Chapter 25

The Consolidation of Latin America (1830–1920)
What Caused Discontent in Latin America?

By the late 1700s, the revolutionary fever that gripped Western Europe had spread to Latin America. There, discontent was rooted in the social, racial, and political system that had emerged during 300 years of Spanish rule.

- **Creoles** resented their second-class status.
- **Mestizos** and **mulattoes** were angry at being denied the status, wealth, and power available to whites.
- Native Americans suffered economic misery under the Spanish.
- Enslaved Africans who worked on plantations longed for freedom.

*Battle on Santo Domingo*, a painting by January Suchodolski depicting a struggle between Polish troops in French service and the Haitian rebels.
Problems in the Spanish Empire

Political Disempowerment:
- Spanish colonies were run by the Council of the Indies, a group appointed by the King that met in Spain and sent its directives across the Atlantic. Those directives were carried out by the viceroys, officials appointed by Spain to govern the colonies.

Economic Disempowerment:
- Spain had the first right to colonial goods and resources. Excluding all competitors, economic policy was set for Spain’s maximum benefit.
The Enlightenment

BEFORE: Kings are placed on the throne by God. Only God can remove them.

- Government is based on a contract between the ruler and the ruled.
- Government exists to protect the citizens’ natural rights of life, liberty, & property.
- If the government violates the natural rights of the people, the citizens have a right to revolt against that tyranny.
The success of the American Revolution showed others that colonies could succeed in overthrowing their more powerful mother countries.
Napoleon crowns himself emperor of France in 1804.

In an attempt to rule all of Europe, he puts family and friends in charge of the territories he has conquered.

In 1810, Napoleon puts his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain. The Spanish royal family flees.
Struggles for Independence: Haiti

- Haiti critical to France as a source of sugar—annexed in 1697.
- Population mostly non-white with large number of slaves.
- Population divided by French Rev.-Rich whites opposed it, poorer whites and non-whites, esp. small planter class, favored it.
- August, 1791 Toussaint L’Ouverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines led a revolt began and pitted whites against mulattos, all of whom wanted to keep the black slaves under control.
The Haitian Revolution, 1791

- French initially supported the black slaves and declared their freedom in 1793 to keep them from uniting with the Spanish, British involved against slaves.

- The revolution turned into race war against better off mulattos - 10,000 were killed.

- By 1798, enslaved Haitians had been freed.
Toussaint L’Ouverture Leads a Revolution in Haiti (1804)

“But, if to re-establish slavery in [Haiti], this was to be done, then I declare to you it would be to attempt the impossible: we have known how to face dangers to obtain our liberty, we shall know how to brave death to maintain it.”

-- Toussaint L’Ouverture, quoted in The Black Jacobins (James)
Napoleon Bonaparte turned against new Haitian government and sent an army to recapture Haiti — he wanted absolute control of colonies-disapproved of Dessalines.

In 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte declared war on Haiti and sent his brother-in-law to recapture Haiti.

Napoleon’s forces agreed to a truce, or temporary peace.

L'Ouverture captured and died in France, but Dessalines won over the French and declared independence of Haiti in 1804.

By 1820, Haiti had become an independent nation.

Dessalinles’ authoritarian ways led to his assassination in 1806 and the beginning of uncertain political rule in Haiti.
“Destitute of everything, you have supplied everything. You have won battles without cannon crossed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, camped without brandy and often without bread. Only republican phalanxes, soldiers of liberty, could have endured what you have endured. Soldiers, you have our thanks.”

- How would you describe the relationship Napoleon wants his troops to feel they have with him?

- Why do you think he calls them “soldiers of liberty”? Do you think that is what they were? Why or why not?
Latin American Leaders

BOLIVAR

SAN MARTIN

HIDALGO

MORELOS

Section 2
Central America

- Spanish-rulled lands declared their independence in the early 1820s.
- Local leaders set up the United Provinces of Central America.
- The union soon fragmented into separate republics of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica.
Father Miguel Hidalgo led a revolt on September 15, 1810, calling Mexicans to fight for “Independence and Liberty.”

Later José Morales led a popular revolt for 4 years, until he was captured and shot.

Rebels led by Agustín de Iturbide overthrew the Spanish viceroy in 1821, creating an independent Mexico.

Iturbide took the title of emperor, but was quickly overthrown.

Liberal Mexicans set up the Republic of Mexico.
MIGUEL HIDALGO

Highly educated Creole priest assigned to town of Dolores.

September 16, 1810: El Grito de Dolores.

Hidalgo rang the church bell and called upon his mestizo and indigenous parishioners to take up arms against the Spanish.

Led a rag-tag army toward Mexico City, unleashing mass slaughter of peninsulares in path.

Never made it to the capital -- Captured and shot in 1811.

A painting of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, by José Clemente Orozco, Jalisco Governmental Palace, Guadalajara.
JOSE MORELOS

Mestizo Priest who took over from Hidalgo.

Much more successful general

“With three such men as Jose Morelos, I could conquer the world.” - Napoleon Bonaparte

Established a congress which:

- Created a declaration of rights
- Abolished slavery
- Declared equality of classes

Captured and executed in December 1815
Independence in South America

In South America, Native Americans had rebelled against Spanish rule as early as the 1700s, with limited results. It was not until the 1800s that discontent sparked a widespread drive for independence.

- **Simon Bolívar**, called “The Liberator,” led an uprising that established a republic in Venezuela. He then captured Bogotá, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

- In 1816, **José de San Martín** helped Argentina win freedom from Spain. He then joined forces with Bolívar.

- Bolívar tried to unite the liberated lands into a single nation called Gran Columbia. However, bitter rivalries made that dream impossible. Before long, Gran Colombia split into three independent countries: Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador.
SIMON BOLIVAR

- Elite Creole planter ➔ Military General

- Called the “George Washington of South America.”

- Liberated territories of modern day Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, & Bolivia

- Plan for a federated Latin America was crushed by political in-fighting.
JOSE DE SAN MARTIN

- Creole officer who had trained in European armies.
- Liberated Argentina from Spanish control.
- Met with Bolivar in Guayaquil in 1822. While Bolivar favored democracy, San Martin felt only monarchy could work. Turned over command.
- Died in obscurity in Europe.
On Sept. 18, 1810, after Napoleon’s attack on Spain, a meeting in Santiago voted for limited self-government until the Spanish throne was restored.

Many, including Bernardo O’Higgins, wanted complete independence.

With the help of General José de San Martín of Argentina, he took Santiago and became Director Supremo de Chile.

- Created a republic and instituted economic and social reforms.
- Set up Chilean navy.

In 1823, forced to resign by powerful elite and left country.

“We can live with honour or die with glory! If you have the courage, follow me!”
POLITICAL:
THE CAUDILLOS

- By 1830, nearly all Latin American countries were ruled by caudillos.

WHY?

- The upper classes supported dictatorship because it kept the lower classes out of power.

- The lower classes did not have experience with democracy. Dictatorship seemed normal.
“The American continents...are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.” - James Monroe, 1823
WHY?

The War of 1812 with Britain had shown the U.S. that sometimes revolutionary victories could lead to sequels.

The U.S. had political and economic interests in keeping Europe out of the Western hemisphere. From 1823 on, it would be the U.S.’ backyard.

Though the U.S. did not have the muscle to back up its threats, Great Britain agreed to support the Monroe Doctrine due to its new favorable trading position in Latin America.
ECONOMIC: ONE-CROP ECONOMIES

- Now that trade was not restricted to the mother country, the U.S. and Great Britain became the new countries’ major trading partners.

- A colonial economy continued...Latin America mainly exported cash crops and raw materials while importing manufactured goods.
As the imbalance of trade grew, Latin American countries took out large loans from the U.S., Britain, and Germany to build infrastructure.

When the countries could not pay back their loans, foreign lenders gained control of major industries in Latin America.
THE QUESTION OF LAND

**AT LEAST, DID THE SOCIAL PYRAMID CHANGE?**

**NO!**

- Once the Spaniards were expelled, the new governments seized their lands and put them up for sale, BUT... only the creoles could afford to buy them.

- Thus, the creoles replaced the peninsulares at the top of the social pyramid, but other classes remained at the bottom of the ladder.
Simon Bolivar had taken up the cause of independence hoping to establish a new order where Latin American countries would be free, democratic, and federated (in agreement to work together.) Instead, upon his death, he saw a world in which dictators ruled and disunity reigned. Disgusted by what he saw, he gave this warning to future generations:

“America is ungovernable for us. He who serves a revolution plows the sea.”
Economic Imperialism in Latin America: Political Problems

During the 1800s, most Latin American nations were plagued by revolts, civil war, and dictatorships.

- Many problems had their origins in colonial rule, as independence barely changed the existing social and political hierarchy.

- With few roads and no traditions of unity, the new nations were weakened by **regionalism**, loyalty to a local area.
Mexico’s Struggle for Stability

- Large landowners, military leaders, & the Catholic Church dominated politics.
- **Antonio López de Santa Anna** gained and lost power many times between 1833 and 1855. He claimed to be a liberal reformer, but once in power, crushed efforts at reform.
- In Mexico’s northern territory of Texas, Mexicans & U.S. settlers revolted in 1835, and set up an independent republic.
- In 1845, the U.S. annexed Texas. Mexico saw this as an act of war.
- In the **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** in 1848, Mexico lost half its territory to the U.S.
Mexico’s Struggle for Stability (cont.)

- In 1855, **Benito Juárez** seized power & started La Reforma, by revising the Constitution to strip the military of power and end special privileges of the Church.

- In 1863, Napoleon III sent troops to install Austrian archduke Maximilian as emperor. After 4 years the French withdrew and Maximilian was captured, shot and killed.

- Later, **General Portirio Díaz**, a hero of French war, gained power. He strengthened the military, police, and central government. Mexico made economic advances, but at the price of foreign investors.

Mosaic chronicling the life & challenges of Benito Juarez. Oaxaca, Mexico.
The Influence of the United States

In 1823, the United States issued the **Monroe Doctrine**, which stated that the American continents were no longer open to colonization by any European powers.

In 1904, the United States issued the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine. Under this policy, the United States claimed “international police power” in the Western Hemisphere.

- In the next decade, the United States frequently intervened militarily in Latin American nations to protect American lives and investments.

In 1903, the United States backed the Panamanians in a revolt against Colombia in order to gain land to build the Panama Canal.

- To people in Latin America, the canal was an example of “Yankee Imperialism.”
Imperialism in the Caribbean and South America, 1898–1917
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUMMARY</th>
<th>BEFORE</th>
<th>AFTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POLITICAL</td>
<td>Dictatorship of the Council of the Indies and the Viceroy</td>
<td>Dictatorship of the Caudillos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMIC</td>
<td>Unequal trade relationship with Spain benefiting</td>
<td>Unequal trade relationship with Great Britain and the U.S. benefiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL</td>
<td>Native Spaniards at the top of the social ladder, followed by creoles, and with the rest of the population at the bottom</td>
<td>Creoles at the top of the ladder with the rest of the population at the bottom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Independence Movements in Latin America

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long-Term Causes</th>
<th>Immediate Causes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European domination of Latin America</td>
<td>People of Latin America resent colonial rule and social injustices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spread of Enlightenment ideas</td>
<td>Revolutionary leaders emerge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American and French revolutions</td>
<td>Napoleon invades Spain and ousts Spanish king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth of nationalism in Latin America</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Immediate Effects</strong></td>
<td><strong>Long-Term Effects</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toussaint L’Ouverture leads slave revolt in Haiti</td>
<td>Attempts made to rebuild economies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolívar, San Martín, and others lead successful revolts in Latin America</td>
<td>18 separate republics set up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial rule ends in much of Latin America</td>
<td>Continuing efforts to achieve stable democratic governments and to gain economic independence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>