

Nation Building in Latin America

GUIDE TO READING

The BIG Idea

Self-Determination Latin American countries gained their independence but became economically dependent on Western powers.

Content Vocabulary

- creoles (p. 708)
- caudillos (p. 711)
- peninsulares (p. 708)
- cash crops (p. 712)
- mestizos (p. 709)

Academic Vocabulary

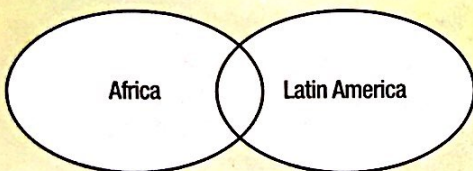
- intervention (p. 711)
- redistribution (p. 712)

People, Places, and Events

- José de San Martín (p. 710)
- Benito Juárez (p. 712)
- Simón Bolívar (p. 710)
- Puerto Rico (p. 713)
- Monroe Doctrine (p. 711)
- Panama Canal (p. 713)
- Antonio López de Santa Anna (p. 711)
- Haiti (p. 713)
- Nicaragua (p. 713)

Reading Strategy

Comparing and Contrasting As you read, create a Venn diagram comparing and contrasting colonial rule in Africa and in Latin America.



The success of the American Revolution and the ideals of the French Revolution spread throughout Latin America. One by one the Portuguese and Spanish colonies rebelled and won their independence. Political independence, however, was achieved more easily in the new republics than political stability. Economic and social inequality and economic dependence on foreign nations plagued Latin American nations throughout the nineteenth century.

Nationalist Revolts

MAIN IDEA

Revolutionary ideas in Latin America were sparked by the success of the American Revolution.

HISTORY & YOU Whom do you regard as the greatest hero of the American War for Independence? George Washington? Patrick Henry? Read about the heroes of the Latin American independence movement.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the new political ideals stemming from the successful American Revolution (see Chapter 17) were beginning to influence the creole elites. **Creoles** were the descendants of Europeans who had permanently settled in Latin America. They controlled land and business and were attracted to the principles of equality of all people in the eyes of the law, free trade, and a free press. The creoles especially disliked the domination of their trade by Spain and Portugal.

Prelude to Revolution

The creole elites soon began to use their new ideas to denounce the rule of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs and their **peninsulares** (Spanish and Portuguese officials who resided temporarily in Latin America for political and economic gain and then returned to their homeland). The creole elites resented the **peninsulares**, who dominated Latin America and drained the Americas of their wealth.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Napoleon's wars provided the creoles with an opportunity for change. When Napoleon overthrew the monarchies of Spain and Portugal, the authority of the Spaniards and Portuguese in their colonial empires was severely weakened. Then, between 1807 and 1825, a series of revolts enabled most of Latin America to become independent.

An unusual revolution occurred before the main independence movements. Saint Domingue—on the island of Hispaniola—was a French sugar colony. François-Dominique Toussaint-Louverture

EUROPEAN COLONIES IN LATIN AMERICA



(TOO•SAN LOO•vuhr•TYUR) led more than 100,000 slaves in revolt. They seized control of all of Hispaniola. On January 1, 1804, the western part of Hispaniola, now called Haiti, announced its freedom. Haiti became the first independent state in Latin America.

Revolt in Mexico

Beginning in 1810, Mexico, too, experienced a revolt. The first real hero of Mexican independence was Miguel Hidalgo. A parish priest, Hidalgo lived in a village about 100 miles (160 km) from Mexico City.

Hidalgo had studied the French Revolution. He roused the local Native Americans and **mestizos** (people of mixed European and Native American descent) to free themselves from the Spanish:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“My children, this day comes to us as a new dispensation. Are you ready to receive it? Will you be free? Will you make the effort to recover from the hated Spaniards the lands stolen from your forefathers 300 years ago?”

—Miguel Hidalgo, September 16, 1810

History ONLINE

Student Web Activity—
Visit glencoe.com and complete the activity on independence movements in Latin America.

On September 16, 1810, Hidalgo led this ill-equipped army of thousands of Native Americans and mestizos in an attack against the Spaniards. He was an inexperienced military leader, however, and his forces were soon crushed. A military court sentenced Hidalgo to death. However, his memory lives on. In fact, September 16, the first day of the uprising, is Mexico's Independence Day.

The participation of Native Americans and mestizos in Mexico's revolt against Spanish control frightened both the creoles and the *peninsulares*. Afraid of the masses, they cooperated in defeating the popular revolutionary forces. Conservative elites—both creoles and *peninsulares*—then decided to overthrow Spanish rule. The conservatives wanted an independent nation ruled by a monarch. They selected a creole military leader, Agustín de Iturbide (EE•tur•BEE•thay), to help bring in this new government.

In 1821 Mexico declared its independence from Spain. Iturbide named himself

emperor in 1822 but was deposed in 1823. Mexico then became a republic.

Revolts in South America

José de San Martín of Argentina and **Simón Bolívar** of Venezuela, both members of the creole elite, were hailed as the "Liberators of South America." These men led revolutions throughout the continent. José de San Martín believed that the Spaniards must be removed from all of South America if any South American nation was to be free.

Bolívar began the struggle for Venezuelan independence in 1810. He also led revolts in New Granada (Colombia) and Ecuador. By 1819, these countries had formed Gran Colombia.

By 1810, the forces of San Martín had liberated Argentina from Spanish authority. In January 1817, San Martín led his forces over the Andes to attack the Spanish in Chile. The journey was an amazing feat. Two-thirds of the pack mules and horses died during the trip. Soldiers suffered from lack of oxygen and severe cold while crossing

PEOPLE *in* HISTORY

José de San Martín

1778–1850 South American Liberator

José de San Martín was born in Argentina, but learned his military skills in the Spanish army. After Napoleon occupied Spain, he witnessed the uprising of Spanish patriots against French occupation. He began to sympathize with the independence movement in America. In Spain, he met with creole revolutionaries.

Years later he wrote about this turning point in his life: ". . . [K]nowing of the first movements of Caracas, Buenos Aires and elsewhere we resolved to return each to our country of birth, in order to offer our services to the struggle. . . ."

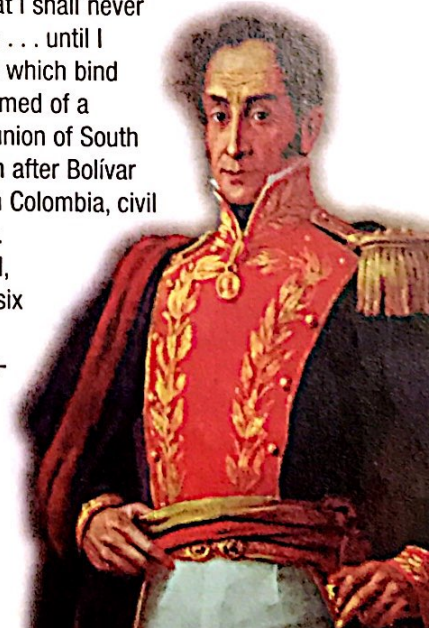
San Martín returned to Argentina and organized the resistance. After freeing Argentina, he led his troops across the Andes to free Chile. Later, he helped liberate Peru. **How did the French occupation of Spain influence San Martín?**



Simón Bolívar

1783–1830 South American Liberator

Son of a wealthy Venezuelan family, Simón Bolívar read books by European writers that described "the rights of man" and free republics. While visiting Rome, Bolívar gazed at the ruins of the great civilization and said to his tutor, Simón Rodríguez, "I swear . . . by my honor and my country, that I shall never allow my hands to be idle . . . until I have broken the shackles which bind us to Spain." Bolívar dreamed of a "Gran Colombia," a vast union of South American states. But soon after Bolívar became president of Gran Colombia, civil wars tore the union apart. Although unification failed, Bolívar had liberated the six present day nations of Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. **What influences helped to motivate Bolívar?**



mountain passes. The Andes mountains were more than two miles (3.2 km) above sea level.

The arrival of San Martín's forces in Chile completely surprised the Spanish forces, who were badly defeated at the Battle of Chacabuco on February 12, 1817. Chile declared independence in 1818. In 1821 San Martín advanced on Lima, Peru, the center of Spanish authority.

San Martín was convinced that he could not complete the liberation of Peru alone. He welcomed the arrival of Simón Bolívar and his forces. Bolívar, the "Liberator of Venezuela," took on the task of crushing the last significant Spanish army at Ayacucho on December 9, 1824.

By the end of 1824, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile had all become free of Spain. Earlier, in 1822, the prince regent of Brazil had declared Brazil's independence from Portugal. The Central American states had become independent in 1823. In 1838 and 1839, they divided into five republics: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua.

Threats to Independence

In the early 1820s, one major threat remained to the newly won independence of the Latin American states. Members of the Concert of Europe favored using troops to restore Spanish control in Latin America. The British, who wished to trade with Latin America, disagreed. They proposed joint action with the United States against any European moves against Latin America.

Distrustful of British motives, James Monroe, the president of the United States, acted alone in 1823. In the **Monroe Doctrine**, he declared that the Americas were off limits for any European colonization efforts, and strongly warned against any European **intervention** in the Americas.

More important to Latin American independence than American words, however, was the British navy. Other European powers feared the power of the British navy, which stood between Latin America and any planned European invasion force.

✓ Reading Check **Evaluating** How did the French Revolution help inspire the revolution in Mexico?

Nation Building

MAIN IDEA After they became independent, Latin American nations faced a staggering range of problems.

HISTORY & YOU Do you feel independent yet still depend on your parents in some ways, such as for money? Read how Latin America returned to economic dependence.

The new Latin American nations faced a number of serious problems between 1830 and 1870. The wars for independence had resulted in a staggering loss of people, property, and livestock. Unsure of their precise boundaries, the new nations went to war with one another to settle border disputes. Poor roads, a lack of railroads, thick jungles, and mountains made communication, transportation, and national unity difficult. During the course of the nineteenth century, the new Latin American nations would become economically dependent on Western nations once again.

Rule of the Caudillos

Most of the new nations of Latin America began with republican governments, but they had no experience in self-rule. Soon after independence, strong leaders known as **caudillos** gained power.

Caudillos ruled chiefly by military force and were usually supported by the landed elites. Many kept the new national states together. Some were also modernizers who built roads and canals, ports, and schools. Others were destructive.

Mexican General **Antonio López de Santa Anna**, for example, held the office of president 11 different times between 1833 and 1855. Calling himself the "Napoleon of the West," Santa Anna misused state funds, halted reforms, and created chaos. As one historian judged, "Any progress in Mexico achieved during the era of Santa Anna had nothing to do with him."

In 1835 American settlers in the Mexican state of Texas revolted against Santa Anna's rule. Texas gained its independence in 1836 and United States statehood followed in 1845. War between Mexico and the United States soon followed (1846–1848).

Mexico was defeated and lost almost one-half of its territory to the United States in the War with Mexico.

Fortunately for Mexico, Santa Anna's disastrous rule was followed by a period of reform from 1855 to 1876. This era was dominated by **Benito Juárez**, a Mexican national hero. The son of Native American peasants, President Juárez brought liberal reforms to Mexico. Some of Juárez's Laws of Reform included separation of church and state, toleration of all faiths, curbing the power of the military, an educational system for all of Mexico, and the **redistribution** of land to the poor.

Other caudillos, such as Juan Manuel de Rosas in Argentina, were supported by the masses. These caudillos became extremely popular and brought about radical change. Unfortunately, the caudillo's authority depended on his personal power. When he died or lost power, civil wars for control of the country often erupted.

A New Imperialism

Political independence brought economic independence, but old patterns were quickly reestablished. Instead of Spain and Portugal, Great Britain and the United States now dominated the Latin American economy.

Great Britain dominated trade in Latin America for most of the 1800s. British merchants moved into Latin America, and British investors poured in funds. In the early 1900s, the United States began to pursue "dollar diplomacy," extending its influence by investing in Latin American development. The United States soon replaced Europe as the source of loans and investments. Direct U.S. investments reached \$3.5 billion, out of a world total of \$7.5 billion.

American, British, and other foreign investors built transportation and communication systems and power plants. These investors also introduced refrigeration, steam engines, and mining equipment. These innovations led to increased production of export commodities such as wheat, tobacco, wool, sugar, coffee, and hides. At the same time, Latin American countries imported finished consumer goods, especially textiles, and had limited industry.

Economic Dependence

The emphasis on exporting raw materials and importing finished products ensured the ongoing domination of the Latin American economy by foreigners who reaped many benefits and profits. On the other hand, most Latin American countries experienced uneven economic development since they were almost wholly dependent on the sale or export of two or three **cash crops**—crops that are grown for sale rather than for personal use. A drop in world prices for the crops or failed harvests could be devastating to an economy based on cash crops.

Latin American countries remained economically dependent on Western nations, even though they were no longer colonies. In Central America and the Caribbean, export economies still dominated long into the 1900s. In some areas, such as in Cuba with sugar, in Brazil with coffee, and in Central America with bananas, an entire national economy continued to depend on a single cash crop.

Persistent Inequality

A fundamental problem for all of the new Latin American nations was the domination of society by the landed elites. Large estates remained a way of life in Latin America. By 1848, for example, the Sánchez Navarro family in Mexico possessed 17 estates made up of 16 million acres (6,480,000 ha). Latin American estates were often so large that they could not be farmed efficiently.

Land remained the basis of wealth, social prestige, and political power throughout the nineteenth century. Landed elites ran governments, controlled courts, and kept a system of inexpensive labor. These landowners made enormous profits by growing single cash crops, such as coffee for export. Most of the population had no land to grow basic food crops. As a result, the masses experienced dire poverty.

✓ Reading Check Describing What were some of the difficulties that the new Latin American republics faced?

Change in Latin America

MAIN IDEA Many Latin American nations patterned their constitutions after the U.S. Constitution.

HISTORY & YOU Can you think of a time when the United States demonstrated its power? Read how the United States extended its influence in Latin America.

After 1870 Latin American governments adopted constitutions similar to those of the United States and European democracies. The ruling elites were careful to keep their power by limiting voting rights, however.

The U.S. in Latin America

In the late 1800s, the United States began to intervene in the affairs of its southern neighbors. In 1895 exile José Martí returned to Cuba to lead a revolt against Spanish rule. The brutality with which the Spanish crushed the rebellion shocked Americans and began a series of events that led the United States to declare war against Spain

in 1898. As a result of the Spanish-American War, Cuba effectively became a protectorate of the United States. By the treaty that ended the war, **Puerto Rico** was also annexed to the United States.

In 1903 President Theodore Roosevelt supported a rebellion that allowed Panama to separate from Colombia and establish a new nation. In return, the United States was granted control of a 10-mile strip of land through the country. There the United States built the **Panama Canal**, which opened in 1914 and was one of the world's greatest engineering feats of its time.

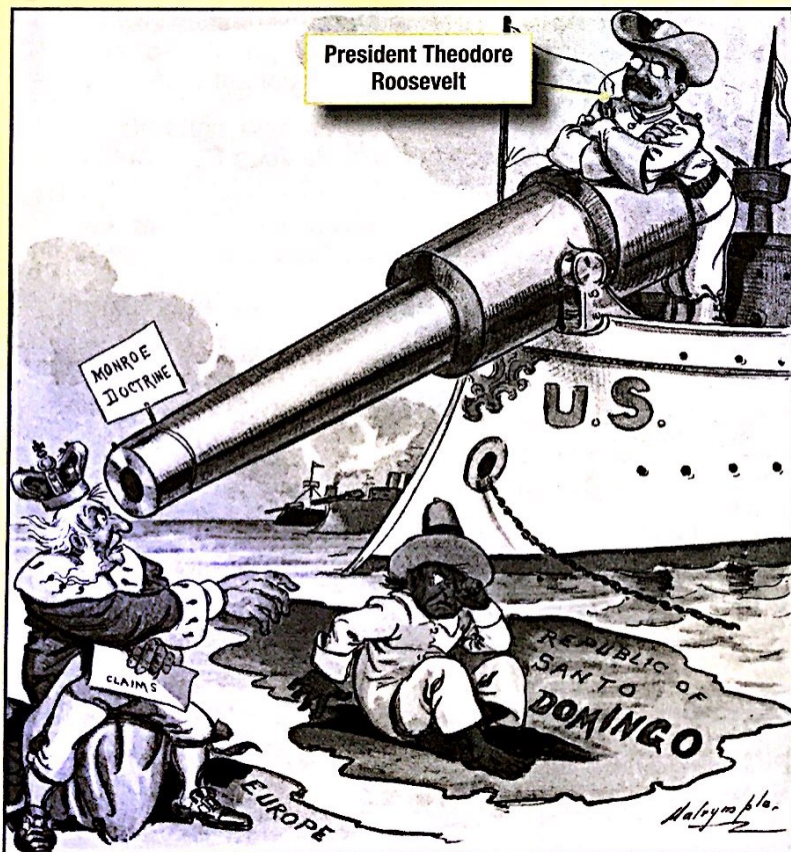
American investments in Latin America soon expanded, as did the resolve to protect those investments. U.S. military forces were sent to Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic to protect American interests.

Some expeditions stayed for years. U.S. Marines were in **Haiti** from 1915 to 1934 and in **Nicaragua** from 1912 to 1933.

POLITICAL CARTOONS

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary



In 1823 President James Monroe declared that Europeans may not interfere in the affairs of any nation in the Western Hemisphere. His intent was to protect U.S. interests in Latin America by discouraging further European colonization. In 1904 President Theodore Roosevelt took the policy a step further. At the time, European powers threatened to send warships to Santo Domingo to collect debts owed them. In a statement that became known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, Roosevelt claimed that the United States could intervene in any Latin American nation guilty of "chronic misconduct" (such as the inability to repay debts). The United States then took control of debt collection in the Dominican Republic.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

This cartoon, titled *Hands Off!*, illustrates one view of U.S. intervention in Latin America.

1. **Analyzing Visuals** How is the Latin American portrayed in this cartoon? What does this portrayal suggest about the reasons for U.S. imperialism in Latin America?
2. **Making Inferences** How do you think United States intervention might have affected Latin American nations?

Effects of the Mexican Revolution

The Constitution of 1917 set down many of the goals of the revolution. For revolutionary leaders, the goal was political reform. For peasants, it was about land reform. It would take decades for the reforms to take hold fully. Still, this constitution—the “fruit” of the Mexican Revolution—laid the groundwork for positive change. Eventually, the revolution helped to bring about a more democratic and politically stable Mexico.



Constitution of 1917

- established a federal government, with separation of powers and a bill of rights
- limited president’s term in office
- granted universal male suffrage
- gave workers the right to form unions
- set a minimum wage and limited working hours
- prohibited pay discrimination based on race, ethnicity, or gender
- established a social security system
- stated that Mexico’s natural resources belong to the Mexican people, not to foreign investors
- limited foreign land ownership
- restored lands to Native Americans

▲ Revolutionary leaders, such as “Pancho” Villa and Emiliano Zapata, raised armies from the discontented rural poor to fight for land reform. Villa, who fought for agrarian reform, is viewed today as a folk hero by many Mexicans. Zapata coined the revolutionary war slogan “¡Tierra y Libertad!”, which means “Land and Liberty!”—a cry still heard in Mexico to protest injustice.

CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS

The Constitution was approved in February 1917. In March Venustiano Carranza was the first president elected under this new Mexican constitution.

1. **Identifying** What are two signs of nationalism in the Mexican Constitution of 1917?
2. **Making Inferences** How well did the Mexican Revolution achieve its goals?

Increasing numbers of Latin Americans began to resent this interference from the “big bully” to the north.

Revolution in Mexico

In some countries, large landowners supported dictators who looked out for the interests of the ruling elite. Porfirio Díaz, who ruled Mexico between 1877 and 1911, created a conservative, centralized government. The army, foreign capitalists, large landowners, and the Catholic Church

supported Díaz. All these groups benefited from their alliance with Díaz. However, growing forces for change in Mexico led to a revolution.

During Díaz’s dictatorial reign, the wages of workers had declined. Ninety-five percent of the rural population owned no land, whereas about 1,000 families owned almost all of Mexico. A liberal landowner, Francisco Madero, forced Díaz from power in 1911. The door to a wider revolution then opened.

Madero made a valiant effort to handle the revolutionary forces at work. He put some of the best officials in his administration, and he sought a balance in dealing with foreign interests. However, his efforts proved ineffective.

The northern states were in near anarchy as Pancho Villa's armed masses of bandits swept the countryside. The federal army was full of hard-minded generals who itched to assert their power. Even the liberal politicians and idealists found fault with Madero for not solving all of the country's problems at once.

Madero's ineffectiveness created a demand for agrarian reform. This new call for reform was led by Emiliano Zapata. Zapata aroused the masses of landless peasants and began to seize and redistribute the estates of wealthy landholders. While Madero tried to reach an agreement with him for land reforms, Zapata refused to disarm his followers.

Between 1910 and 1920, the Mexican Revolution caused great damage to the Mexican economy. Finally, a new constitution was enacted in 1917. This constitution set up a government led by a president. It also created land-reform policies, established limits on foreign investors, and set an agenda to help the workers.

The revolution also led to an outpouring of patriotism throughout Mexico. National pride was evident, for example, as intellectuals and artists sought to capture what was unique about Mexico, with special emphasis on its past.

Prosperity and Social Change

After 1870, Latin America began an age of prosperity based to a large extent on the export of a few basic items. These included wheat and beef from Argentina, coffee from Brazil, coffee and bananas from Central America, and sugar and silver from Peru. These foodstuffs and raw materials were largely exchanged for finished goods—textiles, machines, and luxury items—from Europe and the United States. After 1900, Latin Americans also increased their own industrialization. They built factories to produce textiles, foods, and construction materials.

One result from the prosperity of increased exports was growth in the middle sectors (divisions) of Latin American society. Lawyers, merchants, shopkeepers, businesspeople, schoolteachers, professors, bureaucrats, and military officers increased in numbers. After 1900, these middle sectors of society continued to expand.

Middle-class Latin Americans shared some common characteristics. They lived in cities and sought education and decent incomes. They also saw the United States as a model, especially in regard to industrialization. The middle class sought liberal reform, not revolution. Once they had the right to vote, they generally sided with the landholding elites.

✓ Reading Check **Evaluating** What caused the growth of a middle class in Latin America?

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: *peninsulares*, creoles, mestizos, José de San Martín, Simón Bolívar, Monroe Doctrine, intervention, caudillos, Antonio López de Santa Anna, Benito Juárez, redistribution, cash crops, Puerto Rico, Panama Canal, Haiti, Nicaragua.

Main Ideas

2. **Describe** the social classes of Latin America.
3. **Explain** how Latin American countries would often determine the next ruler after a caudillo died.
4. **Identify** the independence dates and leaders of the following countries' revolutions against European powers.

Country	Date	Leader
Argentina		
Chile		
Colombia		
Haiti		
Venezuela		

Critical Thinking

5. **The BIG Idea Determining Cause and Effect** How did persistent inequality contribute to the failure of democracy in the young Latin American nations?
6. **Comparing** In what ways was the Mexican Revolution similar to the American Revolution?
7. **Analyzing Visuals** Examine the group photograph on page 714. What do you think you can determine about the subjects of the photo from the way they are dressed?

Writing About History

8. **Expository Writing** Why did Latin American countries remain economically dependent on Western nations when they were no longer political colonies? Write a brief essay explaining why this happened.

History ONLINE

For help with the concepts in this section of *Glencoe World History*, go to glencoe.com and click Study Central™.

CHAPTER 21 Visual Summary



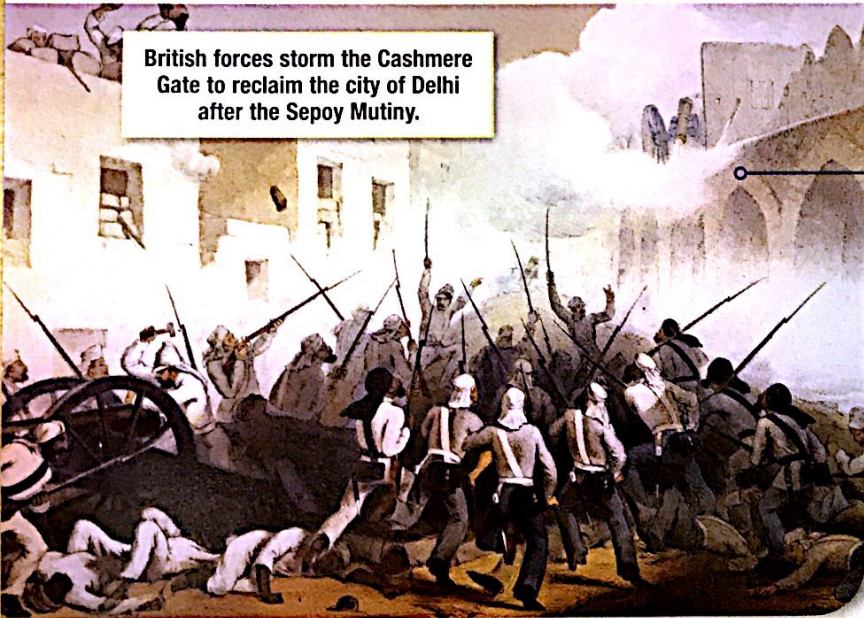
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SOUTHEAST ASIA AND AFRICA and New Imperialism

- Under new imperialism, European nations came to rule virtually all of Southeast Asia and Africa by 1900.
- European countries controlled the economies and governments of the Asian colonies.
- Some Southeast Asians resisted colonial rule more successfully than others.
- Europeans used direct and indirect rule to exploit Africa. Resentment led to African nationalism.

THE SIEGE OF DELHI

British forces storm the Cashmere Gate to reclaim the city of Delhi after the Sepoy Mutiny.



THE INAUGURATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL

The Suez Canal made control of Egypt even more desirable to European rivals.



INDIA and New Imperialism

- Indian mistrust of the British and cultural differences led to the Sepoy Mutiny.
- After the mutiny, Britain stabilized India but hurt the economy and degraded the Indians.
- Resistance to British rule led to an independence movement guided by Mohandas Gandhi, which was ultimately successful.

LATIN AMERICA and New Imperialism

- Inspired by the American and French Revolutions, Latin Americans started their own revolts for independence.
- Latin American nations wrote constitutions similar to constitutions of the United States and European democracies.
- After gaining independence, Latin American nations experienced staggering economic and political problems.

HARVESTING COFFEE IN BRAZIL

In the spirit of new imperialism, Great Britain made economic colonies out of Latin America and took advantage of its raw materials such as coffee.

