes an impression but his style is corrupted by an affectation of grandeur which is not pleasing. Speaking as well and as easily as he does, it is not strange that he should prefer to listen to himself rather than to hear others and that he keeps the conversation going in the socials which he gives. He gives great banquets and no one has better cooks than he nor puts out better dishes, but he is so sparing in eating and drinking that he rarely occupies his place at his own table until almost all have finished eating, having eaten before probably privately one or two simple plates. He likes very much to make toasts which he announces in a most eloquent and adequate manner and so great is his enthusiasm that often he gets upon the chair or table to propose them. Although the cigarette is of universal use in South America, Bolivar does not smoke nor permit smoking in his presence. Never does he present himself without a corresponding committee, and he puts much emphasis on etiquette. Although extremely disinterested in pecuniary matters, he is insatiably covetous of glory... Bolívar believed that he was able to govern the Peruvians better than they could govern themselves, but they judged differently and determined at all costs to make the experiment... Bolívar was deceived as to the true state of public opinion by words and illusions of interested sycophants who were enjoying or aspired to enjoy employment and even anxiously longed for titles and distinctions...Bolívar was not personally popular and the unnecessary detention of his troops gave rise to rivalries and suspicions which led to an absolute abhorrence.[1]

It is interesting to observe here that this picture of Bolívar is the one currently held by most students of the Lib-

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1 Memorias, Vol. XXVII, pp. 315-16.

erator after years of idolization by biographers. By the same token San Martín is just emerging into a place of great prominence after objective study has somewhat discounted the allegations of the government of Buenos Aires, Lord Cochrane, Mrs. Graham, and others whose writings did much to obscure the talents of San Martín.

One would expect from Miller a more sympathetic treatment of his life-long friend and confidant, San Martín, than that accorded Bolívar, whom Miller disliked personally. Apparently, after Bolívar no longer had control of the government of Peru, Miller felt no compunction in including in his Memoirs the foregoing uncomplimentary opinion. But of San Martín we read the following:

> ...San Martín having established his credit in an honorable manner on the banks of the Parana river and having acquired the confidence of the Argentines, ascended to important commands. In the course of these memoirs it has been seen that to his creative genius belongs the glory of having given to the troops form, organization, discipline, and needed instruction, to march according to a fixed military plan, even to obtain the independence of South America; and that creating the beautiful Army of the Andes, he immediately attained with it victory in the heights of Chacabuco and on the plains of Maipó, and gave to Chile its political existence. San Martín was he who raised the standard of liberty in Peru and established in it solid bases for the grand plan ending gloriously at Ayacucho. Fulfilling his promise to allow the Peruvians to elect their own form of government, San Martín called a general constituent congress and as soon as it met retired from public life, emulating the noble example of Washington, and with such disinterest that the only riches which he acquired were the glorious and patriotic deeds which he executed in years and years of incessant labors in the field and at his desk.

The deeds and prowesses of General San Martín have been specified in these memoirs and sometimes with particular applause but always strictly subject to truth and justice. San Martín is tall, heavy, well made and with marked features; an interesting face, with dark black eyes, large and penetrating. His manners are worthy of praise, natural, friendly, exceedingly frank, and infinitely dispose themselves to his favor. His conversation is animated, sagacious, and has power to gain favor as that of a man of the world and good behavior. The friendships which he forms are lasting; his customs are simple, not extravagant, and without ostentation but noble and generous. He writes his own language well and speaks French well. Although he has had political enemies; he was always personally popular; and even when his army weighed too heavily on the resources of a province the inhabitants spoke of him with respect and enthusiasm. As much in the formation of the government of Peru as in preceeding times, he manifested his judgment and discernment, choosing men of distinguished talents as Jonte, Monteagudo, Guido, García del Rio, and others.

If sometimes he was less fortunate in the selection of military chiefs it ought not to be attributed to lack of discernment. With respect to his political views, San Martín considers constitutional monarchy the most adequate form of government for South America although his principles are republican; but it is the opinion of so many, who were in a position to form an opinion correctly, that he never had the least idea of placing the crown on his own head, although it is believed that he would have gladly aided a prince of royal blood to ascend the throne of Peru.[2]

As for Lord Cochrane, Miller seems torn between his friendship for San Martín and his respect for the fighting qualities and reputation of his fellow countryman. So in his memoirs, Miller applauds the ability of Cochrane, declining to take sides in the famous dispute between San Martín and

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2 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, pp. 403-04.

His Lordship. When editing his memoirs, Miller wrote to San Martín:

> Ten written lines of facts in regard to Lord Cochrane's taking the money at Ancon are desired. I do not wish to enter into an investigation of the misunderstandings which that gentleman had, nor could I do it either with delicacy, but I wish to give some positive facts on the person himself and the public will judge who was right.[3]

Elsewhere while recounting his services as commander of marines under Cochrane, Miller speaks with great respect of his superior officer, mentioning especially Cochrane's "skill" and "presence of mind."[4] As an example, the following picture is typical:

> The crew and troops of the O'Higgins, as many Chileans as foreigners, conducted themselves admirably, since they had before them a beautiful example of know-how and bravery which to imitate in the person of Lord Cochrane whose distinguished qualities never shine with so much grace as in the midst of dangers and the heat of combat. This experienced general is noted for the acuteness with which he perceives the coming of a ball and the precision with which he ascertains its direction.[5]

Although Blanco Encalada and his lovely wife came to be among Miller's best friends in South America, the Englishman has very little to say concerning the Chilean admiral. Of course he gives full credit for the patriotic gesture when

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3 Miller to San Martín, April 9, 1827, Correspondencia, p. 86.

4 Memorias, Vol. XXVI, p. 245.

5 Ibid., pp. 221-22.

his journalism. When editing his memoirs, Miller wrote to San Martin:

> Ten written lines of facts in regard to Lord Cochrane's taking the money at Almoen are desired. I do not wish to enter into an investigation of the misunderstanding which that gentleman had. Nor could I do it either with facility, but I wish to give some positive facts as the person himself and the public will judge who was right.

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> The crew and troops of the O'Higgins, as many Chileans as foreigners, conducted themselves admirably. Miller had before them a beautiful example of knowledge and bravery which to imitate in the person of lord Cochrane who distinguished himself among Chileans with so much zeal in the midst of dangers and the heat of combat. This experienced general is noted for the courtesies with which he personifies the course of a ball and the precautions with which he counteracts its direction.[5]

Although Blanco Encalada and his loyalty were one of among Miller's best friends in South America, the Englishman has very little to say concerning the Chilean admiral. Of course he gives full credit for the particular courage when

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3 Miller to San Martin, April 9, 1827, Correspondencia, p. 86.

4 Memoirs, XXVI, p. 245.

5 Ibid., pp. 221-22.

Blanco consented to act as second to Lord Cochrane after the capable demonstration of ability in handling the Chilean fleet in the capture of the Reina María Isabel and the transports loaded with Spanish soldiers. When writing of that particular voyage, Miller says of the Chilean:

> ...but the chief of the squadron was a young man, who, in spite of a certain air which was displeasing at first glance, fortunately possessed the qualities necessary to establish union, harmony, and good order, qualities of more importance in those circumstances than a great practical skill.[6]

Miller's relations with General Antonio José de Sucre divide themselves into two periods. Early in October 1824, soon after the battle of Junín and after Bolívar had left the army in the interior of Peru to attend to some important business in Lima, General Sucre called a meeting of his staff officers, La Mar, Lara, and Miller, to draw up a plan of operations. The Liberating Army would be in a precarious position if all royalist forces succeeded in uniting at Cuzco under the Viceroy, La Serna. The patriot generals all agreed that military strategy would dictate offensive operations to forestall this royalist plan. Miller spoke heatedly in favor of advancing and attacking the several units of the royal army separately. La Mar and Lara agreed with Miller but also agreed

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6 Memorias, XXVI, p. 204.

with Sucre that offensive operations could not be commenced without express orders from the Liberator.[7] As a result of this deadlock the meeting produced no decisive results although Sucre agreed to seek accurate intelligence on enemy movements and place his army in a position to preclude the possibility of the royalists joining forces. Miller mentions in his memoirs that his bluntness of speech at this conclave was the beginning of a coldness between Sucre and himself which lasted for some time.[8]

Of course, Miller gives credit to the Marshall of Ayacucho for his splendid military record but evidently feels that Sucre depended too much on Bolívar for every decision. As a matter of fact, a perusal of Sucre's letters to Bolívar[9] reveal exactly that quality of indecision on almost every minor detail--details which a man in his position should have been able to determine for himself.

However, immediately after Ayacucho Miller was intrusted with the governorship of the Department of Puno and

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7 Gerhard Masur, the latest biographer of the Liberator says on page 534 that Bolívar gave Sucre permission to take either a "defensive or offensive" position.

8 Memorias, vol. XXVII, pp. 152-53.

9 O'Leary, Cartas de Sucre.

Sucre opines that Miller had served interests of the state better than anyone.[10] Other offices, held by Miller dependent on the goodwill of Sucre, would indicate that the Marshall of Ayacucho had forgotten or forgiven the earlier bluntness of Miller, the advocate of offensive action. When the Englishman was ready to return to Europe on a leave of absence, Sucre thought that he should be accorded some government post in England,[11] an opinion not shared by the Liberator.[12]

These opinions of Miller concerning the chief South American leaders compare favorably with the estimate created by more than one hundred years of history. As a foreigner fighting alongside these men Miller was able to evaluate men more objectively and set down for posterity his reactions to them.

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10 Ibid., p. 338.

11 Ibid., p. 385.

12 Cf. ante, Chapter VIII, p. 87.

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10 Ibid., p. 356.

11 Ibid., p. 345.

12 Op. cit., Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER X

LATER LIFE

When Grand Marshall Miller was forced to leave Peru in 1839, his career had by no means run its course for in 1843[1] he was appointed Brtish Consul-General to the Sandwich and Society Islands by the Earl of Aberdeen.[2] He crossed Mexico on the way to Hawaii[3] and arrived at Honolulu in February 1844.[4]

By virtue of his position, Miller exercised a great deal of influence, was especially prominent in the commercial activity of the islands, and concluded several treaties of importance for his government.[5] At the same time he kept

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1. Chichester, op. cit., p. 427.

2. Hiram Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands, (New York: Sherman Converse, 1847), p. 589.

3. Kuykendall, op. cit., p. 249.

4. Ibid., p. 221.

5. For the text of these treaties, see Lewis Hertslet, et. al., compilers, A Complete Collection of the Treaties... Subsisting between Great Britain and Foreign Powers, 31 vols., (London: vols. 1-19, published by Butterworth, (etc.) 1827-95, Vols. 20-31, H. M. Stationery off., 1898-1925).

CHAPTER I

JAMES MILLER

When James Marshall Miller was forced to leave Perth in 1839, his career had by no means run its course. For in 1843, he was appointed British Consul-General to the Sandwich and Society Islands by the Earl of Aberdeen.[2] He arrived on the way to Hawaii[3] and arrived at Honolulu in February 1844.[4]

By virtue of his position, Miller exercised a great deal of influence, was especially prominent in the commercial activity of the islands, and commanded several treaties of importance for his government.[5] At the same time he had

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4. Ibid., p. 221.

5. For the text of these treaties, see Jerrold Kemble, et. al., compilers, A Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions between Great Britain and Foreign Powers, (London: vols. 1-19, published by Butterworth, 1840-1895, Vols. 20-31, H. M. Stationery off., 1898-1905).

London well informed of all happenings and his correspondence in the Foreign Office archives must reach considerable proportions. He clearly foresaw the possibility of the United States' annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and in 1847 wrote to Addington:

> I do think the tide of Emmigration, now setting so strong Westward from the United States, will extend to these Islands, and in the course of time thereby endanger their free action, especially as the Western Settlers cannot, at all times, be controlled either by the Local Authorities or their own Government.[6]

Miller did everything possible to avert this threat to the independence of the islands and the commercial interest of Great Britain.[7] He also proposed to the government of Hawaii a plan to increase the native population by changing the system of land holding and apportionment, with land to be distributed on the basis of the number of children raised.[8] These and other actions showed a sincere interest in the welfare of the Hawaiians and Miller was considered by them to be a true friend and counselor.

In 1859, Miller returned to Peru to prefer some unsettled claims against the Peruvian government, which the

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6 Kuykendall, op. cit., p. 384.

7 Ibid., p. 404.

8 Ibid., p. 274.

Congress unanimously agreed should be paid. However, the President, General Castillo, stopped payment which proved to be the crowning disappointment of Miller's life.[9]

While still in Peru, in 1861, William Miller fell ill. Sensing that his end was near, he asked to be carried aboard an English ship anchofed in the harbor of Callao. This request was granted and death ended his memorable career on October 1861. When the body was embalmed, two bullets were found in it and twenty-two scars were counted--souvenirs of his service to the Republics of Peru and Chile. Citizens of Callao carried his coffin[10] to the burial place in the English cemetery at Bella Vista amid tolling of all church bells of Callao, an honor never before paid to any Protestant in Peru.[11]

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9 Chichester, op. cit., p. 427.

10 Markham, op. cit., p. 329-30.

11 Chichester, op. cit., p. 427.

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