THOMAS JEFFERSON AND SPANISH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: A TEMPORAL APPROACH

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Relying on an exploration of Thomas Jefferson's conception of time by historian Hannah Spahn's, in this essay I examine his understanding of newly independent countries of Spanish America from the perspective of temporality. I argue that as much as a skeptic concerning the southern neighbors of the US in their attempts to form free republican governments, he in fact saw a chance for them to live up to the task and become part of rational time that he associated with fully developed peoples. To achieve that status, however, they were to undergo a process of intellectual and moral development expressed through gradual change, most probably to be implemented by a new generation of Spanish Americans. At the same time, Jefferson also imagined them as living in present-oriented sentimental time with physical features of the land enabling them to preserve themselves at an agricultural stage of development so important for him. In doing so, they had all the conditions necessary to move toward a republican millennium that he hoped for.

In what proved to be a historic business transaction, contributing to the massive territorial growth of the United States, in 1803 President Thomas Jefferson bought Louisiana Territory from Bonaparte Napoleon. Although at the expense of the subjugation of thousands of Native Americans, the area stretching from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, would provide land available for white settlers moving west. Alongside this momentous effect, Jefferson's original purpose with the purchase was also fulfilled: it put an end to French control of the Mississippi River, securing its navigation and through that, U.S. trading interests (Tucker and Hendrickson 98–99).

The purchase, then, was originally rooted in Jefferson's strong sense of the presence of France in the North American continent, also meaning to balance it by a business transaction resulting in various economic and political consequences. Yet, following the purchase he was aware that in parallel to France having lost interest in North America, Spain still kept up its territorial imperial ambitions in Florida and the Southwest. Nonetheless, a decade later, Spain's position in the Western hemisphere got shaken by the rise of the independence movements in Central and South America soon to result in its colonial system falling apart there. Mostly as a surprise to him initially, Jefferson extensively commented on these developments as well as on his notions about the region and its people (Vajda 2007, 273–92).

Exploring one particular aspect of Jefferson's musings over Spanish America, in this essay I will address his philosophical understanding of time and its influence upon his views of them. Drawing on a recent account by historian Hannah Spahn of his philosophy of temporality (Spahn). I will examine the way Newtonian or rational time and its ramifications informed Jefferson's speculations about the political character

of Spanish Americans as well as their ability to change from being a colonized people a to self-governing one. I will also examine the way in which Jefferson's considering the people of the region below the required level of rational development was still related to the problem of progress, gradation and generations, all concerning aspects of rational time. Also, I will explore how sentimental time as a concept also influenced Jefferson's thinking about Spanish America and its relationship to the United States.

No study so far has addressed this subject, and although Spahn herself takes a look at some "Others" (mainly blacks and European aristocrats) in Jefferson's system of temporal thought, she herself leaves out the southern neighbors of the US from her analysis, otherwise playing an important role in the republican vision of the Virginian.

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In the 1810s, led by the Creole elite, colonies of Spain in the New World, one after the other, declared their independence from the metropolitan center and started military struggles eventually leading to national sovereignty. US political leaders supported the new regimes sympathizing with their cause as long as they aimed to establish republican governments, at the same time showing caution about their ability to do so. Also, they wanted to avoid relations going strained with Spain, a powerful neighbor, and hence recognition of the new states was slow to come until Florida was ceded by Spain to the US in 1821. In addition, Americans wanted to minimize conflicts with Britain having business interests with Spain. Finally, the War of 1812 with Britain also directed US attention away from its Southern neighbors (Perkins 156–57; Anderle, 62–65; Bethell, 204, 206).

Largely in accordance with the above considerations, Jefferson developed an ambiguous attitude toward the region. While convinced that Spain was going to lose its colonies in the New World, he was not sure about their success in establishing free republican governments in the immediate future. Having experienced military conflicts developing among the newly independent countries of Spanish America, he regarded them as not fully prepared to exist side by side as free countries (Vajda 2007). This, on the other hand, was, in part, due to his knowledge concerning Spain and its colonies in the New World.

In a very real sense, Jefferson had rather limited information available about the New World sequels of Spain, hardly accessed by people from outside the region. Not surprisingly, he found the knowledge gathered about the area hardly sufficient, and the one he had, he thought, even had to be treated with caution (Whitaker, 1962, x). Nonetheless, he did receive information basically through three sources, the major one being contemporary German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, who had explored most of South America by the early nineteenth century and published his findings regarding the physical features of the land, its people, animal world and vegetation. His works found their way to Jefferson, who even corresponded with the Baron, also receiving him in Washington in 1804 as president of the US (TJ to Alexander von Humboldt, March 6, 1809, Lipscomb and Bergh, 12:263; Terra, 786, 789–91; Whitaker, 1960, 738; Schwartz, 48–49; also Rebok 328–69).

Jefferson also gathered intelligence about the region from the works that he had available in his library, such as Antonio de Ulloa's *Noticias Americanas de Don Antonio*

de Ulloa (Madrid, 1772), Abbé Guillaume Raynal's *Historie philosophique et politique ... de deux Indes* (Geneva, 1780); or Bartolomé de Las Casas' *Bartholomeo de las Casas del imperio soberano que los reyes de Castilla tienen sobre las Indias* (1552) (Sowerby, 4:209). Finally, Jefferson also had first-had information gathered about the area from visitors he had from the region, most prominently including the noted revolutionary Francisco Miranda, who hoped to assure his support for a revolution attempted against Spain in 1809 (TJ to John Jay, May 4, 1787, Ford, 1892–1899, 4:383–85; TJ to Valentine de Foronda, October 4, 1809, *ibid.,* 9:260. TJ to James Monroe, June 23, 1823, Lipscomb and Bergh 15:453). To a large extent, Jefferson's sources on New Spain were also informed by the "Black Legend," invented by Spanish writers of the sixteenth century, depicting Spanish conquerors in South America as avaricious brutes engaged in cruel deeds against natives. Later it was supplemented by a strong degree of anti-Catholicism associating the Catholic Church with the atrocities committed against natives in the New World. Finally, the Black Legend as it developed in the nineteenth century also blamed the Catholic Church for the backwardness of people living in its American colonies (Powell; DeGuzmán).

Jefferson's understanding of the past, present, and future of Spanish Americans was also informed by his general conception of time and its bearings upon them. Hence it is the relevant parts of Spahn's reconstruction of Jefferson's sense of temporality that I now turn to. For a start, Jefferson's system of time showed basic ambiguities, as she argues. In the first place, largely embedded in the Newtonian tradition of natural laws, he shared the Enlightenment conception of time based on a homogeneous understanding of temporality. Rational time is measured by the clock and is hence based on quantity (22–23, 29, 36). This feature made it suitable for one to make predictions about the future, also involving the ideas of "rational foresight," hence being "future-oriented" (31). Because of its homogeneous nature, rational time also presumed the possibility of anticipating the future for Jefferson. Hence he was, for instance, able to predict the future of the Untied States "through the knowledge of a similar past" (186). Furthermore, Jefferson associated rational time with "progress," the constant accumulation of "human knowledge" (39).

To Jefferson's mind, the rational concept of time was not equally available for everyone. "Rational time perception" was, for instance, absent in "blacks" and "French aristocrats:" they were "incapable of foresights" and thus progress (48, 53, 64). The French nobility particularly lived in "cyclical decadence" (53) instead of the time of permanent progress. These two groups were thus also unsuitable for "self-government," according to him, as Spahn explains (67).

The other concept of time identified by Spahn in Jefferson's thought is the "sentimental" one. It is "subjective," personal, non-linear and can be detected in his accounts of a personal sense of time (74), signifying "unique moments in his past and present life" (75). Given that one consequence of rational time was the passing of events into oblivion, that is, the deterioration of "memory" (93), sentimental time involved the idea of the present to be cherished and prevented from passing. Hence Jefferson's concern "to prevent the present from yielding to the future and becoming past itself" (77). This "presentism" and the sentimental concept of time as held by him and his rational concept of time existed side by side in his thought.

According to Spahn, Jefferson tried to reconcile these two opposing concepts of time by means of "gradualism," or the "gradualist conception of change" (75). He resented sudden change, thus, if his linear concept of rational time contained change at all, that would be slow and gradual only, with due respect to attachment to the present. This is the reason that, Spahn explains, Jefferson, was more in support of the gradual abolition of slavery, because, for him, progress could take place by degrees only (69, 97,100).

One consequence of Jefferson's perception of time was that for him, the people of Spanish America lived outside rational time before independence: they lacked enlightened reason, the appropriate level of intellectual development necessary for self-government. They had lived under Spanish imperial rule thus having no experience with freedom to govern themselves. They lacked reason because of the subjugation that they had had to suffer by their leaders and clergy. Jefferson wrote in 1811, "'I fear the degrading ignorance into which their priests and kings have sunk them, has disqualified them from the maintenance or even knowledge of their rights, and that much blood may be shed for little improvement in their condition" (TJ to Dupont de Nemours, April 15, 1811, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:204). Likewise, five years later, he also found them under the influence of their "priests" keeping them in "ignorance and bigotry" (TJ to Anne L. G. N. Stael-Holstein, September 6, 1816, *The Thomas Jefferson Papers.* See also TJ to John Adams, May 17, 1818, Ford, 1904–1905, 12:95; TJ to de Nemours, April 24, 1816, *ibid.,* 11:524; and TJ to Humboldt, June 13, 1817, *ibid.,* 12:68). In such a situation, Jefferson predicted in 1811, they were most likely to end up in "military despotisms" fighting one another because of the evil influence of their leaders (TJ to Alexander von Humboldt, December 6, 1813, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:351; TJ to Humboldt, April 14, 1811, Washington, 5:581; see also TJ to the Marquis de Lafayette, November 30, 1813, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:358–59). As Jefferson explained to John Adams in 1821, " I feared from the beginning, that these people were not yet sufficiently enlightened for self-government; and that after wading through blood and slaughter, they would end in military tyrannies, more or less numerous." (TJ to John Adams, January 22, 1821, Ford, 1904–1905, 12:199).

Jefferson's major concern about the people of Spanish America was then that because of their low level of rational development they were not only unable to govern themselves, but also, since they were under the influence of their leaders of evil intentions, they could be used against their neighbors in military conflicts. In other words, independence from Spanish rule, in his estimation, did not automatically result in the sequels respecting one another's independence. That is, he saw them repeat the past, returning to their earlier stage of development, and even worse, turning into colonizers against one another. In Jefferson's mind, such positioning of Spanish Americans relegated them into the same group of people such as "women", "black slaves" and "children" different from white middle-class males, living, in Spahn's words, "in another temporality" "in which they could be depicted as incapable of foresight, obedience to day schedules, or exact time measurement" (Spahn 48).

In spite of his low opinion of the people of New Spain with regard to their rationality, Jefferson saw the possibility of their developing a capacity for self-government. Although they were not living in rational time they could be turned into a

people capable of making progress associated with quantitative time: they could be made future-oriented instead of present-minded. That, however, could be achieved only by developing their moral sense.

For Jefferson freedom for a people was proportionate to their rationality: more enlightenment ensued more self-government and less reason went with less liberty (TJ to John Jay, May 4, 1787, Ford, 1892–1899, 4:384; Wagoner 118–19). The moral sense was necessary for the people to exist in society in his logic. Its development was also related to self-government providing the individual with the means of participating in politics. The defects of the moral sense, on the other hand, could be corrected by education, resulting in its development. The strong link between intellectual development and self-government induced Jefferson to hail the new constitution of Spain, which made literacy a prerequisite for full citizenship (TJ to Dupont de Nemours, April 24, 1816, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:523; see also TJ to Luis de Onís, April 28, 1814, Washington 6:342. Jefferson to Thomas Law, June 13, 1814, Peterson, 1975, 542–43; see also Sheldon 59; and Yarbrough 27–45).

Colonial rule having prevented the people of New Spain from developing their moral sense fully, its removal, although leaving them in a state of inability to govern, they gave them a chance to improve their underdeveloped moral sense by education. In this way, moreover, they could also develop the ability to live in rational time. The initial push in the direction of the education process would be provided by the revolutions themselves, Jefferson suggested, triggering "common sense" in the revolutionaries developing in them "cultivated reason." That would be necessary for them to be able to resist oppression from above and preserve freedom gained in the revolutionary struggle (TJ to Anne L. G. N. Stael-Holstein, September 6, 1816, *The Thomas Jefferson Papers*).

For Jefferson, this education consisted in civic education primarily, that is, instructing the people of the former colonies of Spain in acquiring the knowledge of their "duties" and "rights" as citizens, so that they could govern themselves. And, as he suggested to John Adams in 1821, the first step in this process of education was "the introduction of trial by jury" (TJ to John Adams, January 22, 1821, Ford, 1904–1905, 12:199).

Unlike for black slaves and other groups of people relegated outside rational time, then, Jefferson saw the possibility for Spanish Americans developing a rational sense of time through education mainly aimed at making them suitable for self-government. As part of that, such a training was also to develop their capacity for foresight – characteristic of Jefferson's rational white middle-class men. Jefferson was also willing to imagine Spanish American peoples as part of a different kind of progressive development, as participants in the advancement of a "republican millennium," in Peter Onuf's words. This state of international affairs would involve all nations as self-governing republics in the future, with the United States as its model (Onuf 2000, 15). In other words, the rational time that led to an endpoint of progress would also apply to nations advancing toward a state of affairs that involved republican nations of equal status. Spanish American nations, Jefferson believed, were also progressing toward such a "republican millennium."

In proposing a process of education for Spanish Americans to transfer them from the stage of subordination to self-government Jefferson was, in fact, following a pattern of development set by the Northwest Ordinance in the late eighteenth century. The document, devised by Jefferson himself and accepted by the US government existing under the Articles of Confederation in 1787 became the blueprint for the admission of new states to the Union. It defined demographic and political institutional requirements for a territory to become a state. The process involved the development of a given territory from a quasi-colonial status into that of self-government with political institutions and offered full independence from the federal government. In the interim period the federal government exerted control over the political affairs of the territory by means of an appointed governor and other officers. Once the required level of population and that of legal and political institutions was reached congressional supervision of the territory ceased and republican statehood was granted with a state constitutional convention elected and government established. The ideal of self-government by the people of the state thereby could become fulfilled (Saler 364–68, 75; Onuf, 1995, 68–70, 72; Onuf, 1983, 44–45, 43–44; and also Peterson, 1984, 376–78.).

Jefferson's predictions about the ability of Spanish Americans to form republican governments based on the consent of the governed were also informed by Americans' experience with integrating the state of Louisiana into the Union. With a population of mixed ethnicity, the area having been exposed to colonial rule by the French and the Spaniards, it was believed that the non-English elements of the people were not able to govern themselves and would take a longer period of time to assume republican self-government (Kastor 87, 11, 48).

Hence a close control of the federal government was found desirable and sustained for a long time approximating old colonial rule. Even Jefferson himself advocated only a gradual introduction of civil rights including freedom of the press and freedom of religion, believing that providing more freedom for the people of Louisiana depended on their political and rational development (TJ to Dewitt Clinton, December 2, 1803, Ford, 1892–1899, 8:283; TJ to Albert Gallatin, November 9, 1803, Ford, 1892–1899, 8:275–76). They were expected to reform their character first before gaining full-scale freedom and self-government. Their colonial status, then, could change only by degrees, and before gaining their status of statehood they were governed by means of federal officers. Moreover, even having gained statehood the people of Louisiana had limited power to govern themselves with state officers such as the governor retaining considerable independence from citizens (Kastor, 25, 44, 48–50, 51, 86, 152, 185–86). As has been seen, Jefferson's conception of time largely built on the notion of gradation, that is, change over time by degrees. His thinking about Spanish Americans after gaining independence also involved the notion of gradual change.

We have seen that Jefferson held the peoples of Spanish America unsuitable for free republican government believing that before reaching the stage of self-government they would form governments characterized by military despotism. Hence he believed that independence did not equal a sudden transition from colonial subordination to republican government; instead, Spain was to retain some degree of control

of them thereby preventing their turning against one another. This would last until they became mature enough to establish republican governments. Their becoming self-governing republics, then, could only happen through gradual development. (This supervision by the former mother country would be confined to "peace-keeping".) (TJ to Lafayette, May 14, 1817, Ford, 1892–1899, 10:85; TJ to Anne L. G. N. Stael-Holstein, September 6, 1816, *The Thomas Jefferson Papers*)

Jefferson argued that only with their growth in intelligence and morality, would the people of the sequels be able to gain more independence and liberty. In proportion to this growth as a result of education, governmental power could be decreased by degrees, too. Education in that direction would enable the people of New Spain to avoid further military confrontations induced by military despotisms (TJ to John Adams, May 17, 1818, Ford, 1904–1905, 12:95–96). This gradual change of government over Spanish Americans, according to Jefferson, then equaled their shift to the rational time model. Their sudden independence seemed untimely for him, their being unripe to enter rational time, and that was to be corrected by the gradual transition in government that was to take place in parallel with the making of them a more educated and rational people.

Finally, an important feature of this notion of gradualism as held by Jefferson was related to progress as a reversible process. As has been seen above, rational time involved the idea of advancement as a future-oriented movement, and he associated the people of Spanish America with the possibility of participating in it. At the same time, he also admitted that while some of the sequels such as Argentine, were making progress on the road to independence, others, located in the West, such as Peru and Chile had been set back and even got reversed (TJ to Anne L. G. N. Stael-Holstein, September 6, 1816, *The Thomas Jefferson Papers*. See also TJ to Lafayette, May 14, 1817, Ford, 1892–1899, 10:84). Yet, he was convinced of the final victory of the revolutionary process even in these countries.

This emphasis on change as gradual development also expressed itself in Jefferson's notion about generations capable of implementing the turn from military despotism to republican self-government. In his philosophy, generations in any given society played a special role. He conceived of them as independent entities, separated from each other by differing interests and cultures. He even positioned generations as quasi-nations being in hostile relationship with each other also regarding them as forming the core of political majorities, the consequence being that constitutions should be changed in order to cater to a new generation of citizens (Onuf, 2000, 153–70. See also TJ to James Madison, September 6, 1789, Peterson, 1975, 444–51).

As has been seen before, Jefferson also held the development of the reason of Spanish Americans crucial to their progression and hence their moral sense and political abilities by free governments. At the same time, he identified the time period necessary for such an education with a whole new generation of Spanish Americans (TJ to Lafayette, November 30, 1813, Ford, 1904–1905, 11:359; and TJ to Dupont de Nemours, April 15, 1811, *ibid.,* 11:204). In other words, for Jefferson, the raising and education of a new generation of Spanish Americans was necessary and defined the time in which progress would take place in their political communities. Only a new generation, different from their parents could become part of rational time, he thus

suggested. Their level of rational and moral development was to be different from their fathers' and so was their form of government. This was also to be the result of gradual change.

As part of his concept of rational time, Jefferson paid special attention to generations also by emphasizing their distinct roles in progress. He posited differences between generations also resulting in their isolation, each signifying limits of rational time. Furthermore, for him, the change associated with generations could take place because of the perishable nature of memory as one attribute of rational time (Spahn 70, 93). New generations were supposed to forget their old culture acquiring a new one based on rationality

The previous generation of Spanish Americans, steeped in colonial rule, was hopeless to get educated in free government according to Jefferson's logic. They could not participate in progress, lacking in foresight similarly to other groups of peoples that Jefferson excluded from rational time. This, however, was also an ironic precondition for the gradual nature of change that he hoped for in connection with Spanish Americans.

In connection with Spanish Americans' capacity for self-government, Jefferson, besides the rational model of time, also utilized the sentimental conception of time. He did so by placing them in his own model of the stadial theory of social development. Derived from French physiocratic and Scottish Enlightenment philosophy, the stadial model of human development held the power of a common pattern based on subsistence in human societies. It was understood that each human society was to undergo change through various stages of progression leading from the society of hunters and gatherers through nomads and agricultural producers to the commercial one. The theory also asserted that being distinct forms of subsistence to feed humans these stages also represented degrees as well as relative levels of development. Thus the hunter-gatherer stage proved the most rudimentary form of subsistence, while the commercial one being the most developed (McCoy 18–20; Meek 68–126; Onuf and Onuf 91–93).

As has been well documented, Jefferson was a believer in the stadial model, also holding the process of development leading from a lower to a higher stage. Furthermore, he also connected one given people's level of general development with the stage that it occupied in this grand schema of civilization (TJ to William Ludlow, September 6, 1824, 1975, 583).

Even more importantly, connecting the United States with the agricultural/farming stage of development most typically, Jefferson deemed it the most suitable for republican government. The reason was that he regarded agriculture as an ideal form of sustenance, securing independence for the producers. Not much of a surprise then that he regarded farmers as a virtuous group of people impossible to keep in dependence on anyone, hence ensuring the virtue that is necessary for republican self-government (Peterson, 1975, 217; Pocock 40). Awareness of and belief in the stadial model also enabled Jefferson to make predictions about the course of development as well as the history of a nation occupying a particular place in the process. Also, it made possible the comparison of nations in view of their level of civilization. This model enabled its believers to formulate links between past, present, and future and make

predictions about the future of any given nation (McCoy 18, 20; Onuf and Onuf 19, 42). Nicholas and Peter Onuf label this method as conjectural history in the sense that its practitioners conjectured about missing information on the basis of known evidence (Onuf and Onuf 18, 25). Influenced by the stadial theory of development, Jefferson saw the land of his nation as fitting the universal pattern, moving from the world of hunter-gatherers through that of shepherds and farmers to the commercial stage (see Jefferson's letter to William Ludlow, September 6, 1824, Peterson, 1975, 583).

Knowing the course of development of one nation, a highly developed one, at the commercial stage, then, allowed the learned observer to predict the future of a less developed one. This is what made Jefferson interested in developed European countries, believing that having reached the commercial stage they, at the same time, could no longer provide for a virtuous citizenry, consequently falling into decadence and finally, into oblivion (Peterson, 1975, 217). Furthermore, he also thought that European nations, since beyond the agricultural form of subsistence, were no longer able to use the land to accommodate surplus population, instead catering to job demands through industry – an economic activity that Jefferson associated with dependence. Moreover, he also believed that the pressure for keeping demographies under control also made European countries wage war with one another – also having the benefit of dealing with excess population (TJ to Jean Baptist Say, February 1, 1804, Peterson, 1975, 498).

How did all this affect Jefferson's speculations over Spanish America? First of all, as I have shown elsewhere, Jefferson identified a line separating the whole of the New World from Europe, based on agriculture for subsistence, thereby forming a basis for cultural commonality between the USA and Spanish America. He argued that with the free land available, the Western hemisphere was able to avoid the fate of Europe, which was involved in constant strife and devastating warfare. The surplus population of the Americas, Jefferson believed, could be occupied in agricultural production (Vajda 2015).

We also have to understand, however, that, because of his preference for agriculture as a basis of republican self-governing politics, Jefferson wanted to preserve the United States in that particular stage of development. The agricultural alliance with the peoples of the sequels was also to serve that purpose. In this way, peculiarly enough, he was not simply trying to place Spanish Americans in rational time, but was also, in a way, trying to emphasize their environmental conditions, the natural resources that would facilitate their commonality with the USA and difference from Europe. The free land available would be a key to that. It was then a means in Jefferson's sentimental temporality —to quote Spahn again— "to prevent the present from yielding to the future and becoming past itself" (Spahn 77). He hoped to avoid movement from this stage to the next in the future resulting in the end of agricultural bliss. His agrarianism, then, was something he hoped to preserve, cherish, and nurture in sentimental time.

In conclusion, informed by his preconceived pattern of the development of national communities, Jefferson identified the people of Spanish America as one lagging behind republican nations in terms of moral and rational development. He believed

that for them to be able to enter rational time and make progress they needed to reform their characters. For him, independence did not result in a sudden change of that. Similarly to other cases when progress was involved, Jefferson held that it could take place only be degrees, even at the expense of the temporary restoration of some kind of supervision over the former colonies by Spain. As long as the people of the sequels could not be educated to reach an appropriate level of intellectual development, they could be turned against one another by their malevolent political leaders. Such gradual transformation, according to him was possible to implement by a new generation only. Education would take time to have a whole generation change its attitude to be able to move from a colonial to a republican character.

Nonetheless, for all his skepticism about the ability of Spanish Americans to move into rational time, by connecting them to his ideal of agricultural production, he also associated them with sentimental time. In contrast to overcivilized western Europe, always on the brink or in the middle of war the Western hemisphere, in Jefferson's assessment, had free land available for subsistence for a growing population. He hoped to conserve this ideal stage of American social development, thereby creating a common ground for cooperation between the northern and the southern regions. In doing so, he emphatically hoped to defy the passing of time and preserve the continent in the agricultural stage, hence also realizing sentimental time in relation to a republican millennium.

When acquiring Louisiana at the beginning of the century, little did Jefferson know that in addition to furthering the course of a waning Spanish empire as well as enlarging the Union, it would facilitate conditions for an agricultural empire that could be a basis for cooperation between the US and Spanish American peoples. The diminishing Spanish imperial presence would be coupled with the strengthening of Spanish American sequels moving toward a republican millennium grounded in land for a growing population in the North and in the South alike.

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