

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
LATIN AMERICA

❖ VOLUME III ❖

Search for National Identity
(1820s to 1900)

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Volume III: Search for National Identity

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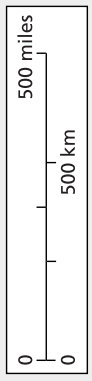
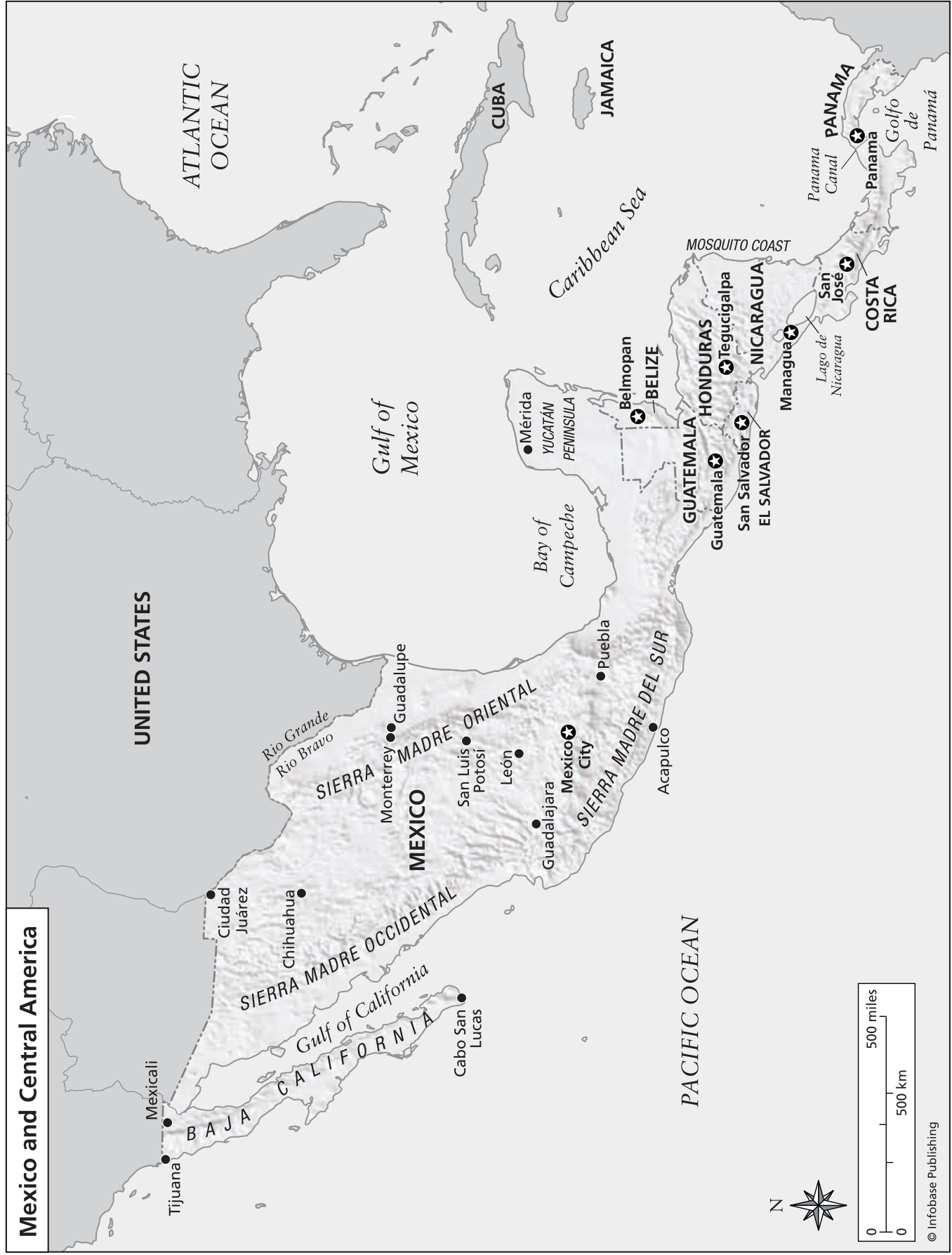
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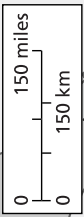
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Mexico and Central America



The Caribbean



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South America



❖ PREFACE TO THE SET ❖

How does one define Latin America? Geographically, Latin America stretches from the Rio Grande River on the U.S.-Mexican border and Cuba, bordering the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, to Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of South America. The area is two and one-half times the size of the United States. Brazil alone is slightly larger than the continental United States. Within this vast geographic region there is enormous human and physical variety.

In historical terms, Latin America includes those parts of the Americas that at one time were linked to the Spanish, Portuguese, and French Empires and whose people speak a Romance language (a language derived from Latin, such as Spanish, Portuguese, French, and the derivative Creole). When Napoleon III popularized the term *Latin America* in the 1860s, he implied a cultural relationship between France and those countries of the Western Hemisphere where these language traditions existed: Mexico, most of Central and South America, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana. A literal interpretation of Napoleon III's definition would also include portions of the Southwest United States, Florida, and Louisiana; Quebec in Canada; and the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off of Newfoundland's coast. English is the first language of most Caribbean islands, and Papiamentu, a form of Creole, is predominant in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. Amerindian dialects remain the primary languages in parts of Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

The mixture of languages illustrates the diversity of race and culture across Latin America. The Amerindians, or Native Americans, dominated the pre-Columbian time period. In the 21st century, their descendants are still prevalent in Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and the upper reaches of the Amazon River in the Andes Mountains. Latin America was colonized primarily by the Spanish and to a lesser degree by the Portuguese, first and foremost in Brazil. British, French, and Dutch interlopers followed, and in the 20th century,

the United States had a profound impact across the region. For economic reasons, slavery was practiced most notably in Brazil, along the Ecuadoran coast, and in the Caribbean Islands. Each of these ethnic groups—and the descendants of interracial relationships—produced its own culture with unique religious traditions, family life, dress styles, food, art, music, and architecture. With accelerated globalization throughout the 20th century, Western ideas and culture have had a significant impact upon Latin America.

Geography and climatic conditions also play a major role in the development of societies, their cultures, and economies. Latin America is no exception. For example, the Andes Mountains that traverse the west coast of South America served as the centerpiece of the Inca Empire in the pre-Columbian period, the source of gems and ores during the Spanish colonial period, and the ores and petroleum essential for modern-day industries. The Andes westward slopes and coastal plains provided agricultural products since the earliest of times. The rolling plains, or pampas, of north-central Argentina, southern Brazil, and Uruguay coupled with a Mediterranean-type climate turned those areas into highly productive cattle and grain centers. In contrast, the Amazon rain forest in Brazil, while still home to undiscovered Native American groups, offered little economic advantage until the 20th century, when the logging industry and land clearing for agricultural expansion cut deep into the rain forest's expanse. The tropical climate of the Caribbean and the coastal areas of Central America offered fertile ground for sugar, tobacco, and tropical fruits.

People, geography, language and culture, and economic pursuits transformed Latin America into one of the world's most diverse regions. Yet, the 41 countries and foreign dependencies that make up Latin America share four distinguishable historical time periods: the pre-Columbian period, followed by nearly three centuries of colonial rule; the struggle for national identity during the 19th century; and the quest for modernity since 1900.

The *Encyclopedia of Latin America* takes a chronological approach to the examination of the Latin American experience. Divided into four volumes, each devoted to one of the four time periods that define Latin American history, this unique reference work contrasts sharply with traditional encyclopedias. It provides students and general readers the opportunity to examine the complexity and vastness of the region's development and culture within a given time period and to compare the time periods.

Volume I, *Amerindians through Foreign Colonization*, focuses on the pre-Columbian period from the earliest Native American societies through the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores. Scholars continue to debate the number of Native Americans, or "Indians" as Christopher Columbus labeled them, who resided in the Americas when Columbus first reached the region in 1492. Estimates range from a low of 10 million to a high of slightly more than 100 million. While most scholars agree that the earliest waves of migrants came to the Americas across the Bering Straits land bridge as early as 40,000 years ago, there is continued debate over both the dates of settlement and descent of the earliest settlers. More recent scholarship in Chile and Brazil place the earliest New World migrants to 33,000 B.C.E. and suggest them to be of South Asian and Pacific Islander—rather than Eurasian—descent.

By the time of the European arrival on Latin America's mainland in the early 1500s, three highly organized Native American societies existed: Aztec, Maya, and Inca. Mexico's central valley was home to the rigidly stratified Aztec society, which by the time of the conquest reached southward and eastward to the Caribbean coast. The Aztecs had earned a reputation for their military prowess, for the brutal exploitation of the peoples brought into the empire, and for ceremonial city building, evidenced by its capital, Tenochtitlán, the site of contemporary Mexico City. From Peru's Cuzco Valley, the Inca Empire in South America stretched 3,000 miles (4,287 km) through the Andes mountain chain and inland to the east from Ecuador, in the north, to Chile, in the south. Through a tightly controlled bureaucracy, the Incas exercised control of the conquered communities. The Maya civilization began approximately in 1000 B.C.E. and, through a system of independent city-states, extended from Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula through Guatemala. For reasons not yet fully understood, Classic Maya civilization began its political collapse around 900 C.E., but Mayan society and culture remained intact. Aside from the three major groups, many other Native American societies existed throughout Latin America, such as the Arawaks and Tainos in the Caribbean and the Mapuche and the Guaraní in Argentina, Paraguay, and Chile.

Marked differences separated groups within the larger society and each group from the other. For example, even today, the Mexican government reports nearly 200 different linguistic groups; Guatemala, 26 different Mayan dialects; and an estimated 10 million Native Americans speak some form of the Quechua language in the high

Andes along South America's Pacific coast. Elaborate ceremonies that included human sacrifice characterized the Aztec, Inca, and Maya religions. Agriculture was the primary economic pursuit of all Native American groups, while hunting and fishing were pursued by some groups. Textiles and metalwork usually contained designs peculiar to each indigenous group.

Volume II, *From Colonies to Independent Nations*, focuses on the Spanish colonial period, from the early 16th century through the early 19th century. At the beginning of this time period, the Spanish explored the South and North American continents, laying out an empire in the name of the king and queen of Spain and the Roman Catholic Church. Despite the vastness of the empire, which stretched from Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of South America to the far reaches of the northwest Pacific Coast, eastward to the Mississippi River and into the Floridas, the Spanish attention focused on the areas of modern-day Mexico and Peru. Both were home to significant Native American societies and rich in mineral wealth, particularly gold and silver. The colonies existed for the benefit of Spain, and the application of mercantilist economic policies led to the exploitation of natural resources, regulation of manufacturing and agriculture, and control of international trade, all of which contributed to a pattern of large land holdings and abuse of labor. In effect, the system drained the colonies of its specie and other wealth and negated economic development and the emergence of a significant entrepreneurial class in the colonies. The Spanish imposed their political and cultural systems on the colonies, including the Native Americans. A highly centralized governmental structure provided little opportunity for political participation by the Spanish colonial residents, except in matters at the local level. The colonial laws and rules were made in Spain and enforced in the New World by officials appointed by the Crown. During the colonial period, the Catholic Church became an entity unto itself. It administered education, hospitals, social services, and its own court system. It tithed its followers and charged fees for religious services. Because the church was exempt from taxes to the Spanish Crown, it emerged as a colonial banker and a benefactor of the Spanish colonial system. The church, therefore, was not anxious to see the system change.

In theory, the Brazilian colonial experience paralleled the Spanish model, but in application, the Brazilian model was much different. The states established on Brazil's Atlantic coast were administered like personal fiefdoms by the king of Portugal's appointed authorities. Because the colony lacked natural resources for mass exploitation and a Native American population to convert to Catholicism, Portugal gave little attention to its New World colony.

Latecomers to the New World, the British, French, and Dutch colonization schemes were confined to the Caribbean region. As with the Spanish and Portuguese,

each island fell victim to the political system of the mother country. Over time, the local governments of the British became more representative of the resident population. The economic focus on sugar production caused the importation of slave labor from Africa.

New World discontent in the mid-17th century led to reforms in the Spanish colonial system, but it took European events in the early 19th century to bring about Latin America's independence by 1826. Only Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under Spanish rule, and the British, French, and Dutch maintained control over their Caribbean island positions. Brazil received its independence on September 7, 1822, but continued to be governed by a member of the royal Portuguese family until November 15, 1889.

The legacies of colonial rule became evident immediately following independence. The establishment of governmental institutions and the place of each nation in the growing global economy that characterized 19th-century Latin America are the subject of volume III, *The Search for National Identity*. In addressing these issues, political and religious leaders, intellectuals, and foreigners who came to Latin America were confronted by the legacies of Spanish colonial rule.

The New World's Spanish descendants, the creoles, replaced the Spanish peninsulars at the apex of the rigid social structure and sought to keep political power confined to themselves. Only conflicting ideologies separated the elite. One group, the Conservatives, remained tied to the Spanish tradition of a highly centralized government, a privileged Catholic Church, and a hesitancy to reach out to the world. In contrast, the Liberals argued in favor of a greater decentralization of political power, the curtailment of church privileges, and greater participation in world affairs, particularly trade. Liberals and Conservatives, however, did not want to share political power or wealth with the laboring classes, made up of mestizos, Native Americans, or blacks. The dispute over the authority of central governments played out in different ways. In Argentina and Chile, for example, Conservatives Juan Manuel de Rosas and Diego Portales produced constitutions entrenching the Spanish traditions. In Central America, it signified the disintegration of the United Provinces by 1839 and the establishment of Conservative-led governments. The contestants for Mexican political power took to the battlefield, and the struggle produced 41 presidents from 1822 through 1848.

The Latin American world began to change in the 1860s with the emergence of Liberal leaders. It increasingly contributed raw materials to industrialized Europe. The heads of state welcomed foreign investment for the harvesting and processing of primary products and for constructing the supportive infrastructure. And, while the Liberals struck against church privileges, as in Chile during the 1880s, they still retained political power and continued to discriminate against the working classes.

Brazil and the colonized Caribbean Islands fell within the same purview as Spanish America. Although Brazil peacefully achieved independence in 1822, it continued its monarchical form of government until 1889. During that same time period, Brazil participated in the world economy through the exportation of sugar, followed by rubber and coffee. Meanwhile, the Caribbean Islands from Cuba southward to Trinidad and Tobago continued to be administered as part of European colonial empires. Administrators from Spain, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands arrived to govern the island and to oversee the exportation of primary products, usually sugar, tobacco, and tropical fruits.

Latin America's participation in the global economy accelerated in the 20th century, but the new era also brought new players in the region's economic and political arena—the United States and Latin America's lower socioeconomic groups. These concepts form the basis for the entries in volume IV, *The Age of Globalization*.

The U.S. entry into Latin American affairs was prompted by the Cuban struggle for independence from 1895 to 1898 and the U.S. determination to construct a trans-isthmian canal. The U.S. three-month participation in the Cuban-Spanish War in 1898 and its role in securing Panama's independence in 1903 also confirmed long-standing assumptions regarding the backwardness of Latin American societies, owing to the legacies of the Spanish colonial system. More obvious was the need to secure the Panama Canal from foreign interlopers. U.S. policymakers combined the two issues—political and financial irresponsibility and canal security—to justify U.S. intervention throughout the circum-Caribbean region well into the 1920s. U.S. private investment followed the government's interventions and together led to the charge of “Yankee imperialism.”

The entrance or attempted entrance into the national political arena by the middle and lower socioeconomic groups remained an internal affair until after World War II, when they were considered to be part of an international communist movement and again brought the United States into Latin America's internal affairs. Argentina and Chile provide early 20th-century examples of the middle sector entering the political arena while the governments continued to suppress labor. The results of the Mexican Revolution (1911–17) provided the first example of a Latin American social revolution addressing the needs of the lower socioeconomic class at the expense of the elite. In the 1920s and 1930s, small Communist or communist-like political parties or groups emerged in several countries, including Costa Rica, Chile, Brazil, and Peru. While of concern at the time, the presence of communism took on greater importance with the emergence of the cold war in 1945, when the “generation of rising expectations” fused with the Communists in their call for a complete overhaul of the socioeconomic and political structures rooted in Spanish colonialism. In the ambience of the cold war, however, the 1954 presidential

election of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala, Fidel Castro's actions in Cuba in 1959 and 1960, the 1963–65 political crisis in the Dominican Republic, the administration of Chilean president Salvador Allende from 1970 to 1973, and the Central American wars during the 1980s were intertwined into the greater context: struggles of freedom against international communism based in Moscow. To "save" these countries from communism, the United States intervened but in so doing restored and propped the old order. The struggle against communism also resulted in a generation of military governments across South America.

Beginning in the 1980s, democratic governments replaced military regimes across Latin America, and each

of the countries experienced the growth of new political parties, mostly left of center. The new democratic governments also accepted and implemented the neoliberal, or free-market, economic model in vogue at the time. By the mid-1990s, many of the free-market reforms were in place, and Latin America's macroeconomic picture had vastly improved. Still, the promised benefits failed to reach the working classes: Half of all Latin Americans remained poverty stricken. In response to their personal crisis, beginning in 1998 with the election of Hugo Chávez as president of Venezuela, the Latin American people started placing so-called leftists in their presidential palaces. Latin America may be at the precipice of another change.

❖ HOW TO USE THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA ❖

The *Encyclopedia of Latin America* explores broad historical developments within the context of four time periods that together make up the complete Latin American historical experience. For example, the student or general reader can learn about a given country, when it was a “location” during the pre-Columbian period (volume I), a part of the Spanish colonial empire (volume II), a new nation struggling for its identity (volume III), or in its search for modernity (volume IV). The same can be done with political ideas and practices, economic pursuits, intellectual ideas, and culture patterns, to mention just a few of the themes that are explored across the four volumes. To locate topics in each of the four volumes, the reader should utilize the list of entries in the front matter of each volume. Words set in SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS in the body of a text indicate that an entry on this topic can be found in the same volume. At the conclusion of each entry are cross-references to related entries in other volumes in the set. For further help with locating information, the reader should turn to the comprehensive set index that appears at the end of volume IV.

Within each volume, the entries focus on the time period at hand. Each volume begins with an introduction providing a historical overview of the time period, followed by a chronology. A glossary of terms can be found in the back matter of the book. Each entry is followed by a list of the most salient works on the subject, providing the reader the opportunity to further examine the subject. The suggested readings at the end of each entry are augmented by the select bibliography appended to each volume, which offers a listing of the most important works for the time period. The further readings for each entry and selected readings for the volume together form a comprehensive list of Latin America’s most important historical literature.

Each volume also includes a collection of documents and excerpts to illustrate the major themes of the time period under consideration. Offering eyewitness accounts of significant historical events and personages, they perhaps will encourage the user to further explore historical documentation.

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❧ INTRODUCTION ❧ TO THIS VOLUME

This volume covers the national period in Latin American history, from the time immediately following the wars for independence (the 1820s) to the turn of the century. That era was one of major transition in much of the region. In the early decades of the 19th century, the mainland Spanish colonies fought bloody and protracted wars in order to break away from European imperial control. The shift from colony to independent nation was accompanied by debates over governing and economic systems and social order. Those conflicts often produced instability as regional leaders vied for power, national borders shifted, and foreign powers intervened. Nation building was neither an easy nor a peaceful process. The entries in this volume describe the precarious and volatile evolution of many of the new nations. While common themes were evident, individual nations, regions, and peoples often developed in very different ways. This volume also details the nuances and individuality that defines the different Latin American cultures.

The shift away from colonialism began as early as the 1790s when a black and mulatto revolt in the French Caribbean colony of Saint Domingue eventually culminated in the creation of the new sovereign nation of Haiti. That successful movement to end colonial rule combined with Enlightenment ideas about governing and with growing discontent over the injustices of European imperial policies. Important members of the creole elite in the Latin American colonies began to push for reform, while others considered the possibility of self-rule. That nascent interest in independence intensified in the early years of the 19th century after French emperor Napoléon Bonaparte set out to expand his empire across Europe and beyond. In 1807, the French army invaded the Iberian Peninsula, and by the following year, both Portugal and Spain were occupied by the French. As the Spaniards resisted the French incursion, they formed various local juntas to govern in their monarch's absence. Similar self-governing committees formed in the colo-

nies, and these later became the foundation for independence movements throughout Spanish America.

The independence era lasted from approximately 1808 until the 1820s in the mainland Latin American colonies, but the nature of the movements varied greatly. Areas such as Mexico and Peru that were long-standing seats of royal authority witnessed the emergence of strong loyalist groups that opposed the efforts of liberal independence leaders to break completely from Spain. Mexico and Peru were also home to large indigenous populations, and many creole elite worried that challenging the traditional power structures would lead to mass uprisings they would not be able to control. As a result, independence leaders met with considerable resistance in those countries, which achieved independence more gradually and somewhat reluctantly. Other, more peripheral regions of the colonies were not traditional seats of royal authority and lacked large indigenous populations. In Chile, Argentina, and elsewhere, the wars for independence were no less violent, but independence movements generally faced less organized loyalist opposition and, thus, were able to break away from Spain more quickly. The Portuguese colony of Brazil had a unique independence experience as the Portuguese Crown and 10,000 officials fled Napoléon's invasion and relocated at Rio de Janeiro in 1807. The Portuguese Crown operated from the Americas until 1822, when the king returned to Lisbon and his son Pedro, left behind in Brazil, later declared that country's independence. In the Caribbean, only Haiti and the Dominican Republic achieved independence in the early 19th century. Elites in other Spanish colonies in the Caribbean (Cuba and Puerto Rico) initially rejected the idea of independence, largely because they feared revolt among their sizable slave populations. The British, French, and Dutch also held small colonies with slave-based economies in the Caribbean and northern South America. Much of the 19th-century history of those areas was defined by trade,

abolition, and immigration, and many remained under European control until well into the 20th century.

In the areas that achieved independence in the first decades of the 19th century, the shift from colony to sovereign nation was rarely smooth. More than a decade of warfare left the former Spanish colonies in disarray. Vital economic sectors such as mining and agriculture were damaged and struggled to recover. Furthermore, new governments had to deal with the social and political systems left over from the colonial era. Slavery and other forms of coerced labor continued to exist, and the new leaders in most nations spent several decades debating abolition and other labor reforms. Although African slavery was eventually abolished in the former mainland Spanish colonies by the 1850s, repressive and exploitative indigenous labor policies continued throughout the century. Cuba and Puerto Rico—which remained under Spanish control—and the former Portuguese colony of Brazil retained a slave-based labor force in their plantation economies until the latter half of the 19th century.

One of the most significant consequences of independence was the removal of the monarch as the legitimate authority. Leaders in new nations attempted to fill the power vacuum by writing constitutions and experimenting with liberal and democratic political institutions. Liberal leaders of the independence generation drafted new governing documents in Argentina in 1819, Mexico in 1824, and Chile in 1828. Other nations followed with constitutions of their own in subsequent decades, and many of those early documents were modeled after the U.S. Constitution and the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812. Constitutional experiments also required national leaders to consider the complex system of caste and social class in the context of citizenship and political rights. A firmly entrenched system of social inequality remained and many Latin Americans—including women, the poor, the indigenous, and former slaves—were not incorporated into the political process until well into the 20th century. Moreover, despite attempts to establish democracy, the political systems in newly independent nations remained shaky. Most countries went through multiple constitutions over the course of the 19th century. Political elites competed for power, and those conflicts frequently turned violent. New leaders who took power by force often abrogated the constitution and governing systems established by their predecessors in favor of a political infrastructure better suited to their own immediate needs.

Instability and political strife allowed for the emergence of autocratic yet charismatic leaders known as *caudillos* throughout Latin America. Caudillos were generally military men who had participated in the wars for independence. They often built up a loyal following and relied on those supporters to take power by force. Caudillos ruled with a heavy-handed authoritarianism but also exhibited personal characteristics that their

supporters found likable and even charming. Caudillos emerged in nearly all of the former Spanish colonies starting as early as the 1820s, and political rule under *caudillismo* lasted for several decades. Caudillos' use of tyranny and personal favors complicated early efforts at establishing lasting democratic institutions. Indeed, many caudillos found it more expedient to circumvent the constitution and dissolve legislative bodies than to rule under the restrictions of a formal democratic process. Many did, however, provide a much-needed sense of stability in nations that were struggling to find their way after more than a decade of violent revolution. Although most nations began to move away from caudillo rule by the 1850s, remnants of *caudillismo* were evident in Latin American politics throughout the 19th century.

Spain proved reluctant to relinquish control over its former colonies, and a real fear remained in Latin America that the once-powerful European nation would try to recolonize the areas that had just won independence. Indeed, the Spanish did make an attempt to retake Mexico in 1828. That effort was successfully thwarted by a young and disorganized Mexican military. Spain was more successful in later decades when it established an empire in the Dominican Republic from 1860 to 1865. Similar threats came from other European powers. The French made several incursions into Mexico and Central America. In an era known as the French intervention, Napoléon III occupied Mexico from 1862 to 1867. He installed a European emperor in an attempt to build an empire in the Americas. The United States also became a concern for leaders in the new Latin American nations. The U.S. threat took some by surprise because the North American independence experience had been a model for many Latin Americans, and U.S. leaders had issued the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 vowing to safeguard the independence of Latin American nations. Nevertheless, by the 1830s, U.S. expansionist interests had set their sights on Latin American nations in the throes of instability. The expansionist cause in the United States—also known as Manifest Destiny—played a role in the Texas revolution in 1836 and the subsequent U.S.-Mexican War from 1846 to 1848. Mexico was forced to cede nearly half its national territory to the United States at the conclusion of that war. U.S. interests in Central America led a number of filibustering expeditions in the 1850s. William Walker even briefly installed himself as president of Nicaragua during that time. In the last half of the 19th century, U.S. interests shifted to the Caribbean, much of which was still under European imperial control. The threat of foreign invasion, territorial loss, and/or recolonization exacerbated the internal political conflicts that already existed in Latin America and frustrated leaders' attempts to bring peace and stability to their nations.

Equally challenging to national stability were the frequent armed conflicts between neighboring Latin American nations. Many early conflicts were over territory, trade,



and access to resources. Brazil and Argentina fought the Cisplatine War between 1825 and 1828 over the Banda Oriental, or Cisplatine Province. The resolution of that conflict was mediated by the British, who established the independent republic of Uruguay as a buffer zone between the two nations. In 1828, Peru fought a war with the Confederation of Gran Colombia over boundary disputes that were rooted in colonial administrative divisions. Chile, Peru, and Bolivia went to war after Bolivian caudillo Andrés Santa Cruz attempted to form the Peru-Bolivia Confederation. In the Caribbean, Haiti invaded neighboring Santo Domingo and occupied the eastern portion of the island of Hispaniola for 22 years. Dominicans finally ousted Haitian forces in 1844 after more than a decade of organized armed opposition. In the 1860s, the War of the Triple Alliance was fought between Paraguay on one side and Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay on the other. Chile battled against Peru and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific from 1879 to 1884. The numerous intraregional wars resulted in shifting borders or even the formation of entirely new nations, as in the case of Uruguay in the 1820s and Panama in the early 20th century. Nineteenth-century wars also helped shape the balance of power in the region with nations such as Chile and Brazil emerging as formidable military and economic powers, while Bolivia and Paraguay saw their dominance decline.

Nevertheless, the most serious threat to national stability in Latin American nations came from internal power struggles. In the early 19th century, ideological conflicts formed in many of the former Spanish colonies as the liberal and conservative political factions competed for power and sought to influence the direction of national development. Conservatives generally wanted to retain the power structures and social traditions that had defined the colonial era. Liberals, on the other hand, aimed to divest the new nations of the colonial practices they considered were thwarting modernization and progress. The liberals eventually won the struggle. Many early liberal leaders had helped lead independence movements, and their influence is evident in many of the first Latin American constitutions. In later decades, liberal leaders were often intellectuals, many of whom denounced the tyranny and corruption of *caudillismo*. Venezuelan literary figure Andrés Bello was a contemporary of Simón Bolívar during the independence era and later held a number of government posts in Chile. Prominent Argentina liberal leader Domingo F. Sarmiento was renowned for his literary works, in which he denounced the rule of Juan Manuel de Rosas. Mexican writer José María Luis Mora spoke out against the arbitrary rule of Antonio López de Santa Anna. His writings helped motivate other liberals to oust the dictator in the 1850s.

Latin American liberals introduced policies intended to reform the old ways. One of their most notable targets was the Catholic Church, which had become the most powerful institution in Latin America by the end

of the colonial period. Reformers moved to secularize society by placing some former church functions—such as welfare, medical care, charity, and recording of vital statistics—under state auspices. Liberals also targeted the church's vast real estate holdings in a series of land reforms intended to facilitate the creation of a viable sector of small farmers. Supporters of the church and other conservatives railed against such reforms. Convinced that disturbing the long-standing social order would lead to chaos, conservatives objected when liberal leaders attempted to curtail the traditional system of social privilege and legal protections, or *fueros*, enjoyed by members of the church and the military. Hostilities between liberals and conservatives contributed to decades of violence and instability in many Latin American nations. Opposing sides fought formal civil wars in Mexico, Colombia, and Chile, while other nations saw near-constant power changes as a result of violent coups and overthrows of governments.

Although reformers encountered numerous challenges and resistance to change, Latin American society underwent dramatic transitions in the 19th century. Liberal policies gradually secularized society, and new nations eventually became stronger and more viable. Economic reforms were among the most notable changes. In contrast to the closed mercantilist system of the colonies period, in the 19th century, economic policies were influenced by *laissez-faire* theories and the notion of comparative advantage. More open trade paved the way for impressive economic growth in the last half of the 19th century. Healthy and more viable economies brought much-needed stability to the region. *Laissez-faire* policies and product specialization also had drawbacks, however, as many nations turned to producing only one or two primary products for export. Soon Latin American economies had become export-oriented monocultures whose financial well-being was increasingly tied to the volatile global market. The difficulties that accompanied various short-term economic downturns were early indications that wholesale economic liberalism would be problematic. The full extent of these economic weaknesses did not become evident until well into the 20th century.

In the last half of the 19th century, cultural and social transformations often accompanied economic changes. Permanent borders took root and national governments secured power. These developments helped shape notions of national identity. In many nations, the infighting between liberals and conservatives subsided, and powerful liberal oligarchies made up of political elite who also had a direct stake in the economy emerged. Those leaders often used their nations' newfound wealth to shape concepts of nationalism at home and perceptions of their nations abroad. Leaders in Mexico, Argentina, Peru, and elsewhere became concerned with promoting order, progress, and modernity. Latin American elite were frequently influenced by Auguste Comte's

theories of positivism. In Mexico, Porfirio Díaz converted public spaces into displays of national greatness, with monuments and grandiose government buildings. Argentine leaders showcased Buenos Aires as the “Paris of South America,” as European artistic styles and architectural designs became popular. Indeed, most nations attempted to display their progress and modernity by emulating European culture. Positivist policies facilitated the construction of transportation and communications infrastructure. In conjunction with European and U.S. investors, Latin American leaders oversaw the construction of thousands of miles of railroad tracks, highways, and telegraph wires. They also invested in port improvements and military modernization to facilitate foreign trade and safeguard national prosperity. In Brazil, the

introduction of positivist doctrine had even more dramatic effects, since economic modernization helped advance the abolitionist cause. The former Portuguese colony became the last American nation to abolish slavery, in 1888. Positivist influence also played a part in the overthrow of Brazil’s monarchy one year later and the formation of the Old Republic.

By the end of the 19th century, new nations had emerged in areas that had for centuries been under European colonial rule. The political, social, cultural, and economic processes that defined this era of nation building were firmly in place by the turn of the century, and many of those 19th-century systems continued to influence Latin American development in the 20th century.

TIME LINE

(NINETEENTH CENTURY)

1791

- Haitian Revolution begins after a weeklong slave revolt on the island colony.

1795

- Spanish cede control of Santo Domingo to the French in the Peace of Basel.

1804

- Haitian declaration of independence

1806

- Francisco de Miranda leads a failed attempt to incite an independence movement along the Venezuelan coast.
- First British invasion of Buenos Aires, Argentina
- Rivalry between Henri Christophe and Alexandre Pétion divides Haiti politically between north and south.

1807

- British abolish the transatlantic slave trade.
- Napoléon Bonaparte begins invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, setting off resistance movements in Spain, Portugal, and the American colonies.
- Portuguese Court relocates to Brazil.
- Second British invasion of Buenos Aires, Argentina

1808

- Charles IV and Ferdinand VII abdicate the Spanish throne. Napoléon installs his brother as Joseph I of Spain.

1809

- French cede Santo Domingo back to the Spanish after successful independence movement in Haiti.

1810

- Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla issues the Grito de Dolores, marking the beginning of Mexico's independence movement.

1811

- Declaration of independence in Venezuela
- Declaration of independence in Asunción, Paraguay

1812

- Caracas earthquake disrupts Venezuelan independence movement.

1814

- Ferdinand VII is restored to the throne in Spain and abrogates the liberal Constitution of 1812.
- Dutch cede control of Guyana to the British.

1815

- Brazil becomes a kingdom on equal status with Portugal.
- Simón Bolívar writes the *Jamaica Letter*, in which he outlines his vision of an independent and united America.
- Haitian leader Alexandre Pétion provides sanctuary to South American independence leader Simón Bolívar.

1816

- The first Argentine congress is formed and declares independence.
- Publication of Mexico's first novel, *The Itching (or Mangy) Parrot*, by José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi.

1817

- Brazilian forces invade the Banda Oriental.
- Treaty between Spain and Great Britain abolishes the legal transatlantic slave trade, although a nonsanctioned slave trade continues.

1818

- Battle of Maipó secures Chilean independence.

1819

- Simón Bolívar convenes the Congress of Angostura and forms Gran Colombia.

1820

- Riego Revolt in Spain forces Ferdinand VII to agree not to send Spanish military reinforcements to the Americas and to reinstate the Constitution of 1812.

1821

- John VI returns to Portugal, leaving his son Pedro I to rule Brazil.
- Brazilian regent John annexes the Banda Oriental and re-names it the Cisplatine Province.
- Victory at the Battle of Carabobo secures the independence of Venezuela.
- University of Buenos Aires is founded in Argentina.
- Haiti is reunited under Jean-Pierre Boyer.
- Treaty of Three Guarantees ensures Mexican independence under a monarchy. Agustín de Iturbide is named Emperor Agustín I.

1822

- Pedro I declares Brazil's independence with the Grito de Ipiranga.

1822

- Haitian leader Jean-Pierre Boyer invades neighboring Dominican Republic, initiating 22-year Haitian occupation.

1823

- Agustín de Iturbide is forced to abdicate the throne of Mexico, marking the end of the Mexican Empire.
- U.S. president James Monroe issues the Monroe Doctrine, which articulates a protective policy toward the newly independent nations of Latin America.
- Present-day Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, and El Salvador form the United Provinces of Central America after the collapse of the Mexican Empire.

1824

- Victory in the Battle of Ayacucho secures the independence of Peru.
- Mexican republic is established under a constitution.

1825

- Creation of the Republic of Bolivia
- Thirty-three Immortals rebel against Brazilian forces in the Banda Oriental, beginning the Cisplatine War.
- Indemnity agreement with France secures recognition of Haitian independence in exchange for large debt obligation.

1826

- Promulgation of the Bolivarian Constitution
- Rebellion led by José Antonio Páez erupts in Gran Colombia.
- Code Rural imposes forced labor system in Haiti.

1828

- Treaty of Montevideo ends the Cisplatine War and creates the Republic of Uruguay.

1829

- Juan Manuel de Rosas comes to power in Argentina.
- Antonio López de Santa Anna repels an attempted invasion by the Spanish in Mexico.

1830

- Dissolution of Gran Colombia

1831

- Pedro I abdicates the throne in Brazil in favor of his five-year-old son, Pedro II. Beginning of the Regency period in Brazilian government.

1832

- The War on Cabanos begins in Pernambuco, Brazil.

1833

- Slavery Abolition Act gradually ends slavery in most British colonies.
- Antonio López de Santa Anna is elected president of Mexico for the first time.

1834

- Assassination of Juan Facundo Quiroga in Argentina

1835

- Onset of the War of the Farrapos in Brazil
- Siete Leyes dissolves state governments in Mexico, setting off conflicts in the Yucatán and Texas.

1836

- Formation of Peru-Bolivia Confederation
- Chile-Peru War of 1836
- Texas secedes from Mexico and begins the Texas revolution.

1837

- Livingston Codes go into effect in Guatemala, introducing a wide range of legal reforms.

1838

- La Trinitaria opposition movement forms in Santo Domingo against Haitian forces.
- First railroad opens in Cuba between Havana and Güines.
- French blockade of Buenos Aires, Argentina
- Mexican forces fight the French in the Pastry War.
- Costa Rica, Honduras, and Nicaragua withdraw from the United Provinces of Central America, leading to its eventual demise.

1838–51

- Guerra Grande civil war in Uruguay

1839

- Dissolution of Peru-Bolivia Confederation

1839–41

- War of the Supremes among competing caudillos in present-day Colombia

1840

- Pedro II crowned, beginning Second Empire in Brazil

1841

- John Lloyd Stephens publishes his famous *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatán*, which chronicles his travels and his tours of Maya archaeological sites.

1843

- University of Chile opens.
- Ecuador promulgates conservative constitution known as the “Charter of Slavery.”

1843–79

- Guano age in Peru

1844

- Abolitionist plot known as the Ladder Conspiracy in Cuba is brutally put down by Spanish authorities.
- Dominican opposition leaders finally oust Haitian forces, ending the Haitian occupation.

1845

- Publication of Argentine Domingo F. Sarmiento’s *Facundo*, based on the life of regional caudillo Juan Facundo Quiroga

1846

- Onset of the U.S.-Mexican War

1847

- Onset of the Caste War of the Yucatán in Mexico
- U.S. occupation of Mexico City

1848

- Slavery abolished in French colonies
- The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the U.S.-Mexican War and forces Mexico to cede its northern territory to the United States.

1849

- Onset of era of liberal reform in Colombia
- Hise Treaty grants the Accessory Transit Company exclusive rights to construct a canal, railroad, and roads across Nicaragua.

1850

- End of slave trade to Brazil
- Clayton-Bulwer Treaty forbids Britain and the United States from seeking new territorial possessions throughout Central America.

1851

- First rail line opens in Peru between Lima and Callao.

1852

- Overthrow of Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas

1853

- Liberal constitution promulgated in Colombia
- Mexico sells the Mesilla Valley territory to the United States in the Gadsden Purchase.

1854

- First rail line in Brazil opens between Rio de Janeiro and Petrópolis.
- Slavery abolished in Peru
- Island of Vieques permanently annexed by Puerto Rico
- Revolution of Ayutla in Mexico removes Antonio López de Santa Anna from office for a final time and sets the stage for an era of liberal reform.
- In a conflict with the British, U.S. warships destroy Greytown along the Nicaraguan coast.

1855

- Chilean Civil Code goes into effect.
- Filibuster William Walker makes his initial attempt to capture and rule Central America.

1857

- Brazilian José de Alencar publishes the novel *O Guarani*.
- Mexican leaders promulgate a liberal constitution.

1858–61

- War of Reform in Mexico

1858–63

- Federal War in Venezuela

1860

- Chilean government initiates strategy to populate and develop the Araucania.
- Gabriel García Moreno rises to power in Ecuador.
- U.S. filibuster William Walker executed by Honduran military
- In the Treaty of Managua, the British cede claims to the Mosquito Coast to Nicaragua.

1861

- Spain reannexes Dominican Republic.

1862

- French forces invade Mexico, beginning the French intervention
- Mexican forces win a surprising victory against the French in the Battle of Puebla.

1863

- Colombia promulgates a second liberal constitution.
- Onset of the War of Restoration in the Dominican Republic to oust Spanish forces
- Slavery abolished in Dutch colonies

1864

- Pope Pius IX issues the Syllabus of Errors condemning liberal ideas considered contrary to Catholic doctrine.
- Austrian archduke Maximilian and his wife, Carlotta, supported by the French military, arrive in Mexico to claim the throne.

1864–70

- War of the Triple Alliance fought by the forces of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay against Paraguay

1865

- Spanish ships blockade the Chilean port city of Valparaíso.
- Junta de Información formed in Spain to address demands for reform in Puerto Rico and Cuba
- Era of the Second Republic begins in the Dominican Republic at the end of the Spanish annexation.

1866

- Treaty of Mejillones between Bolivia and Chile transfers territory in the Atacama Desert to Chile.

1867

- Treaty of Ayacucho between Bolivia and Brazil grants the Acre Province to Bolivia.
- Blue Revolution in Venezuela
- French forces are defeated by the Mexican army, and Maximilian is executed.
- National University opens in Bogotá, Colombia.

1868

- Grito de Yara begins the Ten Years' War in Cuba.
- Grito de Lares launches an armed insurrection against Spanish royal presence in Puerto Rico.

1869

- Domingo Sarmiento conducts Argentina's first national census.
- First bicycles imported into Mexico

1870

- April Revolution in Venezuela
- Moret Law frees many slaves in remaining Spanish colonies.
- Mexico passes national Civil Codes.

1871

- Law of the Free Womb passed by the Brazilian government in an attempt to gradually phase out slavery

1872

- Initial publication of Argentine José Hernández's poem *El gaucho Martín Fierro*

1873

- First rail line opens in Mexico between Mexico City and Veracruz.

1874

- Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between Haiti and the Dominican Republic fully recognizes Dominican independence.

1876

- First refrigerated shipment of beef leaves Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Porfirio Díaz comes to power in Mexico, beginning the Porfiriato.

1878

- Treaty of Zanjón ends the Ten Years' War in Cuba.

1878–79

- Conquest of the Desert initiative to subdue the indigenous of the *Pampas* in Argentina

1878–1900

- Regeneration period of conservative reform in Colombia

1879

- Onset of the War of the Pacific between Chile, Bolivia, and Peru

1880

- Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society founded by Joaquim Nabuco

1881

- Chilean forces begin occupation of Lima in the War of the Pacific.

1884

- Bolivia cedes the Antofagasta Province to Chile in the Treaty of Valparaiso.
- Treaty of Ancón ends the War of the Pacific.

1885

- Chile passes national Civil Codes.
- Uruguay passes national Civil Codes.

1886

- Abolition of slavery in Cuba

1887

- Positivist-inspired Clube Militar founded in Brazil
- Rafael Núñez signs concordat in alliance with Catholic Church in Colombia.

1888

- Golden Law frees all slaves in Brazil.
- Argentina passes national Civil Codes.

1889

- Revolution of 1889 ends monarchical rule in Brazil and ushers in the era of the Old Republic.

1890

- Brazilian novelist Aluísio Azevedo publishes *The Slum*.
- *La Democracia* newspaper founded by Puerto Rican Autonomist Party
- U.S. businessman Minor Keith completes the first railroad across Costa Rica.

1891

- Financial crash in Brazil as a result of fiscal policies of the Encilhamento
- Chilean civil war
- Pope Leo XIII issues the Rerum Novarum, which introduces the notion of social Christianity.

1892

- Legalist Revolution in Venezuela
- José Martí forms the Cuban Revolutionary Party.

1894

- After centuries of isolation, settlements along the Mosquito Coast are absorbed by the Nicaraguan government.

1895

- Liberal Revolution of 1895 in Ecuador
- Onset of Cuban movement for independence
- Coronation of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico

1896

- Joaquim Machado de Assis founds the Brazilian Academy of Letters.

1897

- War of Canudos destroys the religious community led by Antônio Conselheiro in Bahia, Brazil.
- Political autonomy granted to Puerto Rico

1898

- Explosion of USS *Maine* brings United States into War of 1898 for Cuban independence.

1899

- Federal Revolution in Bolivia
- Onset of the War of the Thousand Days in Colombia
- Restorative Liberal Revolution in Venezuela
- Peruvian novelist Clorinda Matto de Turner publishes *Torn from the Nest*.
- Minor Keith and Andrew W. Preston join forces to create the United Fruit Company, which eventually becomes the largest banana producer in Central America.

1900

- Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó publishes the essay “Ariel.”

1901

- Bolivian Syndicate is formed.

1903

- Bolivia cedes the Acre Province to Brazil in the Treaty of Petrópolis.
- Panama secedes from Colombia.

✿ ENTRIES A TO Z ✿



Accessory Transit Company The Accessory Transit Company was founded in 1847 by U.S. shipping and railroad businessman Cornelius Vanderbilt (b. 1794–d. 1877). The company transported people and goods across the Central American isthmus via the San Juan River, which borders NICARAGUA and COSTA RICA. From the San Juan River, travelers traversed Lake Nicaragua and then followed a carriage road to the Pacific coast port at Rivas.

United States interest in the Central American isthmus as a transit route between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans began in the mid-1840s (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). While PANAMA already provided a transisthmian transit route, the flood of passengers, particularly during the 1849 California gold rush, prompted entrepreneurs to look for another, faster, and more economical route. Vanderbilt focused on Nicaragua, which offered both time and cost savings over Panama. When U.S. diplomat Ephraim G. Squier traveled to Nicaragua in June 1849, he obtained a contract from the government for Vanderbilt to pursue the transisthmian connection. Vanderbilt directed the construction of the sea-land route from its start in 1849 to its completion in July 1851. The company transported 2,000 people across Nicaragua for the remainder of 1851, and another 10,000 took advantage of its bimonthly service during 1852. However, U.S. interests soon clashed with those of the British at Greytown, the route's eastern terminus located at the mouth of the San Juan River on Nicaragua's Caribbean coast. Tensions erupted into violence in December 1851 over payment of harbor fees by Vanderbilt's ships to the British authorities at Greytown. Leaders in Washington and London momentarily settled the controversy, which became known as the Prometheus Affair, but violence

erupted again in 1854. This time, a U.S. Navy warship leveled British-owned Greytown (see GREYTOWN AFFAIR).

The struggle between liberals and conservatives that dominated Central American politics during the 19th century had an impact on the Accessory Transit Company. After the Nicaraguan liberals lost on the battlefield in 1855, they asked Tennessee native WILLIAM WALKER to come to their assistance. Walker had already made a name for himself leading filibuster expeditions into northern Mexico. Nicaraguan liberals hoped he would lend military backing to their cause. When he arrived in 1856, Walker took advantage of an internal company dispute between Vanderbilt and Cornelius Garrison and Charles Morgan. Walker struck a deal with the latter two, which in November 1856 resulted in the cancellation of the 1849 concession on the grounds that the company had failed to pay appropriate royalties to the Nicaraguan government. Walker then reissued the contract to Morgan and Garrison. An angered Vanderbilt immediately diverted ships from his Atlantic and Pacific Steamship Company from New York and San Francisco to Panama, where the transisthmian PANAMA RAILROAD opened in 1855. This move effectively closed down the Accessory Transit Company and ended Vanderbilt's plan for a transisthmian canal utilizing the San Juan River. Vanderbilt went further still. He purchased arms for the Costa Rican army when it invaded Nicaragua in March 1856. Although Walker's vision of a Central America under his control was short lived, Vanderbilt's vision of a transit route between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans remained until 1903 when the United States chose Panama for the location of a transisthmian canal.

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Gerstle Mack. *Land Divided: History of the Panama Canal and Other Isthmian Canal Projects* (New York: Knopf, 1944).

Acre Province Acre Province was an Amazonian region on the border between BRAZIL and BOLIVIA in the 19th century. It became the subject of a boundary dispute between the two nations toward the end of that century.

The Acre Province fell within a remote area of the Amazon jungle that was considered Spanish territory during the colonial period. After independence, the new nations of Bolivia and Brazil competed for claim to the territory. In the 1867 Treaty of Ayacucho, Bolivian president MARIANO MELGAREJO secured Bolivian title to the region in exchange for ceding a larger Amazonian territory to Brazil. Boundary disputes continued, however, and these conflicts grew urgent during the Amazonian rubber boom beginning in the 1880s. Acre provided a large supply of quality rubber trees, and investors and laborers looking to profit from the region's resources arrived from Brazil. The province quickly attracted the attention of numerous other foreign investors, and the Bolivian government grew concerned over maintaining control of the lucrative region. President Manuel Pando (b. 1899–d. 1904) encouraged Bolivians to settle there but was unable to offer much protection against rival Brazilian interests. In 1901, the Bolivian government invited U.S. investors to form the BOLIVIAN SYNDICATE in an attempt to assert Bolivian authority in the region.

The Bolivian government had also been increasing customs rates for rubber transported from Acre to Brazil. In 1902, resentful Brazilians rebelled and declared independence from Bolivia. Separated from the province by rough terrain and hundreds of miles, the Bolivian government was unable to subdue the revolt. The Treaty of Petrópolis ceded the Acre Province to Brazil in November 1903.

The surrender of the Acre Province was one of a long line of territorial losses suffered by Bolivia in the final decade of the 19th century.

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agriculture Agriculture has long been the largest sector in the economies of most Latin American countries (see ECONOMY). It is also an important part of rural culture and identity in many regions. Historically, Latin American agriculture has been devoted to the production of foodstuffs, although some regional markets have specialized in nonfood products, such as COTTON and

henequen. Agricultural production has ranged from small-scale subsistence production to larger scale commodity-oriented agribusiness.

Pre-Columbian agriculture was generally organized in communally operated systems in Mexico and in South America. In Mexico, these agrarian communities were known as *EJIDOS*, and subordinate tribes within the Aztec Empire often provided a portion of their agricultural output to Tenochtitlán as tribute. The main agricultural product in Mesoamerica prior to the 16th century was MAIZE, or corn. Aztec and Maya cultures revered maize and incorporated it into their daily religious practices. In South America, the Incas developed a sophisticated system of domestic agriculture to feed a large population stretched across an enormous empire. The Incas cultivated a variety of fruits and vegetables; additionally, Spanish settlers noted the widespread chewing of COCA leaves for energy. *Ejid*os and other communal agrarian systems continued to form the organizational structure of rural indigenous villages after the Spanish conquest.

The Spanish introduced large landed estates to Latin America. The Crown rewarded early conquistadores with *encomiendas* and gave them control over the NATIVE AMERICANS living on these large estates. HACIENDAS eventually replaced *encomiendas* as large, self-sufficient rural properties throughout the Spanish colonies. The Spanish introduced a number of European crops to the Americas in the early years of the colonial period. Notably, Europeans preferred WHEAT over corn and attempted to cultivate the grain for use in bread and communion hosts. Plantations specializing in the cultivation of export-oriented commodity products such as SUGAR, COFFEE, and TOBACCO emerged in BRAZIL, the Caribbean, and in coastal regions of the Spanish mainland. The frontier regions of the Southern Cone became home to large *ESTANCIAS*, or ranches, dedicated to farming and raising European livestock.

The economies of the colonies in Spanish and Portuguese America were based on the export of raw materials such as agricultural goods and mining products to the mother countries. This economic system, known as mercantilism, kept the colonies' economies tightly controlled and essentially isolated from those of the rest of the world. After achieving independence in the early 19th century, Latin American nations opened their economies to less restrictive global TRADE under the basic theories of an economic system known as LAISSEZ-FAIRE. Even though the wars of independence had disrupted much of the agricultural output in the Americas, some areas saw a recovery in agriculture and looked forward to trade opportunities with Europe. The British were the first to take advantage of the free trade system, and nations such as ARGENTINA, URUGUAY, and Brazil began exporting large amounts of agricultural products to western Europe. Under the laissez-faire model, Latin American countries structured their economies according to the principle of COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE. The



Agriculture historically was the largest sector in Latin American economies. This photo taken in the late decades of the 19th century shows two peasants standing in a sugarcane field. (*Library of Congress*)

theory states that countries should export products they produce comparatively well and import those they produce less efficiently. Latin American nations had a comparative advantage in agricultural production, thus agrarian output became the basis for much of the region's trade in the 19th century.

Many new Latin American governments reevaluated the nature of land ownership carried over from the colonial period. In the decades after independence, the CATHOLIC CHURCH was the largest land owner throughout Latin America. Furthermore, indigenous villages in the Andes and in MEXICO still operated under a system of communal control of agriculture. Liberal leaders viewed these systems as traditional and backward and began to consider laws that would modernize the agrarian sector. Inspired by the republican ideas of Thomas Jefferson in the United States, Latin American liberals were convinced that owning private property would make members of the population into responsible citizens. A series of liberal laws in COLOMBIA and Mexico, for example, stipulated that institutions and communities such as the church and indigenous villages could not own land. Liberals envisioned selling off those lands to individual families to create a nation of small farmers. Instead, many rural elite who often already owned large properties increased their landholdings in a process called *LATIFUNDIO*. Rural peasants became peons on large

haciendas, and the system of family-sized farms that liberals had hoped for did not emerge. The land policies created serious conflict between liberal leaders and conservative interests, particularly as the wealth and privilege of the Catholic Church came under attack. Mexico and Colombia both experienced violent civil wars as a result, with the liberal and conservative political factions battling to determine the economic and social structure of the new nations.

In the late decades of the 19th century, many Latin America governments saw a period of relative political stability and seeming economic growth. Liberal oligarchies consolidated power in most countries, and those leaders imposed policies designed to bring modernization and progress to their nations. The production of agricultural commodity products for export that had long been a foundation of Latin American economies accelerated, but government leaders also worked to encourage modernization of the agrarian sector. In South American countries such as Brazil and Argentina, the national elite further consolidated control of large landholdings. A coffee oligarchy became extremely powerful in Brazil, while the Argentine rural sector grew as a result of the expansion of cattle and sheep ranching and the cultivation of wheat. Other nations implemented policies to attract foreign investors into the most important economic sectors. In Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean,

U.S. investors purchased large quantities of arable land. By the turn of the century, foreign elite controlled a considerable portion of the agricultural production in MEXICO, COSTA RICA, NICARAGUA, and the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. U.S. investors also became a prominent force in Cuba's sugar industry, and those interests helped to pull the United States into the WAR OF 1898 to secure Cuban independence.

The trends of *latifundio* and the emergence of agribusiness in late 19th-century Latin America brought the appearance of economic growth through an increase in exports. But the concentration of land in the hands of a few elite did not modernize the economies. Income disparity between the rich and poor grew as many landowners became increasingly wealthy, while rural peasants sank further into poverty. The comparative advantage economic model also meant that Latin American economies relied on the export of volatile commodity products, and so were vulnerable to fluctuations in the market. Export-oriented agriculture was in place throughout most of Latin America until the onset of the Great Depression in 1929.

See also AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, II, IV); FOOD (Vol. I).

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Alamán, Lucas (b. 1792–d. 1853) *Mexican statesman and conservative intellectual* Lucas Alamán was a conservative intellectual, historian, and political leader in MEXICO. He grew to prominence in the years following independence and served in several administrations as minister of foreign relations and minister of the interior.

Alamán was born on October 18, 1792, in the MINING town of Guanajuato to a Spanish noble family. He was highly educated in both the arts and sciences and traveled extensively as a young man. He was at home in Guanajuato in 1810 when Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla's independence rebellion destroyed the Alhóndiga and massacred many of the town's Spanish elite. Although he advocated modest reform, following the bloodshed Alamán worked with conservative allies to return to the monarchical order that had existed under the colonial system. He served as a delegate to the Cortes of Cádiz and worked in government positions to bolster TRADE, revamp mining, and restore financial strength in the years after independence. He was known for attempting to defend Mexico against encroachments by the United States.

Alamán aimed to ensure the well-being of the nation as a whole and played the role of public servant across

political lines. He founded the National General Archive and the Museum of Natural History and Antiquities. Yet, he continually pushed to preserve what he called the traditions of the Old World and advocated a reformed version of monarchical rule for Mexico. He helped organize and found Mexico's CONSERVATIVE PARTY and supported the administrations of Anastasio Bustamante (1830–32, 1837–41) and ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA (1833–55, intermittently) as they opposed liberal attempts at reform in the 1830s. He wrote for several prominent newspapers and eventually published *Disertaciones sobre la historia de la República Mejicana* (Dissertations on the history of the Mexican Republic) and the five-volume *Historia de Méjico* (History of Mexico), two fundamental works of Mexican history that also articulated his conservative politics. Alamán served with the cadre of conservative leaders who brought Santa Anna back to power in 1853. He died in MEXICO CITY on June 2 of that same year.

See also MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF (Vol. II).

Further reading:

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Alberdi, Juan Bautista (b. 1810–d. 1884) *Argentine writer and political activist* Juan Bautista Alberdi was an Argentine intellectual whose writings challenged the dictatorship of JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. He was the leader of the Generation of '37 and later influenced the writing of the CONSTITUTION OF 1853.

Alberdi was born on August 29, 1810, in San Miguel de Tucumán. In 1824, he relocated to BUENOS AIRES to study the arts, and in 1831, he enrolled at the UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES to study law. There, he experienced firsthand the repression of the Rosas dictatorship against the intellectual community. Alberdi joined various literary salons that met in secret to escape and challenge the tyranny of ARGENTINA'S CAUDILLO rule. It was at this time that he began collaborating with ESTEBAN ECHEVERRÍA. The two writers founded the Asociación de la Joven Generación Argentina, which became known as the "Generation of '37" (see LITERATURE). The group dedicated itself to publishing intellectual indictments of the Rosas regime specifically and caudillo rule in general.

As members of Alberdi's group became more vocal in their criticism of Rosas, they attracted the attention of the dictator's MAZORCA force. Facing recriminations, Alberdi left Buenos Aires for exile in Montevideo in 1838. He later relocated to CHILE and worked closely with DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO. Alberdi continued to use his writings to challenge the Rosas regime throughout the 1840s. After JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA's victory over the caudillo, Alberdi wrote one of his most important works outlining his political vision for Argentina's future. He won Urquiza's favor, and his political philosophy strongly

influenced the writing of Argentina's Constitution of 1853.

Alberdi served the Argentine government as a diplomat in Europe throughout much of the 1850s. He fell out of favor, however, with the government of BARTOLOMÉ MITRE in 1861. His situation worsened when he spoke out against the Paraguayan War in 1872. Alberdi left Argentina in 1881. He died in France on June 19, 1884.

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William H. Katra. *The Argentine Generation of 1837: Echeverría, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Mitre* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996).

Alencar, José de (b. 1829–d. 1877) *Brazilian journalist and literary figure* The Brazilian writer José de Alencar is best known for his novel *O Guarani* (*The Guarani*), published in 1857. The book provided a rich portrayal of the Tupí-Guaraní indigenous group and set a standard of nationalist LITERATURE. Alencar is considered one of the leading figures of 19th-century Brazilian and Latin American ROMANTICISM.

Alencar was born on May 1, 1829, in Mecejana in the present-day northeastern state of Ceara. His father was a senator in the new EMPIRE OF BRAZIL. As a young man, Alencar was educated in law but began an early career in journalism, publishing works in the style of 19th-century romanticism. *O Guarani* was the first in a trilogy of books that are considered the core of Indianist literature in BRAZIL. The novel began as a series of installments in a newspaper owned by Alencar. These depicted the Brazilian indigenous of the 17th century as strong and majestic but often conformed to elite Brazilians' stereotypes of the supposed "noble savage." Alencar followed *O Guarani* with *Iracema* and *Ubirajara*, which further portrayed the valiant and robust Amerindian. Alencar's novels also described a mutually beneficial union between Europeans and NATIVE AMERICANS as a foundation for a strong and unique sense of Brazilian identity. *O Guarani* was later made into an opera by Brazilian composer Carlos Gomes. It stressed the same themes as Alencar's novel and received critical acclaim in both Brazil and Europe.

Many of Alencar's works supported the abolitionist movement that was gaining speed in the late 19th century (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF). He was one of the first intellectuals and literary figures to produce specifically abolitionist writings. During that time he also began his political career, serving in the Brazilian legislature and eventually as a minister in the government of Emperor PEDRO II. Alencar died in RIO DE JANEIRO on December 12, 1877.

See also GUARANÍ (Vols. I, II).

Further reading:

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———. *Senhora: Profile of a Woman* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

Altamirano, Ignacio (b. 1834–d. 1893) *Mexican writer and liberal politician* Ignacio Altamirano was a writer, novelist, and liberal political leader in MEXICO in the late 19th century. He is best known for his LITERATURE, which provides a portrait of contemporary Mexican society and offers a strong statement of nationalism for a country that had experienced decades of divisiveness and turmoil.

Altamirano was born in Tixtla, Guerrero, on November 13, 1834, to full-blooded Amerindian parents. At a young age, he exhibited a natural gift for learning and received scholarships to study at the Toluca Literary Institute (Instituto Literaria de Toluca). He later studied law in MEXICO CITY but suspended his intellectual pursuits twice to participate on the side of the liberals in the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA in 1854 and the WAR OF REFORM in 1857. Altamirano finally received his law degree in 1859 and began serving as a congressional deputy. He took up arms one last time against the FRENCH INTERVENTION in 1863 and, after helping BENITO JUÁREZ oust Maximilian, devoted himself to public service. While continuing his political career, he produced numerous literary works and trained young writers. His novel *Clemencia*, published in 1869, is considered the first modern Mexican novel. *El zarco* (roughly translated as "The blue-eyed bandit") was published in 1901 after his death but recounts life in the 1860s. *El zarco* is praised for inverting many of the stereotypical racial hierarchies of the 19th century. Indeed, in the novel, the honest and industrious mestizo and indigenous characters are the heroes, while the lighter-skinned, blue-eyed character resorts to crime and banditry and eventually perishes.

Altamirano died on February 13, 1893, in San Remo, Italy, while on a diplomatic mission for the Porfirian government.

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Ancón, Treaty of (1884) The Treaty of Ancón was reached between PERU and CHILE to end the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–84). Acting Peruvian president Miguel Iglesias (1883–85) signed the treaty on October 20, 1883, but MILITARY commander and future president ANDRÉS AVELINO CÁCERES refused to recognize the treaty until the following year. The Treaty of Ancón ceded a portion of Peru's southern territory to Chile and further exacerbated political infighting among military and political leaders in Peru.

The War of the Pacific originated as a border dispute between Chile and BOLIVIA over the nitrate-rich Atacama Desert. Peru was pulled into the conflict because of a mutual defense agreement reached years earlier between the Peruvian and Bolivian governments. The Chilean army quickly dominated its two adversaries and invaded Peru in 1879. Negotiations to end the violence and the Chilean occupation stalled as Peru's leadership fragmented under the pressure of the war. A confusing series of power shifts occurred as several individuals claimed the presidency. Finally, Iglesias emerged in 1883 to negotiate the Treaty of Ancón.

The treaty required Peru to cede its nitrate-rich Tarapacá region in the south to Chile in exchange for the withdrawal of the Chilean army from Peruvian soil. In addition, the disputed regions of Tacna and Arica would remain under Chilean control for a period of 10 years, after which the local population would vote to determine which country would rule them. Iglesias signed the treaty in the fall of 1883, but Cáceres continued his offensive against the Chilean military and refused to recognize the legitimacy of the document until July 1884. After the Chilean army withdrew, a civil war raged between Iglesias and Cáceres for control of Peru, further destabilizing the war-weary nation. Cáceres eventually formed an alliance with the recently formed CIVILISTA PARTY and was elected president in 1886.

Further reading:

William F. Sater. *Andean Tragedy: Fighting the War of the Pacific, 1879–1884* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

Arce, Manuel José (b. 1786–d. 1847) *Salvadoran politician and first president of the United Provinces of Central America* Born into a Salvadoran creole family, Manuel José Arce studied medicine in GUATEMALA before returning home in 1807 to manage his father's estate. A year later, he married Felipa de Aranzamendi y Aguiar.

After Napoléon I placed his brother on the Spanish throne in 1808, Arce became attracted to the early independence movements. He joined military insurrections against the Spanish Crown in 1811 and in 1814. Arce was sentenced to four years in prison for his participation in the second uprising, but the incarceration did not break his spirit. When the Spanish Empire began to crumble in 1821, he led a small military command in an unsuccessful effort to thwart EL SALVADOR's forced incorporation into the newly created Mexican Empire. At this time, Arce was, in fact, a leading spokesman for El Salvador's annexation to the United States. Arce served as the first elected president of the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA following its establishment in 1824. His administration, however, faced growing regional unrest and a civil war from 1827 to 1829. Although Arce had initially won the loyalty of liberals, he quickly lost their support after

forming alliances with church leaders and other conservative interests. Honduran liberal FRANCISCO MORAZÁN eventually ousted Arce, who fled into exile in Mexico. Arce made four subsequent unsuccessful attempts to regain the Salvadoran presidency in 1832, 1842, 1844, and 1845. Frustrated, he abandoned politics and shortly after completing his memoirs, died in San Salvador in 1847. One hundred years after his death, the Salvadoran National Assembly recognized Arce by changing the name of the city of El Chilamatal to Ciudad Arce.

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architecture Architecture was used in the early 19th century in Latin America as a visual representation of the new nations' break with the colonial past. Colonial architecture had been dominated by Spanish styles and designs; the Spanish architectural presence remained after independence in structures such as churches, government buildings, and private dwellings. Artists and government leaders understood that visual representations of the nation would be an important part of nation-state formation in the postindependence era, and many therefore rejected the baroque style as representative of Spanish and Portuguese culture. The baroque style was characterized by bold structures with tall spacious interiors, often topped by an extravagant dome or other dramatic statement. Liberal intellectuals, in particular, associated baroque artistic styles with the CATHOLIC CHURCH, thus the liberal agenda to secularize society often targeted baroque architecture as well.

Postindependence architecture quickly turned to neoclassical styles that were characterized by stark colors, straight lines, and squared structures with smaller, more subtle ornamentation. Neoclassical designs were inspired by ancient Greek and Roman designs. Neoclassical buildings often featured large balconies and rows of decorative balusters. Other features included dramatic arches and fluted columns with small yet lavish embellishments. Some late colonial churches in Latin America already showed signs of neoclassicism. The Palacio de la Moneda in SANTIAGO DE CHILE and the Palacio de Minería in MEXICO CITY are two government structures that were started in the late 18th century and reflect the neoclassical architectural style. In some areas, European architects led projects to renovate colonial buildings in a more neoclassical style in the first half of the 19th century.

Neoclassical architecture emerged as a rejection of European colonial styles in the decades immediately following independence. Eventually, that rejection of the Old World gave way as political leaders and cultural intellectuals attempted to promote modernization by

emulating European styles in the last half of the 19th century. Architectural styles were transformed as designers modeled their projects after the great architectural structures of Europe. By the late 19th century, however, Spain was no longer the dominant European cultural leader. Now, French styles began to emerge in Latin American architecture.

Relative political stability and economic expansion allowed many Latin American governments to finance projects to beautify and modernize public spaces, particularly in large urban areas. PORFIRIO DÍAZ's regime devoted substantial government resources to the construction of public buildings and other projects in an attempt to model Mexico City and other urban areas after Paris and other European cities. Similar developments took place in other Latin American capitals, including BUENOS AIRES, CARACAS, and Santiago. Buenos Aires architecture imitated French styles to such an extent that local residents and foreign travelers alike often referred to the city as the "Paris of South America." Many foreign travelers were impressed by the seemingly rapid modernization of Latin American cities displayed through architectural design. Others criticized the supposed cultural renovation of Latin American cities as a facade, as large, expensive, ornate structures were built while much of the population remained in poverty.

See also ARCHITECTURE (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Leopoldo Castedo. *A History of Latin American Art and Architecture from Pre-Columbian Times to Present* (New York: Praeger, 1969).

Argentina Argentina is located on the southern tip of South America. Argentina and neighboring CHILE, URUGUAY, and PARAGUAY make up an area known as the Southern Cone. Argentina is a large country with varied topography and climate, ranging from the flat and fertile plains of the PAMPAS to the cool and dry southern region of Patagonia. The capital city of BUENOS AIRES is located on the eastern shore at the mouth of the Río de la Plata, making the city an ideal stopping point for import and export TRADE through river transport. The role of the capital city in regulating the transport of goods to and from the interior caused numerous conflicts throughout much of the 19th century.

THE COLONIAL ERA AND INDEPENDENCE

For most of the colonial period, Argentina was administratively a part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Because it offered little in the way of precious metals and was located a considerable distance from the viceregal capital at LIMA, the Spanish Crown paid relatively little atten-

tion to the region. But by the 18th century, new measures implemented by the Bourbon monarchs in Spain propelled the region into a more prominent role in the empire. Major changes in administrative, economic, and military policies—collectively known as the Bourbon Reforms—opened the port of Buenos Aires to trade and expanded the Spanish presence in the Southern Cone. Tensions mounted between settlers in the Spanish colonies and Portuguese settlers in neighboring BRAZIL. Concern over potential foreign incursions into Spanish territory brought about an administrative realignment. In 1776, the Spanish Crown officially separated Argentina and the surrounding region from the Viceroyalty of Peru. This separation created a new Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, which included present-day Argentina along with BOLIVIA, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

Buenos Aires became the capital of the new viceroyalty, and in the latter decades of the 18th century, the city became a major urban center as its population boomed and trade increased. The importance of the Río de la Plata quickly grew, and the Spanish Crown responded by devoting more resources and attention to the area. Many native residents were accustomed to relative autonomy on the periphery of the Spanish Empire and resented the new supervision and security measures imposed by the Bourbon monarchs. Many members of the local creole elite, in particular, resisted what they perceived as unnecessary interference by the Crown in their daily affairs.

Argentines' independent attitudes were strengthened in 1806 when British forces attacked and occupied Buenos Aires. The Spanish MILITARY proved incapable of defending the city. The viceroy fled to the interior, leaving the newly established viceregal capital to fend for itself. Buenos Aires residents organized a resistance force themselves and drove the British from the city. Those same residents repelled a second attempted British invasion the following year. Buenos Aires citizens, who already had a strong sense of autonomy, now saw themselves as even more capable of managing their own affairs and distanced themselves further from the Spanish Crown. The local elite ousted the Spanish viceroy, replacing him with Santiago de Liniers y Bremond, who had led the defense of the city against the British. Under Liniers, the Buenos Aires *cabildo* and other local officials wielded more power and worked to limit Spanish authority over the region's politics and trade.

After Napoléon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808, the elite in Buenos Aires became divided over how best to respond to the challenge to Spanish authority. As in other colonies, groups of loyalists emerged and resolved to maintain closer ties with the Spanish Crown. In Buenos Aires, these loyalists were quickly subdued by more liberal-minded advocates in the ruling *cabildo*. A new viceroy was appointed in 1809, only to be dismissed by a *cabildo abierto* of local elite in 1810.

At the same time, local leaders faced challenges from outside Buenos Aires. Regions on the periphery of the

viceroyalty sought to move away from the control of leaders in the capital city. Upper Peru (Charcas), already separated from the rest of the viceroyalty by geography, broke away from Buenos Aires early on. A similar attempt in Paraguay resulted in the occupation of the province by the Portuguese. Local leaders in several regions of the interior attempted to exert their autonomy from Buenos Aires. As *porteño* leaders worked to maintain their authority, a power struggle emerged between Buenos Aires and the provinces that would dominate much of the region's 19th-century politics.

UNITARIOS AND FEDERALES

As leaders in the Southern Cone tried to secure their independence and keep the region together, a series of governments unfolded. A triumvirate of leaders emerged in 1810 with plans to convene a governing congress. Those plans fell apart when the triumvirate was overthrown and a series of supreme dictators took over power of the former viceroyalty. A second triumvirate formed in 1812 and provided a government presence for a little more than a year. While local leaders struggled to provide a basic government structure, they also engaged in a series of military campaigns against royalist forces in an effort to secure independence. In the ensuing chaos, José Gervasio Artigas (1764–1850) led a series of revolts in the eastern province surrounding Montevideo. The region that would become the independent nation of Uruguay eventually broke away, only to be invaded in 1817 by the Portuguese from BRAZIL.

By 1816, hostilities had begun to subside; the Second Revolutionary Congress formally declared independence, calling the region the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. The congress also began drafting a governing document that eventually took shape as the CONSTITUTION OF 1819. Conflict over regional autonomy began to surface immediately as leaders in Buenos Aires attempted to impose restrictive trade measures, requiring that nearly all imports and exports pass through the port city. As the exclusive port of entry, this gave *porteños* enormous influence over trade policy. Additionally, the customs house in Buenos Aires was the sole collector of tariff revenues, effectively giving the city control over national income. Provincial leaders argued that tariff income benefited Buenos Aires almost exclusively at the expense of the interior regions. The new constitution resulted in numerous provinces rising in revolt almost immediately.

Political tensions quickly mounted between *UNITARIOS* and *FEDERALES*. *Unitarios* were generally liberal-minded intellectuals from Buenos Aires who wanted a strong central government based in the port city. They advocated relatively free and open foreign trade but often supported measures that limited interior trade. *Federales*, or federalists, often came from the provinces and so considered their well-being to be tied to the economic and trade activities of the interior. *Federales* rejected the *unitario* preference for a strong, central government. They

also advocated restrictions on foreign trade to protect the economic interests of the interior. When hostilities erupted in 1819, *federales* initially took over Buenos Aires and nullified the new constitution. Nevertheless, federalist dominance was short lived, as infighting began to develop among provincial CAUDILLOS, or strongmen.

In the 1820s, *unitario* Martín Rodríguez (b. 1771–d. 1845) served as governor of Buenos Aires. Former member of the first ruling triumvirate BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA was his main adviser and led most of the *unitario* initiatives. These included instituting open trade with the British and other European powers and controlling interior trade by blockading river transport. Rivadavia built a close relationship with merchants and government representatives in Great Britain. After 1824, British investors and businessmen received special trade advantages in their dealings with Buenos Aires, while the economies of the interior provinces suffered. Eventually, Rivadavia secured large loans from British banks and other investors for infrastructure projects that never moved beyond the planning stage. Most of the money was misspent or lost to corruption and graft.

Rivadavia was an advocate of the economic and social philosophy of LIBERALISM that was becoming popular throughout much of Latin America in the 19th century. He led the initiative to establish the government-backed UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES. In later years, that institution played a major role in educational reforms initiated by President DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO. Rivadavia also introduced controversial rural initiatives, such as an antivagrancy decree and a measure to regulate ownership of rural land.

The *unitario* era did not last for long, as the Rivadavia government also oversaw a foreign-policy fiasco with neighboring Brazil. In 1821, Brazilian forces invaded the BANDA ORIENTAL—or the eastern bank of the Río de la Plata—and renamed the territory the Cisplatine Province. The region makes up the southern portion of present-day Uruguay. At the time, it was part of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata but had rebelled against the Buenos Aires government. When “easterners” under the leadership of JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA revolted against Brazilian forces in 1825, Rivadavia supported the insurgency in the hope of reexerting control over the recalcitrant province. Brazil responded by declaring war on the Rivadavia government, and the CISPLATINE WAR began.

Rivadavia expected a brief war and an easy victory, but the reality surprised him. Argentine ground forces, working with local guerrilla fighters under Lavalleja, won several important victories, but Brazil's powerful navy tried to gain the upper hand by blockading the port of Buenos Aires. The Brazilian naval presence severely disrupted trade, and customs revenues declined significantly. Federalist opposition in the interior seized the opportunity to denounce Rivadavia and challenge his government. Financing a costly war and unable to replenish

the national treasury, Rivadavia defaulted on the foreign loans he had secured only a short time earlier. Faced with increasing instability and dissent among the provincial elite, Rivadavia stepped down as president in 1827.

THE ROSAS DICTATORSHIP

Rivadavia's absence brought a period of intense conflict throughout the United Provinces as powerful regional caudillos and *unitario* intellectuals vied for power. By 1829, the power struggle had resulted in the rise of JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, who dominated regional politics for the next two decades. The Rosas administration renamed the young nation the Confederación Argentina (Argentine Confederation) to reflect his self-proclaimed loyalty to the federalist ideology. Even though for most of his tenure Rosas served as governor only of the Buenos Aires Province, political leadership in such a prominent region gave him extraordinary influence. Between 1829 and 1852, Rosas emerged as the most powerful caudillo in Argentina and the de facto dictator of the entire nation.

Rosas's rule was characterized by tyranny and violence. *Unitario* intellectuals railed at his antidemocratic tendencies, and many spoke out vehemently against his administration. Rosas responded by censoring the press and harassing his political enemies. *Unitarios* were arrested, and many were executed. Would-be political opponents fled into exile, and vibrant communities of anti-Rosas *unitarios* began to emerge in neighboring Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile. Outspoken critics of the Rosas regime, such as Sarmiento, BARTOLOMÉ MITRE, JUAN BAUTISTA ALBERDI, and ESTEBAN ECHEVERRÍA formed literary groups whose purpose was to produce anti-Rosas propaganda.

After serving an initial three-year term as governor of Buenos Aires, Rosas temporarily abandoned his political office in 1832 and pursued a campaign to bring the NATIVE AMERICANS of the Pampas under government control. During that interlude, hostilities between *unitarios* and *federales* in Buenos Aires escalated to a new level of urgency. Rosas's wife and other supporters established the force known as LA MAZORCA, which became a type of special security detail dedicated to terrorizing and silencing the *unitario* opposition. Additionally, some influential caudillos began to consider writing a new national constitution. One of those leaders, JUAN FACUNDO QUIROGA, was assassinated in 1835. While some suspected Rosas of ordering the hit on his former ally, the influential caudillo used Quiroga's death as a pretext to return to power. Rosas served uninterrupted as governor of Buenos Aires until 1852, ruling as a virtual dictator of the entire nation. Sarmiento later wrote a critical biography of Quiroga's life while in exile in Chile. *Facundo, or Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants (Facundo: Civilización y barbarie en las pampas argentinas)* was published in 1845 and is considered a literary masterpiece (see LITERATURE). It can be interpreted as a denunciation of the Rosas regime and caudillo rule in general in Argentina.

Although Rosas had built his power on an alliance with federalist caudillos from the interior, as dictator, his policies increasingly reflected a preference for centralist policies that favored the economic interests of Buenos Aires. Ranchers and *SALADEROS* (salted meat processors) benefited from the trade policies he implemented (Rosas himself had built a personal fortune as a *saladero*). Nevertheless, discontent began to mount among once-loyal federalist leaders. As dissent grew, anti-Rosas forces abroad used the opportunity to launch an offensive against the dictator. With support from Uruguay and Brazil, JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA formed an alliance of exiled Argentines, and his forces overthrew Rosas in 1852.

CONSTITUTION OF 1853

Urquiza became the interim national leader and immediately convened a Constitutional Congress charged with drafting a new governing document. The congress began meeting in the late months of 1852, but underlying tensions between Buenos Aires and the interior rose to the surface yet again. Mitre, Urquiza's one-time ally in the overthrow of Rosas, broke with the national leader over the proposed constitution and the role Buenos Aires would play in the post-Rosas era. Delegates from Buenos Aires boycotted the Constitutional Convention entirely and moved to separate the province from the rest of the country. When the CONSTITUTION OF 1853 was finally completed, it reflected the strong influence of political writer Alberdi. The document was immediately ratified by all provinces except Buenos Aires. Mitre and other leaders from the port city ran Buenos Aires as an independent province for the next six years.

Between 1854 and 1860, Urquiza tried to reunite Buenos Aires and the interior provinces both through negotiations and by force. Unable to retake the city militarily, he and other leaders in the interior agreed to several amendments to the constitution to address the concerns of *porteño* leaders. The revised document was finally approved by Buenos Aires in 1860. It is still the foundation of Argentina's constitutional system today.

With the country tenuously reunited, Argentina experienced an era of growth in the last half of the 19th century. Mitre, who had led the Buenos Aires secessionist efforts in the 1850s, became president of the republic in 1862. The liberal Buenos Aires native immediately began pushing through measures intended to expand the nation's ECONOMY, but the underlying contention between the port city and the interior continued. Although political infighting subsided to some extent after 1860, Mitre still faced several revolts by local leaders of interior provinces. In 1863, Vicente Peñalosa rebelled in La Rioja to challenge Buenos Aires's dominance in the reunification. Two years later, Felipe Varela rose in revolt in that same province in defiance of national trade policies. The rebellions were relatively small and isolated, with both Peñalosa and Varela failing to attract support

from neighboring provinces. Nevertheless, instability in the interior continued to threaten the well-being of the entire nation, and the government in Buenos Aires increasingly intervened in interior politics in an effort to head off local revolts.

WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

Internal stability became particularly important after 1865, when Argentina found itself pulled into the protracted and destructive **WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE**. The war resulted from tensions over regional hegemony between Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay that dated back to the independence era. By the 1860s, a complex system of local alliances had developed around the two warring Uruguayan political parties. Paraguayan dictator **FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ** formed an alliance with the Uruguayan **BLANCO PARTY**, while Brazil and Argentina backed the **COLORADO PARTY**. Brazilian forces invaded Uruguay in 1864 in an attempt to install a Colorado government. Paraguay's Solano López responded by declaring war on Brazil and invading the northeastern Argentine province of Corrientes in order to attack Brazil. Mitre feared that Solano López might enlist the support of federalist leaders in the Argentine provinces and upset the delicate balance of internal control he had been striving to achieve. The Argentine leader immediately signed the Pact of the Triple Alliance with Brazil and the Uruguayan Colorado government declaring war against Paraguay.

Mitre, who had an extensive military career, was named commander of the allied forces. With the financial backing of the British government, the Triple Alliance mobilized for war. Despite the fact that Uruguay's, Brazil's, and Argentina's combined armed forces amounted to only a fraction of Paraguay's mammoth military force, Mitre and other leaders expected a quick victory. Instead, the conflict lasted for five years and became the most costly and destructive war that any of the belligerents endured in the 19th century. Within a year, the Triple Alliance had decimated at least half of Solano López's powerful army and had wiped out the Paraguayan navy. The allies also cut off Paraguay's access to the coast, which led to a devastating shortage of vital supplies for Solano López's ever-weakening military. The situation in Paraguay reached crisis levels over the next several years, with both sides committing atrocities. As alliance forces pillaged occupied areas of Paraguay, Solano López took his own vengeance on those within his country who had failed him in some way. Because of the dictator's delusions and paranoia, the war continued for several years after Paraguayan forces had been effectively defeated.

As the war dragged on, it became increasingly unpopular in Argentina. Nevertheless, Mitre was able to use the conflict to modernize the nation's military and to strengthen the central government's position against regional caudillos. Furthermore, although the war was costly for the Argentine government, it did boost many

sectors of the economy, as ranchers and other merchants profited from the demand for wartime supplies.

The War of the Triple Alliance finally ended in 1870 when Solano López was killed in battle. By that time, the federalist conflict in the interior had largely been quelled and Sarmiento had been elected president of Argentina. Sarmiento had served as governor of San Juan during Mitre's presidency and had transformed the province through a series of liberal reforms in education and economic development. As president, Sarmiento applied his liberal ideals on a national scale. He oversaw a vast expansion in the nation's educational system and worked to attract British investment in an effort to improve **TRANSPORTATION** and communications infrastructure (see **EDUCATION**). Operating under the philosophy of Alberdi that "to govern is to populate," Sarmiento conducted Argentina's first census in 1869. He then actively encouraged European immigration under the assumption that attracting a skilled workforce would develop and strengthen the national economy more quickly (see **MIGRATION**).

When Sarmiento's presidential term came to an end in 1874, Mitre once again ran for election, but the opposition organized under a new political party, the **Partido Autonomista Nacional** (National Autonomist Party), or **PAN**. The **PAN** candidate, Nicolás Avellaneda (b. 1837–d. 1885), easily defeated Mitre. Avellaneda was from Tucumán, and the selection of a second national leader from the provinces revealed that the hegemony of Buenos Aires in national politics was beginning to decline. Avellaneda continued many of the economic expansion policies initiated by his predecessor. He also oversaw the **CONQUEST OF THE DESERT**, or the military campaign led by future president **JULIO ARGENTINO ROCA** to subdue the Amerindians on the Argentine Pampas and in the frontier region of Patagonia. Although Roca's expedition slaughtered thousands of indigenous people, it was popular among Argentines because it opened up large territories for settlement. Roca used his popularity to win the presidency in 1880.

THE GENERATION OF '80

The election of Roca in 1880 marked the beginning of an era of major transformation in Argentina. Roca's opponent, Buenos Aires governor Carlos Tejedor (b. 1817–d. 1903), attempted to incite a revolt to prevent the military leader from taking office. Roca easily put down the rebellion and federalized Buenos Aires to diminish the port city's influence in national politics. Roca then proceeded to solidify the political cooperation between his **PAN** administration and provincial governors. That political cooperation defined the era of rule by the **LIBERAL OLIGARCHY** in late 19th-century Argentina. A few powerful and wealthy individuals dominated national and regional politics, and generally, those privileged few came from Roca's **PAN** party. The **PAN** won most political contests after 1880, often as a result of federal government interference.

With political stability increasing—albeit by force—Roca and his supporters tailored economic policy to fall in line with their vision for Argentina's future. Largely influenced by the philosophy of POSITIVISM, which was prevalent throughout most of Latin American in the late 19th century, Roca emphasized Argentina's potential for progress. As a result, Argentina entered an era often referred to as the "Golden Age," defined by relative political stability, population growth, and economic progress between 1880 and 1910. Positivist leaders saw agricultural production for export as the nation's greatest economic strength and throughout the latter decades of the century pushed through measures to encourage investment and growth primarily in that sector. European investors provided capital to expand railroad lines and to improve ocean and river transport. Commercial AGRICULTURE took off as cattle ranching and sheep grazing continued to dominate economic production and farmers focused on the cultivation of grains and other goods. The close economic relationship between Argentina and Great Britain strengthened after 1880 as Argentine agriculturalists exported raw materials that went into British industrial production. In exchange, manufacturers in Britain provided finished industrial goods for the Argentine market.

Roca and his successor, Miguel Juárez Celman (b. 1844–d. 1909), solidified PAN control over the political scene by using government wealth to maintain support among provincial leaders. Much of the expansion in the national treasury was fueled by increased tariff revenues. Government borrowing also contributed to expanding coffers, which allowed leaders to finance costly developmental projects. Unwise spending and irresponsible borrowing, however, combined with poor fiscal policies as the government abandoned the GOLD standard and flooded the market with national currency. By 1889, the Argentine government was facing a financial crisis as investment money from Great Britain dried up. The short-term economic crisis motivated political opposition of the PAN to form the Unión Cívica (Civic Union) and to revolt against the government. The Revolution of '90 was thwarted by an agreement between Roca and Mitre, in which Roca agreed to support his political rival for president in 1892 in exchange for a return to political stability. By 1892, however, Roca had reneged on the pact with Mitre. Roca supported two PAN leaders in the 1890s and eventually won his own second term as president in 1898.

As the 19th century drew to a close, the liberal oligarchy created by Roca still dominated Argentina's political and economic systems. The nation seemed to have achieved great progress over the final decades of the century, but underlying problems lingered. Social and economic inequalities created under the liberal oligarchs would need to be addressed in the 20th century.

See also ARGENTINA (Vols. I, IV); PERU, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); UNITED PROVINCES OF RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II).

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Argentine–Brazil War See CISPLATINE WAR.

"Ariel" "Ariel" is an essay written by Uruguayan literary figure José Enrique Rodó (b. 1871–d. 1917) and published in 1900. It is considered a major contribution to the tradition of MODERNISM in Latin American LITERATURE. "Ariel" critiques the materialistic and utilitarian culture of the United States and celebrates the spiritual and artistic nature of Latin American culture.

Rodó was a philosopher and educator who dedicated his career to studying politics and society in URUGUAY. He worked as a university professor in Montevideo and on two occasions served in the national legislature. "Ariel" is considered to be his defining work and one of the most articulate expressions of his philosophy of human society. Characters in the essay appear to be inspired by those in William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Ariel represents the idealistic and aesthetic culture of Latin America and the true markers of civilization. Caliban represents the trend in U.S. culture to embrace progress and utilitarianism. In the essay, the teacher Próspero gives a lecture to his students in which he denounces the loss of spirituality and high culture in the face of materialism. Rodó structures his critique in a similar manner to Argentine writer and political leader DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO by pitting civilization against barbarism. But unlike Sarmiento, who lauded the civilizing democratic traditions of the United States, Rodó considered the U.S. fascination with material wealth to be a veiled form of barbarism.

"Ariel" was published on the heels of the U.S. victory in the WAR OF 1898. Rodó used the work as an appeal for a Latin American identity that would challenge the hegemony of the United States. The essay was well received by critics throughout Latin America.

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art A general term used to describe many forms of creative expression, including MUSIC, LITERATURE, and drama, the term also specifically refers to visual arts such as painting, sculpture, ARCHITECTURE, and photography. Artistic expressions in 19th-century Latin America made a transition from the European-dominated styles and themes that had defined the colonial period to more local and nationalistic forms that eventually dominated in the 20th century. Art became a way for Latin Americans to express their national identity.

Many Latin American artists during the colonial period produced works inspired by the Renaissance, baroque, and neoclassical styles that prevailed in Europe. Some local and native subjects appeared in colonial art, setting it apart from the predominant European styles, but for the most part, Latin American artists followed the general stylistic trends of European artists. The cultural emancipation of Latin America brought about by the wars of independence in the early 19th century allowed for a gradual shift away from European inspiration. One reason for the slow shift away from European artistic hegemony was that in the decades immediately following independence, European artists flocked to Latin America to seek inspiration for the emerging artistic style of ROMANTICISM. Spain and Portugal had kept the American colonies relatively isolated from the rest of Europe, and the postindependence opening of Latin America gave European artists access to the colorful landscapes and natural beauty the region had to offer. The beauty of natural Latin American scenery worked well within romanticism's emphasis on imagination and passion. Yet, the presence of European artists in Latin America and local artists' propensity for traveling to Europe for training meant that much of the artwork produced in the first half of the 19th century was heavily influenced by European impressions of the Latin American experience.

Romanticism's influence on Latin American art in the early 19th century is also evident in the nationalistic and heroic themes that appeared in painting, sculpture, and other visual expressions. Some of the most famous paintings of this period are the official portraits of national leaders such as ARGENTINA'S JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS and MEXICO'S ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA. The Brazilian artist Manuel de Araújo Porto-alegre (b. 1806–d. 1879) produced portraits of BRAZIL'S leaders, and one of his most famous works depicts the coronation of PEDRO II. Although the themes portrayed in these works were both nationalistic and patriotic, the style and inspiration for them came largely from European artists in the Americas or through the training Latin American artists received in Paris and Rome.

In the final decades of the 19th century, Latin American artists began incorporating the natural scenery more fully into their works. The Argentine PAMPAS, the Brazilian Amazon, and other rural landscapes became the setting of a number of paintings. Mexican painter José

María Velasco (b. 1840–d. 1912) took inspiration from the natural setting of the Valley of Mexico in his late-century works. Historic events had been portrayed in early 19th-century artwork, but in later decades, artists began focusing greater attention on epic battles and the heroic events that had shaped the new nations in the colonial period and in the early years after independence. Those changes paved the way for a major shift toward popular art in Latin America in the 20th century.

See also ART (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Aruba See CARIBBEAN, DUTCH.

Aycinena Piñol, Juan José de (b. 1792–d. 1865) *leading Guatemalan conservative spokesman in Central America* Born into a wealthy landowning family in Antigua, GUATEMALA, Juan José de Aycinena Piñol earned a doctorate degree from the University of San Carlos in Guatemala City and in 1817 entered the priesthood. He supported Central American independence from Spain in 1821 and its annexation to the Mexican Empire through 1823. In 1829, the liberals gained control of the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA, which consisted of Guatemala along with other present-day Central American nations. Liberals worked hard to separate CENTRAL AMERICA from the Mexican Empire, while Aycinena advocated a more conservative political strategy for the region. Because of those ideological differences, Aycinena and most of his family spent a good deal of time during the 1830s in the United States. Impressed by the U.S. road and canal building boom at the time, Aycinena envisioned a transisthmian canal as a vehicle to Central American prosperity. At that time, however, there was no interest for such a project among the Central American leadership. Also while in the United States, Aycinena authored nine books characterized by a common theme: the call for a constitutional monarchy and a secular church in Central America. When he returned to Guatemala in 1837, Aycinena used his newspaper, *El Observador*, to advocate the breakup of the United Provinces of Central America.

Aycinena became the most influential adviser to President RAFAEL CARRERA, holding positions that included minister of justice, minister of foreign affairs, and minister of ecclesiastical affairs. For a time, Aycinena was rector of the University of San Carlos.

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Azevedo, Aluísio See *SLUM, THE*.

B

Báez, Buenaventura (b. 1810–d. 1882) *caudillo and president of the Dominican Republic* Buenaventura Báez was a CAUDILLO in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC who rose to prominence following the Dominican declaration of

independence and the end of the HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO. Báez advocated annexation of the Dominican Republic by the United States and alternated power for several decades with his political rival PEDRO SANTANA.

Báez was born to a wealthy family in SANTO DOMINGO in 1810. He studied in the United States and Europe, and in 1843, he participated in the Dominican revolt against HAITI. Báez became president of the newly independent nation in 1849, following the rule of the caudillo Santana. For nearly two decades, the two caudillos remained bitter rivals and constantly challenged each other for power. Throughout Báez's five presidential administrations (1849–53, 1856–58, 1865–66, 1868–73, 1876–78), he continually attempted to secure foreign protection for his nation by negotiating with Spain, France, and the United States. Despite his support of annexation, when the Spanish attempted to reacquire the Dominican Republic in 1861, Báez supporters opposed the move and helped lead revolts against the Spanish and against Santana in the WAR OF RESTORATION. Báez, who had been exiled in Europe, returned to rule in 1865 after the Spanish were forced to abandon the island. Upon returning to the Dominican Republic, however, Báez found a nation bitterly divided by regional rivalries. He made one final unsuccessful attempt to negotiate annexation by the United States before being forced from office for good in 1878. Báez fled into exile, where he died in 1882.

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Bahamas See CARIBBEAN, BRITISH.

Balmaceda, José Manuel (b. 1840–d. 1891) *president of Chile* José Manuel Balmaceda was a liberal politician who served as president of CHILE from 1886 to 1891. During his presidency, he aggressively pursued a variety of liberal reforms to transform the nation's economic and social systems and attempted to curb the growing power of the legislature. His clash with Congress eventually led to the CHILEAN CIVIL WAR and to his overthrow.

Balmaceda was born in SANTIAGO DE CHILE on July 19, 1840. Through his early education, he was swayed by liberal political thought and in 1849, joined a coalition of anti-Conservative leaders in a movement against President Manuel Bulnes (1841–51). He began his political career as a congressional deputy and then held several prominent cabinet positions under his predecessor, President Domingo Santa María (1881–86).

As part of a liberal coalition whose influence was strengthening, Balmaceda was elected president in 1886. With a national treasury swelling with revenues from the prosperous ECONOMY, Balmaceda shored up his support and embarked on an aggressive reform agenda. He devoted a large portion of the national budget to improving infrastructure and other public works, including the construction of bridges, canals, and railroad lines. Balmaceda devoted new resources to improving EDUCATION, supporting the efforts of positivist intellectual VALENTÍN LETELIER MADARIAGA.

Several years of unfettered spending, followed by a downturn in the nation's economy, left Chile with a large public debt. Concern over spending combined with long-standing animosity between the executive and Congress. The legislative body had succeeded in wresting a large degree of control away from the executive in the 1870s. Balmaceda aimed to strengthen the presidency once again. Conflict between the two branches of government culminated in a violent civil war in 1891.

After months of fighting, Balmaceda's forces were overcome by the parliamentary army, and the defeated president fled to the Argentine embassy. He took his own life on September 19, 1891.

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Banda Oriental Banda Oriental refers to the southern portion of present-day URUGUAY. Translated as "eastern bank," the Banda Oriental was under Spanish control during the colonial period and became part of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata during the independence era. In 1817, Brazilian forces under the Portuguese regent and future king John VI (r. 1816–26) invaded the region and claimed the territory for BRAZIL. The Banda Oriental had long been at the center of a boundary dispute between the Spanish and the Portuguese, and John took advantage of the political instability created during the wars of independence to expand Brazil's borders.

In 1821, John formally annexed the Banda Oriental and renamed it the Cisplatine Province. For the next four years, it was occupied by Portuguese troops, but the government in BUENOS AIRES did not cede claims to the territory. In 1825, JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA led a group of rebels known as the THIRTY-THREE IMMORTALS in a revolt against the Brazilian presence in the province. Argentine president BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA supported the movement, and tensions between ARGENTINA and Brazil eventually culminated in the CISPLATINE WAR (1825–28). Both nations struggled, with the new Brazilian emperor PEDRO I facing internal revolts and the Argentine government enduring internal divisions. Eventually, arbitration by British and French mediators created the Republic of Uruguay as a buffer between Brazil and Argentina. European interests secured trading rights with Montevideo, the capital of the new nation, and other parts of the Río de la Plata and Uruguay became an important part of the global economic network that developed in South America through the rest of the 19th century.

See also BANDA ORIENTAL (Vol. II); RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II).

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Barbados See CARIBBEAN, BRITISH.

Barreda, Gabino (b. 1818–d. 1881) *Mexican intellectual and promoter of positivism* Gabino Barreda was a Mexican scientist and intellectual who introduced the French notion of POSITIVISM to MEXICO in the late 19th century. Barreda and other intellectuals who followed his ideas modified French positivism to suit Mexico's needs and promoted Mexican positivism as an official ideology of the PORFIRIATO (1876–1911).

Barreda was born in PUEBLA in 1818 and as a young man began studying law. In 1844, he changed to science and medicine and in 1848, went to Paris where he befriended and studied with French philosopher Auguste Comte. Barreda was swayed by Comte's theories on positivism and began writing essays and other works incorporating positivist ideas into his thoughts on Mexican history and society. In 1867, he gave his famous Independence Day speech, which attracted the attention of President BENITO JUÁREZ. The president asked him to lead efforts to reform the nation's educational system along secular, scientific, and positivist lines (see EDUCATION). Barreda founded the National Preparatory School and worked diligently to give Mexico's educational and social foundations a more scientific orientation.

Barreda succeeded in promoting positivism among Mexican intellectuals, and the philosophy continued to morph over the years as the early chaos of the 19th century gave way to more stability in the 1860s and 1870s. Barreda's National Preparatory School educated many of those who would eventually become the *CIENTÍFICOS*, or the inner circle of political advisers to PORFIRIO DÍAZ.

In 1878, Barreda resigned from the National Preparatory School and took a diplomatic post. He died in MEXICO CITY in 1881.

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Barrios, Gerardo (b. 1813–d. 1865) *liberal president of El Salvador* Born into one of EL SALVADOR's prominent landholding families, Gerardo Barrios joined the MILITARY in 1840 and 16 years later earned a leadership position in the movement to overthrow WILLIAM WALKER in Nicaragua. As a result of his military prowess, Barrios developed a close relationship with Guatemalan conservative RAFAEL CARRERA, who awarded Barrios with GUATEMALA's highest recognition, the Cross of Honor, in 1858. The friendship soured, however, after Barrios assumed the Salvadoran presidency later that same year.

Barrios accepted the liberal-positivist philosophy that served as the basis for an economic program that benefited mainly the conservative elite. For example, Barrios's land distribution programs were designed to increase production rather than to aid small, poor landowners. In addition, laborers employed on COFFEE plantations were exempted from military service and tax incentives encouraged planters to expand their harvest, and the government attempted to develop its own merchant fleet to aid in the exportation of coffee. Barrios also expanded road and port construction and internal communications. Moreover, like other liberals of that time, Barrios improved the nation's EDUCATION system, although only for the middle and upper social sectors.

Barrios reached an agreement with the Vatican that required all priests to swear allegiance to the Salvadoran constitution but not to a particular government or leader. The Concordia may have assuaged his fears about the church's interference in political affairs, but by 1863, Barrios's liberal policies had earned him many enemies, including conservative clergy and landowning elites, and Guatemala's Carrera, who led an invasion force into El Salvador. The Guatemalan leader defeated Barrios at Cojutepeque in late 1863 but permitted him to flee the country. When Barrios attempted to return the following year, he was captured by a Nicaraguan military contingent, which turned him over to the Salvadoran authorities. Barrios languished in jail until he faced a firing squad on August 29, 1865.

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Barrios, Justo Rufino (b. 1835–d. 1885) *president and liberal leader in Guatemala* GUATEMALA's reform period began in 1871 and marked the end of conservative political power. During that time, the country's COFFEE-based export ECONOMY emerged and accelerated. Justo Rufino Barrios was responsible for many of the liberal reforms that were put in place throughout the 1870s.

Born into a landowning and conservative elite family in San Lorenzo, Barrios pursued his education in Guatemala City, where he came under liberal influence, particularly of future president Miguel García Granados (b. 1809–d. 1878).

Barrios followed fellow liberal García Granados into the presidential palace in 1873 and used the new constitution of 1876 as the vehicle to his reelection in 1880. Despite ruling with absolute power, Barrios was popular, and many analysts of Guatemalan politics believe that he could have stayed in power longer had he not been killed in battle in 1885.

During the 1850s, coffee replaced indigo and cochineal as Guatemala's leading export, and Barrios pursued policies that accelerated its growth. He permitted planters to encroach on indigenous communal lands and instituted labor codes that tied most Amerindians to the coffee plantations. Barrios established a banking system to help the planters expand production, and he permitted foreign companies and investments to develop roads, railroads, ports, and port facilities. He allowed thousands of German immigrants into Guatemala, and by 1914, they had become the most influential coffee growers in rural areas, as well as merchants in the urban centers. U.S. investors soon followed, most notably the United Fruit Company, which by the early 20th century had become the country's primary producer and exporter of bananas. The company also controlled the TRANSPORTATION facilities for exporting the nation's coffee. In effect, Barrios

shifted the political power base from the merchant class in Guatemala City and the landowners in the surrounding areas to the coffee growers of western Guatemala.

Barrios further extended liberal reform by pursuing anticlerical policies. These included placing EDUCATION under state control, assigning the government responsibility for keeping vital statistics, expelling foreign clergy, and confiscating church property over the protests of bishops. Amerindian groups lost the most as a result of Barrios's reforms. Foreign priests had traditionally dominated the rural churches, where they also doubled as primary school teachers. Their expulsion brought a deterioration in rural education.

Barrios envisioned a unified CENTRAL AMERICA under Guatemalan command. That vision died with him in battle against Salvadoran troops in the Battle of Chalchuapa on August 29, 1885.

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Belize Belize is a country in CENTRAL AMERICA. It is located along the Caribbean coast, south of MEXICO and north and east of GUATEMALA. Belize is a relatively small country, encompassing just under 9,000 square miles (23,310 km²). It is the only nation in Central America that was a British colony. English is the main language of Belize, and the nation continues to be part of the British Commonwealth.

Belize is located in the heart of Maya territory, and in pre-Columbian times, large indigenous civilizations populated the region. European incursions into Central America began in the early 16th century as Spanish conquistadores explored the coastal regions. But, Spanish settlers showed little interest in Belize and faced considerable resistance from the Amerindian population. The first permanent settlements in Belize were founded by English sailors in the 17th century. Those early settlers, called Baymen, cut the logwood that was found in abundance in the region and processed it for its natural dye. British economic activities eventually expanded to include the processing of mahogany, which dominated local economic networks by the 1780s. Disputes between the British and the Spanish for control of the area continued until late in the 18th century. The British finally defeated the Spanish and secured control over the small slice of Central America in 1798. Defeat of the Spanish was accompanied by even more British attention to the region.

As British presence expanded in Belize during the 18th century, agricultural activities began to evolve from simple subsistence farming to feed the logging population to plantation AGRICULTURE intended for commodity export production. But, British leaders continued to discourage

agriculture in favor of logging. A series of regulations had gradually gone into effect to regulate land ownership in the small colony. By the turn of the century, a small elite had emerged among British loggers who claimed monopoly ownership of most of the best logwood and mahogany territory. Hoping to maintain the supremacy of logging and to ensure an ample labor supply for the industry, British laws attempted to prohibit plantation agriculture in the region, but Britain was unable to exercise real authority over the area. Belize was under the jurisdiction of the Jamaican superintendent, and there was little presence of British authority. Planters and logging interests began a system of local government in which they elected their own magistrates and passed local decrees dealing with land ownership, TRADE, and taxation.

As the supplies of logwood and mahogany diminished along the coast, the British pushed farther into the interior of Belize in the first decades of the 19th century. British infiltration inland created conflict with the scattered yet significant pockets of Maya still inhabiting the interior. As the British continued to take over interior lands, the scattered NATIVE AMERICAN groups waged several rebellions and challenged the logging companies for control of the territory. The British Crown attempted to bring the region more fully under its authority by sending a superintendant and other Crown officials to administer the region. In 1854, a local constitution was promulgated, and a local legislative assembly was formed in an attempt to fortify British claims to the region, especially as U.S. leaders attempted to rid Central America of European colonization. The region formally became a part of the British colonial system as British Honduras. It was administratively associated with the Caribbean colony of Jamaica but had a more formal system of colonial government.

Much of the manual labor involved in British logging activities was performed by large numbers of African slaves. The first slaves in Belize arrived indirectly via the BRITISH CARIBBEAN colony of Jamaica, but before long, traders were importing slaves directly to Belize from the west coast of Africa. According to some estimates, slaves made up more than 75 percent of the population by the beginning of the 19th century. As in other areas with a large slave ECONOMY, the work performed by African slaves in Belize was dangerous, and life expectancy was low. Slaves were treated harshly by owners, and the continuation of the slave trade prior to 1807 offered few incentives to slave holders to provide more humane living and working conditions. Malnutrition and disease were rampant, and physical abuse was common, particularly as a method of punishing unruly workers. Because the British settlements were concentrated along the coast, many slaves were able to escape and find refuge in the dense, unsettled jungles of the inland territories.

The British ended the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, and in the early decades of the 19th century, the slave population in Belize declined precipitously. In addition, a preference for male slaves in Latin America had

created in imbalanced sex ratio, making natural reproduction all the more difficult. After the abolition of the slave trade, religious reformers continued to pressure the British Crown to abolish SLAVERY completely. In the coming decades, a series of laws were introduced that paved the way for gradual emancipation. Complete abolition of slavery was finally achieved in the British colonies by 1838. Abolition laws called for the emancipation of all slaves and compensated former slave owners. But, slaves themselves received little help in making the transition into the wage-earning workforce.

The former slave population created a diverse demographic network in the Belize population, but white settlers maintained control of local economic and political systems. Colonial officials restricted the freedoms and privileges of the colored population by limiting access to land and maintaining a closed political system. Similar restrictions applied to the local indigenous population, which continued to challenge British authority. Belize became the destination of a large migration of Garifuna (West Indians of mixed African and Amerindian heritage) in the first half of the 19th century. Waves of Maya migrants began arriving after 1847 as the CASTE WAR OF THE YUCATÁN displaced thousands of indigenous inhabitants. The Garifuna and the Maya communities were prohibited from owning land. Instead, they rented from powerful British settlers, and in later decades, many were moved on to reservations. Several groups of Maya defied British colonial authority, and in the 1860s and 1870s, British troops struggled to put down rebellions in the northwestern interior. Partially in response to those rebellions, the British passed a new constitution in 1871 and changed the status of British Honduras to that of “crown colony.” That change weakened local authority but ensured a larger presence by the British MILITARY.

The final decades of the 19th century were defined by even more intensive concentration of land ownership in British Honduras. The British Honduras Company formed in the 1850s, and its owners took advantage of new land laws to begin consolidating control over the region’s most valuable real estate. In 1875, the company changed its name to the Belize Estate and Produce Company. It secured ownership over most of the colony’s arable land, and company officials wielded enormous political power. Unequal distribution of economic and political power combined with long-standing practices discouraging the development of agriculture produced a weak and ineffective economic system in the last half of the 19th century. Little changed for the colony until well into the 20th century. Belize finally became an independent nation in 1981.

See also BELIZE (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Bello, Andrés (b. 1781–d. 1865) *Venezuelan intellectual, writer, and founder of the University of Chile* Andrés Bello was born in CARACAS on November 29, 1781. In his youth, he demonstrated a desire and gift for learning and began studying law, philosophy, and science at the University of Venezuela. He knew Alexander von Humboldt and Simón Bolívar and accompanied the former on part of his famous tour of South America, cultivating his own interest in geography and nature. In 1810, he went with Bolívar to London on the orders of the Caracas governing junta. Bello remained there as a diplomatic representative for VENEZUELA and CHILE and wrote several of his most famous literary works (see LITERATURE).

In 1829, Bello relocated to SANTIAGO DE CHILE to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He continued his intellectual pursuits and entered Chilean politics. In 1843, he founded the UNIVERSITY OF CHILE and as university rector instituted reforms in higher EDUCATION. Bello and the Chilean government saw higher education as a way of reinforcing national identity and instilling civic responsibility in the population. Bello saw language, in particular, as a tool for national cultural advancement and wrote his influential *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* as an introduction to the theory and practice of the Spanish language in the Americas. He served for a time in the national legislature and helped write Chile’s civil code, which went into effect in 1855. Bello’s code became a model for similar documents in numerous other Latin American countries in later decades of the 19th century.

Bello died on October 15, 1865 in Santiago.

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Betances, Ramón Emeterio (b. 1827–d. 1898) *doctor and Puerto Rican revolutionary* Ramón Emeterio Betances was among the most prominent Puerto Rican nationalists, known to many as the father of the Puerto Rican independence movement. A physician, a writer, and an outspoken abolitionist, he was one of the leading opponents of Spanish colonial control of PUERTO RICO during the 19th century.

Betances was born on April 8, 1827, to a wealthy land-owning family in the town of Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico. As a young man, he was educated in Europe, receiving his medical degree from the University of Paris in 1855. On his return to Puerto Rico, Betances first gained notoriety for his laborious efforts to provide medical treatment

to the poor and needy in the town of Mayagüez, during a five-year cholera epidemic on the island. In 1856, he founded a secret abolitionist society, but after its discovery by the Spanish authorities, he was exiled.

Betances was allowed to return to Puerto Rico in the 1860s but found himself exiled again on two occasions on suspicion of inciting rebellion against the Spanish Crown. He spent the years abroad writing political pieces on the abolition of SLAVERY and the independence of Puerto Rico. In SANTO DOMINGO, he founded the COMITÉ REVOLUCIONARIO DE PUERTO RICO (Puerto Rican Revolutionary Committee), a secret organization dedicated to the violent overthrow of the Spanish colonial regime. Communicating through letters to fellow revolutionaries on the Puerto Rican mainland, Betances was the chief planner of a military uprising on September 23, 1868, known as the GRITO DE LARES. Although the rebels succeeded in taking control of the town of Lares, they did not gain the support of the civilian populace. Hardened Spanish troops defeated the rebel army on the outskirts of the town of San Sebastián de Pepino, killing or capturing most of them less than 24 hours after the uprising began.

After the failure of the uprising, Betances traveled throughout the Caribbean as well as to New York, working as a writer and continuing to advocate for the independence of Puerto Rico. Failing to gain the necessary financial or political support for a second revolution, he spent the remainder of his life in France working as a diplomat for the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC and a delegate to the Cuban Revolutionary Junta. Betances was awarded the French Legion of Honor in 1887 for his work as a diplomat, his medical service while in France, and his contributions to political LITERATURE. He strongly opposed the seemingly inevitable annexation of Puerto Rico by the United States following the conclusion of the WAR OF 1898 in August of that year. He became increasingly frustrated with the Puerto Rican people's unwillingness to demand their independence rather than be absorbed by the United States. He died on September 16, 1898, and his remains were returned to Puerto Rico in 1920, where they were interred in his hometown.

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Blanco Party The Blanco Party was originally a political group formed by MANUEL ORIBE in the 1830s in URUGUAY. It became a formal political party in 1872 and was the foundation for the present-day National Party of Uruguay. The *blancos* represented the interests of the rural ranching and agricultural sector in the early years

after independence. The group was at war throughout much of the 19th century with the rival COLORADO PARTY.

Uruguay achieved complete independence in the 1828 Treaty of Montevideo at the conclusion of the CISPLATINE WAR. The region, known as the BANDA ORIENTAL during the colonial era, had been a province of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. Between 1814 and 1820, local forces under the leadership of José Gervasio Artigas fought for provincial autonomy against the centralist leadership in BUENOS AIRES. In 1821, the Banda Oriental was invaded by Brazilian forces, and in 1825, a new MILITARY force under the leadership of JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA led an insurgency against BRAZIL, with the assistance of ARGENTINA. Citizens of the Banda Oriental fractured into two groups, one supporting the Brazilian occupation and the other favoring an alliance with Buenos Aires. The latter group provided the foundation for the formation of the Blanco Party in later decades. The conflict between Brazil and Argentina escalated into the CISPLATINE WAR, and British mediators helped settle the war three years after it began, at the same time securing the independence of Uruguay. Uruguayan patriots wrote the CONSTITUTION OF 1830, which established a strongly centralized government. JOSÉ FRUCTUOSO RIVERA was elected president that same year and began implementing the centralist measures outlined in the constitution.

Rivera's administration began its cautious leadership over the newly formed nation and almost immediately met considerable resistance from the rural CAUDILLOS and other provincial leaders. Lavalleja led a resistance movement against the government and, after its failure, escaped into exile. In 1834, Rivera supported Oribe's candidacy for president, and power changed hands peacefully. Nevertheless, in the coming years, disputes began to surface between the ranchers of the countryside and the merchants of the main urban center of Montevideo. Oribe tended to side with rural interests and emerged as the leader of the *blancos*. He formed a close relationship with Buenos Aires governor and Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. Rivera rejected Uruguayan ranchers' demands for near complete autonomy and formed an opposition group that eventually became the Colorado Party.

In 1838, Rivera overthrew the Oribe government. The deposed Blanco leader went into exile in Argentina, protected by his caudillo ally. Meanwhile, Rivera drew support from *unitario* exiles in Montevideo and actively attempted to destabilize the Rosas government in neighboring Argentina. Hostilities between the *blancos* and the *colorados* quickly escalated into a full-scale civil war. The GUERRA GRANDE raged between 1838 and 1851 as both sides competed for control of the nation. The two parties drew foreign powers into the struggle. The Argentine government under Rosas supported Oribe and the *blancos* as the defenders of federalism in the Southern Cone.

Brazil, France, and Great Britain aided the Colorado Party, seeing Rivera's party as the best alternative for maintaining free and open TRADE networks through Montevideo. The Colorado Party also earned the support of the like-minded *UNITARIOS* of Argentina, many of whom had fled into exile during the Rosas dictatorship.

The Guerra Grande was characterized by a lengthy siege of Montevideo. Oribe's forces, backed by Rosas, forced Rivera to flee to Brazil in 1842. The Blanco leader then ordered the siege of the capital city, which lasted for the next nine years. During that time, Colorado leaders in Montevideo benefited from protection of the British and French naval forces that kept the port city supplied and maintained open sea access. Blanco forces controlled most of the countryside and sealed off the city from the rest of the country. After nine years of a seeming impasse, British and French forces withdrew their assistance, and Montevideo was on the verge of falling to the *blancos*. Before the *blancos* could claim victory, however, their alliance with the Rosas dictatorship collapsed as Justo José de Urquiza led an alliance of disillusioned Argentine caudillos and exiled intellectuals against the dictator. Rosas withdrew from Uruguay, leaving the *blancos* to carry out the Guerra Grande on their own. The Treaty of Montevideo finally ended the conflict and declared neither side the clear winner. Nevertheless, the end of the Guerra Grande marked the beginning of a long period of Colorado domination that lasted well into the 20th century.

The Blanco Party continued to operate within Uruguay's political system, enjoying its traditional support among the nation's rural sectors. Nevertheless, the party struggled beneath the domination of the *colorados*, who controlled Montevideo and other major urban centers. Blanco candidate Bernardo Berro (b. 1803–d. 1868) managed to win the presidency in 1860 only to be overthrown by a Colorado revolt four years later. Berro's overthrow began a period of internal instability in Uruguay and contributed to the emergence of external alliances that culminated in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE. In that war, the Blanco Party paired up with Paraguayan dictator FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ against the Colorado Party and its allies, Brazil and Argentina. The War of the Triple Alliance was the most destructive single conflict in all of South America in the 19th century. The conclusion of the war brought defeat for PARAGUAY and once again subjected the *blancos* to the hegemony of the Colorado Party.

In 1872, the Blanco Party changed its name to the National Party, and this remains the name of the party today. Also in the 1870s, leaders in Uruguay introduced the system of *coparticipación*, in which the minority party was guaranteed specific levels of representation and political power. Despite attempts at compromise, conflict between the National and Colorado Parties continued throughout the final decades of the 19th century. One final revolt in 1897 was initiated by National Party

leader Aparacio Saravia (b. 1856–d. 1904), who accused Colorado leaders of failing to fulfill the compromise of *coparticipación*. Saravia forced the Colorado government to agree to new concessions before the rebellion subsided. The National Party leader controlled politics in the countryside until the rise of populist president José Battle y Ordóñez in the early 20th century.

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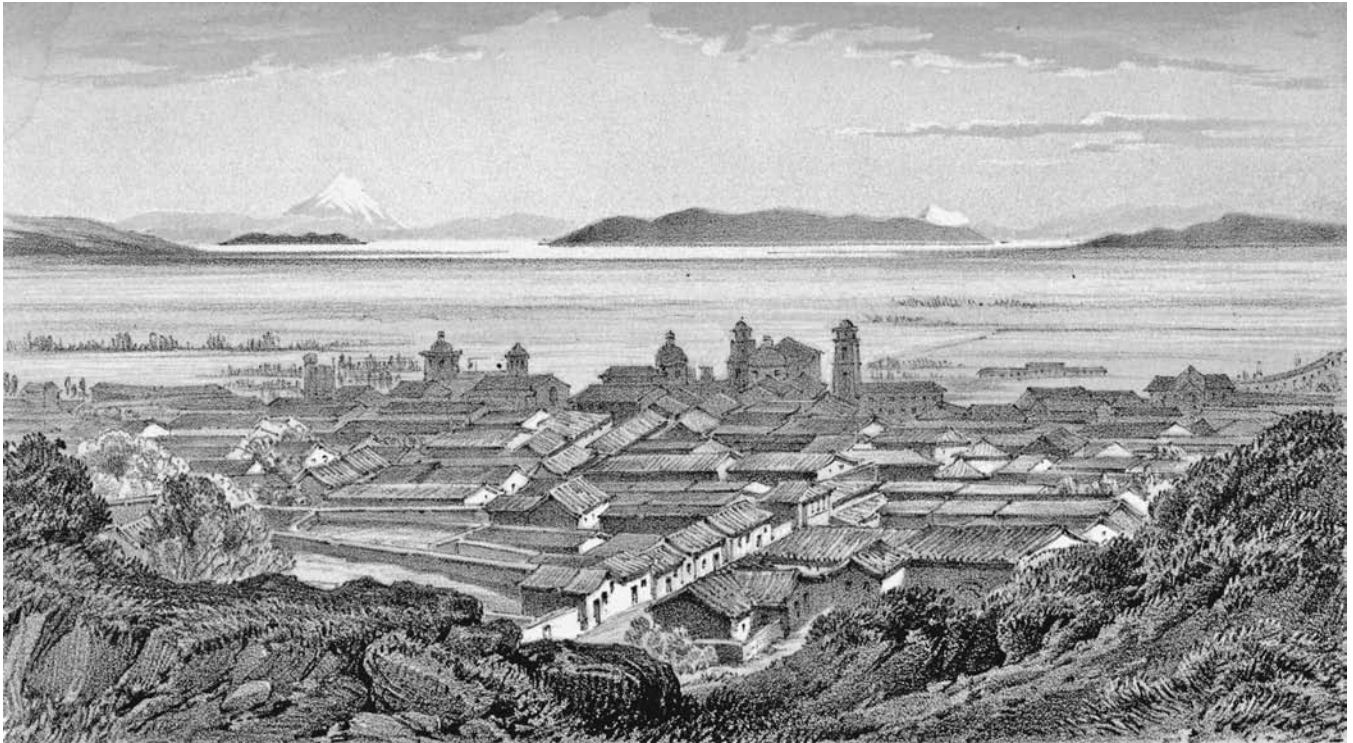
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Bogotá Bogotá is the capital city of COLOMBIA. It was home to a relatively large indigenous population in the pre-Columbian era. Spanish explorer Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada founded the city of Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1538. The city emerged as a cultural and economic center and became the capital of the Viceroyalty of New Granada in 1717.

The colonial elite of Bogotá were some of the first in Latin America to rebel against Spanish authority, declaring the colony's complete independence in 1810. Bogotá was liberated by Simón Bolívar and his insurgent forces in 1814, and the Congress of the recently formed United Provinces of New Granada relocated to the city in 1815. The republic fell back under Spanish control the following year, but by 1819, the independence of New Granada had been secured. Bolívar then established the Republic of GRAN COLOMBIA. Administrative divisions within the new republic were structured to allow power sharing among three equal departments, but Bogotá emerged as the main seat of authority. Conflict over the divisions of power eventually led to the dissolution of Gran Colombia, and Bogotá became the capital of the Republic of New Granada, the predecessor of present-day Colombia.

Despite its role as the administrative and cultural center of Colombia, Bogotá was slow to develop in the early decades of the 19th century. A national museum, public library, and national theater opened in the capital city in the years immediately following independence, but access to such cultural outlets was limited. Factional conflict between liberal and conservative interests plagued the region for decades, impeding the development of a cohesive national culture. Brief periods of liberal rule resulted in increasing secularization of the educational system (see EDUCATION). A national university opened in Bogotá in 1867 and became a center of cultural and intellectual development.

Despite these modest gains, Bogotá remained relatively isolated until an era of conservative rule known as the Regeneration in the 1880s. Under the leadership of President RAFAEL NÚÑEZ, political authority in Colombia was centralized in Bogotá. In the final decades of the 19th century, the government devoted resources to developing



Panoramic sketch of Bogotá, Colombia, circa 1863 (From *Travels in Mexico, South America, Etc. Etc.*, by Godfrey Thomas Vigne. London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1863, p. 263)

the infrastructure of the capital city. Foreign investors from the United States and Europe were largely responsible for building railroads and developing a communications infrastructure. By the end of the 19th century, a telegraph network was in place with Bogotá at the center. Railroads connecting Bogotá to the rest of the country were completed, although the expansion of Colombia's TRANSPORTATION SECTOR occurred much more slowly than in other areas of Latin America. Theaters and other cultural centers opened, and the city's educated elite formed literary groups. The modernization trends that began in Bogotá during the Regeneration continued in the 20th century. The city remains one of the most important cultural and economic centers of Colombia.

See also *BOGOTÁ* (Vols. I, II, IV); *BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN* (Vol. II).

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Bolivarian Constitution (Bolivian Constitution of 1826) The Bolivarian Constitution was a document written by Simón Bolívar spelling out a system of gov-

ernment for the newly independent republic of BOLIVIA. The document marks the first real attempt by Bolívar to formalize the political ideas he articulated in writings such as the *Jamaica Letter* during the wars of independence in South America. Bolívar's constitution called for a strong executive, reminiscent of the Spanish system during the colonial period. Even though it was replaced by a more liberal document within a few years, Bolívar's vision left a lasting legacy in Bolivia and elsewhere in South America.

The Bolivarian Constitution called for four branches of government. First, a highly centralized executive led by a lifetime president would oversee the government and maintain order. As a lifetime appointment, the presidency was designed to provide the head of state with extraordinary power, including the ability to groom a successor. Bolívar hoped a strong leader would prevent infighting among regional elites and keep the new nation from splintering in its early years. A second branch was the tricameral Congress made up of the Senate, Chamber of Tribunes, and Chamber of Censors. Congress was responsible for making laws and serving as a check on the executive branch. The third and fourth branches were the judicial and electoral branches. The constitution imposed stringent limits on suffrage, granting only educated, wealthy, property-owning citizens the right to vote. Most political experts consider the political system outlined in the document to have been unworkable. Understandably, many of Bolívar's political visions led to a great deal of conflict.

Bolívar drafted the Bolivarian Constitution in LIMA, while serving as president of PERU. Shortly after completing it, the Liberator was called back to GRAN COLOMBIA—the confederation he had helped create, made up of present-day COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA, ECUADOR, and PANAMA—to put down a rebellion against the government. Bolívar had been serving as Gran Colombian president in absentia, having left his vice president, FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER, in charge. After subduing several local insurrections and restoring himself as president, Bolívar attempted to implement a similar version of his Bolivarian Constitution in Gran Colombia. The liberal-minded elite in Gran Colombia repudiated the Bolivarian Constitution, and Bolívar responded by disbanding Congress and assuming full dictatorial powers. Numerous adversaries began to rise in opposition, and by 1830, Bolívar's attempts to impose an autocratic political system in Gran Colombia had ended with the overthrow of the Liberator and the dissolution of Gran Colombia.

Despite its relatively short duration of being in effect, the Bolivarian Constitution has had an enduring legacy. Numerous Latin American governments resorted to Bolivarian-style executive power throughout the 19th century in an attempt to stabilize fractured political systems. The tendency of strong central rule and the legacy of Bolívar's vision have continued in many areas into the 20th century. Most notably, Venezuela's president Hugo Chávez drafted his own "Bolivarian Constitution" in 1999, in which he articulated many of the same ideas of government and Latin American solidarity that had been proposed by the Liberator in 1826.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II).

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Bolivia Bolivia today is a landlocked Andean country to the north of ARGENTINA and to the east of northern CHILE and southern PERU. During the colonial period, Bolivia was referred to as Upper Peru, or Charcas, and until the late 18th century, it was part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. A small white population controlled the wealth produced in the colony, while a large Aymara and Quechua Indian population labored in mines and agricultural fields. In 1776, the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata absorbed Upper Peru into its administrative structure.

INDEPENDENCE

A group of influential creoles and mestizos followed the lead of other independence movements in South America by declaring independence and attempting to initiate self-rule in 1809. Nevertheless, the movement failed to attract necessary support from the elite, who feared a resurgence of ethnic violence after the 1780

Túpac Amaru II revolt in the Andes. The rebellion was easily defeated by the royalist army sent from Peru, but its leaders, known as the Generation of 1809, provided inspiration to future independence movements.

For the next 15 years, citizens of Upper Peru found themselves torn between liberation movements originating in Argentina and the strong arm of Spanish rule in neighboring LIMA. When an Argentine junta declared independence on May 25, 1810, supporters in Upper Peru enthusiastically joined the movement only to be put down quickly once again by royalist forces from Lower Peru. In an era known as the Fifteen Years' War, Argentine armies repeatedly attempted to liberate Upper Peru between 1810 and 1825, and each time, the Spanish MILITARY forces from Lower Peru repelled the invasions. Also during that time, pockets of Bolivian-led guerrilla insurgencies dotted the countryside. The guerrilla leader of the Apopaya region, José Miguel Lanza (b. 1779–d. 1828), is credited with helping to maintain momentum for the struggle until independence was finally achieved in 1825.

Much like its royalist protector Lower Peru, independence for the future republic of Bolivia was secured only after the intervention of outsiders. By 1821, most Spanish strongholds in South America had succumbed to patriot forces. Subduing the last holdouts in Upper and Lower Peru was considered vital to the survival of independence in South America as a whole. In August 1820, the Argentine and Chilean liberator José de San Martín began a campaign to liberate Peru, and less than a year later, his forces took Lima and declared Peruvian independence. Despite those successes, a strong royalist presence remained in important regions of Upper Peru. In the summer of 1822, San Martín joined forces with the Liberator of New Grenada (PANAMA, VENEZUELA, ECUADOR, and COLOMBIA), Simón Bolívar. Under Bolívar's leadership, the two armies defeated royalist forces at the Battle of Junín in August 1824. Bolívar supporter and future Bolivian president ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE dealt the final blow to the Spanish army at the Battle of Ayacucho on December 9, 1824. After suppressing what remained of the scattered Spanish forces, Sucre declared victory for the independence movement on April 9, 1825.

With independence for all of Spanish South America secured, Bolívar envisioned uniting the former colonies into one large confederation. He wanted to create a united nation consisting of Upper and Lower Peru, similar to the GRAN COLOMBIA confederation he had established in New Granada. Bolívar, however, met with stiff opposition both from within Upper Peru and from bordering Gran Colombia and the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. The neighboring nations feared that a unified Peru would disrupt the balance of power among other newly sovereign nations in South America, and local leaders were already fostering notions of national identity separate from that of their northern neighbor.

Sucre convened a constituent assembly in July 1825 to decide the future of Upper Peru. The delegates voted

overwhelmingly to create a sovereign nation named the Republic of Bolivia after the great South American liberator himself. The delegates also voted to name Bolívar the first president of the republic. Bolívar approved their actions and accepted the title, although only nominally, for a few months. At the same time, Bolívar was busy articulating his ideas for a new political system in the BOLIVARIAN CONSTITUTION of 1826. The document laid out an awkward and cumbersome governmental structure based on four branches of government, organized under a powerful lifetime president. Although only in effect for a few years, the Bolivarian Constitution of 1826 laid the political foundation for Sucre's election as president in 1826, after Bolívar's departure.

Sucre inherited a fledgling nation that was struggling to recover from the physical and economic destruction of 15 years of war. The Venezuelan native attempted to implement a series of reforms to replenish the national treasury. He nationalized Bolivia's MINING sector and invited the participation of foreign investors in the industry. He resurrected some banking and coinage activities and implemented a new system of taxation in an effort to move the nation away from traditional income-generating measures such as the tribute tax. Ultimately, Sucre's fiscal reforms failed, and Bolivians began to view him as a foreigner meddling in the new nation's affairs. Sucre's government put down several attempted revolts in 1827 and 1828, but finally, a coup led by General AGUSTÍN GAMARRA drove him from power in July 1828. The new government fared no better until the rise of independence leader-turned-CAUDILLO ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ.

THE AGE OF CAUDILLOS

Santa Cruz was the mestizo son of a Spanish military officer and a Quechua mother from La Paz. He had fought on the side of the royalists against the independence movement, but when the tide started to turn in favor of the liberation leaders, he joined San Martín and Bolívar in the final liberation of Upper Peru. Bolivia's constituent assembly saw him as a natural fit for the presidency because of his military history and his FAMILY connections. Santa Cruz took office in 1829 and immediately embarked on a program to bring economic recovery and political stability to the new nation. He imposed numerous fiscal reforms to balance the budget and replenish the national treasury. Once Bolivia was on more solid financial footing, Santa Cruz devoted public funds to improving EDUCATION and expanding the nation's infrastructure. In 1831, the new president replaced the Bolivarian Constitution of 1826 with a more democratic document. His political vision still granted the executive an inordinate amount of power, and he eventually built a reputation as a hardline dictator. Nevertheless, his administration brought a sustained period of relative stability to a nation that desperately needed it.

Santa Cruz is perhaps best known for his attempt to reunite Upper and Lower Peru in the PERU-BOLIVIA

CONFEDERATION. He claimed that through his mother's Amerindian lineage, he was a direct descendant of the last Inca ruler Túpac Amaru. He dreamed of re-creating the once-great empire under a powerful confederation. Santa Cruz seized on an opportunity provided when Peruvian leaders descended into civil war in 1834. He sent an invading force in 1835 and occupied most of Peru less than a year later. He proclaimed the confederation in October 1836 and implemented similar economic and social policies to those he had introduced in Bolivia. The confederation lasted less than three years, as leaders in neighboring Argentina and Chile considered the unified Peru-Bolivia region to be a threat to the security of their new nations. War with Chile brought an end to Santa Cruz's experiment in 1839.

With the demise of the Péru-Bolivian Confederation came the end of Santa Cruz's dictatorship. The deposed leader fled into exile in Ecuador, and Bolivia was plagued for the next four decades with violence and corruption under a series of caudillo leaders. A period of instability began immediately as two generals who had spearheaded the overthrow of Santa Cruz, José Ballivián (b. 1805–d. 1852) and José Miguel de Velasco (b. 1795–d. 1859), competed for power. When Velasco was elected president, Ballivián led a series of revolts against the government. Peruvian president Agustín Gamarra capitalized on the instability within Bolivia's government and invaded the country, bringing down the Velasco government and seizing the city of La Paz. Ballivián managed to unite the beleaguered Bolivian nation and defeat Gamarra. Ballivián held the presidency for six years, but the short period of relative stability ended abruptly with his overthrow in 1847.

Beginning in 1848, the presidency of Manuel Isidoro Belzú (b. 1808–d. 1865) marked a shift in Bolivian leadership away from the cultured and educated creole elite. Belzú was a *cholo* (person of mixed race) from the lower classes and gained favor among the nation's large and impoverished Amerindian and mestizo population. Belzú oversaw a return to Santa Cruz's protectionist economic policies and the writing of a new constitution in 1851. He survived several attempted overthrows and at least one assassination attempt. He left office in 1855 after a rigged election brought his son-in-law, Jorge Córdova (1855–57), to power. After only two years in office, Córdova was overthrown by José María Linares (1857–61). Linares's dictatorial rule provoked a growing opposition movement, and in 1861, his minister of war, General José María de Achá (1861–64), overthrew him and seized the presidency. Achá was overthrown in 1864 by MARIANO MELGAREJO.

TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

Melgarejo's rise to power marked the beginning of an era of crisis for Bolivia, characterized by internal economic instability and a series of territorial disputes with neighboring countries. Melgarejo was a military man of meager beginnings. Born illegitimately and of *cholo* heritage,

he was considered by many of the country's elite to be boorish and vulgar. The caudillo reinforced that image through behavior that was often cruel and impulsive. Melgarejo's foreign policy set the stage for future conflicts with neighboring Chile and Brazil.

The 1866 Treaty of Mejillones redefined Bolivia's coastal border, ceding a large tract to Chile. The agreement also ambiguously set up a system of resource sharing in the nitrate-rich region of the Atacama Desert. One year later, the Bolivian dictator signed the Treaty of Ayacucho with Brazil, which ceded a large portion of the Amazonian region to the neighboring nation. For Bolivia, Melgarejo secured official title to the rubber-producing ACRE PROVINCE, but the region remained far from government control, and few Bolivians settled there. The caudillo profited personally through these land swaps, while territorial disputes in both regions continued.

Melgarejo's poor foreign policy decisions were matched by his misguided economic policies. In an effort to augment the national treasury, the dictator imposed a policy of land privatization, charging high rents and fees to indigenous farmers for land they had owned and worked communally for generations. Melgarejo's misrule sparked a series of revolts, and the dictator was finally deposed in 1871 after several bloody confrontations between indigenous communities and the military.

The 1870s brought some relief to the beleaguered nation. Under the dictatorship of Agustín Morales (1871–72) the burdensome land policies of Melgarejo were reversed. Morales's successor, Adolfo Ballivián (1873–74), stabilized the national treasury by renegotiating the exorbitant national debt. Despite those small successes, domestic political infighting continued, as did boundary disputes with Chile and Brazil. The Chilean crisis came to a head under President Hilarión Daza (1876–79). In 1878, the caudillo reneged on an earlier agreement with Chile and raised taxes on Chilean nitrate processing in the Antofagasta region. The Chilean army moved in to support the local nitrate company, prompting Bolivia to declare war. A Peruvian-Bolivian alliance had been established in 1873, and Peru joined forces with its neighbor against Chile in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC. During the four-year conflict, the Chilean army easily dominated the defenses of its weaker neighbors.

Bolivia's contribution to the war effort was minor and ineffective. President Daza left the burden of fighting most of the battles to his Peruvian allies. The incompetent dictator was overthrown in December 1879, but his successors were equally incapable of warding off the formidable Chilean army. Bolivia finally ceded the Antofagasta Province to Chile in the Treaty of Valparaíso on April 5, 1884. Bolivia's defeat in the War of the Pacific cost the nation a large tract of land with valuable natural resources and its only access to the sea.

The War of the Pacific also divided Bolivia's ruling elite, who disagreed on the best course of action and

looked for someone to blame for the defeat. As a result, the Liberal Party emerged in 1883, made up of military and political leaders determined to continue the war. The Conservative Party also formed, led by mining and other business interests who saw the war as destructive to the region's ECONOMY. Many conservative leaders also had close connections to Chilean investors, and they advocated peace between the two nations. The political platforms promoted by the Liberal and Conservative Parties fit the mold of other similarly named movements in 19th-century Latin America, but in practice, neither party remained loyal to its proclaimed ideology. The early years of Bolivia's modern party system were more of a power grab than an ideological contest.

A conservative oligarchy rose to power out of this political struggle in 1884, and the Conservative Party remained in power until a civil war, known as the Federal Revolution, overthrew them in 1899. The new liberal government faced an immediate challenge in the still-unresolved boundary dispute in the Amazonian Acre Province along the Brazilian border. The beginning of the rubber boom in the 1880s brought attention to the region as a rich source of rubber trees. Brazilian migrants in the region tried to pull away from Bolivia and looked to the Brazilian government for annexation. The Bolivian government sent several military expeditions and even tried inviting U.S. investors to control and stabilize the region through the creation of the BOLIVIAN SYNDICATE, an experiment that failed. A brief revolt in 1902 resulted in Bolivia's ceding the province to Brazil. Once more Bolivia lost a large tract of land rich in natural resources to its neighbor.

Despite the loss of the Acre Province, the end of the 19th century ushered in an era of relative political stability. Bolivia also experienced an economic transformation as tin mining came to dominate the nation's economy in the early decades of the 20th century.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); BOLIVIA (Vols. I, IV); CHARCAS (Vol. II); NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); PERU, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ DE (Vol. II); TÚPAC AMARU II (Vol. II); UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II).

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Bolivian Constitution of 1826 See BOLIVARIAN CONSTITUTION.

Bolivian Syndicate The Bolivian Syndicate was a group of investors from the United States who became involved in the rubber industry in BOLIVIA'S ACRE PROVINCE in 1901. Its formation was perceived by neighboring BRAZIL as an act of U.S. imperialism and pushed the Brazilian government into backing a local rebellion in the region.

The Acre Province had fallen under territory claimed by the Spanish during the colonial period, but after independence, Bolivia and Brazil vied for control over the region, as well as many other border areas. In 1867, Bolivian president MARIANO MELGAREJO signed the Treaty of Ayacucho, which surrendered a large portion of Bolivia's claim to the Amazon region to Brazil and in exchange granted Bolivia official title to the Acre region. Nevertheless, disputes continued between the two countries over the precise location of the border. As numerous Brazilian migrants poured into the Acre to work in the lucrative rubber industry, the Bolivian government grew increasingly concerned that it would be unable to maintain its authority in the remote region.

In 1899, the Bolivian government established a customs house on the Acre River, inciting a revolt by Brazilians living in the region. Local Brazilian officials declared the Independent Republic of Acre and looked to the national government of Brazil for annexation. Bolivia reacted to the insurgency first by dispatching MILITARY units to bring the rebels under control. When armed force failed, Bolivian president José Manuel Pando (1899–1904) devised a colonization scheme with a group of U.S. investors. Through the Aramayo Contract, Pando authorized the formation of the Bolivian Syndicate on December 20, 1901, and granted the U.S.-based group a 30-year lease of the Acre Province. Under the contract, the syndicate became responsible for maintaining order, collecting taxes, building infrastructure, and other public services. Eventually, the U.S.-controlled syndicate would be permitted to purchase the Acre Province.

The creation of the Bolivian Syndicate was an attempt by the Bolivian government to bring the recalcitrant Brazilians in the Acre Province under control by introducing a non-Brazilian governing authority into the remote region. The move, however, further incited Brazilian anger and motivated Brazil's national government to intervene for fear of U.S. imperialism. Brazil backed the Acre rebels, and by January 1903, they had succeeded in forcing all Bolivians out of the territory. The Acre Province officially became Brazilian territory in November 1903, under the Treaty of Petrópolis. The Bolivian Syndicate was abandoned before it had begun its activities in the Acre.

See also AMAZON (Vol. I); U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENT IN LATIN AMERICA (Vol. IV).

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“Borinquena, La” “La Borinquena” is the national anthem of PUERTO RICO, and the title refers to the Taino Indian name for the island, *Borinquen*. The music for the anthem was originally composed on the piano by Francisco Ramírez Ortíz in 1860, written as a song entitled “La Almojábana” for his lover. The song became a popular folk tune and gained popularity across the island. In 1867, the Catalan musician Félix Astol-Artés (b. 1813–d. 1901) met with Ramírez, who changed the song into a habanera dance tune with romantic lyrics entitled “La Bella Trigueña.”

In 1868, Puerto Rican poet Lola Rodríguez de Tió (b. 1843–d. 1924), inspired by the patriotism of the GRITO DE LARES revolt that same year, used the music of “La Bella Trigueña” to write her own song with new lyrics endorsing the Puerto Rican revolution against Spanish colonial control. As the new song grew in popularity among proindependence Puerto Ricans, the Spanish authorities investigated its origins. Ramírez supposedly credited the song to Astol-Artés when questioned about the authorship of the music, due to the legal protections Astol-Artés's Spanish citizenship would afford him.

Rodríguez's original lyrics were too subversive, so more neutral ones were penned in 1903 by Manuel Fernández Juncos (b. 1846–d. 1928), and the song began being taught in the Puerto Rican public school system. This censored version of “La Borinquena” became the anthem of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in 1952, however the Rodríguez version has become the official anthem of the Puerto Rican independence/liberation movement and is still sung at proindependence rallies today.

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Boyer, Jean-Pierre (b. 1776–d. 1850) *president of Haiti* Jean-Pierre Boyer was born a free mulatto in Port-au-Prince. He was a career MILITARY officer, educated in France. Although he served in the French military under General Charles-Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc, the brother-in-law of Napoléon Bonaparte sent to restore SLAVERY and French control of Saint Domingue in December 1801, as well as in the Haitian rebel military under JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES, HENRI CHRISTOPHE, and ALEXANDRE PÉTION, his loyalty remained with the mulatto elite. It is believed that he participated with Pétion and other mulattoes in the assassination of Dessalines in 1806.

After Dessalines's murder, Christophe and Pétion engaged in a power struggle that resulted in the division

of HAITI into northern (republic) and southern (kingdom) states. The standoff between the two leaders lasted for 12 years. As president of the southern Republic of Haiti, Pétion appointed Boyer secretary and commander of the presidential guard.

Boyer was elected president on March 30, 1818, the day after Pétion's death. When Christophe, king of Northern Haiti, committed suicide in 1820, Boyer took control of the north and reunited the country the following year. Boyer was concerned with the security and prosperity of Haiti. His first move as president was to secure the eastern side of Hispaniola, the newly independent Spanish SANTO DOMINGO. In February 1822, he claimed the entire island in the name of Haiti.

Boyer was also interested in ending the French threat to Haiti's sovereignty and in gaining formal, international recognition of Haiti as an independent nation. He believed that France's continued refusal to settle claims stemming from the 1791 revolution and recognize its former colony's independence was damaging. His administration sued for recognition from France, which resulted in the indemnity of 1825. This stipulated that if Haiti paid 150 million francs to France within five years, independence would be recognized. This "offer" was made with 14 warships in Port-au-Prince harbor, supported by 500 guns. Boyer signed, as it was made clear that to do otherwise would reopen hostilities. The agreement was revised in 1838, when two treaties with France were signed. The first recognized Haitian independence, and the second lessened the indemnity to 60 million francs. Nevertheless, the debt crippled Haiti's finances.

Haiti faced diminished productivity as a result of Pétion's economic policies. Boyer attempted to generate income by reinstating the basic plan of *FERMAGE*, which Toussaint Louverture (1801–03), Dessalines, and Christophe had enforced earlier. He also passed the CODE RURAL, which bound cultivators to their land and placed quotas on them. Towns were exempted, and the code was to be enforced by the Haitian army. However, Boyer's plan failed, because under Pétion, land plots had been divided and sold for small-scale farming, thus agricultural production could not easily be increased. Additionally, the Haitian army had deteriorated to the extent that it could not enforce the new law. Overall, the Code Rural had a profoundly negative effect on Haiti, as it further separated the rural black peasantry from the mulatto elite, who lived in the towns and cities.

Political opposition to Boyer mounted in the 1830s. He was criticized for his economic policies; his adherence to elite French culture; and his corruption, nepotism, and suppression of free expression. He was ultimately overthrown by rebel forces headed by CHARLES RIVIÈRE-HÉRARD in 1843. Boyer received word that most of his army had joined the revolt and fled with his family to Jamaica. Boyer died in Paris, France, in 1850.

See also HAITI (Vol. IV); HISPANIOLA (Vol. II); SANTO DOMINGO (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II).

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Brazil Brazil is located in eastern South America. It is the largest Latin American country, encompassing more than 3 million square miles (7.7 million km²). Brazil shares a border with every South American country except ECUADOR and CHILE and has a 4,600-mile (7,403-km) coast along the Atlantic Ocean. Because it covers such a large area, Brazil's climate ranges from tropical to temperate, and its varied topography includes the dense jungles of the Amazon, the plateaus of the central regions, and the sandy beaches of the coast.

Brazil was originally home to a number of scattered indigenous tribes. Estimates placed the pre-Columbian population at approximately 7 million. The largest group was the Tupí-Guaraní, who inhabited the coast, while other groups such as the Gê, the Carib, and the Arawak lived in the interior. In 1500, Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral became the first European to lead an expedition to Brazil. The Portuguese were slow to settle the country, but by mid-century, sugarcane had been introduced in the tropical coastal regions. Unable to secure a reliable LABOR force from among the country's indigenous inhabitants, the Portuguese began importing African slaves to work on SUGAR plantations in the 1570s. As a result, colonial Brazil developed as a plantation ECONOMY strongly tied to African SLAVERY. By the beginning of the 19th century, Brazilian society was a rich mixture of Portuguese, mixed-blood *mamelucos* and mulattoes, free blacks, and slaves.

BRAZILIAN INDEPENDENCE

Brazil's movement toward independence was considerably less violent and abrupt than that of its Spanish neighbors. Signs of discontent with colonial rule had manifested in the late 18th century. An insurrection led by a dentist, or *tiradentes*, named Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, developed in 1788–89 in the GOLD MINING region of Minas Gerais. Known as the Tiradentes Conspiracy, the revolt arose over complaints about taxes and debt among the mining oligarchy and some merchants. The Portuguese Crown quickly put down the rebellion, but it was a sign that colonists were starting to question the status quo. Other small attempted revolutions surfaced in the following years, and many of the planners were inspired by the ideals promoted in the French, Haitian, and American Revolutions. HAITI had achieved independence from the French, and slavery had been abolished on the island in the 1790s after a large slave and free black rebellion.

The events in Haiti struck fear into the hearts of Brazil's planter class, and colonial officials passed policies to avoid a similar insurrection in the Portuguese colony.

Formal independence movements emerged throughout most of Latin America initially as a reaction to Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1807–08, but Brazil followed a slightly different path. As Napoléon began pressuring the Portuguese and his troops approached Lisbon, the royal court fled the city, relocating to Brazil. Crown advisers had debated transferring the court to the Americas for some time, and their decision to do so reflected the growing importance of Brazil to the Portuguese Empire. The royal family, along with more than 10,000 bureaucrats and other officials, set up a new imperial government in Bahia in 1807. Prince Regent John ruled in place of his mentally ill mother until her death in 1816, at which point he became King John VI. John ruled the entire Portuguese Empire from RIO DE JANEIRO for more than a decade. Even after the British defeated Napoléon in 1814, the Portuguese Court remained in Brazil. John tried to quell the mounting pressure on him to return to Lisbon by making Brazil a kingdom on equal status with Portugal in 1815. Instead of quieting dissent, however, the move only further upset the Portuguese elite.

While John VI maintained Portuguese rule in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's neighbors engaged in armed insurrections starting as early as 1808 to secure independence from Spain. The challenge to colonial authority in Spanish America provoked a number of boundary disputes, and those conflicts were often complicated by Brazil's near-constant expansion southward and into the interior. Taking advantage of the political uncertainty in the neighboring United Provinces of the Río de la Plata (present-day ARGENTINA), John sent an occupation force into the BANDA ORIENTAL (present-day URUGUAY) in 1817. Brazilian forces occupied the region for four years until John annexed it as the Cisplatine Province.

Eventually John VI's desire to continue running the empire from Brazil was overridden by growing discontent in Portugal. A liberal revolt erupted in Lisbon in 1820, and the Portuguese king left his son Pedro in charge in Rio de Janeiro while he attended to the political unrest in Europe. With the title of prince regent, Pedro immediately faced enormous pressure to separate Brazil fully from Portugal. A nationalist movement had been rising, and native Brazilians had grown sensitive to John's tendency to favor Portuguese bureaucrats over the local elite. The Portuguese Côrtes attempted to revert Brazil to colonial status in 1821 and recalled Pedro to Lisbon. The decision would have effectively erased the privileges that had been granted to Brazil during more than a decade as the imperial seat of power. Brazilians took action, and Pedro's closest advisers urged him to declare independence. With the tacit approval of his father, Pedro issued his famous GRITO DE IPIRANGA on September 7, 1822. He then spent more

than a year driving out the remnants of the Portuguese MILITARY from the provinces.

THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL

Pedro's declaration marked the beginning of the independent EMPIRE OF BRAZIL under Emperor PEDRO I (1822–31). A constituent assembly convened immediately and began drafting a governing document to define Brazil as a constitutional monarchy. It quickly became evident that the majority of the assembly's delegates favored a system that would severely limit the powers of the emperor. Pedro reacted by dissolving the assembly and overseeing the drafting of the CONSTITUTION OF 1824, which called for a powerful monarch with extraordinary oversight into the other branches of government.

Pedro's authoritative approach to governing and continuing close ties to Portugal fueled a number of conflicts in the first decade after independence. Several uprisings in the provinces were put down forcefully, and Pedro became increasingly repressive. A revolt in Pernambuco spread into surrounding provinces, with the rebels attempting to break away from Brazil by forming the Confederation of the Equator in 1824. Pedro's army quickly quashed the rebellion and executed its leaders. The beleaguered emperor also faced a revolt in the Cisplatine Province, which escalated into the CISPLATINE WAR between Brazil and Argentina from 1825 to 1828. European mediators eventually brokered a peaceful settlement by creating the independent republic of Uruguay as a buffer state between Brazil and its neighbor. While the numerous provincial uprisings weakened Pedro's regime, his most serious problem surfaced with the death of his father, the Portuguese king in 1826. Many Brazilian elite had long been suspicious of Pedro's ties to Portugal and feared he would take the throne in Lisbon and place Brazil once again under Portuguese imperial control. Opposition to Pedro intensified until 1831, when the monarch abdicated the Brazilian throne and fled to Portugal.

THE REGENCY

Pedro I's departure left a political void, since his son and the heir apparent, PEDRO II (1831–89), was only five years old. An elected three-man junta took power, and for the next nine years, Brazil was governed by the young Pedro II's surrogates during an era known as the REGENCY. Although the existence of the Regency to some extent alleviated fears that Pedro I would attempt to bring Brazil back under Portuguese control, many of the Brazilian elite remained suspicious of Pedro's intentions until his death in Lisbon in 1834. The politics of the Regency came to be defined by a series of power plays among regents and others in the inner-government circles in Rio de Janeiro and among provincial politicians. Many liberal leaders considered the Regency an opportunity to decentralize the Brazilian political system and strengthen local governments' autonomy. A

constitutional amendment passed in 1834 changed the Regency from a three-man junta to a one-man regent. It also strengthened the authority of provincial legislatures and dissolved the powerful advisory council of state. This measure was reflective of the ideological differences between CENTRALISM and FEDERALISM that characterized much of Latin America in the 19th century.

Provincial disputes also continued during the Regency period. The War of the Cabanos broke out in Pernambuco from 1832 to 1835. The conflict began as a slave and indigenous insurrection, and more than 30,000 were killed by the government forces that suppressed it. In Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina in the south disputes over trade and economic policies led to the WAR OF THE FARRAPOS, from 1835 to 1845. Rebels attempted to form a separate republic, resisting government attempts at reconciliation for more than 10 years. The War of the Farrapos underscored many of the underlying divisions between centrists and regionalists. It also demonstrated that the push toward republicanism was strong in many areas of Brazil throughout the 19th century. By 1840, such turmoil had convinced many within the ruling elite that a strong, centralizing authority figure was needed to unite the struggling nation. At the age of 14, Pedro II took the throne in 1840, and the era known as the Second Empire began.

SECOND EMPIRE

Pedro II's reign as emperor lasted until 1889. During that time, Brazil underwent enormous political, economic, and social changes. One of Pedro's first orders of business was to recentralize political authority. He supported a conservative legislature and reversed the reformist measure that had been put in place in 1834. The 1840s also became a time of reconciliation and unification. Pedro sent a strong military force to deal with the insurrections in the provinces. By 1845, the War of the Farrapos had ended, with the new emperor granting amnesty to the rebels. By 1850, Pedro had managed to bring a sense of order to Brazil's internal affairs, which allowed him to turn his attention to foreign affairs. He gave his support to JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA in overthrowing the Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, with whom Brazil had long-standing disputes over TRADE and commerce. Brazil enjoyed good relations with Europe, and the nation eventually achieved relative peace with its South American neighbors. One of the most significant obstacles to harmony among South American nations was the struggle for control of trade and river transport in the border regions between Argentina, Uruguay, PARAGUAY, and Brazil. A delicate balance had been achieved among those nations, and Pedro II developed a close alliance with Uruguay's COLORADO PARTY. That balance was disrupted when Paraguayan dictator FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ attacked Brazil and Argentina simultaneously, in an attempt to gain a foothold in neighboring Uruguay. An alliance quickly emerged between Brazil, Uruguay, and

Argentina, and between 1864 and 1870, the three nations fought Paraguay in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE. In the early months of the war, the Paraguayan military captured vital strongholds in Brazilian territory, but by 1866, the Triple Alliance had driven Solano López's forces back and invaded Paraguay. Brazil and its allies eventually won a major victory and forced Paraguay to cede part of its territory. That victory also secured Brazil's position as a major South American power after 1870.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

During Pedro II's rule the issue of slavery in Brazil attracted the attention of foreign powers and the national elite. The country's economy had been reliant on cheap slave labor on sugar plantations and in other sectors from the colonial period. Abolitionist pressure had been building in the first half of the 19th century, coming primarily from the British, who had ceased the Atlantic slave trade in 1807. But, Brazilians were hesitant to embrace the cause, particularly after the ending of slavery in Haiti had effectively destroyed the island's traditionally strong sugar economy. Additionally, the decline in Haitian sugar production had created new demand, which Brazilian planters were eager to fill. The labor-intensive cultivation process required large numbers of manual workers, and plantation owners found themselves ever more reliant on slave labor in the early decades of the 19th century. The Brazilian planter class was economically and politically influential, and to help them meet their labor needs, the Brazilian government generally ignored the pressure from the British. Despite formal agreements to phase out the importation of slaves, an illegal slave trade from Africa to Brazil lasted until 1850.

In the latter half of the 19th century, the sugar industry in the northeastern states of Bahia and Pernambuco declined, while COFFEE production increased in the southern state of SÃO PAULO. Sugar planters had been reluctant to pursue new labor-saving devices as long as a ready supply of slaves was available. On the other hand, coffee planters were more open to production techniques that would eliminate the need for large amounts of manual labor. Many coffee *fazendeiros* were also influenced by free-market liberal ideals and increasingly turned to wage laborers as demand for coffee rose (see FAZENDA/FAZENDEIRO). European immigration brought new workers to Brazil, many of whom found work on the plantations of São Paulo.

The economic changes occurring after 1850 reduced the demand for slave labor and caused many intellectuals and politicians to call into question the viability of the system. By the 1860s, a strong and vocal abolitionist movement had formed, and many of its members made economic as well as moral arguments calling for the end of slavery. Politicians in the LIBERAL PARTY championed the abolitionist cause in the national legislature and attempted to introduce a series of bills that would have emancipated Brazil's slaves. Nevertheless, it was a conservative congress that passed the first major antislavery law

in 1871. The LAW OF THE FREE WOMB stipulated that all children born to slave mothers after the date the law went into effect would be born free. The law marked a major victory for the abolitionist cause, though it was challenged by the still-influential planter class of the northeast. The Law of the Free Womb was designed to bring about gradual emancipation to ease the burden of slave owners, while placating abolitionists. The antislavery movement was satisfied for a time, but by the 1880s, calls for additional emancipation measures had been renewed. Legislator and writer JOAQUIM NABUCO became one of the most visible proponents of abolition in the 1880s. He and others spoke out against the Law of the Free Womb as an ineffective measure that would bring about emancipation too gradually. In 1880, Nabuco founded the BRAZILIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which became one of the nation's leading abolitionist societies. As individual states began passing local emancipation laws, pressure mounted for a national measure to end the forced labor system. In 1888, the Brazilian congress finally passed a nationwide measure calling for immediate abolition, making Brazil the last nation in the Americas to end slavery (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

THE BRAZILIAN REPUBLIC

Pressures to abolish slavery coincided with a growing republican movement in the latter decades of the 19th century. Various forms of liberal DEMOCRACY had been spreading throughout Europe, and many Brazilian intellectuals came to believe that their system of constitutional monarchy was outdated and inefficient. Calls for political change often dovetailed with the larger economic forces at work in the country. As São Paulo became the new center of economic power, the region's political influence grew as well. In the 1870s, progressive political leaders formed the Republican Party in the coffee-growing region and made the elimination of the monarchical system a central part of their platform. The party gained support among coffee planters and the progressive urban middle sectors, including industrialists, merchants, and intellectuals. Progressive Brazilians were swayed particularly by the positivist theories of Auguste Comte, which suggested new ways of viewing knowledge and power. POSITIVISM found a particularly receptive environment among military leaders, who embraced the notions of "order and progress" as a prescription for the nation's future. They argued that traditional institutions—such as monarchy and slavery—would not bring progress. One of Brazil's leading positivists was BENJAMIN CONSTANT, who taught mathematics at the national military academy and incorporated specific versions of the philosophy into his curriculum.

As military positivism strengthened, influential officers began to challenge some of the policies being passed by Pedro II. Constant joined forces with MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA to oppose several measures passed by Pedro to curb the influence of the military. In 1887,

the two officers formed the Clube Militar, which served as a forum for members of the military to dispute government policies. Positivists in the Brazilian military found easy allies in the Republican Party, as both increasingly came to see the monarchical system as a hindrance to national development. By 1889, anti-imperial pressures had mounted, and on November 15 Deodoro led a coup against Pedro II. The emperor was forced to abdicate, and the military declared the beginning of the Republic of Brazil.

The period from 1889 to 1930 is known as the First Republic, or the OLD REPUBLIC. During that time, the Brazilian political system made the transition from a constitutional monarchy to a constitutional republic and witnessed the onset of democratization, imperfect and problematic as it was. Deodoro assumed the role of provisional president and convened a special commission to begin drafting a new constitution. Those efforts resulted in the CONSTITUTION OF 1891, which was modeled on the U.S. Constitution. It reflected the influence of positivists and republicans who had led the effort to dismantle the empire. But, despite the document's democratic rhetoric, participation in the political system remained limited, and government leaders tended to rule with both authoritarianism and impunity throughout the period of the Old Republic. The strong-armed approach to governing began as a reaction to the threat of monarchist rebellions in the early years; for example, in 1897, government forces violently destroyed the religious community of CANUDOS, fearing that the followers of Antônio Conselheiro were plotting a monarchist revolution. In the War of Canudos, four military expeditions laid siege to the city, and most of the community's inhabitants were eventually killed or captured.

The Brazilian government also faced serious economic challenges after the formation of the Old Republic. Deodoro's finance minister attempted to promote economic growth by expanding the monetary supply and the network of available credit in the 1890s in a faulty fiscal plan known as the ENCILHAMENTO. The scheme resulted in inflation and speculation and created a serious economic crisis in the 1890s. Economic instability provoked a major rebellion in Rio Grande do Sul in 1893, and President Floriano Vieira Peixoto—who had assumed the presidency after Deodoro da Fonseca was forced to resign in 1891—struggled to reestablish national authority. The president eventually turned to the elite coffee planter class of São Paulo, which provided economic and militia assistance to bring rebellious areas of the country back under control. In exchange for their support, the president offered the *paulista* elite a greater voice in national politics. In 1893, former São Paulo governor PRUDENTE DE MORAIS (1894–98) was elected Brazil's first civilian president. Throughout the rest of the period of the Old Republic, the *paulista* elite dominated Brazilian politics, and political leaders from São Paulo and Minas Gerais alternated the presidency until 1930. The political

alliance between the two regions was known as “*café com leite*.”

By the turn of the century, Brazil was undergoing rapid INDUSTRIALIZATION and urban growth. Government leaders actively recruited European immigrants to fill the workforce, and an influx of new immigrants arrived to work in coffee cultivation in the south and as urban laborers in cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. TRANSPORTATION and communications infrastructure expanded throughout the country, but public services and other support networks in the cities failed to keep up with rapid urbanization. Disease spread quickly in overcrowded urban areas, attracting the attention of medical experts who looked for scientific solutions to the growing problems. São Paulo suffered an outbreak of typhoid in the 1890s, and the bubonic plague spread throughout the country in 1899. In the coming years, public health officials began a program of mandatory vaccinations and other strategies to bring communicable diseases under control. Poverty and crime also became rampant and urban slums, or *favelas*, appeared in the cities. The 1890 novel *THE SLUM (O Cortiço)* by Aluísio Azevedo portrayed the numerous social problems faced by Rio de Janeiro’s poor in the late 19th century.

The quick pace of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration changed the composition of urban populations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The economic forces at work helped to create an urban labor class whose influence and participation in national development increased over the coming decades. Brazil also witnessed a surge of nationalism around the turn of the century as intellectuals, government leaders, and the general populace began to reconsider what it meant to be Brazilian. Changing concepts of national identity and the enhancement of a working-class consciousness became important foundations for the emergence of a populist movement in the 20th century.

See also BRAZIL (Vols. I, II, IV); BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE OF (Vol. II); JOHN VI (Vol. II).

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Brazil, Empire of The Empire of Brazil came into existence in 1822 when PEDRO I declared independence from Portugal and was crowned BRAZIL’s first emperor. Throughout most of the 19th century, Brazil existed as an empire under a monarchical form of government. Generally, Brazil’s imperial era is divided into the First Empire, under Pedro I from 1822 to 1831; the REGENCY, during the childhood of PEDRO II, from 1831 to 1840; and the Second Empire, under the adult leadership of Pedro II from 1840 to 1889.

Brazil eased into the independence era of the early 19th century when the Portuguese Court relocated to RÍO DE JANEIRO in 1807. John VI (1816–26) ruled from Brazil until 1821, when he returned to Lisbon to deal with a prodemocracy rebellion. John’s son Pedro took power as regent but, one year later, was persuaded by independence advocates among the Brazilian elite to declare independence. Pedro I established the Empire of Brazil and oversaw the drafting of a new constitution. Liberal attempts to limit the powers of the emperor were immediately thwarted, and Pedro I managed to push through the CONSTITUTION OF 1824, which safeguarded his royal authority. The new governing document established a highly centralized political system and granted the emperor significant oversight over legislative and judicial matters. Pedro I’s authoritative tendencies provoked dissent, and the First Empire was characterized by near-constant turmoil in the provinces. The early empire also witnessed a precipitous expansion of SLAVERY, as independence and the abolition of slavery in HAITI had resulted in an expansion of the Brazilian SUGAR industry. Pedro I was eventually forced to abdicate in favor of his five-year-old son, Pedro II, in 1831.

Between 1831 and 1840, a series of regents ruled in place of the child emperor. The Regency was characterized by continued volatility in the provinces, made worse by a series of power struggles among those in the Regency’s inner circle. Sporadic violence erupted in the provinces, with the unrest becoming particularly serious in the far northern and southern peripheries. The problems of the Regency were epitomized by the WAR OF THE FARRAPOS, when separatist forces in Rio Grande do Sul rebelled between 1835 and 1845. Unable to resolve the disputes in the countryside, leaders in the Regency convinced Pedro II to step into his duties as emperor in 1840 in the hopes of uniting the nation.

Pedro II’s reign from 1840 to 1889 is known as the Second Empire of Brazil. Liberal and Conservative political parties had emerged during the Regency, primarily in the provincial and national legislative bodies. Pedro managed to balance power carefully between the political parties, alternating favor from one party to the other. He filled his inner circle of advisers with members of both parties, and generally the two sides managed to find political accord. During the Second Empire, the focus of Brazil’s ECONOMY shifted from sugar production in the northeast to COFFEE production in the southern regions.

Pedro II and other leaders recognized the need for economic and social modernization. The transatlantic slave TRADE was ended in 1850, and in the second half of the 19th century, Brazil moved ever closer to the abolition of slavery (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF). The government also began actively recruiting immigrants from various regions of Europe to form agricultural colonies and provide labor in emerging urban markets.

The Second Empire of Brazil ended with the establishment of the OLD REPUBLIC in 1889. Pedro II was overthrown in a coup, and MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA became the first president of the Republic of Brazil.

See also JOHN VI (Vol. II).

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Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society The Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society was an abolitionist group founded in 1880 by JOAQUIM NABUCO and other leading opponents of SLAVERY. It was one of numerous groups that formed in the late decades of the 19th century to push for an end to slavery in BRAZIL. Nabuco formed the society after growing impatient with the slow pace of abolition that followed the 1871 LAW OF THE FREE WOMB. That law, which Nabuco helped to introduce, freed all children born to slave mothers after its date of enactment. Brazilian emperor PEDRO II and other lawmakers intended the legislation to be the basis for the gradual ending of slavery in Brazil. Nabuco and others, however, argued that the antiquated LABOR system could continue for decades and urged the government to quicken the pace of emancipation. As a member of the national legislature, Nabuco introduced legislation to do so. When this was defeated in 1880, he formed the powerful Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society. For the next eight years, the society engaged in an aggressive propaganda campaign. It published some of Nabuco's most important antislavery works, including *O Abolicionismo (Abolitionism)* in 1884. Eventually, the Brazilian government acceded to abolitionist demands by passing the Golden Law of 1888, which granted immediate freedom to all slaves in Brazil (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

See also SLAVERY (Vol. II).

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British Honduras See BELIZE.

British West Indies See CARIBBEAN, BRITISH.

Buenos Aires Buenos Aires is the capital city of ARGENTINA and the province surrounding the city. It is located on the nation's eastern coast at the mouth of the Río de la Plata. Buenos Aires became an important trading post for Argentina's river transport in the 19th century, but the city's dominance in Argentine TRADE led to a number of conflicts with the nation's interior provinces.

Buenos Aires was founded in 1536 by Spanish explorer Pedro de Mendoza. The city was abandoned shortly thereafter and was reestablished in 1580 as a MILITARY and supply outpost. The region's sparse population, lack of precious metals, and distance from the administrative center of the South American colonies meant that Buenos Aires attracted little attention from the Spanish Crown. Few settlers moved to the region, and the city grew slowly throughout most of the colonial period. Buenos Aires initially provided support services to the cattle industry that was emerging in the Argentine PAMPAS, but according to Crown regulations trade had to go through LIMA, PERU. The cumbersome economic policies of colonial mercantilism led to a thriving illegal trade network from the interior provinces through Buenos Aires to neighboring Portuguese settlements in BRAZIL.

Buenos Aires grew largely as a result of the illegal trade networks that passed through it. Spanish policies intended to restrict that trade were unenforceable and had little effect. In the 18th century, the reform-minded Bourbon monarchs in Spain opened the port of Buenos Aires to trade. Eventually, the Crown created the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, with Buenos Aires as the capital. Spanish presence in the city increased substantially, but *porteños* (the residents of Buenos Aires) had long ago developed a sense of autonomy and self-sufficiency. When British forces attempted to invade the city in 1806 and again in 1807, it was *porteños* rather than the Spanish military who defended it and successfully repelled the foreign army. That sense of autonomy led Buenos Aires elite to rebel against Spanish authority immediately after Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808. By 1810, *porteño* leaders had declared independence and had established a provisional government to replace colonial officials in the Río de la Plata region.

Leaders in Buenos Aires faced their biggest challenges from the outer provinces of the former viceroyalty. The CONSTITUTION OF 1819 gave Buenos Aires extraordinary power over import and export regulation and the collection of customs duties. Conflict between *porteños* and the rural elite escalated, and the opposing sides eventually coalesced into two competing political parties. The UNITARIOS represented the liberal elite from Buenos Aires who advocated a centralized government with power based in the capital city. The FEDERALES rejected the centralist vision of *porteños* and argued that the city's trade policies were hurting the interests of the

interior. Buenos Aires became the setting of a number of conflicts and armed confrontations between the two sides. In 1819, a federalist-backed army invaded Buenos Aires, but the *unitarios* quickly gained control again and ruled throughout most of the 1820s.

Buenos Aires enjoyed a brief period of cultural development under the *unitario*-backed governments. BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA founded the UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES in 1821 as part of a larger effort to secularize the educational system. Throughout most of the 1820s, the university was well funded, and it quickly became a center of artistic and intellectual advancement. During the dictatorship of federalist CAUDILLO JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, Buenos Aires continued to be a cultural center. *Unitario* intellectuals resisted Rosas's autocratic rule by forming literary groups, many of which were based in the capital city. Notable future leaders such as DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO and BARTOLOMÉ MITRE joined other literary figures such as JUAN BAUTISTA ALBERDI and ESTEBAN ECHEVERRÍA in producing a number of propagandistic publications against the Rosas dictatorship (see LITERATURE). Many of Rosas's critics were forced to flee into exile as the caudillo censored the press and relied on his MAZORCA security detail to force compliance. Anti-Rosas propaganda writings describe the streets of Buenos Aires as beset with fear of the dictator.

Even though Rosas claimed support from the provincial *federale*, his policies increasingly privileged the economic interests of Buenos Aires. He imposed tariff policies intended to make the capital city the primary hub of all national trade. Rosas's trade policies provoked a backlash among foreign merchants, and in 1838, the French blockaded Buenos Aires in an attempt to force a change in tariff laws. The blockade created an economic crisis in the capital and also affected the interior provinces. Rosas reacted by attempting to control all trade along the Paraná River and in the Río de la Plata. Using MILITARY patrols, he enforced tariff and other trade policies in favor of the capital city. Opposition to Rosas's policies mounted, and an alliance formed between *unitarios* and the neighboring governments of URUGUAY and Brazil. Foreign pressure on Buenos Aires continued until the anti-Rosas alliance invaded and marched on the capital city.

Rosas was overthrown in 1852, and his departure renewed the underlying tensions between Buenos Aires and the Argentine interior. The national congress met to write a new constitution, but delegates from Buenos Aires boycotted the Constitutional Convention after disputes surfaced over the role the capital city would play. The CONSTITUTION OF 1853 diminished the commercial dominance Buenos Aires had held since the years immediately following independence and erased the autonomy the city had enjoyed. The document was ratified by all of the nation's provinces except Buenos Aires, whose leaders took steps to separate from the rest of the country. For six years, Buenos Aires Province existed

as an autonomous state, while the rest of the provinces formed the Argentine Confederation. Buenos Aires benefited from its location on the Río de la Plata and took in large revenues from foreign trade. The interior provinces under President JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA struggled to compete, and both sides resorted to periodic armed confrontations, blockades, and aggressive tariff policies throughout the 1850s. Mitre assumed control of the Buenos Aires Province in 1860 and began maneuvering for support in the interior. By 1861, new amendments to the Constitution of 1853 had been passed granting concessions to Buenos Aires. Leaders from the recalcitrant city finally ratified the constitution, and Buenos Aires was united once again with the interior provinces. Nevertheless, Buenos Aires retained a large degree of autonomy and power over national monetary and trade policies. The original constitution had designated Buenos Aires as the federal capital, but *porteño* leaders had rejected attempts to federalize the city. Although changes to the constitution made federalization difficult, the city was eventually federalized in 1880.

In the final decades of the 19th century, Argentina underwent a period of economic growth and experienced relative political stability. Under the presidency of Sarmiento in the 1870s, the Argentine government implemented policies intended to reform EDUCATION and to attract foreign investment in the national ECONOMY. Sarmiento and other leaders actively promoted industrial expansion in Buenos Aires and other major cities. Early industry focused on commercial AGRICULTURE, particularly meatpacking, and integrated the rural interior with the capital city. Meatpacking plants opened in Buenos Aires to prepare beef for sale and export. The advent of refrigerated transport facilitated an enormous growth of this industry. The first refrigerated shipment of beef left Buenos Aires in 1876. Refrigeration technology eventually gave way to freezing meat for transport. In 1882, the first plant specializing in processing frozen lamb, mutton, and beef opened in Buenos Aires. Modernization efforts in meat processing continued through the turn of the century, making beef and other meats some of the nation's top exports. The nation also experienced growth in other agricultural sectors such as wool and WHEAT production.

The expansion of Argentine agriculture and the corresponding need for processing industries created an enormous demand for laborers to fill the ranks in agriculture and in industry. Argentine leaders actively pursued policies to attract European immigrants to the nation, and those efforts were largely successful by the end of the century (see MIGRATION). Many immigrants settled in the interior, but others pursued agricultural opportunities in Buenos Aires Province. Recently arrived immigrants also made up a large part of the urban industrial workforce at the end of the century. The population of Buenos Aires grew precipitously, and the city faced a number of challenges as leaders tried to absorb new arrivals. Working-

class neighborhoods suffered from overcrowding and unsanitary living conditions. By the 1890s, middle-class reformers were spearheading public health campaigns in an attempt to reform immigrant tenements and resolve other dangerous conditions in the city.

The dramatic growth of Buenos Aires was facilitated by investments in TRANSPORTATION and communications networks that reinforced the city's long-standing role as the commercial and cultural hub of the nation. An expanding railway system connected the capital city to agricultural providers in the interior, and port renovations ensured that the city would continue to be the leading center for imports and exports. By the 1890s, Argentine leaders had determined to showcase the progress the nation had made toward modernization. Buenos Aires became an exhibit to demonstrate to the world Argentina's transformation into a sophisticated

and cosmopolitan culture. *Porteños* and foreign visitors alike began referring to the city as the "Paris of South America." By the turn of the century, Buenos Aires boasted modern buildings, theaters, restaurants, and public spaces modeled after the architectural styles of European cities.

See also BUENOS AIRES (Vols. I, II, IV).

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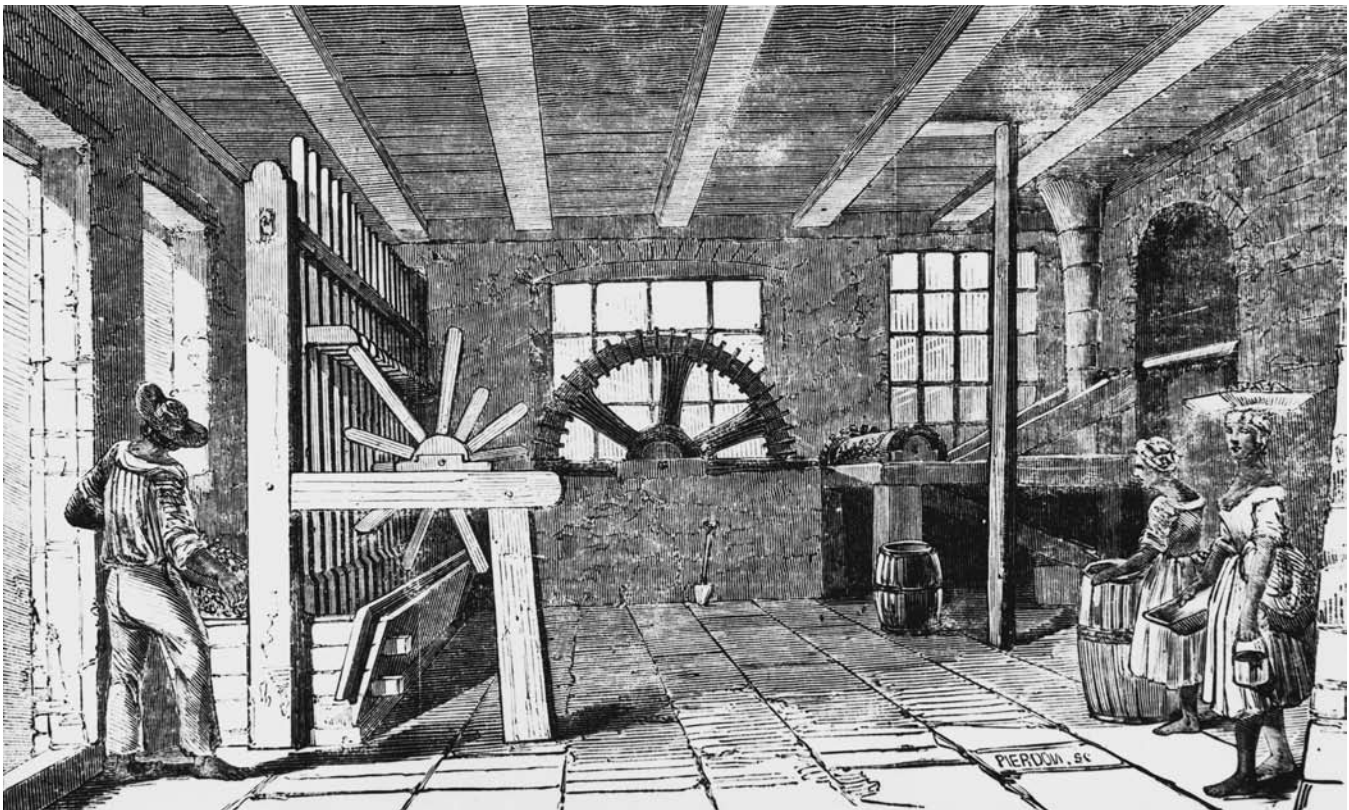
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C

cacao Cacao refers to the beans used to make chocolate and the trees on which the beans grow. The beans themselves are commonly referred to as cocoa beans. The cacao tree is native to Latin America and grows

best in the tropical lowlands and equatorial climate of Mesoamerica and northern South America.

Cocoa beans have long been an important part of Latin American AGRICULTURE. They were cultivated



Cacao is native to Latin America, and the cacao tree is well suited to the tropical climate of Mesoamerica and the Caribbean. This 1855 drawing shows a cocoa mill in Grenada. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

by pre-Columbian civilizations and used to make a rich chocolate drink. The beans were also used as currency by some indigenous civilizations. In the complex Aztec tribute system, subordinate groups often used cocoa beans to make tribute payments. European conquistadores noted the widespread consumption of chocolate and the importance the beans held in the local economies. Cocoa continued to hold a privileged place throughout much of the colonial period, with the beans of the cacao tree being used as currency in many areas of the Spanish colonies.

Before long, cacao had traveled across the Atlantic, and a more sweetened version of the Mesoamerican chocolate drink became a favorite treat in Spain. Despite Spanish attempts to safeguard the secrets of cacao cultivation, rival European powers quickly picked up on the new crop. French and Italian merchants began marketing chocolate beverages as early as the 17th century, and the popularity of cocoa production grew rapidly throughout Europe.

By the beginning of the 19th century, cacao cultivation had spread to other European colonies in the Americas and in Africa. As the production of cacao, chocolate, and related products spread throughout Europe, the finished product evolved. European entrepreneurs began processing cocoa powder in the early 19th century by extracting cocoa butter from ground beans. A British company perfected the art of producing solid chocolate confections in the mid-19th century. A few decades later, Swiss candy makers added milk powder to the confection, inventing milk chocolate.

Worldwide consumption of chocolate increased substantially during the 19th century as industrial innovations affected the cocoa industry. The cost of cocoa and chocolate concoctions dropped, and as the market for cacao-based products expanded, cultivation of the plant came to dominate many Latin American economies. By the end of the 19th century, cacao made up a significant portion of the agricultural exports of such nations as ECUADOR, the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, VENEZUELA, and HAITI.

See also CACAO (Vols. I, II); FOOD (Vol. I).

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Cáceres, Andrés Avelino (b. 1833–d. 1923) *military leader and president of Peru* Andrés Avelino Cáceres was a MILITARY general who led Peruvian forces against the Chilean army in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC. He served

as president of PERU during that conflict, as well as on two subsequent occasions. He helped to stabilize the country's chaotic political system after its defeat in the war against CHILE but was later accused of political corruption and ousted from office.

Cáceres was born on February 4, 1833, in Ayacucho. He pursued an early military career and supported the presidency of RAMÓN CASTILLA against internal insurrections. Cáceres also participated in defending the nation against foreign threats in minor wars against Spain and ECUADOR in the 1860s. In the 1870s, Cáceres won support from the newly formed CIVILISTA PARTY and began looking toward a political career.

Cáceres was forced into a position of political leadership with the outbreak of the War of the Pacific in 1879. He led the Peruvian military against the Chilean offensive and became de facto leader of the country when President NICOLÁS DE PIÉROLA fled the country in 1881. Despite suffering defeat in the war, Cáceres was celebrated as a national hero and won the presidency in 1886. In 1889, he tried to repair the nation's struggling ECONOMY by signing the Grace Contract, which restructured Peru's national debt under the privately held PERUVIAN CORPORATION. The corporation, made up of British investors, effectively won nearly unlimited control of Peru's national resources and infrastructure. The contract was highly controversial but did succeed in stabilizing the economy and provided funding to repair TRANSPORTATION lines that had been damaged by war.

Cáceres won a final term as president in 1894 in a questionable election. He was ousted one year later by Piérola. Cáceres continued to be involved in Peruvian politics as a diplomat in Europe. He died in Chile in 1923.

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Calderón de la Barca, Fanny (b. 1804–d. 1882)

Scottish writer and traveler in Mexico Fanny Calderón de la Barca was a writer and wife of Ángel Calderón de la Barca, Spanish minister to MEXICO in the 1830s and 1840s. Her travel writings, *Life in Mexico during a Residence of Two Years in That Country*, were published in 1843. Her observations of Mexico are considered to be among the most valuable recorded in English in the mid-19th century (see LITERATURE).

Calderón de la Barca was born Frances Erskine Inglis on December 23, 1804, in Edinburgh, Scotland. She moved to the United States and was raised on the east coast. In 1838, she married Ángel Calderón de la Barca, and later that year, he was named the first Spanish

minister to the newly independent Mexico. The couple relocated to MEXICO CITY. Calderón de la Barca began chronicling her journey and experiences in the country through letters to her family and personal journal entries. She recorded her observations of a vast array of diverse cultures, ranging from those of the urban aristocrats and landed elite to those of the poor and peasant classes. Her writings provide valuable accounts of everyday life, such as the role of WOMEN, entertainment and recreation, and the aesthetics of urban and rural residences (see SPORTS AND RECREATION). She paid notable attention to the culture of the CATHOLIC CHURCH in Mexico and eventually converted to Catholicism.

William H. Prescott, historian and family friend, encouraged Calderón de la Barca to publish her writings, and a number of U.S. diplomats relied on her testimony as a guide to Mexico in the 1840s. After the death of her husband, Calderón de la Barca became a tutor to Infanta Isabella, youngest child of Spanish queen Isabella. She died in Madrid on February 3, 1882.

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candomblé Candomblé is a RELIGION that was introduced to BRAZIL by African slaves (see SLAVERY). Its ceremonies involve ritualistic MUSIC and dance, and the religion has incorporated some Catholic traditions.

Slaves newly arrived in Brazil continued to worship African spirits, despite slave owners and church leaders forbidding rituals other than those of the Catholic tradition. Slaves often feigned conversion to Catholicism while continuing to worship African deities in secret. The Catholic saints offered a parallel to the pantheon of African spirits, or *orixas*, that form the foundations of candomblé. Additionally, the Catholic belief in God as the creator and leader of the saints corresponds to the candomblé belief in Olodumare, the creator and all-powerful deity whose will is carried out by the many *orixas*. The *orixas* serve as messengers for Olodumare, acting as intermediaries between the spiritual and human worlds, and protect and guide individual practitioners of candomblé. These parallels made it relatively easy for Africans and Afro-Brazilians to disguise candomblé rituals as Catholic traditions. Over time, many candomblé *orixas* became associated with Catholic saints, and some Catholic rituals became part of the syncretic Afro-Brazilian religion.

Practitioners of candomblé were persecuted by leaders of the CATHOLIC CHURCH and government officials for centuries. Plantation owners worried that the continuation of African religious practices allowed slaves to maintain too many ties to their cultural heritage. Slave owners also feared that religious gatherings could be

used to plan rebellions. Indeed, at times they served just that purpose. Despite the efforts to suppress African traditions, candomblé worship continued, and the religion grew throughout the 19th century. Although the gradual elimination of the slave trade and the eventual abolition of slavery gave Afro-Brazilians greater freedom to practice the religion, the Brazilian government continued its attempts to stifle it until well into the 20th century (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF). It was only in the 1970s that legal restrictions on candomblé were lifted. The religion has since become enormously popular, drawing the attention of pilgrims and tourists alike.

See also RELIGION (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Canudos Canudos was a religious community in the northeastern Bahia Province of BRAZIL in the 1890s (see RELIGION). It became the setting of a major confrontation between the new republican government and the inhabitants of the secluded town.

Canudos was founded in 1893 by Antônio Conselheiro in the *sertão*, or backlands, of Bahia. Conselheiro was a messianic figure who opposed the general direction in which the nation was moving after the establishment of the OLD REPUBLIC in 1889. He worried that Brazilians were embracing progress and secularism too eagerly and began attracting a sizable following of rural folk from the interior who saw an opportunity to resist the push for modernization coming from the coastal urban areas. Conselheiro and his followers rejected the new government's efforts to establish a civil marriage registry and defied new republican decrees on taxation. Confrontations with government forces in 1893 compelled Conselheiro and his followers to retreat into the interior of Bahia. The group settled in the isolated community of Canudos and within a few years had attracted thousands more followers. Although population estimates are imprecise, it is likely that Canudos boasted more than 20,000 inhabitants at its height. They lived a simple existence, practicing a version of folk Catholicism and engaging in communal AGRICULTURE.

The new republican government in RIO DE JANEIRO considered Canudos a threat to national author-

ity. Government leaders were also suspicious that Conselheiro's objections to new republican institutions represented an effort to reestablish a monarchy. Tensions mounted after an altercation between residents of the isolated community and merchants of a neighboring town. Brazilian president PRUDENTE DE MORAIS determined to bring anti-republican opposition under control. A small contingent of government troops marched on Canudos in 1896 and were violently repelled. That initial confrontation marked the beginning of the War of Canudos. Over the next year, government troops led three more expeditions into the interior, only to be overpowered by the fiercely loyal residents of Canudos. The fourth and final expedition involved more than 8,000 soldiers, who laid siege to the city. For months, the defenders fought back the large government force; even as they suffered considerable casualties, they refused to surrender. Conselheiro died during the siege, and government troops finally captured the city in October 1897. While a small number of survivors were captured, the majority of inhabitants had been killed or had died of starvation and disease in the preceding months.

Euclides da Cunha (b. 1866–d. 1909), a journalist who accompanied the MILITARY expedition and witnessed the destruction of Canudos, wrote *Os Sertões (Rebellion in the Backlands)* in 1902 to tell the story of the violent war (see LITERATURE). While *Os Sertões* is somewhat sympathetic to the inhabitants of Canudos, da Cunha illustrates the underlying influence of POSITIVISM among urban intellectuals by privileging the pursuit of progress over the traditions of the past.

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Caracas Caracas is the capital city of VENEZUELA. It is located in a valley within the Andes mountain system, approximately 10 miles (16 km) from the Caribbean coast. Caracas is the largest city in Venezuela and is one of the country's main economic and political centers. The city was founded in 1567 by Spanish explorer Diego de Losada. It played an important role in Venezuela's national development throughout the 19th century.

There was considerably less Spanish presence in Venezuela than in PERU and MEXICO throughout most of the colonial period. Caracas emerged early as a main administrative center, but a strong sense of regional

autonomy persisted. That regional identity defined the developing sense of Venezuelan nationalism during and after the independence era. After Napoléon's invasion of Spain in 1808, some creole elite in Caracas used the opportunity to push for greater autonomy, while others began to demand independence. By 1810, *caraqueños*, or citizens of Caracas, had overthrown the captain general, formed a resistance junta, and declared self-rule in the name of the Spanish monarch.

Independence leaders Simón Bolívar and Francisco de Miranda supported the junta's decision to declare independence and to establish a Venezuelan republic in 1811. The new government was based in Caracas and produced a constitution articulating a new political structure. One year later, a major earthquake struck the city, killing thousands. The natural disaster marked the end of the First Republic, with church leaders claiming that divine powers had intervened to stop the insurgency. Within a few months, royalist forces had overtaken the independence movement, and Caracas fell back under Spanish control. Bolívar joined the resistance movement in neighboring COLOMBIA and gathered reinforcements to attack Spanish strongholds in Venezuela once again. The independence leader took Caracas in 1813 and established a second Venezuelan republic based in the capital city, but that attempt at self-government also failed by 1814. Bolívar fled to the Caribbean, and Caracas fell back under royalist control.

It was not until 1821 that the insurgent army finally secured independence by uniting the region encompassing present-day Colombia, PANAMA, ECUADOR, and Venezuela under the republic of GRAN COLOMBIA. Caracas became the capital of the Venezuelan province, and local leaders including JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ continued to push for local autonomy. Páez and his *caraqueño* supporters eventually withdrew Venezuela from Gran Colombia and formed a separate and sovereign nation in 1830. Caracas remained the national capital, but the city was beset by instability throughout much of the 19th century.

Between 1830 and the end of the century, Venezuela was ruled by a series of CAUDILLOS, and the country suffered a number of revolutions, civil wars, and violent overthrows of government. Much of the conflict arose from the power struggle between conservatives and liberals that dominated 19th-century Latin America. Venezuela was also particularly vulnerable to disputes over federalist, or provincial, autonomy versus centralized control. Leaders in Caracas often attempted to consolidate national power in the capital city, only to be met by resistance among local strongmen in the country's provinces. It was not until the 1870s that liberal leader and dictator ANTONIO GUZMÁN BLANCO managed to bring some order and stability to the country.

Guzmán Blanco implemented a number of reforms that transformed the city of Caracas into a modern cosmopolitan area. He had spent time in Europe and wanted to model the city after Paris and others on the

Continent. He initiated public works projects to improve the infrastructure, devoted money to develop water and sewage systems, and expanded the street system. Within a decade, opulent government buildings adorned Caracas, and the elite could enjoy the finest in European cuisine, theater, and other entertainments. The Caracas Municipal Theater was built in 1880, and a new capitol building was completed around the same time. Both structures are examples of the dictator's attempts to emulate European ARCHITECTURE and culture. Guzmán Blanco's administration also built railroads to connect Caracas with the rest of the country and to facilitate shipping from the capital city to nearby ports. Additionally, Guzmán Blanco commissioned the construction of various national monuments in Caracas to reinforce a sense of patriotism and national identity. He poured money into Plaza Bolívar, the city's central square, and unveiled a monument to the independence leader in 1874. The theme of patriotism is reinforced in the works of one of Venezuela's most famous painters Martín Tovar y Tovar (b. 1827–d. 1902) (see ART). His masterpieces *Battle of Carabobo*, *Battle of Boyacá*, and *Battle of Junín* depict major victories in Venezuela's independence struggle and have adorned the walls of government buildings in Caracas since the 1880s and 1890s. Infrastructure development, cultural growth, and industrial expansion saw the city's population expand in the late decades of the 19th century.

Despite the apparent progress made under the administration of Guzmán Blanco, political strife continued to plague Venezuela for the rest of the 19th century, and many of the underlying administrative disputes played out in Caracas. In 1892, a revolt known as the Legalist Revolution broke out, and the well-established press in the capital city played an important role in challenging national power structures. It was not until the early decades of the 20th century that Venezuelan politics stabilized under the leadership of CIPRIANO CASTRO. Power became more centralized in Caracas, and after the discovery of oil in 1914, the city began another period of modernization and growth.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); CARACAS (Vols. II, IV).

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Caribbean, British (British West Indies) The British Caribbean refers to the islands of the Caribbean that were historically part of the British Empire. While Spanish settlers laid claim to the largest and most desired islands of the Greater Antilles, other European powers—such as the British, the Dutch, and the French—shared and later competed for control of the Lesser Antilles and other southern islands. By the 19th century, a large

grouping of Caribbean colonies known as the British West Indies had taken shape. Those islands included the British Virgin Islands, Anguilla, Saint Kitts, Nevis, Antigua and Barbuda, Montserrat, Barbados, Redonda, Dominica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, the Grenadines, Barbados, and Grenada. Trinidad and Tobago, the Cayman Islands, Jamaica, the Bahamas, the Bay Islands, and the Turks and Caicos Islands are also considered part of the British Caribbean. The mainland colonies of BELIZE and GUYANA came under the administration of the British West Indies in the 19th century.

The islands of the Lesser Antilles were originally inhabited by small groups of Arawak, Carib, and Ciboney Indians. Spanish explorers were the first Europeans to have contact with these groups, and by the early 16th century, the Spanish had established an administrative center in Hispaniola. From there, expeditions set out to capture slaves from other Caribbean islands to supply the workforce on Hispaniola. Since few valuable resources were immediately available on the small islands of the eastern and southern Caribbean, the Spanish did not establish permanent settlements there. As the Spanish consolidated power over the Greater Antilles and then expanded into the mainland, privateers from northern European countries flocked to the Caribbean to disrupt Spanish shipping. English and French pirates attacked Spanish fleets throughout the 16th century. One of the leading personalities was Sir Francis Drake, who led at least seven expeditions, some on orders directly from the British Crown.

In the early decades of the 17th century, northern European powers looked to establish their own colonies in the Americas to compete with the Spanish. The British, French, and Dutch became the leaders in these enterprises, and the three powers formed an alliance of sorts as they worked to challenge Spanish dominance in the Caribbean (see CARIBBEAN, DUTCH; CARIBBEAN, FRENCH). The first permanent British settlement was established by Thomas Warner in 1624 on the island of St. Kitts. Settlers in this early colony planted TOBACCO, and their success inspired additional settlements. The British extended settlements to Barbados, Nevis, and Montserrat. The islands attracted thousands of settlers who experimented with a variety of crops. SUGAR eventually emerged as the most profitable agricultural product and large sugar plantations created a need for slave LABOR. By the end of the 17th century, the British colonies in the Caribbean were importing large numbers of African slaves.

The early colonies in the Lesser Antilles also provided a base for future expeditions to challenge Spanish control over the larger islands of the Greater Antilles to the north. In 1655, a large British expedition attacked Spanish strongholds in Hispaniola with the intention of taking the entire Caribbean from Spanish control. The mission failed to oust the Spanish from its largest settlements in SANTO DOMINGO and CUBA, but the British did

conquer Jamaica, which had been home to small and poorly defended Spanish settlements. Under British control, Jamaica soon joined the settlements in the Lesser Antilles as a major producer of sugar throughout the 18th century. Settlements in other British Caribbean colonies attempted to imitate the successful model of plantation AGRICULTURE established in Barbados and Jamaica, with varying success. The Bahamas were settled by a Puritan group in the 1640s, but the climate and terrain were ill suited for the cultivation of plantation crops. Instead, the islands became an outpost for British privateers until well into the 18th century.

The last half of the 18th century witnessed a series of wars between the French and the British, and the colonial possessions of the two European powers became popular targets. Control of several Caribbean islands changed hands a number of times, but since both sides wanted to profit from the lucrative sugar industry on those islands, the conquering powers generally did not destroy the existing economic infrastructure. Nevertheless, decades of near-constant warfare brought about a series of power shifts that had a lasting impact on the British Caribbean into the 19th century. French and Spanish forces took advantage of the perceived British weakness with the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776, and many of the British Caribbean possessions fell under French control. The British were able to retaliate after the onset of the French Revolution in 1789 and the uprising in the large French colony of Saint Domingue (present-day HAITI). That insurrection eventually escalated into a massive slave rebellion and coalesced in the movement for Haitian independence. British forces attacked and occupied many of the French possessions in the Caribbean, with the British retaining control of some of those areas into the 19th century.

The early decades of the 19th century in the British Caribbean were defined largely by abolitionist campaigns that originated on the mainland. Quakers and other religious and reformist groups began the earliest crusades against SLAVERY in the 1780s. They put pressure on the British Parliament by organizing various abolitionist societies, publishing pamphlets, and organizing public gatherings defending the humanity of African slaves and condemning the institution of slavery on ethical grounds. Many of those abolitionists argued that the institution of slavery was cruel and immoral, and their concerns were well founded. Plantation slavery in the British colonies and elsewhere relied on brutality and repression. Working conditions were notoriously dangerous in the tropical climates, and life expectancy for slaves on colonial plantations was very low. Slaves died of diseases and injuries sustained as part of plantation work. Many suffered from malnutrition, as most plantation owners did not provide them with an adequate diet. Small slave revolts were common in the colonies, and escaped slaves formed maroon communities in Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, and on other islands as well. Jamaican maroon

communities proved to be particularly intractable and a series of maroon wars took place between the semi-autonomous villages formed by escaped slaves and colonial officials on the island. Planters feared the maroon communities would incite a widespread slave revolt on the island, and those fears escalated after the outbreak of revolution in Saint Domingue in 1791. Colonial officials led a violent campaign against one of the main settlements in 1795. They captured more than 500 maroons and deported them to Nova Scotia and other regions of the British Empire. Abolitionist groups often pointed to such mistreatment in their arguments for ending slavery. In response, Parliament and local colonial assemblies passed a series of decrees that were intended to improve the treatment of slaves in the British Caribbean. Most of those laws were ineffective and were only loosely enforced, while the calls for abolition continued.

In 1807, Parliament responded to abolitionist pressures by banning the transatlantic slave TRADE. The legislation made it illegal for British vessels to transport African slaves to the Caribbean colonies. Some smuggling rings continued to operate, however, as British captains found the slave trade too lucrative a business to abandon immediately. The powerful British navy undertook the task of policing the Atlantic and enforcing the ban. The British government also began pressuring other slave-importing nations to follow suit and end all transatlantic transport of slaves. The United States ended slave imports in 1808, and in the following decade, the British reached agreements with the Spanish and the Portuguese to institute a gradual ban on the slave trade. The now independent Spanish and Portuguese colonies invalidated many of those agreements, but the British continued to pressure the newly independent nations of mainland Latin America to end slave imports as well.

In the 1820s, the British government began considering measures to abolish slavery completely in its colonies. Talk of emancipation provoked strong protests among elite white planters. Many argued that ending slavery would effectively ruin the Caribbean sugar industry and render the British Caribbean possessions useless. As talk of and opposition to abolition circulated among the planters on the islands, slaves began to anticipate emancipation. In Jamaica, Barbados, and elsewhere there were numerous uprisings as slaves came to believe abolition was imminent and perceived planters' opposition as delaying its implementation. Revolts were put down violently and tensions escalated. British missionaries who attempted to spread an abolitionist message in the colonies were often accused of inciting slave revolts. Some planters even entertained the idea of seceding from the British Empire and pushing for annexation by the United States, where the abolitionist movement was still in its infancy.

Despite the vocal protests coming from the planter class, Parliament passed the Abolition of Slavery Act in 1833. The legislation called for emancipation to go into

effect the following year. In an effort to ease the transition from slave labor to wage labor, the law required a period of apprenticeship, during which time slaves would continue to work for their former masters in exchange for food, housing, and other essentials. The apprenticeship period was intended to last until 1840 and was designed to regulate working conditions during the transition period. Apprenticeship laws even stipulated that former slaves be paid a wage for any work over 45 hours per week. Finally, the legislation provided a budget of more than 16 million pounds to compensate slave owners for their lost property. On average, slave owners received amounts ranging from 20 pounds to 50 pounds each. Missionaries remained in the colonies to oversee the transition from slavery to emancipation. The official date came on August 1, 1834, and the occasion was commemorated with church services in most colonies.

Even though the official start to emancipation occurred without incident, the long-term transition to free labor was far from smooth. Planters in general were dissatisfied with the compensation they received and with the conditions of the apprenticeship system. In some colonies—such as Bermuda and Antigua—planters disregarded the apprenticeship stipulation and immediately granted slaves complete freedom. In other areas, planters grudgingly implemented the system but remained skeptical of its potential for success. Planters who planned for the switch to wage labor in 1840 made the transition more successfully. In Antigua and St. Lucia, planters began experimenting with new technologies and labor-saving devices to improve their cultivation techniques. In those areas, former slaves earned a wage that was low but sufficient to sustain them, which allowed them to become consumers and helped spur economic activity. But, there were many instances where planters tried to compensate for the loss of slave labor by paying meager wages and charging high rents. In those instances, many former slaves abandoned the plantations completely, and sugar production fell into decline. That was the situation in Jamaica and Trinidad and in the mainland colony of Guyana. In those areas, immigration and indentured servants from other areas of the British Empire kept some plantations going, but many sugar plantations were abandoned, and the land was often divided among former slaves, who engaged in small-scale farming.

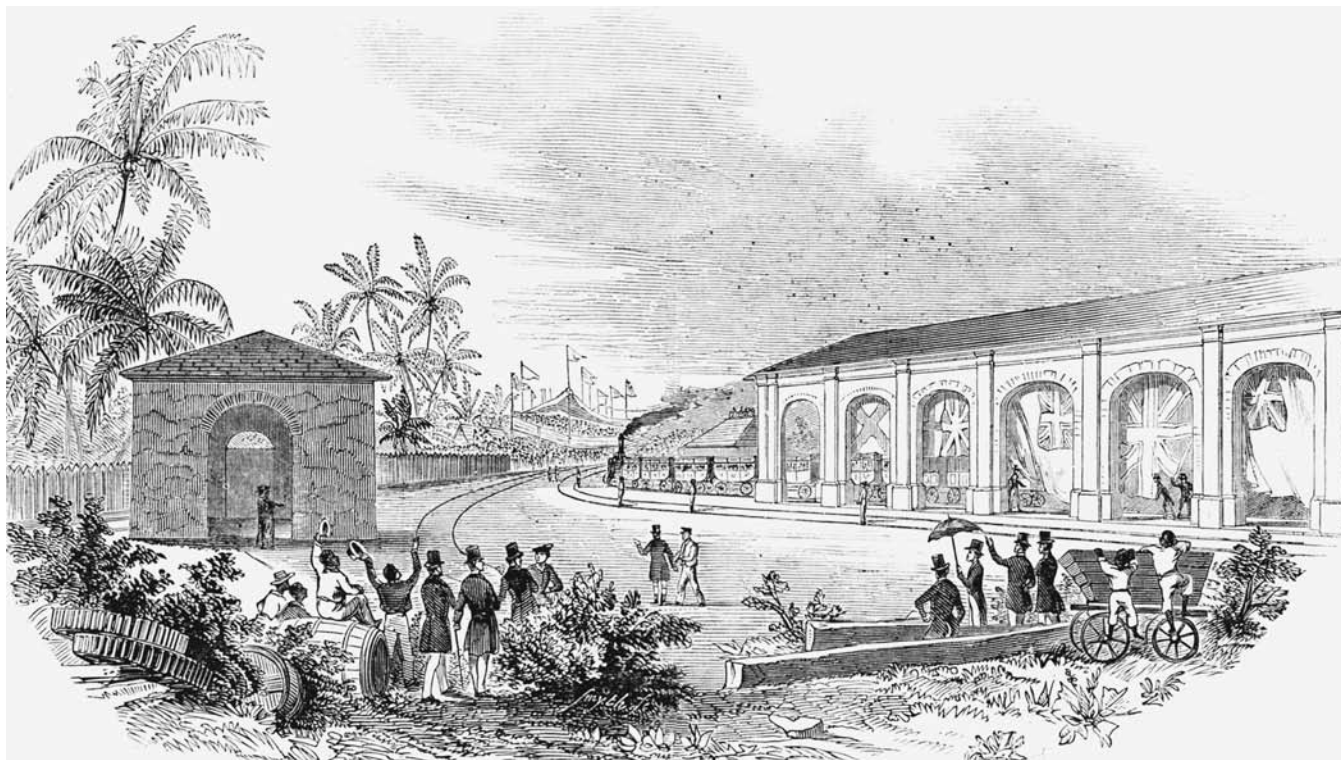
In the decades following emancipation, former slaves saw some notable improvements in their daily lives. Small communities formed—oftentimes on the territory of abandoned plantations—and those communities eventually built schools, churches, and other institutions. Missionaries helped facilitate the establishment of many of those communities. Missionaries were also instrumental in creating an incipient system of EDUCATION, but education programs were not without problems. Many teachers had received little to no formal training, and the quality of the mission schools was often called into question. While former slaves formed communities and made

attempts to advance within the British colonial system, many of those communities remained underdeveloped.

Most British Caribbean colonies experienced general economic decline in the 19th century. As planters abandoned their estates, few individuals found much incentive to invest significant resources into the local economies and supporting infrastructure. A loose parliamentary system allowed local assemblies to approve spending projects without much oversight. Unable or unwilling to implement a taxation system, many colonies suffered budget and debt problems and failed to provide basic public services. Roads fell into disrepair, and crime rates rose in many of the once-prosperous colonies. Tropical diseases kept life expectancy low, and social segregation became increasingly noticeable. Emancipation had expanded the franchise, but strict property requirements for voting kept many blacks from participating in the political system. Many of the white elite and former planters accused the black population of laziness and blamed former slaves for the decline of the sugar industry. Those social tensions were at the heart of the Morant Bay Rebellion, which was a major revolt that broke out on the island of Jamaica in October of 1865. Dozens were killed before the Jamaican governor declared martial law and violently suppressed the insurrection.

After decades of economic decline, the British government had grown convinced that the local autonomy granted to the Caribbean colonies was not working. The Morant Bay Rebellion reinforced concerns among mainland leaders that the colonies were not capable of self-government. The British instituted a system of direct rule with the intention of bringing order and stability to the region that had experienced such turmoil throughout the 19th century. They also hoped to stimulate some economic development, given that the sugar industry was now in full decline. Under the system of direct rule, the crown colony government established a legitimate law enforcement system and managed to instill a sense of public order by bringing crime under control. The new administrative system allowed the government to devote resources to public services and infrastructure. In the late decades of the 19th century, roads and bridges were built throughout the British colonies, and many saw the opening of railroads. Government programs replaced the earlier missionary-based education system, although education was neither free nor universal. Sanitation was improved, and hospitals were established, helping to raise life expectancy rates, which had remained low due to disease and unhealthy living conditions. Other reforms included changes to the legal codes governing property ownership. Those changes gave more small farmers the opportunity to own land.

The economic and social changes that took place in the British colonies in the late 19th century precipitated a general improvement in the daily lives of many of the inhabitants of those islands. Although economic growth was not readily evident by the end



The Jamaica Railway began operations in 1845. This artist's rendition shows the opening of the Kingston Terminus. (*Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images*)

of the 19th century, the policies of the crown colonial government did pave the way for the emergence of new economic sectors in the 20th century. Jamaica's tropical climate was suitable for the cultivation of bananas and other fruits. By the 1880s, the powerful United Fruit Company was operating banana plantations on the island and extending its fruit empire farther into the Caribbean. Other industries developed from the cultivation of small-scale agricultural crops such as tobacco, CACAO, vegetables, and some spices. Some modest INDUSTRIALIZATION had occurred by the end of the century, and many industries were oriented toward the production of consumer goods.

Much of the British Caribbean is known today for its tourism industry, and these activities also had their beginning in the late 19th century. Investors opened the first hotels in the Bahamas in the 1860s. Then, in 1891, the Jamaica International Exhibition held in Kingston provided an opportunity to showcase the island as a viable tourist destination. Caribbean tourism expanded significantly in the 20th century and is the basis for many of the islands' economies today.

See also ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA (Vol. IV); BAHAMAS (Vol. IV); BARBADOS (Vol. IV); BRITISH OVERSEAS TERRITORIES (Vol. IV); BUCCANEERS (Vol. II); CARIBBEAN, BRITISH (Vol. III); DOMINICA (Vol. IV); GRENADA (Vol. IV); JAMAICA (Vols. II, IV); SAINT CHRISTOPHER AND NEVIS (Vol. IV); SAINT LUCIA (Vol. IV); SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES (Vol. IV); TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO (Vol. IV).

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Caribbean, Dutch (Dutch West Indies) The Dutch Caribbean includes the islands of Aruba, Curaçao, Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, Saba, and Sint Maarten. Historically, the Netherlands first shared power and then competed with the French and the British for control of its Caribbean possessions (see CARIBBEAN, BRITISH; CARIBBEAN, FRENCH). By the 19th century, Dutch rule had been firmly established in the islands, as well as in the mainland colony of SURINAME.

The Spanish were the first to explore most of the islands of the Caribbean, and they established some settlements in the region. The Spanish encountered small groups of Arawak, Carib, and Ciboney native peoples, and by the beginning of the 16th century, conquistadores had established an administrative center on the island of Hispaniola. From there, Spanish expeditions explored the neighboring islands of the Greater Antilles, the smaller eastern islands of the Lesser Antilles, and the southernmost islands that make up the Dutch Caribbean in search of treasure and Amerindians to enslave. Failing to find GOLD or other valuable resources, the Spanish did not establish permanent settlements. Other European

powers showed an interest in Spain's new Caribbean possessions, and throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, British, French, and Dutch pirates actively attacked Spanish ships in the area. Privateers were often sponsored by European merchants who wanted to TRADE in the Spanish colonies. By the 1620s, those northern European challengers began establishing permanent colonies in the Caribbean. They appeared first in the southern and eastern Caribbean and then began pushing into Spanish strongholds in the Greater Antilles.

In the first half of the 17th century, an alliance of sorts formed between Dutch, French, British, and other European merchants in an attempt to challenge Spanish dominance in the Caribbean. The Dutch took the lead in this alliance, and in 1621, the Dutch West India Company received a monopoly charter to administer Caribbean trade. The company's traders helped to support permanent French and British settlements in Barbados, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. The Dutch West India Company established settlements in Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and Saba, which all had a ready supply of salt. The Dutch also settled Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire. Most Dutch settlements served as MILITARY posts as well as trading outposts for colonies of the other northern European nations. In later decades, the Dutch West India Company was reorganized, and many of the Dutch possessions in the Caribbean became slave trading depots and bases for smuggling goods into the Spanish colonies that were closed to wider European trade.

A series of wars erupted among the northern European powers in the late 17th century, which weakened Dutch power in the Caribbean. By the beginning of the 19th century, Dutch settlements were limited to Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, and the far southern Leeward Islands. In the early decades of the century, major changes took place in the Dutch Caribbean. The British had emerged as the major sea power in the Atlantic, and abolitionist pressures urged the Crown to abolish the slave trade and to force other European powers to do the same. Although SLAVERY still existed, the Dutch ended the import of slaves into its colonies in 1814. Ending the slave trade eliminated one of the economic functions that the Dutch Caribbean possessions had played. Some settlers attempted to develop an agricultural sector in the 19th century, but most of the southern Dutch-controlled Caribbean islands were arid, with a hilly and volcanic topography that made them unsuitable for AGRICULTURE. While the Dutch government attempted to subsidize agricultural activities, planters for the most part experienced little success. Sint Maarten's climate and topography was more suited to agriculture. Some small plantations and ranches developed there, with small populations of African slaves making up most of the workforce. Salt MINING dominated the economies of most Dutch islands, and that industry continued in the 19th century, supported by the labor of the few thousand African slaves who remained after the slave trade

ended. But, salt mining declined as the slave population dwindled. After slavery was finally abolished in the Dutch colonies in 1863, the salt mining industry collapsed.

Most of the Dutch possessions in the Caribbean suffered devastating economic decline throughout the 19th century. Curaçao was one notable exception. The island's location just off the coast of VENEZUELA made it an ideal spot from which to assist Spanish royalist forces fighting against independence movements in the colony. Curaçao provided a base for Spanish forces, and its merchants readily traded with the Spanish to keep the royal army supplied. Trading rights did not extend to the patriot forces. Dutch support for the Spanish army created an awkward diplomatic environment after Venezuelan forces ousted the last of the royalist forces in 1821. Further complicating matters, the Dutch government refused to recognize the new government in Venezuela—at the time GRAN COLOMBIA—and continued to withhold trading rights. Dutch officials held out for a full year before establishing relations with Gran Colombia and opening up trade between Curaçao and the newly independent confederation.

Curaçao continued to be a trading outpost for Dutch merchants, and economic activity on the island picked up considerably after the rest of the mainland Spanish colonies achieved independence. Independent governments opened up the previously closed mercantilist economies and allowed relatively free trade through LAISSEZ-FAIRE economic policies. Curaçao became a trading station for commerce between Dutch merchants and the Venezuelan market. But, the island continued to find itself pulled into the conflict and instability that plagued the mainland nations. Leaders in Curaçao attempted to remain neutral throughout the period of liberal-conservative conflict in Venezuela. In 1849, Venezuelan dictator José Tadeo Monagas (1847–51, 1855–58) seized several Dutch ships that he suspected of smuggling arms to an opposition movement. Relations with Venezuela were precarious over the coming decades as a series of uprisings and civil wars brought about repeated changes of government and near-constant accusations of Curaçao's complicity in one conspiracy or another.

By the late decades of the 19th century, the salt industry that had sustained many of the Dutch Caribbean islands had completely folded. The economies of the smallest islands never fully recovered, but Aruba developed a modest agricultural sector—particularly in the cultivation of aloe. Curaçao continued to serve as a trading outpost, but other industries emerged there as well. By the late 19th century a shipbuilding sector had been established and many transatlantic vessels docked at the island for repairs and supplies. In the 1870s, phosphate deposits were discovered, and that industry thrived until the 1930s. Shortly after the turn of the century, foreign oil companies built refineries on Curaçao to process the crude extracted from Venezuelan oil deposits. The development of the oil-processing industry contributed

to the economic autonomy that eventually led to a push for self-government later in the 20th century.

See also **BUCCANEERS** (Vol. II); **CARIBBEAN, DUTCH** (Vol. IV); **DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY** (Vol. II).

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Caribbean, French (French West Indies) The French Caribbean refers to the group of Caribbean islands historically under French colonial rule. Most are located in the Lesser Antilles, and control of many of those islands shifted among the British, Dutch, and French from the 17th through the 19th centuries. The most important French colony in the Caribbean was Saint Domingue (present-day HAITI) on the western portion of the island of Hispaniola (SANTO DOMINGO). Other major French possessions included Saint Croix, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Saint Martin in the southern and eastern Caribbean, as well as FRENCH GUIANA on the mainland.

Spanish explorers were the first Europeans to have contact with the Caribbean islands. The small islands throughout the region were inhabited by groups of Arawak, Carib, and Ciboney Indians, and the first Spanish settlers captured NATIVE AMERICANS throughout the Caribbean and sent them to work as slaves on Hispaniola. After the local native population was decimated and the islands revealed little in the way of valuable natural resources, the Spanish showed little interest in the Lesser Antilles, which eventually fell under French control. Spanish conquistadores expanded their explorations to the vast mainland of present-day MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, and South America, and by the end of the 16th century, Spain had established settlements in these areas and had demonstrated its supremacy in the Americas. Spanish monopolization of resources and TRADE from its mainland colonies created an environment that was ripe for piracy and warfare in the Caribbean as other European nations challenged Spanish power. An alliance of convenience formed between French, Dutch, and British merchants who sponsored privateering expeditions in an attempt to disrupt and confiscate Spanish shipments of bullion and other goods. In the 1620s, the British and French established several joint settlements in the Caribbean with the intent of developing a TOBACCO plantation ECONOMY (see **CARIBBEAN, BRITISH**; **CARIBBEAN, DUTCH**). One of the first such colonies was on the island of Saint-Christophe, where a French royal company was granted a monopoly over tobacco production. Other early French settlements were established on St. Kitts, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, and planters on those islands also engaged in the cultivation of tobacco. Private companies administered the French Caribbean

possessions throughout most of the 17th century until a decree by Louis XIV placed the island economies under royal supervision. At the same time, the alliance of convenience between the French, British, and Dutch began to fall apart, and a series of wars broke out among the former economic allies of northern Europe. Those wars also generated disputes for control of select islands in the Caribbean.

The most successful of the French colonies in the Caribbean was Saint Domingue on the western third of Hispaniola in the Greater Antilles. The eastern half of the island had been under Spanish control since the beginning of the 16th century, but the Spanish had neglected the colony and there were few settlements along the western coast. French pirates often stationed themselves along the coast and on the tiny neighboring island of Tortuga to attack Spanish fleets. In 1665, French officials claimed the western portion of Hispaniola for France and established the colony of Saint Domingue. Tobacco plantations thrived in the tropical climate, but tobacco production was eventually supplanted by SUGAR cultivation in the 18th century. Saint Domingue grew to be one of France's most prosperous colonies, and by the end of the 18th century, it produced approximately 40 percent of the world's sugar. The colony's sugar industry was sustained by steady imports of African slaves, and by the 1790s, slaves made up a majority of Saint Domingue's population. There was also a sizable population of non-white freedmen, who suffered varying degrees of discrimination under French laws.

The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 brought more freedom and equality for all in France. Although the same were not intended to apply to the colored population of France's colonies, slaves and former slaves in Saint Domingue were nonetheless inspired. When in 1791 it became clear that white leaders intended to continue to limit the rights of the colony's colored freedmen, a revolt broke out and gradually spread throughout the western portion of the island. The revolt escalated into a full-scale slave rebellion and marked the beginning of the movement for Haitian independence. Other French Caribbean colonies went through a period of turmoil as the unstable situation in France provoked slave revolts throughout the Caribbean. The British also seized the opportunity to challenge the French for other colonial possessions in the Lesser Antilles. British forces invaded Saint Domingue and also took control of Martinique and Guadeloupe, which eventually reverted back to French control. Other small islands in the Lesser Antilles that were in dispute—such as Grenada, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, and Trinidad—remained under British control in the 19th century. In an attempt to contain the Saint Domingue rebellion, the French government in Paris abolished SLAVERY throughout the French colonies in February 1794.

Napoléon Bonaparte came to power in France and reestablished slavery in the French colonies in 1802. New

shipments of African slaves arrived in Guadeloupe and Martinique in the coming decades to provide the LABOR force for those islands' emerging sugar industry. After Haiti achieved independence, leaders of the new nation attempted to institute alternative labor systems, but the adjustment to a free labor system combined with the long and destructive war led to a collapse of the island's long-standing sugar ECONOMY. As a result, other slave economies, such as BRAZIL and CUBA, stepped in to fill the worldwide demand for sugar. In the French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe, the transition was short lived. The British abolished the Atlantic slave trade in 1807 and began pressuring other European powers to follow their lead. France ended the slave trade in 1818, although some illegal smuggling of slaves continued. Over the next three decades, an abolitionist movement gained strength in France, and in 1848 an emancipation decree was approved for all French colonies. Most newly freed slaves abandoned the sugar estates, and planters faced a labor shortage. Between 1850 and the turn of the century, thousands of indentured servants arrived in Martinique and Guadeloupe from India, China, and Africa.

French colonies underwent a number of social changes in the last half of the 19th century. After leaving the plantations, some former slaves managed to acquire small plots of land and engage in subsistence farming. As a result, large plantations owned by whites often operated side-by-side with small farms owned by blacks. Although the economic inequality between the two sectors was clearly evident and the white planter class continued to control the economy, a peaceful coexistence began to emerge. Racial tensions did exist, but those tensions were less likely to lead to violence than in areas of Spanish or British colonial rule with a similar demographic makeup. Adjustments to political and individual rights on the islands often mirrored the changes that were taking place in France. A new revolution in France brought a liberal government to power in 1848, and a rush of social and political reforms were applied to the colonies. The complete abolition of slavery was the most momentous of those changes, and the French government followed up that sweeping legislation by instituting universal male suffrage in 1849. But, the rise of Napoléon III in 1852 reversed many of those reforms, and residents of the French Caribbean waited two more decades before again receiving political rights.

Upon the establishment of the Third Republic in France in 1870, many French leaders argued that political and social reforms were urgently needed in the French colonies. Martinique experienced a rebellion in 1870 known as the Southern Insurrection when cane field workers rose up to protest their continued economic and social oppression. Although the revolt was short lived, it brought to light the need for additional reforms in the French Caribbean social structure, which continued to be dominated by white elites. Many leaders of the Third

Republic genuinely believed in the notion of equality and incorporated the French colonies into their reforms. Voting rights were expanded to include all adult males, and people of color were increasingly elected to political positions in Martinique and Guadeloupe. French colonies also were granted the right to representation in the French parliament.

One of the most notable areas of improvement in the late 19th century was in the EDUCATION system, which fell under the jurisdiction of the French government in the 1880s. Primary education became widely available throughout the French colonies, and more advanced schools were established in some areas. Despite the political and social reforms, however, the economies of French colonies suffered in the late decades of the 19th century. Indentured servitude had allowed a modest sugar industry to continue after the abolition of slavery, but strains in the worldwide sugar market in the late 19th century severely affected the local economies. The introduction of sugar beets in the United States and elsewhere allowed many areas that had not traditionally produced sugar to compete for the world sugar market. Increased sugar supplies drove prices down throughout the world, and French islands such as Martinique and Guadeloupe struggled. Other agricultural sectors eventually emerged, and in the 20th century the French Caribbean islands began exporting tropical fruits.

After 1946, the French colonies in the Caribbean became *départements* of France, which have equal status with other mainland provinces.

See also BUCCANEERS (Vol. II); HISPANIOLA (Vols. I, II); SANTO DOMINGO (Vol. II).

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Carlota See FRENCH INTERVENTION.

Carrera, Rafael (b. 1814–d. 1865) *military leader and president of Guatemala* Rafael Carrera was an illiterate but charismatic, manipulative, and ruthless mestizo who dominated Guatemalan politics for a quarter of a century, from 1840 to 1865. Denied access to an EDUCATION because of his racial status and poverty, Carrera entered the Central American federal army in 1826 at the age of 12 and rose rapidly through its ranks. When the Honduran FRANCISCO MORAZÁN established a liberal government in GUATEMALA in 1829, the federal army was disbanded, and Carrera drifted into the countryside before settling in the village of Mataquescuintla, where he married Petrona García, the daughter of a large landowner, and came under the influence of the local parish priest. During this time, he developed a conservative philosophy.

Morazán's liberal programs, especially his attack on the privileges enjoyed by the CATHOLIC CHURCH and the heavy taxation of large estates, met with resistance from many conservative landowners and clergy. When a cholera epidemic swept through the country beginning in 1837, the leading families of Mataquesuintla persuaded Carrera to put together an army made up of poor but devout Catholic peasants to challenge the central authority. For the next three years, Carrera carried out a guerrilla war against the federal government's better trained and equipped army. Finally, on March 14, 1840, as the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA collapsed around him, Morazán succumbed to Carrera, who became Guatemala's head of state until 1844, when he was chosen president of Guatemala. Liberal opposition continually challenged Carrera's conservative administration until the defeat of their army in 1847. Carrera handed the government reins to Mariano Paredes (ca. 1800–1856) and departed for a short-lived stay in MEXICO.

Carrera returned to Guatemala in March 1849 to assemble an army consisting largely of Amerindians to fight against the liberal cause. Carrera's endeavors included an effort by the Honduran, Salvadoran, and Nicaraguan governments to revive the Central American union. Finally, on February 2, 1851, Carrera's army defeated the allied forces in the Battle of San José la Arada, and Carrera again became head of state. Eight months later, he oversaw the implementation of a new conservative constitution. It centralized the government and restored most of the church's privileges, including separate courts for the clergy, tithes, and the record-keeping role. Three years later, on October 21, 1854, Carrera declared himself "president for life" and ruled with few restrictions until his death in 1865. The church enjoyed its former privileges throughout his tenure. Additionally, convents were reopened, and the Jesuits were allowed to return to the country. In effect, the Catholic Church gained considerable influence over people's daily lives.

Carrera intervened in the internal affairs of HONDURAS and EL SALVADOR to assist the conservative causes there. When the North American filibusterer WILLIAM WALKER sought to establish his rule over Central America, Carrera sent a large contingent of troops into NICARAGUA in 1857 to defeat and eject him temporarily from the isthmus.

Upon his death on April 14, 1865, Carrera was credited with advancing Guatemala's economic growth and protecting the Amerindians from exploitation by landowners, but at a cost of a highly centralized government in which the MILITARY became a permanent fixture. His immediate successor, General Vicente Cerna (1865–71), continued his conservative policies.

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Caste War of the Yucatán (1847–1901) The Caste War of the Yucatán was a Maya uprising against the white population in the Yucatán Peninsula of MEXICO. It erupted over a complex set of issues, including racial tensions, land ownership, LABOR abuses, and political strife between centralist and federalist forces in the national and regional governments.

Mexican independence in 1821 brought many changes to the Yucatán. The legally defined ethnic hierarchy in areas such as the Yucatán was called into question by new liberal ideas, raising the expectations of the large Maya population. At the same time, new government policies allowed landowning creoles to confiscate communal lands that had traditionally been owned and worked by the Maya. Further instability came as leaders in the national government clashed over how much autonomy state governments should have. The promulgation in 1836 of the SIETE LEYES by ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA provoked a backlash among federalists. They declared the Yucatán independent, and many political leaders attempted to recruit Maya, promising reform.

The Caste War broke out in summer 1847, when a group of Maya instigated an uprising in Valladolid, targeting the white creole population. The ringleaders were captured and executed, while local officials ransacked the homes of others suspected of being involved in the plot. This oppressive reaction convinced many Maya that armed conflict was the only way to redress the abusive system of social and economic inequality (see NATIVE AMERICANS).

A full-scale rebellion developed quickly under the leadership of Jacinto Pat and Cecilio Chi. Within months, many major cities, including Valladolid, had fallen to Maya militias. The rebels were poised to take Mérida in May 1848, but many peasant soldiers left the battlefield to plant their crops, and the rebels lost their advantage. State officials also negotiated a reconciliation with the national government, which sent reinforcements to help put down the rebellion. During the next few months, Maya rebels were forced into hiding in remote areas of the southeastern jungle.

Pockets of resistance continued for the next several years, and the Caste War turned into a type of guerrilla movement. It picked up momentum in 1850 with the discovery of the "Speaking Cross": Rebel leader José María Barrera had led his followers to an area deep within the forest, where they discovered a cross carved into a tree. The cross resembled the sacred Maya tree of life and spoke to the rebels, ordering them to continue the war. A religious community developed from this sighting—the Chan Santa Cruz—and its followers, the Cruzob, kept the antigovernment movement alive for more than a half century (see RELIGION). The Chan Santa Cruz and other Maya communities continued to control the eastern portions of the Yucatán for decades and became independent communities while the national government struggled to

bring them under control. Great Britain even recognized the sovereignty of the Chan Santa Cruz and traded with them from British Honduras (BELIZE).

The movement began to decline when the British withdrew recognition and trading preferences in favor of improved diplomatic relations with PORFIRIO DÍAZ's government in 1893. Finally, in 1901, Mexican federal troops secured the Chan Santa Cruz region and declared the war officially over. Unrest erupted several times over the next several decades as the entire nation descended into the turmoil of revolution. The last confrontation between government forces and local militia occurred in 1933.

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Castilla, Ramón (b. 1797–d. 1867) *caudillo and president of Peru* Ramón Castilla was a Peruvian CAUDILLO who emerged on the political scene in 1841 on the heels of a 20-year period of political strife and instability. The MILITARY and political leader dominated Peruvian politics for more than two decades and is generally credited with bringing a sustained period of relative peace and growth to the new nation.

Castilla was born on August 27, 1797, in the northern Tarapacá region of PERU. As a young man, he joined the Spanish armed forces against the independence movement in colonial Peru, but in 1821, he changed allegiance and joined the forces of independence leaders José de San Martín and Simón Bolívar. After Peru finally achieved independence, Castilla served as military leader and adviser to several presidents. He was serving as finance minister to President AGUSTÍN GAMARRA when German traveler and scientist Alexander von Humboldt (b. 1767–d. 1835) traveled to South America and brought samples of guano back to Europe. Then in 1824, *American Farmer* published studies outlining the potential of Peru's guano deposits as a source of fertilizer for the world's growing agricultural needs. Castilla negotiated Peru's first contracts with British investors in 1841, marking the beginning of the GUANO AGE, more than four decades of economic growth and social transformation in the country.

Castilla's guano diplomacy continued after President Gamarra died while attempting to invade BOLIVIA in November 1841. The president's death created a power

vacuum and resulted in a brief but chaotic period when various local strongmen competed for power. In 1844, Castilla seized power and stamped out local rebellions long enough to reinstate a sense of constitutional order. The following year, Castilla was elected to his first six-year term as president. Between 1845 and 1851, the military man succeeded in suppressing opposition and putting down various rebellions. He quickly earned a reputation for his ability to maintain law and order and was generally known for his charisma, patriotism, and energy—all common characteristics of 19th-century Latin America caudillos. Castilla also continued to cultivate Peru's guano TRADE, which quickly exploded into a lucrative export industry. As the national coffers filled, so did his popularity. Castilla used the swelling national treasury to fund infrastructure and public works projects, such as the construction of schools and the development of a national railroad system. The president was also able to straighten out the nation's finances and reduce the national debt.

Castilla's six-year administration was followed by the presidency of José Rufino Echenique (b. 1808–d. 1887). Castilla, however, found himself at odds with his successor over a number of social policies, and the former president led a rebellion against Echenique in 1854. He enjoyed enormous support among the lower classes and promised to enact aggressive reforms to benefit them as a reward for their loyalty. Castilla seized power in 1855 and used his popularity to push through liberal social reform. He passed laws abolishing SLAVERY, using revenues from guano contracts to purchase freedom for a sizable black slave population. Castilla also used his power and influence to eliminate the Amerindian tribute tax. Following the trend of other liberal Latin American political movements in the 19th century, Castilla also curbed the power of the CATHOLIC CHURCH and established a platform for ensuring some individual freedoms.

In 1856, Castilla and his supporters attempted to push through a new constitution, but they were opposed by a powerful land-owning lobby, and a two-year civil war ensued. In 1860, Castilla finally oversaw the promulgation of his new constitution. Although many of Castilla's policies were overtly liberal, the Constitution of 1860 included a number of provisions that reflected a more conservative ideology. It called for a strong executive, though it extended political participation to numerous groups that had previously been left out of the political process, such as the indigenous and former slaves. The Constitution of 1860 remained in effect until the 1920s.

When Castilla's term ended in 1862, Peruvian politics reverted once more to chaos and instability. The once-popular president made several attempts to retake the presidency and was imprisoned and exiled for his efforts. He spent time in neighboring CHILE and in Spain trying to garner support for a comeback as Peru's leader. Castilla was killed while leading an invasion force around the city of Arica in May 1867.

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Castro, Cipriano (b. 1858–d. 1924) *military leader and president of Venezuela* Cipriano Castro was a local MILITARY leader from the Andean state of Táchira who built his image as a regional CAUDILLO and used his local power to ascend in Venezuelan national politics. His presidency marked the beginning of an era of Andean participation and dominance in national politics. He also helped to transform the image of VENEZUELA as a caudillo state of the 19th century to a country with a more populist social and political system in the 20th century.

Castro was born in Capacho, Táchira, on October 12, 1858, into an agricultural family. In 1872, he initiated formal religious EDUCATION and was exposed to many of the philosophical foundations of the Venezuelan LIBERAL PARTY. In 1873, he abandoned his seminary training to pursue a career in politics. In the city of San Cristóbal in his home state, he earned a reputation of opposing state leaders who appeared too beholden to the central government in CARACAS. Throughout the 1880s, Castro challenged local authorities in the name of regional autonomy. He served briefly as governor of the state of Táchira and in 1890 was selected to represent his state as a deputy in the National Congress. In 1892, Castro and several local allies—among them his future vice president Juan Vicente Gómez (b. 1857–d. 1935)—fought against the Legalist Revolution of Joaquín Crespo (1884–86, 1892–97). Crespo's victory forced Castro and his cronies into exile for the next seven years.

While in exile in COLOMBIA, Castro engaged in illegal cattle TRADE and accumulated a substantial fortune, which allowed him to garner supporters and challenge the likely fraudulent election of Ignacio Andrade in 1899. He declared the Restorative Liberal Revolution and began marching toward Caracas. As he advanced, Castro secured alliances with discontented regional caudillos who had grown impatient with the near-constant chaos in Caracas. A movement that started with only 60 followers grew to a force of more than 2,000 by the time Castro reached Caracas. On October 22, 1899, the once-exiled caudillo took the capital and became provisional president of the republic. He oversaw a reform of the nation's constitution, and in 1904 he was elected constitutional president with Gómez as his vice president.

Castro's presidency marked an important shift in Venezuelan politics. Although he had risen to power in typical caudillo fashion, Castro quickly put an end to the infighting and political rifts that had defined regional politics throughout the 19th century. Where earlier

administrations had failed, Castro managed to bring the remnants of the 19th-century caudillos under his centralized control. He ruled as a despotic dictator but at the same time oversaw the beginnings of full popular participation in the nation's political system.

Castro fell ill in 1908, while undergoing surgery in Europe. In November of that year, his own former confidant and vice president Gómez led a coup and took over the presidency. Exiled from Venezuela, Castro spent the last years of his life in PUERTO RICO. He died there on December 4, 1924.

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Catholic Church The Catholic Church has historically been a principal foundation of Latin American culture. The church played a leading role in the European conquest of the Americas and continued to be a dominant institution throughout the colonial period of Latin American history. Its power and influence ensured that Catholicism became the major RELIGION throughout the colonies. Indeed, a vast majority of Latin Americans belong to the Catholic Church today. The church's privileged position also became the basis of much conflict in the century following independence. New governments attempting to restructure political and social networks according to liberal principles often challenged the church's authority. This resulted in much instability and infighting between conservative and liberal groups in a number of countries throughout the 19th century (see CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM). Challenges from liberals eventually compelled church leaders to reconsider the role Catholicism would play in Latin American society. By the end of the century, Catholic doctrine had begun to emphasize the church's role in promoting social justice. The trends initiated in the late decades of the 19th century evolved into sweeping reform movements in the 20th century.

Spain's initial conquest and settlement of Latin America was partly motivated and justified by the desire to spread Catholicism to the millions of indigenous peoples who inhabited the Americas in the 16th century. An arrangement between the Spanish Crown and the Vatican gave the church enormous influence in the colonies in the interest of converting souls. Members of the clergy were a part of exploration and conquest missions from the outset, and conversion efforts immediately followed MILITARY conquests. Religious orders set up missions throughout Latin America, and in the early years of the colonial period, mass conversions took place as the Spanish Crown consolidated control over its new territory. Portuguese settlers soon did likewise in BRAZIL, where the church played a similar role.

The emphasis on the immediate conversion of large numbers of people inevitably led to numerous false conversions. Many NATIVE AMERICANS continued to practice their own religions and resisted wholesale conversion to Catholicism. Throughout the 300-year colonial period, church leaders found themselves constantly investigating what they considered to be sacrilegious practices. While some Amerindians continued to worship native deities, others incorporated aspects of their native religions into the daily practice of Catholicism. In areas with large numbers of slaves, a similar amalgamation of Catholicism and African spirituality occurred. The church officially denounced this merging of religious traditions, but many individual members of the clergy allowed it to happen. As a result, various hybrid religious practices emerged in Latin America, and in some cases the fusion of Catholicism and native religions produced entirely new spiritual movements that survive even today. SANTERIA developed as a combination of Catholicism and African religions in the Caribbean and in some regions of the mainland. In HAITI, VODOU emerged as a competing force against Catholicism, even though many Haitians have historically practiced the two religions simultaneously.

The power of the Catholic Church was evident in the wealth and social status attained by members of its clergy. Church leaders regularly charged fees for performing various sacraments, and parish priests were often seen as prevailing authority figures in local affairs. Devout members of the elite endowed the church with donations and other contributions in an attempt to secure a path to heaven for both themselves and their deceased relatives. Wealthy families often pursued admission to the religious orders for their children as a way of elevating their social status and protecting the family estate from being dismantled by inheritance laws. Admission to convents and monasteries was generally accompanied by large endowments of property, cash, and other materials goods to the church. As a result, the Catholic Church became extraordinarily wealthy. By the end of the colonial period, it owned vast amounts of land in Latin America. It had also become a principal money lender and profited from the loans it made and the rents it collected.

Church wealth allowed many members of the clergy to live an opulent lifestyle. Church leaders also profited from the long-standing special relationship between the church and the Crown. Under colonial laws, the Catholic Church was a corporation, or a special group with legally protected rights and privileges. Its members were exempt from many Crown taxes and were bestowed with various *FUEROS*, or legally defined entitlements and protections. The most common *fuero* in colonial Latin America was a parallel court system that shielded members of the clergy from prosecution in the criminal court system. Priests and bishops accused of crimes came under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, which tended to be more lenient. The church also administered most social programs. Members of the clergy ran orphanages, hospi-

tals, and cemeteries. The church controlled EDUCATION throughout the colonial period and served as the main recorder of vital statistics such as marriages, births, and deaths through its registry of the sacraments.

By the end of the colonial period, the Catholic Church wielded enormous power, but the wars for independence and their aftermath divided and weakened the church. Some members of the clergy opposed the insurgencies that sprang up throughout the region and maintained their support for the Spanish Crown. Many religious leaders—particularly a number of bishops and other members of the church hierarchy—viewed independence as a first step in the dismantling of the church's power and influence. But, other individuals, including some local parish priests, threw their support behind the independence armies, and several even participated directly in the fighting. The initial insurrection in MEXICO that eventually escalated into a full-scale war for independence was led by parish priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla in 1810. After Hidalgo was later captured and executed, the movement was carried on by another parish priest, José María Morelos.

Many of the church leaders who had remained loyal to Spain during the wars for independence either fled to Spain or were expelled by newly formed Latin American governments in the 1820s. In the years immediately following independence, the church found itself considerably weakened by the disruption in leadership caused by the wars. Making matters worse, church leaders in Rome refused to recognize the independence of Latin American nations for more than a decade. Many new governments in Latin America were formed by liberal independence leaders, and a number of them were already suspicious of church authority. A rift between liberal governments and the Catholic Church was immediately evident, and that schism only deepened during the remainder of the 19th century.

Liberalism had influenced the independence movements in Latin America, and its impact was evident in new constitutions and government policies in the newly independent nations. Liberals were generally forward looking and wanted to break away from many of the colonial traditions that they believed were preventing progress. Liberalism rejected the privileged role the Catholic Church had played, thus many postindependence political systems were structured to limit its authority. Perceived attacks against church interests provoked a backlash among conservatives throughout Latin America; they believed that weakening the authority of traditionally powerful institutions such as the Catholic Church would lead to chaos. For several decades after independence, conservative and liberal political factions fought for control of national leadership. Constitutions were written and rewritten as power changed hands through civil wars and violent overthrows in many nations. At the heart of a number of those conflicts were liberal reforms intended to diminish the power of the

Catholic Church and to transform the long-standing roles of church and state in Latin American society.

Liberal regimes or oligarchies secured control in most nations in the last half of the 19th century. As they consolidated power, they pursued even more aggressive reforms, many of which targeted the Catholic Church. Liberal regimes throughout Latin America ended the mandatory tithing and abolished the ecclesiastic *fuero*. Furthermore, liberals believed that in order for republicanism to succeed, the state must be the most powerful institution. Many leaders feared that the Catholic Church competed with the national government as the institution with the most authority in Latin American society. Therefore, other reforms sought to replace church authority with that of the state. New laws established civil registries to allow the state, rather than the church, to record marriages, births, and deaths. Liberal governments also began passing civil codes that brought FAMILY and social laws under state jurisdiction. Many of the civil codes passed in the late 19th century established the practice of civil marriage. Making marriage a civil contract, as opposed to a sacramental bond, theoretically made divorce more accessible. Some liberal regimes considered laws to allow for the legal dissolution of marriage, although divorce did not become legal in most areas until the 20th century.

Liberal reforms that limited church power continued to meet with some resistance, but the greatest opposition emerged when liberal governments targeted church properties and wealth. Liberals operated under the theory that the individual should be the basis for republican forms of government and that the well-being of society in general was directly tied to the well-being of individual citizens. Many Latin American liberals modeled their theories after the notion of Jeffersonian republicanism in the United States and argued that responsible citizens would emerge through ownership of private property. Liberals therefore also asserted that encouraging the establishment of small, family-sized farms would make nations economically and politically viable. Since the Catholic Church was the largest owner of property at the end of the colonial period, liberals looked to confiscate and auction off church land in order to reach their objective. Land laws were passed in Mexico and CHILE in the 1850s and in COLOMBIA in the 1860s. Violent civil wars erupted once again as conservative interests rose up to defend the church. Despite several decades of conflict and violence, the church's influence and wealth were severely diminished by the end of the 19th century.

While liberal attacks against church property and privilege provoked an outcry among Latin American conservatives, the general trend toward liberalism generated an official protest by the Vatican. In 1864, Pope Pius IX issued the SYLLABUS OF ERRORS as an addendum to his encyclical *Quanta Cura*. The syllabus denounced 80 ideas that the Holy See considered hostile to Catholicism. ENLIGHTENMENT philosophies and the theory of POSI-

TIVISM, which in many ways served as the foundation of Latin American 19th-century liberalism, were cited as particularly anti-Catholic. The syllabus condemned liberal reform laws that sought to separate church and state, and the document was critical of liberal laws that allowed for the seizure and sale of church properties. Conservative elite in Latin America praised the papal statement, while liberals reacted by hardening their anti-clerical position.

By the end of the century, many Catholic leaders had begun to take a different approach to the social changes that liberalism and other movements had helped create. A number of internal reforms took root within the church, and members of the clergy began to promote what some referred to as "social Catholicism." The movement was formalized by Pope Leo XIII in his 1891 *RERUM NOVARUM*, which argued that the forces of modernization promoted by liberal governments around the world had created injustices and social inequality. Problems engendered by liberal policies that encouraged rapid industrialization and urbanization in the late 19th century were visible in the growing numbers of people living in poverty throughout Latin America. The *Rerum Novarum* declared the Catholic Church to be the defender of those who had been harmed by liberal policies of modernization.

By the end of the 19th century, the Catholic Church had begun to distance itself from its long-standing affiliation with the conservative elite. Instead, church leaders began taking up social justice issues. The changes that the Catholic Church underwent in the final decade of the 19th century continued into the 20th century and laid a foundation for later movements of Christian democracy and liberation theology.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH (Vols. I, II, IV); RELIGION (Vols. I, II, IV); SYNCRETISM (Vol. I).

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caudillo *Caudillo* is a term that refers to a charismatic strongman in 19th-century Latin American nations. Caudillo rule existed in most countries of the region after the colonial period. The governments of newly independent nations struggled to make the transition from an extremely centralized political structure under a monarchy to a more open form of government. Further complicating national development was the relatively lax and pliable system of local authority that was also

the legacy of the colonial system. The enigmatic and at times paradoxical personality of the caudillo emerged as the dominant authority figure at the national and local level after independence. Caudillos relied on a complex and inclusive combination of patronage, personality, and persuasion—often by force—to seize and maintain control. The height of *caudillismo*, or the age of the caudillo, occurred in the middle decades of the 19th century.

The colonial system in Latin America was characterized by at least the perception of irrefutable royal authority. In practice, however, local administrators were given a large degree of latitude, as indicated in the phrase “*obedezco pero no cumpro*” (I obey, but I do not execute). This attitude among Spanish and Portuguese administrators allowed local officials to enforce royal decrees selectively. As a result, strong personalities often challenged one another to be the dominant local authority; however, conflicts created by overlapping or competing jurisdictions could be settled by the overarching supremacy of the monarch. Independence removed the monarch as the only legitimate authority capable of settling such jurisdictional disputes, and local strongmen emerged to contest other would-be leaders for power.

Caudillismo was most prevalent in countries experimenting with incipient forms of DEMOCRACY, as well as in those that faced significant security threats either from within or abroad. Caudillos were most common in Spanish America in the 19th century. BRAZIL, which maintained close ties to Portugal and where monarchy continued until 1889, did not experience *caudillismo* to the same extent as its South American neighbors. Caudillos often held the official title of president, although regional governors and municipal leaders also ruled in caudillo fashion. Some caudillos never held formal political office, yet wielded extraordinary political and/or MILITARY power.

Caudillos were an enigmatic group and often defy simple classification, but a characteristic that all caudillos shared was their personal charm or charismatic appeal. This generation of leaders first built a local network of loyalty by establishing personal bonds and later often broadened that appeal through pompous displays of power. The caudillo ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA ruled MEXICO 11 times between 1833 and 1852. Each time he returned to power, his public displays of authority and prestige were more ostentatious. When charisma and personal magnetism did not work, caudillos often resorted to violence and repression. Argentine caudillo JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS (1829–32, 1835–52) formed a secret security detail known as LA MAZORCA, which was charged with silencing his political enemies. In the interest of maintaining order and control, caudillos regularly suspended the individual rights and freedoms they included in their constitutions.

Caudillos had a reputation for being rough and ready. Many of the earliest caudillos had participated in the wars of independence and had developed strong cre-

dentials as capable military leaders. It was common for rumors and grand tales to turn caudillos into living legends, whose supposed physical strength rendered them capable of carrying out impossible feats. The perceived physical prowess of caudillos extended to all aspects of masculinity. JUAN FACUNDO QUIROGA, a regional caudillo in postindependence ARGENTINA, was known to have single-handedly killed a cougar and went by the nickname “Tiger of the Llanos.” Although he was outnumbered, Venezuelan caudillo JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ (1830–35, 1839–43, 1861–63) won a major battle at San Juan de Payara in 1837. His reputation for military prowess earned him the nickname “Lion of Payara.”

Caudillos often commanded their own private militias, the ranks of which were filled with loyal followers. Numerous regional militias loyal to competing caudillos created an environment of instability and near-constant conflict. Presidents moved in and out of office with alarming regularity as challengers violently overthrew their opponents. Because local caudillos commanded such loyal and efficient groups of military followers, national armies often fractured after caudillos were forced from power by their opponents.

The military strongmen did not necessarily conform to one political ideology. Rather, caudillos were pragmatic, supporting whichever platform they perceived as most necessary and beneficial to current circumstances. A caudillo leader might completely abandon his political ideology to suit new circumstances. Ecuadorean caudillo GABRIEL GARCÍA MORENO (1861–65, 1869–75) imposed highly centralized and conservative policies that safeguarded the power of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Paraguayan dictator JOSÉ GASPAR RODRÍGUEZ DE FRANCIA (1814–40), on the other hand, exhibited a number of liberal preferences, such as limiting the influence of the church. Nevertheless, he was also one of the only 19th-century Latin American leaders who did not impose liberal, LAISSEZ-FAIRE economic policies. Mexico’s Santa Anna rose to power as a liberal but was quickly persuaded by conservatives to switch sides.

Caudillo rule began to decline throughout Latin America in the late decades of the 19th century during the LIBERAL OLIGARCHY era, although many of the most well-known leaders of that period are often considered a type of caudillo as well. Remnants of the authoritarian and personality-based politics common after independence survived well into the 20th century. Leaders such as Fidel Castro and Hugo Chávez are often classified as present-day caudillos.

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Cayenne See FRENCH GUIANA.

Central America Conventional wisdom defines Central America as the countries of COSTA RICA, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS, and NICARAGUA. These countries made up the units of the Audiencia of Guatemala, or Captaincy General of Guatemala, and were popularly referred to as the Kingdom of Guatemala during Spanish colonial times. While a geographer would correctly place BELIZE and PANAMA in Central America, their historical development differed from that of the other nations in the region. Belize, until its independence in 1981, came within the sphere of the BRITISH CARIBBEAN. Panama, at first, fell under the umbrella of the Viceroyalty of Peru and, subsequently, under the Viceroyalty of New Granada. Panama became a province of COLOMBIA when it achieved independence in 1819 and remained so until its own independence in 1903. Because the United States constructed the canal that traverses Panama, a special relationship between those two countries kept Panama separate from Central America until the efforts at economic unity in the late 20th century tied Panama more closely to its neighbors through TRADE agreements.

Immediately following independence in 1823, a handful of Central American leaders wished to continue the five-state unity based in Spanish colonialism and formed the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA, but the ill-fated experiment lasted only until 1839. Individual state nationalism and resistance to the continuation of centralized government stalled the effort at union. Subsequent 19th-century efforts at unification met a similar fate.

The ECONOMY, politics, and social structure of each state were dominated by a landed elite not anxious to share power or prestige with middle or lower socioeconomic groups (see LATIFUNDIO). In the 1850s, COFFEE became the major export of each Central American nation, and except for Costa Rica, by the end of the century, the landed elites controlled the most productive lands and had initiated discriminatory LABOR laws and imposed voting restrictions that ensured the continuation of their political power. Not until the mid-20th century was this system effectively challenged.

See also CENTRAL AMERICA (Vol. IV).

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centralism Centralism describes a system of government under which power is concentrated in one overarching authority and local or provincial institutions lack autonomy. Latin American nations have a centralist tradition dating back to the monarchies of the colonial period. In the postcolonial period, proponents of FEDERALISM challenged centralists and attempted to impose governing systems under which political power would be shared more equally between the national government and states or provinces. The merits of federalism over centralism became part of an intense political debate that helped to shape Latin American governments in the decades following independence. Conflict between federalists and centralists often occurred alongside or were tied to other political movements, such as those surrounding LIBERALISM and CONSERVATISM. At times, those confrontations escalated into violent clashes; the resulting political strife kept many Latin American nations in a state of instability for decades.

Some Latin American leaders saw centralism as a way to preserve the structure of the colonial period and thereby ensure a more stable transition to self-government. The colonial political system theoretically was organized in a centralized fashion with one powerful executive authority, the Spanish or Portuguese monarch. The European monarchical system was based on the notion of absolute power, and the Spanish and Portuguese set up their empires to follow this autocratic tradition. The Spanish divided their vast colonies into viceroyalties administered by a viceroy who was appointed by and answered to the king. Each viceroyalty was further subdivided into separate judicial districts, called *audiencias*, and smaller local provinces. The administrative division was designed to ensure that all decisions and all authority flowed through the king.

Despite the highly centralized design of the Spanish colonial system, in practice there was a degree of regional

and local autonomy. The Crown understood that it could not respond to many of the colonies' immediate needs from across the Atlantic. Many royal decrees were established without a clear understanding of how those laws would apply in the local setting. Furthermore, the Crown in Europe sometimes lacked the power to enforce laws in the colonies, particularly on small and remote islands. As a result, the more realistic attitude of "*obedezco pero no cumpro*" (I obey, but I do not execute) emerged as local authority figures enforced only those royal decrees they felt would work in their local circumstances. The network of local power brokers in the Latin American colonies undermined the idea of a centralized monarchy, though the king did still hold final authority. The pretense of consolidated executive power helped maintain relative order and stability in the colonies.

One immediate consequence of the successful independence movements of the early 19th century was the removal of the king as a centralizing authority figure. Some political elite feared that drifting too far from a system of highly centralized government control would create a power vacuum and cause a mass uprising. Leaders who advocated centralism also tended to support maintaining other traditions of the colonial period, such as continuing the influential role of the CATHOLIC CHURCH, protecting the *FUEROS* and other privileges for certain groups, and perpetuating the existing social hierarchy. Supporters of traditions and strongly centralized government coalesced in conservative political parties in numerous newly independent nations in the first half of the 19th century.

In MEXICO, those who wanted to maintain the political structure of the colonial period advocated a system of monarchy for the nation immediately after independence. In 1821, Spanish MILITARY officer AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE brokered a peaceful conclusion to the war for independence that stipulated that Mexico would be an independent nation under a monarch. Iturbide's centralist experiment (and empire) was thrown out in 1824 in favor of a federalist republic under a constitution. Conflict between conservative centralists and liberal federalists escalated throughout the 19th century, with conservative leaders repeatedly attempting to reinstate a more centralized form of government. The 1835 SIETE LEYES, or Seven Laws, dissolved state governments and provoked a backlash in the northern provinces, which eventually led to the TEXAS REVOLUTION. A formal CONSERVATIVE PARTY emerged, and its members attempted to reestablish a monarch in 1853 and again in 1862.

BRAZIL also favored a centralized government throughout the 19th century. The former Portuguese colony achieved independence relatively peacefully. After Napoléon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1807, the Portuguese Crown relocated to Brazil and made it the seat of the Portuguese Empire. King JOHN VI ruled from RIO DE JANEIRO until 1821, when he returned to Portugal and left his son Pedro in control. The following year,

Brazil declared its independence under PEDRO I; the new nation remained under a monarchical system until 1889.

Leaders in other regions of Latin America pursued a more moderate version of centralist government that did not include a monarch. Independence leader Simón Bolívar envisioned establishing one large, powerful South American nation and articulated that vision in the BOLIVARIAN CONSTITUTION of 1826. The document applied specifically to the newly independent nation of BOLIVIA, but Bolívar hoped eventually to unite the entire Andean region under one government. He recommended an authoritarian, lifetime president in order to preserve order and stability. Bolívar saw the federalist tendencies of many new nations as a threat to the political well-being of the region in the midst of internal and external challenges after independence. He did not succeed in uniting South America under one sovereign government, but Bolivian CAUDILLO and dictator ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ did bring together Bolivia and PERU under the short-lived PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION in the 1830s. Despite these attempts at unification through a strong, centralized government structure, federalist interests and the desire for more local autonomy eventually led to the dismantling of the Peru-Bolivia Confederation and quashed future attempts at uniting the region.

Confrontations between centralists and federalists turned violent on many occasions in the 19th century. In one civil war after another, centralists joined with conservatives, while liberals found themselves supporting federalist systems of local authority. In VENEZUELA, conflict between the two political ideologies eventually led to the FEDERAL WAR, from 1858 to 1863. Venezuelan centralists aligned with social and political conservatives to promote a strong central government and maintain the traditional social hierarchy. Venezuelan federalists enjoyed the support of the mixed-race rural *llaneros*, who equated a more egalitarian social system with their pursuit of regional autonomy. In Mexico, the WAR OF REFORM erupted as a conservative response to liberal social reform and as a backlash against the liberals' attempt to dismantle the centralist political system. COLOMBIA's vacillation between centralism and federalism in the last half of the 19th century generated frustration and a desire for more autonomy in the province of PANAMA. The citizens of the Central American isthmus tried to break away from Colombia on several occasions and finally achieved independence in 1903.

One notable exception to the tendency for centralism to correspond to a larger conservative ideology was in ARGENTINA. In that country, centralists coalesced under a liberal political and social platform under the Unitario Party. *UNITARIOS* were generally from BUENOS AIRES and wanted to establish a strong central government based in the port city. Unlike other Latin American advocates of centralism, however, *unitarios* hailed from the liberal intellectual circles of Argentina's postindependence society. They found themselves constantly opposed by

the *FEDERALES*, or the more conservative and federalist political party that advocated for provincial interests. The conflict escalated between the two competing parties in the first half of the 19th century, particularly during the dictatorial regime of federalist caudillo JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. As in other areas of Latin America, the lines between centralism and federalism in Argentina were not entirely clear and could frequently change. Even though Rosas claimed to stand for the federalist cause, for example, many of his policies became increasingly centralist. When he was overthrown in 1852, disputes over federalism and the role of Buenos Aires continued to divide national leaders. The CONSTITUTION OF 1853 attempted to define a less centralized system, with greater provincial autonomy. In retaliation, leaders in Buenos Aires refused to ratify the document until 1860; in the meantime, the port city operated as an independent province.

By the final decades of the 19th century, the conflicts between centralists and federalists in Latin America had subsided. Many nations found relative political stability under liberal oligarchies that consolidated power after the 1850s (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY). Liberal governments rewrote constitutions to conform more closely to their preferred social order and political organization. But, by the late 19th century, even liberal regimes realized that the loosely connected federalist systems they had tried to enforce in earlier decades would not produce the political stability needed for economic growth. Most governments found some balance between the highly centralized structure that had characterized the colonial period and the loose confederation that many federalists advocated.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II).

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Céspedes, Carlos Manuel de (b. 1819–d. 1874) *Cuban independence leader* Carlos Manuel de Céspedes was a plantation owner from the eastern region of CUBA who initiated the TEN YEARS' WAR in 1868 in an effort to secure the island's independence from Spain and end SLAVERY. Céspedes briefly led a revolutionary government and pushed for numerous progressive reforms.

Céspedes was born in Bayamón on April 18, 1819. He was educated in HAVANA and later in Spain. From an early age, Céspedes was inspired by anti-Spanish politics, and he was known to speak out regularly against the government. On October 10, 1868, Céspedes incited a rebellion with his GRITO DE YARA, in which he called for Cuba's complete independence from Spain and an end to

slavery. Leading by example, Céspedes freed the slaves on his own plantation and recruited them to serve in his army. Other planters in the region joined the movement, and Céspedes's army grew quickly.

In 1869, Céspedes formed a provisional government and oversaw the writing of a constitution. As head of the government, Céspedes insisted on major reforms such as free TRADE, equal taxation, and universal suffrage for men. Ending slavery was also one of his main objectives, but that issue proved divisive among other leaders of the independence movement. An insurrection within the rebel government ousted Céspedes in 1873, and the deposed independence leader went into hiding. He was captured the following year by the Spanish army and executed on February 27, 1874.

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Charter of Slavery In 1843, Ecuadorean president JUAN JOSÉ FLORES promulgated a new constitution that liberals dubbed the “Charter of Slavery” because of its highly conservative nature. As one of Simón Bolívar’s “faithful friends,” General Flores accepted many of the Liberator’s political ideas, including his penchant for powerful rulers.

Flores’s preference for a monarchical government came to the fore in 1843–45, during his second term as president. Several individuals, primarily exiled Bolivian general ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ, who was living in Guayaquil, had helped persuade Flores that the solution to ECUADOR’s ongoing political instability lay in establishing a monarchy, or failing that, a “monocracy” (long presidential terms). After the failure of LIBERALISM in the 1820s, hailing back to Spanish tradition for monarchical models of state formation appealed to many of the country’s conservative elite.

When Congress could not agree on Flores’s successor in 1843, he called a constitutional assembly to adopt his draft constitution, which greatly strengthened the role of the chief executive by granting him a 10-year term of office to which he could be reelected. In addition, the president could appoint and remove all government officials, including the governors of provinces and the local district officials. The Senate, elected for life, dominated the weakened legislative branch.

Nevertheless, former president VICENTE ROCAFUERTE demanded changes reducing the length of the presidential term. When Flores held on to the presidency in violation of their private agreement, Rocafuerte fled to PERU where he dubbed the new constitution the “Charter of Slavery.” Flores’s monocracy quickly deteriorated. His proposed tax reforms, which included an income tax on white and mestizo Ecuadoreans and an increase in tariff

rates, coupled with Rocafuerte's strident opposition, brought down his government in 1845.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II).

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Chile Present-day Chile stretches along the western coast of the bottom half of South America. No more than 115 miles (185 km) across at its widest point, Chile is bordered on the east by the Andes Mountains and on the west by the Pacific Ocean. It runs more than 2,600 miles (2,184 km) long from the Atacama Desert in the north down to the tip of South America at Cape Horn in the south.

INDEPENDENCE

During the colonial period, Chile was part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, but because of its peripheral location and rugged terrain, it remained relatively isolated from the center of administrative authority; Chileans thus developed a sense of local identity. When Napoléon Bonaparte invaded Spain in 1808, the Chilean elite reacted by establishing a local ruling junta. When the local Spanish governor attempted to thwart their actions, patriots rebelled and overthrew him. As in other areas of the colonies, the Chilean junta declared loyalty to Spanish monarch Ferdinand VII but used his absence to enact important changes in local political and economic systems. The junta imposed a free TRADE decree in 1811 and soon after convened a national congress, which began implementing radical reforms. Spaniards and conservative creoles correctly sensed that the junta was moving the colony toward a complete break from Spain, and an internal confrontation over the issue erupted. José Carrera (1785–1821) and Bernardo O'Higgins emerged as leaders of the patriot cause, but by 1814, MILITARY forces sent from PERU had stalled their quest for liberation.

As a Peruvian military force led by Mariano Osorcio regained control of Chile, independence leaders escaped across the Andes into ARGENTINA. Over the next several years, O'Higgins devised a strategy to liberate Chile and allied himself with Argentine liberator José de San Martín. In 1817, a force led by O'Higgins and San Martín crossed back over the Andes and defeated a royalist force at the Battle of Chacabuco. One year later, O'Higgins, serving as supreme director, declared Chilean independence, and one more major victory at the Battle of Maipó ousted the remaining royalist forces. O'Higgins worked to set up a new system of government in Chile, while San Martín took his army north to secure the independence of Peru.

As supreme director, O'Higgins held considerable power, which he was reluctant to relinquish after seeing

the early independence movement splinter. Nevertheless, his vision for Chile's future as an independent nation was progressive and democratic. O'Higgins passed numerous decrees allowing the government to seize enemy property in an attempt to raise money for the penurious national treasury. He managed to provide important financial assistance to San Martín's liberation efforts in Peru, but his aggressive levies angered many influential merchants. O'Higgins also initiated a number of liberal reforms during his administration, including restrictions on the power of the CATHOLIC CHURCH, the elimination of titles of nobility, and an expansion of EDUCATION. He tended, however, to implement his well-intentioned policies with heavy-handed tactics, and by 1823, the elite in SANTIAGO DE CHILE demanded his resignation. Chile's independence hero retired into exile in Peru, and an interim junta selected Ramón Freire (1823–26) to replace him.

With O'Higgins's departure, politics in Chile began to fracture. Those who had opposed the authoritarian nature of the previous administration began to coalesce into a liberal movement, calling themselves *pipiols*, or "novices." Opposing them were the supporters of O'Higgins who advocated a strong government and argued that O'Higgins's dictatorial style best suited the needs of the new nation. Liberals referred to them as *pelucones*, or "big wigs." Freire fell into the former camp but continued many of O'Higgins's seemingly liberal policies over the next several years. Freire abolished SLAVERY and expropriated some church properties. But, the new leader also nearly bankrupted the national treasury by continuing to fund the liberation movement in Peru and failing to pay the new nation's foreign loans. He resigned in 1826, and for the next five years, Chile was marred by political instability.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE PORTALIAN STATE

President Francisco Antonio Pinto (1827–29) managed to push through the liberal CONSTITUTION OF 1828 during a period of intense political conflict, but a conservative opposition movement had been mounting. In the late 1820s, the conservatives joined forces with a reactionary faction of conservatives known as the *estanqueros*, led by businessman and politician DIEGO PORTALES, against the progressive policies of the *pipiols*. A controversy over the presidential election of 1829 led to a brief armed confrontation in which conservative leaders quickly came out on top. General Joaquín Prieto (1831–41) took over as president, but his administration was controlled behind the scenes by Portales.

Portales believed in order and the rule of law before all else. He helped to oversee numerous changes to usher in an era of marked political stability but often at the expense of individual freedoms and civil rights. Portales did not value freedom of speech or freedom of the press and took a firm stance with government dissenters. He also created a civil militia to maintain internal order, effectively taking that function and a large degree of

power away from the army. Portales influenced the writing of the CONSTITUTION OF 1833, which provided a legal foundation for political stability for the remainder of the 19th century. It reflected the typical conservative ideology of the 19th century with a strong, centralized executive, limited suffrage, and protections for the Catholic Church. The Portalian state, as the era is often called, allowed Chile to attain a degree of stability and progress while most of its newly independent neighbors were struggling in the transition from colony to sovereign nation.

The disparity between Chile's power and that of its neighbors became evident in a conflict over the PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION in 1836. Bolivian president ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ, attempting to unify Peru and Bolivia under one large and powerful confederation, marched his army into the neighboring nation and set up a new administration. Chileans saw the creation of a large and powerful confederation to the north as an economic and strategic threat. Tensions mounted over trade routes and tariffs, as both nations tried to dominate Pacific coast commerce. President Prieto declared war and sent an invading force in 1837 after Santa Cruz supported an insurgency by exiled former Chilean president Freire, who was trying to overthrow the Prieto regime.

The initial Chilean reaction to the declaration of war provides a glimpse into the autocratic nature of the Portalian state. Numerous merchants and military leaders opposed the war, but Prieto suppressed any opposition. In reaction, a small contingent within the Chilean military revolted and arrested Portales, who was serving as minister of war. The uprising was put down by Prieto, but not before Portales was executed, ending his direct influence over Chilean politics. After suffering an initial defeat in the CHILE-PERU WAR OF 1836, the Chilean army regrouped and annihilated Santa Cruz's military at the Battle of Yungay in January 1839. With Santa Cruz's defeat, the confederation disbanded, and Chile proved itself to be the dominant power along South America's Pacific coast.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY

Chile's victory against the Peru-Bolivia Confederation was the first in a long line of national successes that marked a sustained period of growth and prosperity for the country. President Prieto set a precedent of two-term conservative presidential administrations that lasted until the 1870s. Manuel Bulnes (1841–51), military leader and war hero, won the presidency in 1841 and oversaw a period of economic growth and cultural advancement. Those trends continued throughout the 19th century. Bulnes maintained the conservative preference for order and stability but exhibited similar political ambiguities as other 19th-century Latin American leaders. The new president did moderate the government's tendency to suppress political opposition and opened the nation to some degree of liberal reform. For the next four decades,

Chile remained a nation under a strong, conservative executive who implemented numerous liberal-leaning policies. In particular, Bulnes and his successors practiced liberal-oriented LAISSEZ-FAIRE economic policies and allowed a degree of intellectual openness that rivaled policies of more doctrinaire liberal regimes.

Chile owed much of its economic prosperity in the 19th century to its expanding MINING industry. New discoveries of SILVER deposits in the 1830s rejuvenated the ailing national treasury and attracted foreign investors, who brought new industrial mining techniques. By the 1840s, COPPER deposits had been discovered in many areas of the country, and copper production soon surpassed the mining of silver and other elements. The mining industry also benefited other areas of the Chilean ECONOMY. The Bulnes government was hesitant to devote a significant portion of the national budget to infrastructure development, so several mine owners and other private capitalists took it upon themselves to invest in railroads, irrigation canals, and other infrastructure projects necessary to sustain the growth of mining and other industries. Nitrate deposits in Chile's northern Antofagasta Province also drew the attention of investors, and soon the region became the subject of bitter territorial disputes between Chile and neighboring Bolivia.

Growth in the mining industry spurred growth in other economic sectors. One enterprising copper miner by the name of Matías Cousiño found that imported British coal provided a more reliable energy source for powering his smelters, so he purchased a coal mining operation in the northern region of Chile to fulfill his copper-processing needs. He then built a railroad connecting the two and regularly shipped copper ore to his coal mine for processing. He became a major coal producer and, like many business leaders in 19th-century Chile, also developed a prominent political career. Agricultural production also thrived throughout most of the century (see AGRICULTURE). Government policies lowered tariffs and developed coastal ports to encourage trade. The port of VALPARAISO, in particular, became a principal stopping point in the larger global trade network, allowing that city to grow and thrive.

The 1840s also began an era of cultural advancements in Chile as the Bulnes presidency tolerated and even encouraged more progressive intellectual trends. Bulnes and his minister of education and future president, Manuel Montt, embarked on an aggressive policy of secularizing education. At their request, prominent writer, diplomat, and politician ANDRÉS BELLO wrote legislation that created the UNIVERSITY OF CHILE in 1843. The new university replaced the colonial Royal University of San Felipe and quickly gained a reputation as one of the most renowned institutions of higher learning in the Americas. The creation of the university was the first step in a long line of educational reforms over the next several decades. Collectively, 19th-century education policies reflected the belief of Chilean leaders

that education provided an important tool for engendering a populace with a sense of national identity, political responsibility, and civic consciousness.

Chile's welcoming cultural environment attracted intellectuals from all over the world in the 1840s. Many foreign scholars joined the faculty of the nation's burgeoning university system. Lithuanian scientist Ignacio (Ignacy) Domeyko and French scholar Jean-Gustave Courcelle-Seneuil both taught at the University of Chile. Liberal leaders and academicians from other areas of Latin America often sought refuge in Chile from repressive CAUDILLO regimes in their home countries. Future Argentine presidents BARTOLOMÉ MITRE and DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO both resided in Chile during the 1840s.

The presence of exiled intellectuals fueled the vibrancy of the Chilean cultural milieu and motivated Chilean liberals to continue pressuring the conservative regime. Generally, conservative administrations reacted by repressing the opposing political voice, while maintaining an air of tolerance. A brief liberal movement led by Santiago Arcos and Francisco Bilbao organized the Society for Equality in 1850 to protest President Bulnes's selection of his own successor. Bulnes shut down the society's publications and used force to suppress minor revolts that arose in protest of the election. Despite Bulnes's supposed liberal leanings, he maintained absolute authority and ensured that his choice of successor, Manuel Montt, won the presidency.

During the Montt presidency (1851–61), pressure from the liberal camp accelerated, while the president also faced defections from within his own party. The aristocratic *pelucón* segment of the CONSERVATIVE PARTY became increasingly uneasy, as Montt seemed to favor merit over social class in his choice of advisers and administrative leaders. Infighting among conservatives worsened after the president backed measures to impose greater state control over the church. *Pelucónes* broke away as Montt and his supporters attempted to form a National Party to strengthen his position. Conservatives, led mainly by *pelucónes*, formed an alliance with liberals and attempted to overthrow the Montt administration in 1859. The movement ultimately failed, but the controversy left both parties severely divided, and in the following decade, a political realignment became inevitable.

Throughout the 1860s, political loyalties shifted constantly as congressional leaders vied for power and proposed numerous reforms. By the end of the 1860s, Congress had determined to alter dozens of articles of the Constitution of 1833. By 1871, political jockeying allowed liberals to elect the first nonconservative president since 1831, and Federico Errázuriz Zañartu (1871–76) took office. With a political ally in the president's chair, Congress pushed through the proposed changes to the constitution, and the nation's political landscape changed even more. Throughout the 1870s, Chileans witnessed a flurry of reform, including limiting the president to one term and expanding the electorate. Once in

power, liberal politicians set a precedent of resorting to electoral fraud if necessary to maintain power and keep the Conservative Party subordinate within the evolving political system.

WAR OF THE PACIFIC

Zañartu's successor, fellow liberal Aníbal Pinto Garmendia (1876–81), intended to continue the pace of liberal reform, but his administration was distracted by a foreign conflict that eventually culminated in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–84). After independence, the territory of neighboring Bolivia extended across the Atacama Desert in the Antofagasta region to the Pacific coast, although a precise border had never been determined. Rugged terrain and undeveloped infrastructure in Bolivia prevented the central government from having easy access to its territory, whereas movement between Chile and Antofagasta was much less troublesome. After 1840, Chilean investors became increasingly interested in the nitrate-rich Antofagasta region, and border disputes quickly emerged. In 1866, Bolivian president MARIANO MELGAREJO and Chilean president José Joaquín Pérez (1861–71) had signed a treaty defining the border and creating a poorly defined system of resource sharing, under which Chilean nitrate companies were exempted from high Bolivian taxes. The agreement surrendered a number of long-standing Bolivian claims, and when silver deposits were discovered in the region just a few years later, the ambiguities in the treaty became particularly problematic. In 1878, new Bolivian president Hilarión Daza (1876–79) rejected the treaty and began to tax Chilean companies in the region. The Chilean government responded by invading Bolivian territory, and in spring 1879, war began.

Peru eventually joined forces with Bolivia, but both nations had suffered varying degrees of political and economic crises in the years leading up to the conflict and proved to be no match for the Chilean armed forces. Chile's powerful navy dominated the sea, and despite being outnumbered, the Chilean army was more organized and better equipped to sustain a major war. The Chilean military won a series of major battles and by July 1880 controlled much of the disputed northern region. President Pinto then pushed farther north toward Lima to pressure the Peruvian government into ceding portions of its southern territories. In October 1883, the TREATY OF ANCÓN brought a final end to the conflict and granted Chile control over the northern nitrate regions, as well as the former Peruvian territory of Tarapacá. The war had reaffirmed Chilean military dominance in South America and had given the nation access to even more natural resources.

CHILEAN CIVIL WAR

Chile's victory in the War of the Pacific helped solidify a sense of national pride and identity but did little to abate the internal political strife that continued to fester among

the nation's leaders. Domingo Santa María (1881–86) was elected in the middle of the war and continued liberal control of the political system. He selected as one of his main advisers fellow liberal and future president, José Manuel Balmaceda. The two politicians embarked on a program to move the nation's social and economic systems further toward liberal ideals. They introduced laws that aimed to curb the power of the Catholic Church by setting up a system of civil registry for births, marriages, and deaths. They also laid the groundwork for creating a system of public cemeteries. To push through such aggressive legislation, Santa María frequently had to meddle in local elections to secure the necessary support in Congress. Conservative Chileans protested the anticlerical policies imposed by Santa María, while liberals chafed at the antidemocratic inclinations of the Santa María administration. The outgoing president provoked even more protest from members of Congress when he supported his trusted adviser, Balmaceda, in the 1886 election. Balmaceda's victory in a highly fraudulent electoral process made a confrontation between the executive and legislative branches virtually inevitable.

Balmaceda's presidency was marred from the beginning by constant conflict with Congress. Legislators attempted to rein in the president and limit executive authority, while Balmaceda aimed to inject into the political system the spirit of the original centralist system, established in the Constitution of 1833 (see *CENTRALISM*). Animosity between the two branches escalated in January 1891 when Balmaceda issued an unconstitutional executive decree after Congress failed to approve the year's budget. In response, a coalition of congressional members issued a decree calling for the impeachment of the president. Backed by the Chilean navy, Congress waged war against Balmaceda, who enjoyed the support of the army. The *CHILEAN CIVIL WAR* between the two branches of government lasted for less than nine months but cost more than 6,000 lives. Congressional forces occupied Santiago in September 1891, and the defeated Balmaceda committed suicide rather than surrender.

After the defeat of Balmaceda, Chilean naval officer Jorge Montt was elected president in 1891, and his administration witnessed the beginning of a period of congressional control of politics known as the Parliamentary Republic. That political structure persisted until the 1920s. At the same time, at the end of the 19th century, the Chilean economy remained strong, and growth within key sectors allowed strong working and middle classes to develop into the 20th century.

See also *CHILE* (Vols. I, II, IV); O'HIGGINS, BERNARDO (Vol. II); *SAN MARTÍN*, JOSÉ DE (Vol. II).

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Chilean Civil War (1891) The Chilean Civil War was an armed conflict between CHILE's Congress and the nation's president JOSÉ MANUEL BALMACEDA in 1891. Hostilities erupted originally as a conflict over budgetary and taxation policies, but the insurrection also reflected deep-seated animosities over legislative versus executive power. The war can also be seen as a result of growing acrimony within the nation's evolving party system.

When liberal president Balmaceda took office in 1886, he inherited a political system that was already rife with conflict. Conservatives dominated Chilean politics from 1831 to roughly 1861, during which time opposition politicians constantly pressured the national government to impose liberal policies. Conservative presidents Manuel Bulnes (1841–51) and Manuel Montt (1851–61) both allowed varying degrees of liberal reform, blurring the ideological lines between the two political factions (see *CONSERVATISM*; *LIBERALISM*). The Montt administration, in particular, alienated many of the older-stock conservative supporters by allowing several anticlerical measures to pass. By the end of the 1850s, Chile's conservative faction had fractured into two formal parties. The National Party formed around President Montt, while the *CONSERVATIVE PARTY* opposed the policies of the president and formed a precarious alliance, the Liberal-Conservative Fusion, with some liberal leaders. In the 1860s, the liberal movement split. Those who supported the Liberal-Conservative Fusion formed the *LIBERAL PARTY*, and the hard-core anticonservative faction formed the Radical Party. The Fusion managed to dominate Chilean politics throughout the 1860s and into the 1870s: Liberal and conservative allies passed legislation limiting presidential powers and reducing the executive's term limits to one five-year term.

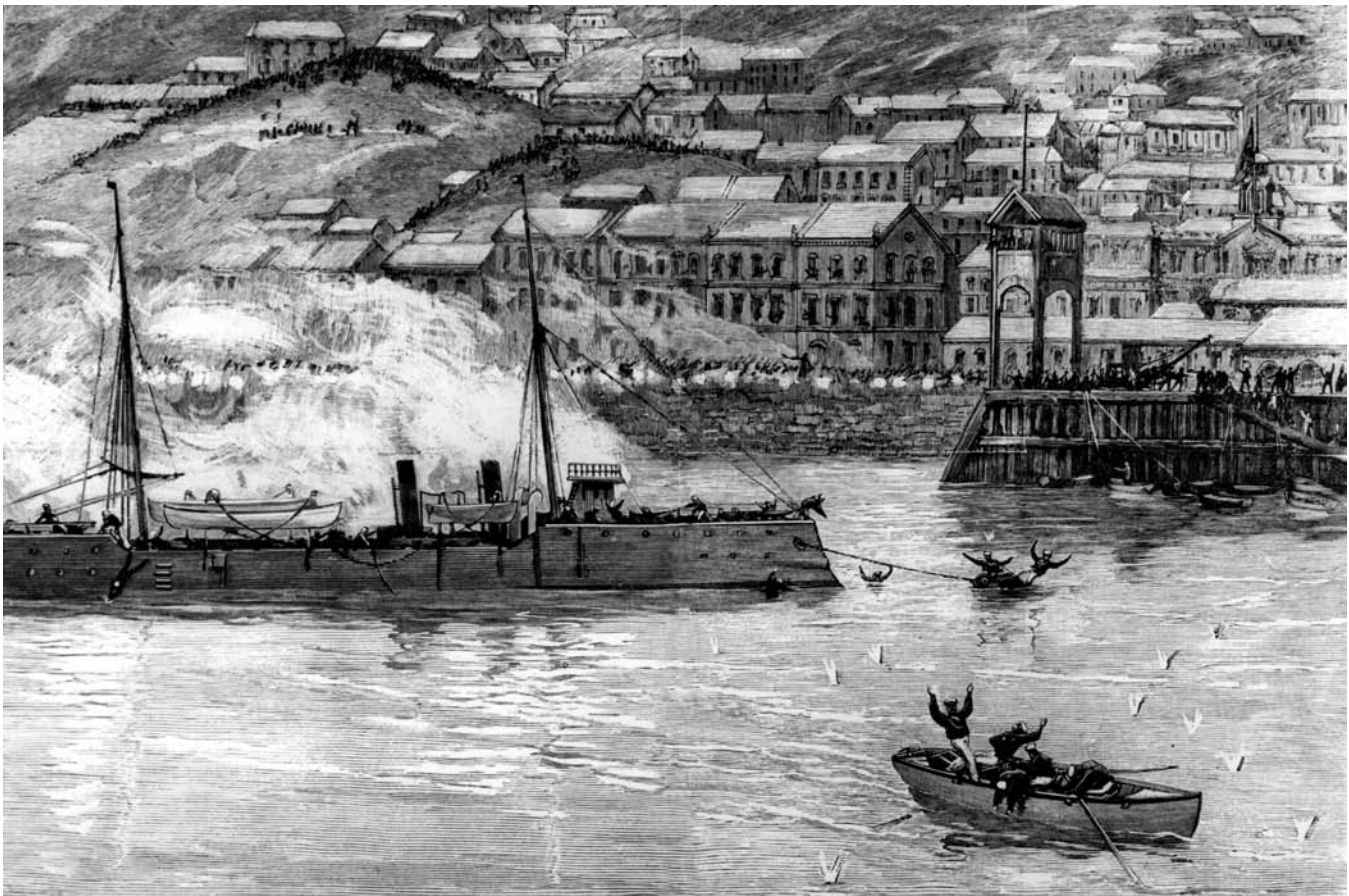
Strange and volatile shifting alliances resulted from the political reshuffling of the 1850s. New electoral laws that expanded the electorate complicated the scenario even further into the 1870s. Liberal president Domingo Santa María (1881–86) vowed to use the new Liberal Party dominance to enact even more aggressive social reform. Santa María and his minister of the interior and future president, Balmaceda, took steps to secularize Chilean society by taking away authority over marriages, births, death, and other social functions from the *CATHOLIC CHURCH*. Santa María took his anticlerical reforms one step further by placing all public cemeteries under state control. To enact such measures, Santa María and Balmaceda often resorted to electoral fraud and other ways of manipulating the political system to ensure passage of the controversial legislation. Conservatives railed over anticlerical measures, while many liberals looked askance at brazen violations of political freedoms. The presidential election of 1886 proved to be one last exercise in electoral manipulation by Santa María. His hand-selected successor and loyal adviser, Balmaceda, won the questionable election and was inaugurated president in September 1886.

Balmaceda claimed that he wanted to reconcile the political disunity, but congressional wariness of abusive presidential authority was already deeply entrenched. The new president announced plans to use the nation's expanding treasury to launch a program of improving public works and the national infrastructure. Concerned congressmen from all political factions saw Balmaceda's spending strategy as a way to bolster presidential authority and take power away from the Congress. The president attempted to sway Congress by forming a Liberal-Conservative coalition within his cabinet, but his efforts had little impact on the distrusting and recalcitrant legislators. The country moved closer to major conflict when the economy hit a slump in 1890 and mining workers throughout the country began to strike. As the masses demonstrated against the government, Congress became even more hostile toward the struggling president.

In the final months of 1890, crisis became inevitable. The government had failed to come to an agreement with Balmaceda on a budget bill for 1891. Fearing the president would use the lack of an approved budget as a pretense for exercising an executive mandate, leading members of Congress had secretly drafted legislation calling for Balmaceda's impeachment. In January 1891, the president gave them the justification they were looking for when he unilaterally declared a budget policy

for the year. In response, the legislators cited their "Act of Deposition" and called on naval captain and future president JORGE MONTT to support Congress in deposing the president. Navy ships escorted select members of Congress to Iquique, where they set up a new "congressional" government and a headquarters for the anti-Balmaceda forces.

Backed by the navy, the congressional mutiny enjoyed a considerable degree of liberal backing, so the liberal Balmaceda looked for support in yet another awkward alliance with conservatives. Initially, the army also claimed loyalty to the president and for a brief but bloody number of months the two branches of the armed forces fought each other on behalf of the battling politicians. From the beginning, it was evident that the congressional forces' dominance of the waterways gave them a distinct advantage over Balmaceda. By August, congressional leaders had put together a sizable land force, and the congressional army began its march toward SANTIAGO DE CHILE. Legislative and presidential forces engaged in two particularly bloody battles at Concón and La Placilla as the congressional army advanced toward the capital. By the end of the month, Balmaceda had taken refuge inside the Argentine embassy as the congressional army marched triumphantly into Santiago. Balmaceda spent three weeks in hiding in the Argentine embassy.



Battle scene from Valparaiso during the Chilean Civil War, 1891 (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

On September 19, the day after his presidential term formally ended, the defeated president took his own life with a bullet to the head.

Balmaceda's suicide marked the end of the Chilean Civil War. The conflict had cost more than 6,000 lives and equally devastating destruction of property. The congressional victory simultaneously marked the beginning of a period when the legislative body dominated Chilean politics. Known as the Parliamentary Republic, the era of congressional control lasted until the 1920s.

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Chile-Peru War of 1836 (War of the Confederation) (1836–1839) During the Chile-Peru War of 1836, CHILE declared war and invaded its northern neighbor to break up the newly formed PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION. The three-year conflict ended with the disintegration of the confederation and the rise of Chile as the dominant Andean power in South American affairs in the 19th century.

Antagonism over the confederation emerged almost immediately after its inception in 1836. Bolivian dictator ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ sent an invading army into PERU ostensibly to help quell a civil war. His forces occupied the nation, and Santa Cruz declared the creation of the confederation. Chilean and Argentine leaders perceived the unification of BOLIVIA and Peru as a threat to their own stability and power in the region. Chilean leaders feared that Pacific coast TRADE from the port city of VALPARAISO would now have to compete with commerce from the more powerful confederation. Indeed, as the confederation was forming, local Peruvian leaders antagonized the government of Chilean president Joaquín Prieto (1831–41) by backing out of trade agreements that had been signed the year before. Tensions flared, but diplomatic efforts maintained a delicate peace until Santa Cruz supported an expedition led by deposed Chilean leader Ramón Freire (1823–26), who was attempting to overthrow the Prieto government. Prieto and his cabinet minister DIEGO PORTALES claimed that the Peru-Bolivia Confederation under Santa Cruz upset the balance of power in the region and threatened Chilean sovereignty.

Chilean forces launched an attack against the confederation navy, and the Prieto administration declared war in December 1836. Argentine leader JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS also declared war against Santa Cruz, and in 1837, forces from Argentina and Chile attacked Peruvian territory. Santa Cruz easily repelled the Argentine forces, and initially, it seemed he would easily defeat the Chilean forces as well. Going to war meant the Chilean government had to impose an unpopular conscription policy to raise an adequate army, and many elite failed to see the

benefit in taking such a hard line against Santa Cruz. The conservative CONSTITUTION OF 1833, however, allowed the president to declare a state of emergency and claim supreme powers on occasions such as this. Opposition to the war mounted within Chile, and several antigovernment conspiracies began to form. The Prieto government, backed by Portales, dealt with suspected conspiracies by executing dissidents, further provoking antigovernment sentiment. In summer 1837, one conspiracy, which was almost discovered by the government, was carried out. As Portales arrived in Quillota to inspect Colonel José Antonio Vidaurre's regiment, Vidaurre led a mutiny and arrested the politician. Portales was killed before the mutiny could be suppressed. Vidaurre was executed and his head displayed at Quillota as a deterrent to other would-be conspirators.

Despite his reputation for oppression and extralegal tactics, the death of Portales served as an ironic turning point in Chile's war with the confederation. Portales became a martyr and hero for the nation, and a clear sense of Chilean identity began to emerge. A large Chilean expedition departed for southern Peru in September 1837 under Manuel Blanco Encalada, only to be defeated at Arequipa. Blanco Encalada was forced to sign the Treaty of Paucarpata in November 1837, which recognized the sovereignty of the Peru-Bolivia Confederation. The Chilean government rejected the treaty outright, and military leaders began preparing a new expedition.

The new plan of attack took shape under military general and future president Manuel Bulnes (1841–51). As the 5,000-man expedition departed for Peru in summer 1838, internal dissension within the confederation indicated that the fragile nation itself was beginning to unravel. General Luis Orbegoso, president of North Peru, had declared independence. As Santa Cruz saw his once-powerful confederation fall apart from within, Bulnes and his Chilean army occupied LIMA. Fighting continued for several months, but by January 1839, Bulnes had effectively destroyed the confederation with his victory in the Battle of Yungay. Santa Cruz was forced to flee to ECUADOR, and the confederation disbanded.

Aside from dismantling the Peru-Bolivia Confederation, the Chile-Peru War of 1836 left an important legacy in Chile itself. The Chilean military had proven itself against a formidable opponent, and the nation gained a reputation as one of the most powerful and prominent nations in South America in the 19th century. The war also assured that the Chilean port of Valparaiso would dominate much of the commerce along the Pacific coast. For his part, Bulnes was celebrated as a national hero and was elected to two terms as president in the 1840s.

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Christophe, Henri (Henry Christopher, King Henri [Henry] I) (b. 1767–d. 1820) *president and king of Haiti* Henri Christophe was born into SLAVERY in the British Caribbean. He ran away to sea at 23 years of age by stowing away on a French brig. It is believed that Christophe was the drummer boy for the Chassures-Volontaires de St-Domingue, the French troops who assisted in the American Revolution during the siege of Savannah in 1779. Around 1799, Christophe was sold to a French naval officer as a handyman, taken to Saint Domingue (formerly SANTO DOMINGO), and sold to the owner of the Crown Hotel restaurant, where he worked as a waiter. He saved his wages, bought his freedom, and became a career officer in the Haitian army under Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803) in the early days of the 1791 revolution.

The Haitian Revolution was a long, hard-fought struggle for abolition and, ultimately, complete independence from France. Toussaint's movement enjoyed a number of early successes, but in 1802, French leaders, fearing the eventual autonomy of Saint Domingue and desiring to reimpose slavery there, dispatched nearly 20,000 fresh reinforcements under General Charles-Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc, Napoléon Bonaparte's brother-in-law, to bring the rebellion under control. It quickly became clear to Christophe and Toussaint that the French army's superiority in manpower, weapons, and other resources put them at a distinct disadvantage. Christophe and Toussaint began conducting peace talks with French leaders, and both of the Haitian rebels agreed to switch their allegiance to the French forces. The French did not honor the peace accord, however, and immediately imprisoned Toussaint. Christophe then resumed the struggle against the French, convinced that armed insurrection was the only way to bring the desired changes to Saint Domingue. When the French were expelled and JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES (1804–06) assumed power, Christophe was promoted to general-in-chief in the north. After Dessalines's assassination, a temporary political compromise between Christophe and ALEXANDRE PÉTION (1806–18) ended with the election of Christophe as president under a constitution drawn up by Pétion. This constitution centered power in the Senate (where Pétion was in control) and gave no power to Christophe. Refusing to be a simple figurehead, Christophe organized forces and marched on the south, which resulted in a standoff with Pétion. Christophe retreated to the north of the Artibonite River and declared the northern territory the State of HAITI, with himself as president, in February 1807. One month later, Pétion was elected president of the south, and HAITI was divided into two territories for almost two decades.

Christophe crowned himself King Henri I of the Kingdom of Haiti on March 26, 1811. Attempting to create his own European monarchy, he created an entire cast of nobility for his royal court, assuming the titles of earls, counts, and barons. He also brought African war-

riors from Dahomey and formed them into an elite corps of bodyguards known as the Royal Dahomets. These warriors loyally defended him. The nobility followed the rules of dress and behavior laid out in the king's *Almanack Royal d'Haiti*, with varying colors delineating rank, for example.

Christophe had monumental ARCHITECTURE designed and built. Because France would not recognize Haiti's independence, he remained obsessed with the possibility of the return of the French or invasion by another imperial power. He feared that Haiti was vulnerable to conquest by a large part of the world and had several structures built in the interest of security. The Versailles-like royal palace Sans Souci and, behind it, the massive fortress Citadel Laferrière were constructed to help prevent invasion. After Christophe's fall, the palace was raided, and an earthquake in 1842 destroyed it. The Citadel Laferrière was begun in 1805 when Christophe was general-in-chief of the north under Dessalines and was designed to function as an impenetrable fortress. The structure cost more than 20,000 workers their lives and was equipped to hold the king and 5,000 soldiers for one year. It is situated on the mountain Bonnet-à-l'Évêque at 3,000 feet (914 m) above sea level and covers an area of 107,639 square feet (10,000 m²). The construction of the citadel was completed shortly before Christophe's death in 1820.

Life was less cruel for the general populace under Christophe's leadership. Forced LABOR laws were relaxed, and while laborers remained bound to their plantations, work hours were more flexible, and wages were increased to one-fourth of the harvest. However, many people disliked the autocratic "feudalism" of their monarch. Christophe did strive to improve the EDUCATION of children, but only those of the elite.

Christophe suffered a stroke, which left him partially paralyzed. After falling ill, he lost control of his army. Fearing that he would be taken captive by rebels, he committed suicide by shooting himself on October 8, 1820. He was immediately entombed in the floor of the citadel with quicklime, as per his instructions. In this way, he avoided mutilation of his body by his political rivals. The north and south of Haiti were reunited following Christophe's death.

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Cibao Cibao is the region made up of the northern provinces of the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC on the island of Hispaniola. Encompassing just under 150 miles (241 km)

of the northern coast, the Cibao includes the whole of seven provinces and parts of several others. The Cibao consists mainly of fertile valley lands and is bordered by the mountainous Cordillera Central and the Cordillera Septentrional. While it is a generally rural area, many parts are densely populated. The climate varies, and the region produces agricultural products such as TOBACCO, COFFEE, WHEAT, MAIZE, and rice (see AGRICULTURE).

The Cibao was the region of the island first settled by the Spanish in the late 15th century and has been home to many of the nation's historic leaders. General GREGORIO LUPERÓN (1879–80), who led Dominican forces against the Spanish in the WAR OF RESTORATION, started his movement in his native Puerto Plata in the heart of the Cibao. Luperón helped coalesce opposition to the CAUDILLO BUENAVENTURA BÁEZ (1849–53, 1856–58, 1865–66, 1868–73, 1876–78) into the Blue Party and recruited members from the residents of the Cibao. The region became an important base of support for the Blue Party in the late decades of the 19th century.

ULISES HEUREAUX (1882–84, 1887–99), Luperón's one-time ally and eventual dictator of the Dominican Republic, was also a native of the Cibao. Economic policies that favored SUGAR cultivation in the southern regions of the island fueled conflict between the government and residents of the Cibao. Nevertheless, as sugar plantations became increasingly dependent on U.S. investments in the late decades of the 19th century, Cibao peasants maintained a sense of economic autonomy, and a local tobacco industry thrived.

See also HISPANIOLA (Vols. I, II).

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científicos *Científicos* is the name used to describe the group of Mexican political and intellectual leaders who espoused the philosophy of POSITIVISM in the late 19th century. They used the scientific emphasis of positivism as the basis for government policies to bring about order and progress during the PORFIRIATO (1876–1911).

The earliest *científico*, GABINO BARREDA, is credited with introducing the positivist philosophy to MEXICO. Positivism privileged scientific and empirical knowledge and sought to use scientific theory to improve society. Borrowing from the ideas of French philosopher Auguste Comte, Mexican intellectuals initially applied these liberal ideas to EDUCATION and social policies during the era of LA REFORMA. In particular, early positivism in Mexico stressed the need to strengthen secular government institutions and curb the power of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Many early positivist policies championed education as the most effective way of bringing order and progress.

The later generation of intellectuals, many of whom were educated at the National Preparatory School founded by Barreda, changed the emphasis and application of positivist thought in Mexico. Many Comtean disciples, educated in science and MEDICINE, turned their attention to what they perceived as the backwardness and social disparity that plagued the nation. They were troubled by the large numbers of illiterate peasants in the countryside and workers living in poverty in urban areas who seemed to defy their attempts to bring progress and modernization to Mexico. By the 1890s, a modified version of positivism became the official ideology of the Porfiriato, and an important group of intellectuals, including JUSTO SIERRA, José Yves Limantour, Francisco Bulnes, and Manuel Romero Rubio, promoted its tenets.

These *científicos* were early technocrats who served as advisers to President PORFIRIO DÍAZ on such issues as economic development and social policies. Many of their policies incorporated aspects of Herbert Spencer's theories of social evolution. They believed that Mexico needed to progress from a simple agricultural society to a more sophisticated, industrial society and that the nation's traditionally minded Amerindian population was hindering the nation's social evolution (see AGRICULTURE; INDUSTRIALIZATION). These attitudes provided the foundation for two important characteristics of government policies. First, the Díaz administration became increasingly dictatorial over the three-plus decades of the Porfiriato. Díaz and his advisers argued that because such a large portion of the population was holding back the rest, a "brief" period of highly centralized administrative power was necessary to continue the nation's social evolution. Second, Porfirian policies toward the indigenous became increasingly paternalistic, as government leaders believed NATIVE AMERICANS were incapable of the type of advanced social awareness necessary for "progress." Many policies aimed to counteract the Indians' perceived backwardness rather than fix the structural inequalities that kept many of them in a state of poverty and underdevelopment.

While Díaz's *científico* advisers can be credited with improving many aspects of Mexico's economic and industrial landscape through their positivist policies, overall, their application of scientific reasoning failed to address many underlying social disparities that could not be explained as a part of social evolution. The outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 brought an end to the Porfiriato and generally served to delegitimize many of the positivist theories of the *científico* elite.

See also MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV).

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Cinco de Mayo Cinco de Mayo, or May 5, is a Mexican holiday celebrated primarily in PUEBLA, as well among Mexican communities in the United States and elsewhere. The Cinco de Mayo holiday commemorates a major victory by the Mexican army over the French at the Battle of Puebla on May 5, 1862, at the beginning of the FRENCH INTERVENTION. While that victory is still celebrated in Puebla, in the United States, the day has taken on greater meaning as a celebration of Mexican culture and heritage.

The French intervention was the result of Napoléon III's aspirations to build a French empire in the Americas. Citing large amounts of outstanding debt owed by the Mexican government, he sent more than 6,000 French troops to blockade the port city of Veracruz in January 1862. Over the next several months, the French army subdued major cities along the coast and began marching inland toward the capital. Between MEXICO CITY and the coast stood Puebla, a city with a reputation for conservative political leanings and where the CATHOLIC CHURCH had considerable influence. French leaders expected little resistance, unaware that MEXICO's president, BENITO JUÁREZ, had sent General Ignacio Zaragoza (b. 1829–d. 1862) to defend the city.

On the morning of May 5, Zaragoza's troops confronted the invading French force at the Forts of Loreto and Guadalupe. Zaragoza ordered a cavalry brigade to flank the enemy formation, while French forces foolishly attacked head on through swampy, muddy terrain. Zaragoza's troops, many of them poorly armed indig-

enous peasants, fought bravely and repelled the main onslaught. The cavalry, led by future president PORFIRIO DÍAZ, overpowered the French cavalry, clinching victory for the Mexicans. When the battle was over, nearly 500 French troops were dead, and the French army was forced to retreat to Veracruz in order to regroup.

Although Cinco de Mayo celebrates victory in just one battle, Zaragoza's stand that day was vital in the larger context of resisting the French invasion. It was more than a year before the French army could continue its march inward, and Napoléon had to send 30,000 more troops to augment his forces. Symbolically, the victory was even more significant. Word of Zaragoza's win against the larger, more formidable French army spread quickly throughout the country and the entire Latin American region. In Mexico, it motivated the resistance to the French and brought a strong sense of national pride.

In the 1930s, the Forts of Guadalupe and Loreto were converted into historical sites and war museums. Every year, the city of Puebla hosts a celebration commemorating Zaragoza's victory, and the date is also recognized in the rest of the country. In recent decades, Mexican immigrants in the United States have popularized the holiday north of the border.

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A Cinco de Mayo celebration in Mexico City, circa 1884 (Library of Congress)

Cisplatine Province See BANDA ORIENTAL.

Cisplatine War (Argentine–Brazil War) (1825–1828)

The Cisplatine War was fought between ARGENTINA (known at the time as the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata) and BRAZIL from 1825 to 1828 over the BANDA ORIENTAL, which had been renamed the Cisplatine Province by the Brazilians. The war brought financial and political instability to both newly independent nations. It also resulted in the Banda Oriental becoming the independent republic of URUGUAY.

Today the Cisplatine Province makes up the southern portion of Uruguay on the eastern shore of the mouth of the Río de la Plata. Known by Spanish Americans as the Banda Oriental (eastern bank), the region was part of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata when Brazilian forces occupied it in 1821. Argentines protested the potential loss of national territory, and in 1825, JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA led an independent MILITARY force to retake the province. Encouraged by the government of the United Provinces, the “Easterners” revolted against the Brazilian occupation. The Brazilian government reacted by declaring war on its neighbor. By 1826, BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA had been chosen as president of the United Provinces and raised a formal army to support the revolt in the Banda Oriental.

Lavalleja and the Argentine army attacked Montevideo but failed to take the city. In retaliation, Brazilian emperor PEDRO I ordered his navy to blockade BUENOS AIRES, which substantially disrupted TRADE revenues throughout 1827. As a result of the financial instability created by the war, the Rivadavia government defaulted on British loans. Rivadavia faced mounting opposition because of the war and other internal conflicts. Growing dissension within the United Provinces eventually forced the president to step down in July 1827.

Despite the internal turmoil in the United Provinces, the war quickly reached a stalemate. Brazilian ground forces failed to advance against the Easterner rebellion. Pedro I also faced numerous revolts within his nation as he struggled to wage war on neighboring Argentina. The new Argentine leader, Manuel Dorrego, and the Brazilian emperor eventually invited arbitration by British and French representatives. In 1828, the belligerents agreed to a peace proposal that guaranteed the independence of the República Oriental del Uruguay (Eastern Republic of Uruguay). Free trade rights into the Río de la Plata region were also secured.

The war and its aftermath had important consequences for both Argentina and Brazil in the early years after their independence. The cost of waging war mounted in both countries during a time when neither government could afford to deplete national coffers. The economic distress brought by the Cisplatine War also exacerbated political turmoil within each country. The Brazilian people grew increasingly disillusioned with

Pedro I, and the emperor was forced to step down in 1831. Political infighting in the United Provinces also increased as UNITARIOS continued to confront FEDERALES. That instability eventually led to the dissolution of the United Provinces and brought about the rise of the CAU-DILLO and dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS in 1829.

See also UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II).

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civil code See FAMILY.

Civilista Party (Partido Civil) The Civilista Party was a probusiness political party in PERU founded by MANUEL PARDO in 1872. The party aimed to counter the historical domination of the MILITARY over Peruvian politics, to clean up the nation’s electoral process, and to rejuvenate economic and TRADE policies.

The predecessor to the Civilista Party was the Sociedad Independencia Electoral (Electoral Independence Society) formed after the first election following the promulgation of the Constitution of 1860. Party members, known as *civilistas*, included prominent businessmen, merchants, and liberal intellectuals. Their opponents were supporters of former finance minister and future president NICOLÁS DE PIÉROLA, who were known as *piérolistas*. Piérola was responsible for the 1869 contract that gave French investors a monopoly over the nation’s guano industry, contributing to a growing economic crisis (see GUANO AGE). *Piérolistas’* prescription for the nation contrasted sharply with that of the *civilistas*, and the two groups clashed over their competing political and economic programs.

The Civilista Party backed Peru’s first civilian president, Pardo, in 1872. Pardo was a railroad magnate who, by the 1870s, felt that the authoritarian nature of previous regimes had weakened Peru and compromised the nation’s economic resources. Pardo ruled for four years and during that time attempted to stabilize the nation’s ECONOMY, which was suffering from a downturn in the guano industry. Pardo and the *civilistas* aimed to decentralize the national government and passed measures to give greater authority to the provinces. They also paid close attention to the plight of the wider populace, calling for the first national census in 1876, which revealed a high level of both poverty and illiteracy among the mestizo and Amerindian populations. Although Pardo responded by passing measures to mandate compulsory primary EDUCATION, his four-year term in office yielded few measurable results.

The Civilista Party was instrumental in revitalizing the nation after its humiliating and devastating defeat in

the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–84) with CHILE. Peru had entered the war in alliance with neighboring BOLIVIA to defend against Chilean encroachments in the Atacama Desert in western Bolivia and southern Peru. After losing the war and being forced to cede part of its southern territory to Chile, Peru descended into chaos. Eventually, military leader ANDRÉS AVELINO CÁCERES took leadership of the country and ruled intermittently between 1886 and 1895. In the latter year, he was overthrown mainly through the efforts of the Civilista Party, which was now allied with Piérola.

Piérola and the *civilistas* devoted the final years of the 19th century to rebuilding the nation's economic and fiscal institutions. The nation's currency was reformed, and national authority over most of the nation's economic processes was streamlined. The party's favoritism toward the business oligarchy was evident in policies that remained in place well into the 20th century.

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Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was a U.S.-British agreement that prohibited the colonization, fortification, or exercise of exclusive influence in CENTRAL AMERICA and provided for joint Anglo-American protection of any interoceanic canal built on the isthmus (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). Following the end of the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR in 1848, U.S. interest awakened to the potential importance of Central America as a transit route between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The first U.S. emissaries to the region, ELIJAH HISE and EPHRAIM GEORGE SQUIER, found a strong British presence there, thanks largely to the efforts of London's emissary to the region, Frederick Chatfield. The British also had a strong presence on NICARAGUA'S MOSQUITO COAST, where the San Juan River had for long been considered the possible Atlantic Ocean terminus of a canal through Nicaragua.

In September 1849, U.S. secretary of state John C. Clayton and British diplomat Henry Bulwer commenced negotiations that resulted on April 19, 1850, in the treaty bearing their names. At the time, each nation interpreted the treaty as preventing the other's expansion into the region, but some historians have argued that other factors during the 1850s were more important. As the United States inched toward civil war in the 1850s, interest in isthmian affairs waned (see U.S. CIVIL WAR AND CENTRAL AMERICA). The same was true in Britain, where the Crimean War and the protection of British

interests in the Mediterranean Sea were, for the moment, more important than distant Central America. The treaty remained in effect until 1901, when it was abrogated by the second Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

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Richard Van Alstyne. "British Diplomacy and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1850–1860." *Journal of Modern History* 11 (June 1939): 149–183.

clothing Clothing has always had both practical and symbolic uses. People wear clothing for warmth and protection but also select the types of clothing they wear—or fashion—to make statements about identity and status. Furthermore, the manufacture, distribution, and sale of clothing has historically been an important part of local, national, and global economic networks. Often, trends in fashion and clothing have reflected important trends in Latin American history.

Latin American society was stratified and segregated by race and identity during the colonial period. "Pure-blooded" white Europeans were held in the highest esteem, while NATIVE AMERICANS and African slaves were considered inferior (see SLAVERY). Mestizos and other people of mixed race theoretically fell somewhere in between. Generally, the colonial social ideal relied on purity of birth to define status; nevertheless, purity of birth could be difficult to prove and was not immediately evident through physical appearance alone. Colonial officials passed various sumptuary laws in an effort to designate social class according to clothing and other personal adornments. Leaders hoped that by regulating dress they could control the physical distinction between the elite and the commoners. While some slaves, Amerindians, and poor mestizos challenged those laws by adorning themselves in silk and jewelry, generally, a person's class could be distinguished by their clothing.

The social stratification that characterized the colonial period persisted after independence, as did the penchant for using clothing and fashion to define identity and status. During and immediately after the wars for independence, many Latin Americans found themselves struggling financially, as violence and war had damaged local and national economies. Despite their financial woes, however, many people still exuded opulence in the clothing they wore. Foreign travelers in the 19th century often commented that people in all sectors of Latin American society took great care to dress themselves well. Fashion trends were largely defined by the European cultural centers of London and Paris and were

most evident in urban areas. Mexicans, Argentines, and Brazilians, who tended to have had more regular contact with Europe, adopted European clothing trends more wholeheartedly, though they also exhibited their own distinctiveness. Argentine women, for example, adopted a unique headdress in the 1820s that many observers began associating with the new nation's identity. What started as a small comb, or *peineta*, morphed into an enormous hair ornament known as the *peinetón*, and for more than a decade, the women of BUENOS AIRES proudly sported the large accessory.

In MEXICO, the *china poblana* dress generally associated with rural peasants became part of the national costume in the 19th century. The brightly colored embroidery on flowing white cotton dresses made the style distinctive. Mexican women often added a *rebozo*, or woven shawl, that could be worn around the shoulders and head for warmth or protection from the Sun. The *rebozo* was also used to carry babies or goods.

Latin American political and economic leaders promoted ethnic imagery in an attempt to portray a quaint national culture. The Argentine national exhibitions at world fairs in the late years of the 19th century tended to feature picturesque indigenous costumes and other imagery. But, in reality, "peasant clothing" did not imply such privileged status. By the end of the 19th century, elites in Latin America had adopted a discriminatory attitude toward clothing styles that were associated with the urban and rural poor. During the era of LIBERAL OLIGARCHIES, governments attempted to attract foreign investors as a way to fund economic expansion. Politicians and economic leaders tried to make their national images conform to European and U.S. notions of modernity to cater to the preferences of foreign businessmen. In an ironic reversal of colonial sumptuary laws, the Mexican administration of PORFIRIO DÍAZ passed laws prohibiting indigenous and rural peasants from entering certain urban areas without shoes or European-style trousers.

Clothing also became an important part of several Latin American economies in the late 19th century (see ECONOMY). The economic policies of liberal oligarchies that encouraged basic manufacturing and textile factories were some of the first to emerge in places such as Mexico and ARGENTINA. Furthermore, Argentine wool supplied textile industries in several European economies.

See also CLOTHING (Vol. I).

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Clube Militar See CONSTANT, BENJAMIN.

Cobija Located in the Bay of Cobija in present-day CHILE, the port of Cobija was part of BOLIVIA in the early 19th century. Immediately following independence, Bolivian president ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE had established a national port in the bay and sought to develop it as a major point of access to the sea.

From the beginning, Cobija's location in the Atacama Desert limited its usefulness as a major transit point for Bolivian TRADE. The port of Arica farther to the north was closer to major Bolivian cities and did not require a dangerous trek through the desert. Bolivian leaders, however, lost Arica to PERU in the 1820s, leaving Cobija as the only national sea port.

After 1840, investors began developing the guano industry in the Atacama Desert. During this period, known as the GUANO AGE, Chile challenged Bolivia's claim to the Atacama Desert and to the port of Cobija. The two nations teetered on the brink of war for more than two decades until Bolivian dictator and CAUDILLO MARIANO MELGAREJO signed a treaty in 1866 favoring Chilean claims. The agreement moved the Bolivian boundary claim north from the 27th parallel to the 24th parallel and stipulated that the territory between the 23rd and 25th parallels would be a shared zone. Bolivians reeled at the treaty, and tensions flared even more when SILVER deposits were discovered in the shared zone in 1871.

Subsequent Bolivian administrations made desperate attempts to revise the treaty, but stubborn Chilean leaders refused to yield important provisions to their neighbor. Eventually, war broke out over Pacific coast resources and boundaries. The WAR OF THE PACIFIC involved Chile, Bolivia, and neighboring Peru and lasted until 1884. The war devastated Bolivia and ended with the defeated nation ceding the entire Atacama region to Chile. The war made Bolivia a landlocked country but did give it controlled import and export rights through Chile.

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coca Coca is a plant native to the Andean regions of South America. For centuries, the leaves of the coca plant have been used as a stimulant and as a cure for various gastrointestinal maladies by South American indigenous peoples. Scientists discovered ways to alter the plant's chemical makeup in the 19th century to produce the drug cocaine. Since then, coca production has been the source of a great deal of conflict in Latin America.

Coca consumption was first observed by Spanish conquistadores and explorers, who noted that the Andean peoples who regularly chewed coca leaves had more endurance and were better able to tolerate the effects of working at high altitudes. During the colonial period, Spanish officials quickly realized the value of the potent leaves and imposed a tax on local coca exchanges. The

Spanish also made coca available to Andean mine workers as a way to increase productivity, and in some areas the plant served as currency.

It was not until the 19th century that coca use outside of Latin America became common. The leaves in their natural form were difficult to transport, and the flavor and potency of the coca deteriorated during the journey across the Atlantic Ocean. But, by the 1850s, European scientists had begun experimenting with the coca plant in pursuit of medical advances. In 1855, Friedrich Gaedcke isolated the ingredient that gives the plant its potency. The new chemical, erythroxyline, was later purified by Albert Niemann, who named the resulting substance *cocaine*.

Scientists and entrepreneurs quickly began looking for ways to market the new substance. In the 1860s, Vin Mariani, a French Bordeaux wine containing cocaine extract, became available, and coca tonics began appearing in pharmacies throughout Europe and the United States. In 1886, in response to temperance legislation in the United States, pharmacist John Pemberton formulated Coca-Cola as an alcohol-free alternative to French coca wine. By the 1880s, medicinal cocaine was in widespread use throughout the world; it came as pills, tonics, powders, and even cigarettes. Cocaine products were marketed as pain relievers, stimulants, and antidepressants, while makers also claimed they could cure ills including constipation, nausea, asthma, and general fatigue. Most of the “cure-all” patent MEDICINES that were common in the late 19th century contained unspecified amounts of cocaine.

Much of the coca used in the production of patent medicines and other cocaine-based products came from PERU and other Andean regions of South America during the 19th century. At the same time, traditional consumption of coca leaves continued in these areas. By the turn of the century, the recreational use of nonmedicinal cocaine had become prevalent in the United States, and experts began to consider its impact. They examined the addictive properties of cocaine, and government leaders began to question the widespread use of the substance. The Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 gave the U.S. government regulatory powers over cocaine and other medications. The Harrison Narcotics Act of 1914 restricted the use and distribution of cocaine-based products. After 1914, coca and its chemical derivative, cocaine, became part of drug-based conflict that has featured in U.S.-Latin American relations.

See also COCA (Vols. I, II); DRUGS (Vol. IV).

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Code Rural (Rural Code) The Code Rural was an attempt by Haitian president JEAN-PIERRE BOYER to

generate income through agricultural production as a means to help repay the indemnity owed to France in recognition of HAITI as an independent republic. The code, signed at the National Palace in Port-au-Prince on May 6, 1826, reduced most Haitians to slave status (see SLAVERY). The code was a severe reinstatement of the basic plan of *FERMAGE*, a serflike system of forced LABOR previously used by Toussaint Louverture (1801–03), JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES (1804–06), and HENRI CHRISTOPHE (1807–20). Under the system of *fermage*, workers were bound to their land, and production quotas were placed on them. Laborers had minimal autonomy under the system and suffered strict penalties for not complying with its provisions. The idea was to force small-scale cultivators into large-scale production of export crops (see AGRICULTURE). Under Boyer's Code Rural, towns and cities were exempted from the system, and the Haitian army was to oversee the plan. The Code Rural failed for several reasons. The first was that land plots were not big enough to accommodate large-scale agricultural production, such as required for sugarcane and/or COTTON (see SUGAR). Under Boyer's predecessor, ALEXANDRE PÉTION, a large portion of land had been broken into small plots, making it more suitable for small-scale, subsistence farming. Second, when Haiti signed the treaty with the French, recognizing its independence, the fear of a return to colonial rule ended. As a result, there was little motivation for people to cooperate in the spirit of “national need.” Third, the army had been deteriorating since the revolution and was not strong enough to enforce the code.

Boyer's Code Rural contained 202 articles aimed at identifying those who are “bound” to the soil and cannot, as he put it, “otherwise justify their means of existence.” The Code Rural had a very negative effect on Haiti. In essence, it created two Haitis: one rural and black, consisting of subsistence farmers, governed by a black army; the other made up of the mulatto urban elite governed by the official government. The end result of the Code Rural was that it further solidified existing class and race divisions.

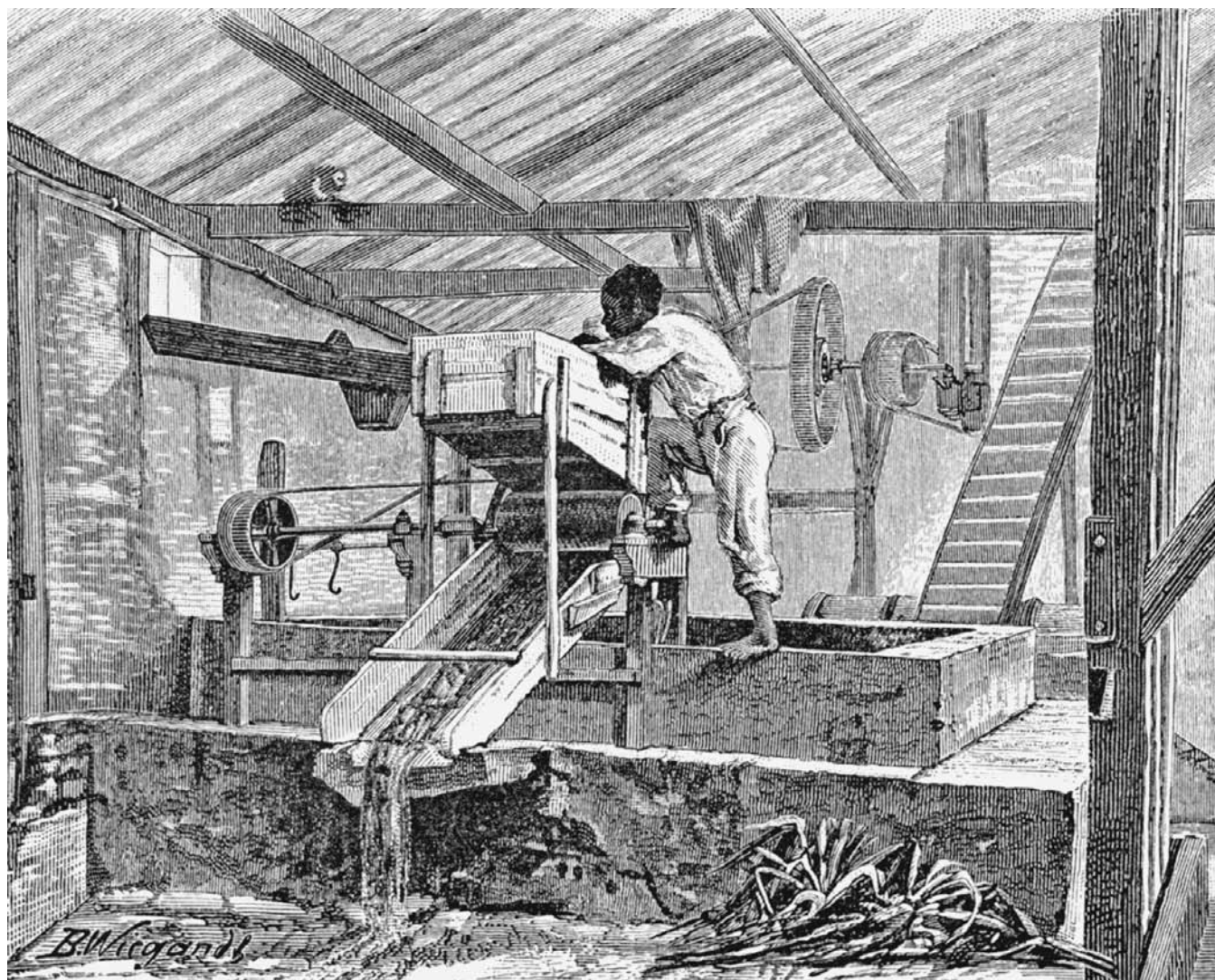
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coffee Coffee is one of the chief agricultural products in many Latin American countries (see AGRICULTURE). The seeds or beans of the coffee plant are cultivated, roasted, and ground to be used primarily in making coffee beverages. The coffee plant grows well in the warm, temperate climates of the region.

Europeans introduced the coffee plant to the Caribbean during the colonial era. The French island



Coffee became one of Brazil's main agricultural products in the last half of the 19th century. This sketch from circa 1879 shows the pulping machine on a Brazilian coffee plantation. (From *Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast: Illustrated from Sketches by J. Wells Champney and Others*, by Herbert H. Smith. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879, p. 520)

of Martinique, where the crop flourished, became home to numerous coffee plantations in the 18th century. Coffee plants were introduced in the Portuguese colony of BRAZIL and in northern South America a short time later. The plant had the biggest impact in Brazil, where a strong plantation ECONOMY based on slave LABOR emerged. Coffee plantations, or FAZENDAS, sprang up around RIO DE JANEIRO, and concurrently, the demand for slave labor increased.

By the middle of the 19th century, a newly independent Brazil had become the largest coffee producer in the world. From 1840 until 1930, coffee production dominated the country's economy, accounting for more than 60 percent of total exports. Growth in worldwide demand for coffee created an economic boom in Brazil, and the crop became intricately tied to the nation's development. Coffee income helped to fund an expansion in infrastructure. New rail lines allowed coffee to be grown

farther inland in the last half of the 19th century. Coffee also contributed to vast changes in Brazil's demographics. The government had been under enormous international pressure to abolish SLAVERY in the early decades of the 19th century. The growth of the coffee industry created a labor demand, and government leaders sought to attract immigrants to fill the ranks of the free labor market. By the end of the century, hundreds of thousands of immigrants had come to Brazil from Spain, Italy, and other countries in southern Europe. Slavery was eventually abolished in 1888.

Coffee played a vital role in the economies of other Latin American countries as well. By the end of the 19th century, it was the leading export in VENEZUELA and COLOMBIA in South America and GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR, and NICARAGUA in CENTRAL AMERICA. Coffee was also the primary export product in HAITI. In Brazil and Colombia, the production of coffee was controlled

by powerful national oligarchies, while in other regions of Latin America foreign investors owned most of the coffee lands. U.S. investors dominated the coffee industry in Central America; their control of the economy created inequality and social unrest that destabilized the region well into the 20th century.

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Colombia Colombia is located in the northern Andean region of South America between VENEZUELA to the northeast and PERU and ECUADOR to the southwest. Prior to the independence movements of the 19th century, Colombia made up the bulk of the Spanish Viceroyalty of New Granada, which was formed in the 18th century. With the viceregal seat at Santa Fe de BOGOTÁ, Colombia played an increasingly important role in Spanish colonial administration.

INDEPENDENCE

The close presence of Spanish authority meant that Colombia was not as open to ideas and influences from the outside as more peripheral regions of the colonies were. Nevertheless, stirrings of discontent began in the late decades of the 18th century when a rebellion broke out in response to new taxes introduced by Spanish authorities and more aggressive tax collection. Known as the Comunero Rebellion, the insurgency did not seek a complete break from Spain but merely immediate local reforms. A more direct precursor to independence appeared in 1794 when Antonio Nariño translated and reprinted the *French Revolutionary Declaration of the Rights of Man*. He was arrested and exiled to Spain but in 1796 escaped to England and began to talk of independence for the Spanish colonies in more explicit terms. Nariño eventually returned to New Granada and was in prison

when Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula provoked a more calculated and widespread movement for independence.

Napoléon's invasion and occupation of Spain in 1808 prompted the formation of local ruling juntas in the Americas. Local elites in New Granada banded together in CARACAS, Cartagena de Indias, and eventually Bogotá to resist the French incursion and, at least initially, to pledge their loyalty to the Spanish monarch, Ferdinand VII. Each junta declared the autonomy and self-government of its region, which quickly fragmented the Viceroyalty of New Granada. Ruling juntas in Tunja, Cartagena, and Socorro formed the United Provinces of New Granada in 1811, while Bogotá formed its own ruling entity under the name Cundinamarca. Nariño, recently released from prison, became president.

The different directions taken by Cundinamarca and the United Provinces of New Granada presaged the rift between CENTRALISM and FEDERALISM that eventually destabilized many newly independent Latin American nations. Nariño believed the loose conglomeration of provinces in New Granada was too weak to withstand the immediate pressures of new government. He imposed a highly centralized form of government in Cundinamarca and refused to join the United Provinces. Many perceived Nariño's government as a dictatorship, and conflict between the two regions quickly developed. Between 1812 and 1814, in addition to confronting royalist forces trying to crush the independence movement, Cundinamarca and the United Provinces fought a civil war in the former viceroyalty of New Granada. The senseless infighting that took place there between 1810 and 1815 led to the period's name of "Patria Boba," or "foolish fatherland."

From 1815 to 1816, the Spanish army, propelled by the restoration of Ferdinand VII to the throne and aided by disunity in the Americas, engaged in a reconquest of New Granada. General Pablo Morillo led the Spanish offensive against small pockets of resistance. Morillo dealt the opposition swift and tyrannical punishment, and his methods initially succeeded in destabilizing the independence movement. But, Morillo's repression also fostered discontent, and the liberation movement enjoyed a resurgence under the leadership of FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER. By 1819, Santander had joined forces with Simón Bolívar, who had been leading the Venezuelan independence movement. Bolívar firmly believed that independence in the Spanish colonies would come about only if the various regions unified to form one large and powerful South American nation. In February 1819, he convened the Congress of Angostura to begin laying plans to create one centralized government for the former viceroyalty of New Granada.

On August 7, 1819, forces under Bolívar and Santander defeated the royalist army at the Battle of Boyacá, effectively annihilating the Spanish army in the interior of New Granada. Within days, Bolívar had taken Bogotá,

allowing the liberation of the remainder of New Granada to proceed with relative ease. Bolívar established his base in New Granada and continued his attempts to liberate the remainder of Venezuela and Ecuador. Following the victory at Boyacá, leaders from New Granada joined Bolívar's Congress of Angostura, and in December the delegates promulgated a decree declaring the creation of GRAN COLOMBIA. The new nation was made up of the various provinces of the Viceroyalty of New Granada. Bolívar saw this as a first step toward creating a unified United States of South America, but Gran Colombia was beset by the same problems and instability that had led to the demise of the *Patria Boba*.

Gran Colombia was organized geographically under three departments: Cundinamarca (present-day Colombia and PANAMA), with its capital at Bogotá, which was also the central capital of Gran Colombia; Venezuela, with its capital at Caracas; and Quito (present-day Ecuador), with its capital at QUITO. The Congress of Cúcuta continued the work started at Angostura, and in 1821, the new congress finalized a constitution formalizing the Gran Colombian union. The constitution called for a highly centralized form of government, and delegates elected Bolívar president, with Santander as vice president. Shortly after promulgating the new constitution, Bolívar departed to continue leading the independence movement in PERU, and Santander took over the presidential duties in Bogotá. Despite Santander's attempts to stabilize the ECONOMY and implement modest social reform, regional discontent began to overshadow his administration. Provincial leaders in Venezuela and Ecuador grew to resent the centralized authority of the national government in Bogotá. Caracas, in particular, was geographically isolated from the seat of power, and local leaders felt they had little or no voice the national government.

In 1826, Venezuelan MILITARY leader JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ rose in revolt against Santander's government. His insurrection precipitated the return of Bolívar, who succeeded in temporarily placating regional rivalries, but Bolívar became increasingly autocratic after 1826 and ruled in dictatorial fashion. His attempts to centralize Gran Colombia's government provoked Páez to rebel again in 1829. This time, the Venezuelan CAUDILLO was followed by numerous liberal leaders throughout the struggling nation, and by 1830, Venezuela and Ecuador had withdrawn from Gran Colombia. Bolívar resigned the presidency and died en route into exile. The republic was formally dissolved the following year.

REPUBLIC OF NEW GRANADA

With the dissolution of Gran Colombia, the former department of Cundinamarca became the sovereign Republic of New Granada. Santander, who had been forced into exile in the final years of the Bolívar dictatorship, returned in 1832 to become president of the new republic. He faced some opposition by remaining Bolívar

supporters but managed to maintain a sense of order. He took steps to stabilize the nation's economy and initiated modest social reforms according to his proclaimed liberal platform. In 1837, Santander stepped down, and José Ignacio de Márquez (1837–41) became president. Márquez generally approved of the liberal direction in which his predecessor had taken the country but had invited some former Bolívar supporters into his administration. This stirred up liberal opposition and eventually led to civil war.

The War of the Supremes began with an uprising in 1839 in the conservative southern province of Pasto over anticlerical reform measures. In 1840, liberal general José María Obando—an unlikely ally—joined the insurrection under the banner of federalism. Obando was soon joined by other disaffected liberal-minded military leaders throughout New Granada. Earlier, liberals had not taken a strong stand on federalism, but Márquez's inclusion of Bolívar supporters in his administration had brought attention to the issue and fuelled the rebellion. A number of those supporters provided military support for the Márquez government and helped defeat Obando. The coalition formed by Márquez with former Bolívar supporters became the predecessor to Colombia's CONSERVATIVE PARTY, which was formally established in 1849.

Márquez's victory in the War of the Supremes in 1841 ushered in a 10-year period of virtually uninterrupted conservative rule. Throughout the 1840s, leaders such as Pedro Alcántara Herrán, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, and Tomás Mosquera articulated a political direction for the conservative movement. They moderately expanded the power of the executive and halted the liberal educational reforms that had been initiated by Santander. Instead, they favored an educational curriculum based on doctrine approved by the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Conservative leaders also imposed a number of seemingly liberal measures, such as reducing tariffs in the interest of LAISSEZ-FAIRE economic policies. Furthermore, they engaged in some modernization and improved the nation's infrastructure, expanding TRANSPORTATION and communication lines to overcome the natural barriers such as mountains and rivers that had kept much of the nation fragmented.

LIBERAL REFORM

This initial era of conservative rule came to an end in 1849 with the election General José Hilario López (1849–53). López had fought in the wars of independence and had become a wealthy landowner in the decades following the break from Spain. As a liberal candidate, he took advantage of a schism within the Conservative Party over the policies of President Mosquera. That rift allowed the once-disadvantaged LIBERAL PARTY to gain the upper hand. The Liberal Party itself was divided, among GÓLGOTAS, DRACONIANOS, and urban artisans. Nevertheless, the various factions were able to unite against the conservative ruling elite to win the presidency in 1849 and

institute aggressive reforms. In later years, discord within the Liberal Party produced a new set of problems.

Under López, liberals pursued a reform agenda that was intended to transform society according to the theoretical foundations of 19th-century LIBERALISM. López and his successor, Obando (1831–32, 1853–54), passed a slew of laws that aimed to protect individual liberties and guarantee some measure of social equality. The CONSTITUTION OF 1853 entrenched those reforms and called for additional measures as well. Liberal leaders passed universal male suffrage, abolished SLAVERY, and declared complete freedom of the press. In the interest of establishing a system of private property ownership, they passed laws providing a mechanism for parceling out communally owned indigenous lands—a measure that ultimately led to *LATIFUNDIO*, or land concentration in the hands of a few elite. Furthermore, liberal reforms reinforced the laissez-faire economic policies of low tariffs that had defined the conservative governments' economic policies. This measure angered the urban artisan faction of the Liberal Party, who pushed for greater TRADE restrictions to protect their ailing commercial enterprises. Artisans united with *draconianos* to overthrow the Obando government in 1854, which prompted a brief alliance between *gólgotas* and conservatives. Backed by the Conservative Party, Ospina Rodríguez became president in 1857, and a new federalist constitution was promulgated in 1858.

Federalism produced a degree of instability in 19th-century Colombia. The new constitution granted states new rights and greater autonomy, and liberal leaders in states where the party was strong managed to manipulate laws to prevent the Conservative Party from competing for power. Conservatives in those states often rebelled against the local government, and increasingly President Ospina used national power to back conservative revolts at the local level. By 1860, full-scale civil war had erupted, and the once-conservative ex-president Mosquera now led the liberal opposition. In July 1861, Mosquera captured Bogotá and imprisoned conservative members of government. His victory ushered in a new era of liberal dominance known as the Radical Republic, from 1863 to 1880.

The second wave of liberal ascendancy saw the imposition of even more progressive reforms. Many of the aggressive anticlerical measures that liberals wanted to introduce in 1849 were now codified in laws passed by Mosquera and subsequent leaders. Liberals promulgated another constitution in 1863, which consolidated the new reform measures. Liberals outlawed all religious orders and passed laws granting the government new powers of administration and supervision over the CATHOLIC CHURCH (*tuición de cultos*). In keeping with liberal theories on private property ownership, in 1861, the government issued the Mosquera decrees, which allowed officials to seize church-held lands and sell them to private interests. In an attempt to safeguard federalism, liberal leaders

granted even more powers to state governments and changed the name of the republic to the United States of Colombia. Many states exercised their new power to set voting criterion by abolishing the universal male suffrage that had been achieved a decade earlier and limiting the vote once again to the educated elite. In a final move to strengthen local authority over the national government, liberals reduced the presidential term to two years.

THE REGENERATION

The zealous nature of liberal policies began to wear thin by the 1880s. The Mosquera decrees and other, similar anticlerical measures had alarmed citizens in a nation that was predominantly Catholic. Furthermore, economic liberalism under laissez-faire trade policies worked only as long as Colombia's export sector remained strong. A downturn in commodity export prices shook the entire economy and challenged the liberal mandate. Economic and social questions incited numerous acts of defiance against the national government. Those acts often turned to serious threats thanks to the loose federalist political system, which safeguarded a large degree of regional authority. In 1884, President RAFAEL NÚÑEZ, now in his second term, put down one such attempted revolt and used the conspiracy as a rationale for abolishing the Constitution of 1863 and replacing it with a more centralist, conservative document.

Núñez's abrogation of the Constitution of 1863 marked the beginning of an era of conservative reform known as the Regeneration (1878–1900). The one-time Liberal Party member attempted to establish his own Nationalist Party, which was ultimately encompassed by the more dominant Conservative Party. The party splintered between hardline Nationalists and a more moderate faction referring to themselves as Historical Conservatives. Nevertheless, Núñez did succeed in garnering support for a number of reforms that severely diminished local government authority in favor of a strong central administration. The CONSTITUTION OF 1886 changed voting laws to include literacy requirements and extended the presidential term from two to six years. Núñez scaled back many of the liberal measures that had been passed in the 1860s and 1870s, including the Mosquera decrees and other anticlerical measures. Indeed, his administration closely allied itself with the Catholic Church, as Núñez signed the Concordat of 1887 agreeing to a full restoration of church privileges and protections under Colombian law. Protections of civil rights and individual liberties that had been articulated by the Liberal Party were diminished.

In the 1890s, the conservative government also began tampering with economic policy. Miguel Antonio Caro (1894–98), who had become president after Núñez's death, imposed an export tariff on COFFEE to offset an economic decline that threatened the financial stability of his administration. He also inundated the money supply with paper money, driving up inflation and further

destabilizing the economy. Vocal opponents within the radical faction of the Liberal Party began pushing for armed insurrection to bring down the government. When Nationalist candidates Manuel A. Sanclemente (1898–1900) and José Manuel Marroquín (1900–04) won the presidency and vice presidency in 1898, liberal militias under the leadership of radical Liberal RAFAEL URIBE URIBE and General Benjamín Herrera rose in revolt. A minor skirmish in October 1899 gave way to a lengthy and bloody civil war that is known as the WAR OF THE THOUSAND DAYS (1899–1902).

THE INDEPENDENCE OF PANAMA

The War of the Thousand Days lasted for three years and, after a handful of isolated battles fought in the fashion of conventional warfare before the summer of 1900, was played out as a guerrilla war that plagued most of the country. The war claimed more than 100,000 lives and caused incalculable hardship through destruction of property and disruption of the economy. By 1902, the war had reached a stalemate, but eventually the conservative government, now under President Marroquín, negotiated the Treaty of Wisconsin, which granted amnesty to liberal insurgents and ended the conflict.

Events in PANAMA can largely be credited for precipitating the resolution. U.S. political and economic leaders had long been interested in the Isthmus of Panama as a narrow transit route for trade between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). Overland transport had provided the basis for a thriving economy since the colonial period. Federalist autonomy granted in the era of the Liberal Revolution and the constant liberal-conservative bickering in Bogotá only fueled those sentiments. As Panamanians saw Bogotá benefit from the revenues of that trade, many local leaders began to advocate secession. Indeed, the Colombian government had stymied several separation movements in earlier decades. Furthermore, Panama had been a major front in the War of the Thousand Days, and future Panamanian president Belisario Porras (1912–16, 1918–20, 1920–24) and Victoriano Lorenzo used that war as justification for pushing for Panamanian secession once again. The Colombian government only managed to prevent the province from breaking off with the help of U.S. forces in the region.

By 1902, the United States began to look more like an adversary than an ally on the Panama issue. U.S. leaders determined that Panama would be the ideal location of an interoceanic canal, and U.S. secretary of state John Hay invited Colombian foreign minister Tomás Herrán to negotiate terms that would allow the United States to build the canal. Backed by a government weakened by civil war and with very little leverage, Herrán signed the Hay-Herran Treaty in January 1903. The agreement would have given the United States sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone as well as numerous internal affairs in the region; however, Colombian leaders saw the treaty

as unreasonable and refused to ratify it. In response, U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt lent support to a Panamanian secessionist movement and ordered a U.S. warship to anchor off the coast of Panama to prevent the Colombian army from putting down the insurrection. In November 1903, Panama seceded from Colombia, and the United States immediately recognized its sovereignty as an independent nation (see PANAMANIAN INDEPENDENCE). Three weeks later, U.S. and Panamanian leaders reached an agreement to allow the United States to build the canal across the isthmus.

The 19th century did not end particularly well for Colombia, but national leaders learned important lessons from the War of the Thousand Days and the loss of Panama. The early decades of the 20th century finally brought a modicum of stability, as liberal and conservative leaders became more disposed to compromise. Many of the extreme measures advocated by both parties gave way to policies that aimed to create a more inclusive system.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); COLOMBIA (Vols. I, IV); COMUNERO REBELLION OF NEW GRANADA (Vol. II); NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II).

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Colorado Party, Paraguay The Colorado Party of PARAGUAY was founded in 1887 by Bernardino Caballero (1880–86), who had been a loyal supporter of Paraguayan dictator FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ (1862–70). Caballero later served as president. He and fellow *lopiztas* (supporters of López) Cándido Bareiro and Patricio Escobar launched the new party in an attempt to wrestle control of the government away from a young group of anti-López intellectuals who had risen to power in the years after Paraguay's defeat in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE. The *colorados* rose to prominence in the 1880s and dominated Paraguayan politics until the so-called Liberal Revolution of 1904. The *colorados* resumed leadership with the rise of Alfredo Stroessner in 1954 and remained the ruling party of Paraguay for the remainder of the 20th century.

Paraguayan politics in the late 19th century were defined by growing tensions between the *colorados* and the Liberals. The Liberal Party also formed 1887, in opposition to the *colorados* and Caballero's political manipulations. The *colorados* have traditionally promoted a more conservative platform; nevertheless, the loyalties of both parties shifted considerably in the final decades of the 19th century, and both defied simple ideological categorization. The end of the War of the Triple Alliance crippled traditional power structures that had been tied to economic wealth, and the rival political parties stepped in to fill that void. Therefore, the maneuverings of both parties can best be understood as an internal power struggle, complicated by external interference by both BRAZIL and ARGENTINA.

In the wake of the War of the Triple Alliance, Brazil supported an interim governing triumvirate in Paraguay made up of anti-López exiles who had earlier sought refuge in BUENOS AIRES. This group of idealists was quick to accede to the demands of the foreign powers in exchange for a voice in the formation of Paraguay's new government. Liberal-minded, antidictator intellectuals oversaw the writing of a new constitution in 1870 and began positioning themselves to direct national politics. At the same time, conservative leaders—many of whom had been firm supporters of Solano López—also jockeyed for power. Conservative leader Juan Bautista Rivarola was elected president by the 1870 assembly but was forced to step down a short time later as the power struggle continued.

In 1872, a liberal government briefly rose to power under the presidency of Salvador Jovellanos and his close adviser Benigno Ferreira. Jovellanos immediately faced a diplomatic dilemma over the final peace concessions to the War of the Triple Alliance. The new president attempted to stand up to Argentine stipulations that Paraguay cede more territory. As Jovellanos resisted Argentina's demands, a group of conservative leaders including Rivarola, Bareiro, Escobar, Caballero, and Juan Bautista Gill began plotting to overthrow the liberal government. The conservative coalition sought assistance from both Argentina and Brazil, and the group carried out a revolution from 1873 to 1874.

Gill became president in 1874 and was followed by Bareiro four years later. When Bareiro died in office in 1880, Caballero led a coup against the vice president and took power. The undemocratic means by which Caballero came to power, as well as his autocratic governing style, provided the basis for much of the opposition to the Colorado Party. Colorado political tactics—known as *caballerismo*—included all varieties of corruption, a lack of DEMOCRACY, and general violations of individual rights. Caballero stepped down from office in 1886 but continued to control national politics from behind the scenes. The Liberal Party formed in 1887 in opposition to Caballero's practices, and in response, Caballero and his supporters formally established their movement as

the Colorado Party. The Colorado Party dominated the national government for the rest of the 19th century.

As in earlier years, internal politics under the *colorados* continued to be influenced by foreign powers in the 1890s. Brazilian leaders, in particular, sought to maintain close commercial ties between the two nations and actively interfered in local Paraguayan politics to protect Brazilian interests. The most egregious of these interventions took place in 1894 when José Segundo Decoud—who had a reputation as an anti-Brazil nationalist—seemed poised to win the presidency in Paraguay. A Brazilian diplomat spearheaded the Cavalcanti coup of 1894 and placed Juan Bautista Egusquiza in the presidency.

The Brazil-sponsored coup of 1894 sparked a series of events that transformed the rivalry between the political parties and eventually brought an end to the Colorado Party's dominance. Egusquiza aspired to end the divisive party rivalries and began proposing concessions to the Liberal Party. His actions were welcomed by some but reviled by many. Both parties split into factions over the issue of interparty cooperation. Within the Colorado Party, *egusquistas*—or those who supported the new president—found themselves at odds with the old guard of more hardline *caballeristas*. Liberal Party members also split into the *cívicos*, who approved of Egusquiza's policy of cooperation, and radicals who resisted interparty conciliation.

The schism over Egusquiza's policies afflicted both parties, but it weakened the Colorado Party the most. By the end of the 19th century, the old guard of powerful generals who had once controlled the party had been pushed aside by *egusquistas*. The growing rift between the two Colorado factions weakened the party, and in 1904, the Liberals led a revolution that removed Colorado leaders from power. Ferreira, who had been deposed as part of the liberal administration in 1874, helped lead the revolt. He became president two years later. The Liberal Party controlled Paraguayan politics for the first half of the 20th century until the rise of Stroessner in 1954 brought the Colorado Party back to power.

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Colorado Party, Uruguay The Colorado Party of URUGUAY is the liberal political party founded by JOSÉ FRUCTUOSO RIVERA to oppose the BLANCO PARTY in the 1830s. Members of the Blanco Party were more conservative and favored the interests of rural landlords throughout the countryside. The *colorados* relied on a support base of merchants and intellectuals in Montevideo and other large urban areas. The Colorado Party's name derived partly from the red color its adher-

ents used to set themselves apart from the white *blancos* on the battlefield.

Although the rival Colorado and Blanco Parties did not formally exist prior to Uruguay's independence, signs of dissent were visible in earlier decades. As independence movements sprang up in South America, inhabitants of the BANDA ORIENTAL—a province in the Viceroyalty of Río de La Plata and part of present-day Uruguay—began to demand autonomy from governing forces in BUENOS AIRES. An insurrection led first by José Gervasio Artigas produced separatist sentiments within the Banda Oriental. Artigas's movement also created concern for PEDRO I in neighboring BRAZIL. The emperor sent an occupation force, only to confront another insurrection led by JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA. Lavalleja's revolt was supported by the government of BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA in Buenos Aires, and the conflict quickly escalated into the CISPLATINE WAR between Brazil and ARGENTINA.

The Cisplatine War lasted from 1825 to 1828, and residents of the Banda Oriental divided between the warring nations of Brazil and Argentina. The war finally ended with a treaty that guaranteed the complete independence of the Banda Oriental as the Eastern Republic of Uruguay. The CONSTITUTION OF 1830 provided a governing structure for the new nation, and Rivera was elected its first president. Rivera initially cooperated with his successor, MANUEL ORIBE, but the former allies began to diverge, and Rivera overthrew Oribe's presidency in 1838. The rift created within Uruguay during the Cisplatine War surfaced once again and remained long after the war's conclusion. Residents who had supported Brazil rallied around Rivera and formed the Colorado Party. Those who had supported Buenos Aires backed Oribe and formed the rival Blanco Party.

Hostilities between the two opposing parties escalated as Oribe sought exile in Argentina and formed an alliance with the dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. The deposed Blanco leader waged war against Rivera. The Colorado Party won the support of Great Britain, France, and Brazil, as the foreign powers believed the liberal and urban-oriented political party would support policies favorable to free and open TRADE in the Southern Cone. As foreign nations became involved in the conflict, hostilities between the Colorado and Blanco Parties escalated into a full-scale civil war known as the GUERRA GRANDE.

Rivera led the Colorado Party against the *blancos* for the next several years but was forced to flee to Brazil in 1843. Oribe and the *blancos*, supported by Argentina's Rosas, attacked Montevideo and placed the city under siege for the next nine years. During that time, British and French forces continued to support the *colorados* and provided vital sea support to help maintain the city's defenses. When the European forces withdrew in 1850, Oribe and the *blancos* were poised to take the city, but an insurrection in Argentina deposed Rosas, and Oribe lost the support of his crucial ally. Without Rosas's support, the *blancos* were unable to penetrate Montevideo's

defenses. A peace treaty brokered by Brazil in 1852 declared no victor, but placed the *colorados* in power. The treaty also solidified the close alliance between the Colorado Party and neighboring Brazil.

In the coming years, Brazil came to the aid of Colorado leaders on numerous occasions as the *blancos* continued to challenge the rival party for power. In 1864, Brazil helped Colorado leaders overthrow the presidency of Blanco Bernardo Berro (1860–64), setting off a series of alliances that culminated in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE. The Blanco Party leadership joined forces with Paraguayan dictator FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ in an effort to destabilize the Colorado Party alliance with Brazil and Argentina. War between the neighboring countries lasted from 1864 to 1870 and ended with the complete destruction of the Paraguayan MILITARY. The Colorado Party emerged from the war as the dominant political force within Uruguay, although Blanco leaders continued to challenge the rival party.

Colorado Party leaders put down an attempted Blanco rebellion in 1872, and in an effort to bring political stability, the two parties introduced a power-sharing system known as *coparticipación*. Between 1875 and 1890, Colorado Party dominance was further challenged by military leaders who aimed to rid the country of the political favoritism that surrounded the party system. Colorado leaders resisted the attempts of Colonel Lorenzo Latorre (1875–80) and Máximo Santos (1882–86) to dismantle the Colorado Party. Instead, a powerful antimilitary faction within the party—known as the *civilistas*—emerged, and by 1890, the Colorado Party's control of the political system had been restored.

The Colorado Party faced one last challenge by Blanco leader Aparicio Saravia in 1897. Colorado presidents granted even more concessions to the *blancos*, granting Saravia virtually unrestricted control in many rural areas. The traditional Blanco Party control of the countryside finally came to an end with the emergence of Colorado leader and populist president José Batlle y Ordóñez (1903–07, 1911–15) in the early 20th century. Batlle y Ordóñez refocused the political platform of the Colorado Party to reflect the changing needs of the nation in the 20th century. The changes he introduced helped the Colorado Party consolidate its power throughout much of the 20th century.

See also BATLLE Y ORDÓÑEZ, JOSÉ (Vol. IV); RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); URUGUAY (Vol. IV).

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Comité Revolucionario de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Revolutionary Committee) The Comité Revolucionario de Puerto Rico was a revolutionary group devoted to the independence of PUERTO RICO

from Spanish control. Formed in January 1868 by Puerto Rican political exiles Dr. RAMÓN EMETERIO BETANCES and Segundo Ruiz Belvis (b. 1829–d. 1867) in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Committee actively sought the independence of Puerto Rico from the authority of the Spanish Crown. As independence had not been achieved through political channels, the group's immediate goal was the violent overthrow of the Spanish regime in Puerto Rico.

While Betances and Ruiz Belvis were unable to return to Puerto Rico, they corresponded with fellow revolutionaries on the island, establishing independent cells under the leadership of several key members of the committee. A U.S. citizen by the name of Matías Brugman was the cell leader in Mayagüez, Venezuelan-born Manuel Rojas in Lares, another Venezuelan by the name of Manuel María González in Camuy, and Puerto Rican Carlos Elio Lacroix in Ponce. Together with Betances and Ruiz Belvis, these six men formed the committee's core leadership. Those in Puerto Rico recruited new members for their cause, while the exiles focused on writing anti-Spanish publications in an attempt to raise funds for weapons and gain political sympathy from more powerful nations.

Betances hoped to capitalize on a slump in the local ECONOMY and the popularity of his recent anti-Spanish writings and planned a military uprising on September 23, 1868, known as the GRITO DE LARES. Originally to take place on September 28, it was moved to September 23 after Spanish authorities learned of an impending revolt following the capture of several rebel conspirators in the Camuy region. Following the eventual failure of the uprising and the imprisonment, exile, or death of several members of its leadership, the committee ceased to function as a viable political or MILITARY force for independence in Puerto Rico.

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Comonfort, Ignacio (b. 1812–d. 1863) *liberal leader and president of Mexico* Ignacio Comonfort was a liberal leader and president of MEXICO during the era known as LA REFORMA. He oversaw the overthrow of ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA in the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA and the subsequent drafting of the CONSTITUTION OF 1857. Comonfort was known for working to find a middle ground between LIBERALISM and extreme CONSERVATISM.

Comonfort was born to French parents in PUEBLA in 1812. He studied at a local school and joined the MILITARY at a young age. In 1832, he joined the liberal opposition in challenging the conservative dictatorship of Anastasio

Bustamante. He fought against the United States in the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR and was elected several times to serve as a deputy and senator in Mexico's national congress.

He was in Acapulco in 1854 when Juan Álvarez began the revolt that gave rise to the Revolution of Ayutla. Comonfort joined the rebellion immediately and went to the United States to secure support and resources for its prosecution. In 1855, with Santa Anna deposed, Álvarez named him minister of war, and later that year, Comonfort became interim president of the republic. He oversaw the implementation of the Reform Laws and the drafting of the Constitution of 1857. After that document was finalized, new elections formally made Comonfort president.

Throughout the era of La Reforma, Comonfort gave voice to the *moderados* (moderate Liberals) by urging compromise and only modest reforms. His position was largely overruled by the *purros* (staunch Liberals) who pushed through radical reform measures that directly threatened the power and wealth of the CATHOLIC CHURCH and other conservative institutions (see LIBERAL PARTY, MEXICO). Comonfort attempted to stymie a confrontation between liberals and conservatives by backing the Plan de Tacubaya, which suspended implementation of the constitution. Shortly thereafter, conservative general Félix Zuloaga led a rebellion against liberal leaders, and Comonfort resigned the presidency and fled to the United States.

In later years, Comonfort returned to Mexico to aid in repelling the French during the reign of Maximilian and Carlota (see FRENCH INTERVENTION). He died on November 13, 1863, from wounds he suffered after being attacked by bandits.

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comparative advantage Comparative advantage is an economic principle that became popular in the 19th century. In part, it explained how and why free TRADE would benefit nations. The idea that nations should produce and trade according to comparative advantage was part of the argument for LAISSEZ-FAIRE economics. Most Latin American countries established laissez-faire-inspired economic policies by favoring the production and export of goods in which they held a comparative advantage. Those models brought some short-term, export-led economic growth as Latin American nations developed agricultural monocultures. Their agricultural products, however, were subject to fluctuations in global markets. Among the long-term consequences of laissez-faire economic policies was a lack of industrial and manufacturing development and thus diversity that could sustain them during downturns.

According to the theory of comparative advantage, each nation should produce and export the goods that it can make relatively more effectively than other countries. Each nation should also import goods that it is less effective at producing than other nations. The concept was first suggested by David Ricardo in his 1817 study *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. In this book, Ricardo advocated that countries should specialize in a small number of products they could make very well and import other goods from countries that could make them more efficiently. In the 19th century, Latin American nations had a comparative advantage in agricultural goods and in raw materials, such as MINING products. The principle of comparative advantage and its larger companion theory, laissez-faire economics, became the accepted model in both Latin America and throughout the world. Postindependence governments in Latin America implemented relatively open trade policies as advocated by laissez-faire in an attempt to move their economies away from the closed and tightly controlled mercantilist policies of the colonial period. As laissez-faire became the trade model of choice, the concept of specializing in AGRICULTURE and mining products in the interest of comparative advantage also took root.

In the first half of the 19th century, nearly all Latin American nations developed a comparative advantage trade model with Great Britain as the main trading partner. There were some notable exceptions, however. PARAGUAY and BOLIVIA maintained more closed economies in the decades after independence, and MEXICO's proximity to the United States diminished the role of British trade there (see ECONOMY). But, much of Central and South America produced fruit, COFFEE, CACAO, and other foodstuffs in addition to wool, nitrates, and precious metals for trade with Britain. In the last half of the 19th century, other European nations and the United States joined Britain as important markets for Latin American exports. In exchange, Latin American nations imported manufactured goods such as textiles, machinery, and luxury consumer goods.

Adherence to laissez-faire-based economic principles and reliance on the notion of comparative advantage allowed Latin American economies to grow precipitously in the late 19th century, but limited economic specialization created a host of problems as well. By exporting primarily raw materials, Latin American nations sold goods at a relatively low price, and they imported finished goods at a relatively high price. That incongruity created a trade imbalance in many countries. Furthermore, commodities such as coffee, fruit, and minerals were vulnerable to price fluctuations in the global market. By the turn of the century, some governments were attempting to move away from the comparative advantage model, but the export of raw materials continued to dominate Latin American economies. The imbalance in trade and economic development that emerged in the 19th century exacerbated the effects of the Great Depression in Latin America after 1929.

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Conquest of the Desert (1878–1879) The Conquest of the Desert was an offensive led by JULIO ARGENTINO ROCA from 1878 to 1879 to subdue Amerindian inhabitants of the Argentine PAMPAS and the region of Patagonia. The campaign succeeded in opening large expanses of land to settlement but resulted in a large-scale slaughter of NATIVE AMERICANS in the region.

The indigenous inhabitants of the frontier Pampas had a long history of resisting Spanish and, later, Argentine control. The land was well suited for cattle ranching, and the national government sought to encourage further economic development of the area. Furthermore, populating the periphery of the country would provide security from neighboring CHILE, where the government had initiated the OCCUPATION OF THE ARAUCANIA to settle its frontier lands in 1860. Early efforts to bring the Pampas Indians under government control had been largely unsuccessful. BUENOS AIRES governor and CAUDILLO JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS had made some inroads in the early 1830s, but subsequent campaigns had failed. Minister of War Adolfo Alsino attempted a combination of negotiations and settlement campaigns in 1875, but violent attacks against white settlers continued.

In 1877, Roca became minister of war and initiated a campaign to subdue the indigenous people by any means necessary. Roca led a massive MILITARY force into the Pampas and systematically removed or slaughtered any Amerindians who did not acquiesce to government control. Thousands were killed, and tens of thousands captured and placed under arrest. Roca's "Conquest of the Desert" was extremely popular among the Argentine population at the time. The military leader claimed large areas of once-hostile territory, opening up more land to settlement. His achievements in the campaign helped him win the presidency in 1880. Today, scholars consider Roca's offensive to be a virtual genocide.

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Conselheiro, Antônio See CANUDOS.

conservatism Conservatism refers to a broad political and social philosophy aimed at protecting tradition and maintaining the status quo. Conservatism characterized the colonial period in Latin America as the Spanish and Portuguese governed according to long-standing

principles, including the divine right of monarchs and mercantilism. The conservative ideology was challenged as Latin American colonies approached independence. Throughout the 19th century, much of the region was plagued by violence as conservatives battled proponents of LIBERALISM for control of the newly independent nations.

FROM MONARCHY TO INDEPENDENCE

The colonial political structure in Latin America was based on the system of monarchy that had existed in Europe for centuries. The Spanish and Portuguese Crowns governed under the concept of the divine right of monarchs. This idea stated that a monarch's legitimacy, or right to rule, was bestowed by God, giving the Crown absolute power. As a result, monarchs in Spain and Portugal were closely tied to the CATHOLIC CHURCH, and that relationship carried over to the colonies in Latin America. The Spanish Crown enjoyed a particularly strong relationship with the church after Pope Alexander VI granted the Spanish extraordinary spiritual power over newly conquered lands in the Americas in 1493. Pope Julius II strengthened Crown authority over spiritual affairs in 1508 when he instituted the *patronato real*, or royal patronage. That decree gave the Spanish monarch the power to control the administrative functions of the church in the Americas, such as collecting tithes and naming high-ranking members of the clergy. The church believed such arrangements were necessary in order to convert the millions of non-Christian indigenous people throughout MEXICO and South America. As a result, royal authority in colonial Latin America was closely associated with the Catholic Church.

The monarchical political system went unchallenged throughout most of the colonial period, and an authoritarian system of local and regional rule emerged throughout Latin America. That system was based on viceroys, who served as a type of executive authority over large territories, plus a series of judicial officials known as *oidores* (*audiencia* judges). The administrative divisions within the colonies provided a system of checks and balances and power sharing among colonial officials, but ultimate authority rested with the Crown. The highly centralized nature of monarchical rule was a hallmark of conservatism.

Political currents in late colonial Latin America responded to liberal developments in France and other areas of Europe. In the 18th century, Enlightenment ideas challenged some of the beliefs of the conservative system. Proponents of the Enlightenment favored human reason over practices they considered traditional and superstitious. New ways of thinking suggested that the human experience could be improved, and many intellectuals throughout Europe pushed for a variety of political, economic, and social reforms. The Spanish and Portuguese monarchs responded to the demand for change and improvement by instituting the Bourbon

Reforms and Pombaline Reforms, respectively. These measures decentralized political power to some extent, eased some TRADE restrictions, and attempted to reform the social structure of the Latin American colonies. The Bourbon and Pombaline Reforms can be seen as the first step away from conservatism in Latin America, although the changes they brought about were relatively small.

Enlightenment thinkers also questioned the conservative structure of monarchy and the divine right of kings and queens. New political philosophies suggested that legitimacy was not bestowed by God but rather should come from those who were governed. These tenets inspired movements in Spain and the Americas in the early decades of the 19th century that eventually gave way to full-scale independence efforts. Liberal leaders rose up in the Spanish colonies to lead wars against the Spanish monarch and fight for the right to national sovereignty. Although liberalism's connection to DEMOCRACY was problematic in 19th-century Latin America, new political trends did mark a fundamental shift away from the traditional, conservative system of monarchy. Enlightenment thought laid the foundations for constitutionalism and the push for democracy that spread throughout Europe and the Americas in the 19th century, but many who favored tradition opposed the liberal political trends.

After independence, competing political camps emerged in many Latin American countries to vie for control of the newly formed governments. Liberals wanted to move away from the traditional political, economic, and social structures of the colonial period. Conservatives generally supported the idea of independence, although in some areas such as Mexico and PERU conservatives were only reluctant advocates of breaking from Spain. Many traditional-minded leaders feared that dismantling the established systems of authority would throw the entire region into chaos. Political conservatism manifested in varying degrees throughout Latin America, but most conservatives agreed that a strong, centralized, authoritarian government needed to be maintained (see CENTRALISM). Some conservative leaders advocated a continuation of the monarchical system. Mexican conservatives made several attempts to impose an emperor or other royal figure in the decades following independence. BRAZIL remained under a monarchical system even after achieving independence from Portugal in 1822; it did not adopt a republican form of government until 1889. Conservatives in other nations supported nominal democracy under a constitutional framework, but many ostensibly democratic governments maintained a highly centralized and authoritarian structure. The insistence on order and centralized power contributed to the rise of some 19th-century CAUDILLOS. ECUADOR'S GABRIEL GARCÍA MORENO and Mexico's ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA both supported a political and social platform that catered to conservative interests.

SOCIAL ORDER

Just as Latin American conservatives wanted to safeguard the traditional political structure, they advocated maintaining the long-standing social hierarchies that had characterized the colonial period. Proponents of conservatism generally included those elite who had benefited from the highly stratified nature of colonial society. The colonial social structure was characterized by strictly defined ethnic categories, with pure-blooded Spaniards born in Spain at the top and the mixed, black, and indigenous populations at the bottom. That hierarchy was complicated by a system under which members of certain groups, or corporations, received certain privileges, or *FUEROS*. The most powerful corporations were the Catholic Church, the MILITARY, and the nobility. After independence, conservatives generally wanted to maintain that system because they stood to reap the benefits of legally defined *fueros*.

Liberalism challenged the long-standing colonial social order. At the heart of the liberal argument was that the individual should play a central role in building a strong society. Liberals sought reforms that directly targeted the privileges enjoyed by members of the church, the military, the nobility, and others. Liberal reforms included measures such as confiscating and selling church landholdings in the interest of creating a nation of private property owners. Conservatives rallied to the church's defense in such countries as Mexico and COLOMBIA where ideological divisions ran deep. Liberals also passed laws to eliminate the parallel court system that had allowed members of the church and the military accused of crimes to be tried in ecclesiastical or military courts. Primogeniture, which had allowed noble families to entail the entire FAMILY estate to the oldest son rather than divide family property evenly among all descendants, also came under attack. Conservatives viewed these reforms with concern and feared that even the illusion of upsetting the long-standing power structure would breed instability and anarchy. Conservatism found strength in the traditional framework of social and political authority that had relied on the legitimacy of the monarch to keep conflict in check. After independence, conservatives clung to the remnants of the colonial social order as a stabilizing force.

Conservatism in 19th-century Latin America manifested in various ways. In many nations, formal conservative political parties emerged to vie for political power. In Mexico, for example, conservatives joined forces in the 1850s to contest liberal reform measures (see CONSERVATIVE PARTY, MEXICO; LA REFORMA). Colombian conservatives also formed a formal party, and civil wars between conservatives and liberals plagued both of those countries throughout much of the century (see CONSERVATIVE PARTY, COLOMBIA). In ARGENTINA, conservatism emerged in the *FEDERALES*, led by CAUDILLO and dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. Chileans also formed a CONSERVATIVE PARTY, but in CHILE as in some other areas

as well, the Conservative Party platform was simply a less zealous version of 19th-century liberalism. In Brazil, under a monarchical form of government for most of the 19th century, conservatism dominated national politics until the 1880s.

CONSERVATISM AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMICS

Although conservatism challenged many of the ideas about the need for a forward-looking political and social order that 19th-century liberalism introduced, proponents of the ideology did not reject all liberal concepts outright. In economic matters, many conservative governments looked to divest themselves of the mercantilist models of the colonial period, under which the colonies produced raw materials such as agricultural and MINING products for export to the "mother country." The Spanish and Portuguese Crowns absorbed the wealth produced by the colonies to expand the fortune of the entire empire. Mercantilism was enforced by maintaining closed and tightly regulated networks of production and trade. Imperial laws prevented the colonies from producing certain products and established Crown monopolies over the most lucrative industries, such as mining and TOBACCO. A closed port system limited trade to select ports in the Americas and in Spain and restricted the colonies' ability to trade with other European powers.

The mercantilist model benefited the economies of Spain and Portugal but generally kept the colonial economies in a state of infancy as much of the rest of the world witnessed the onset of the industrial revolution. A desire to open the colonial economies compelled many merchants and other colonists to support breaking away from Spain during the wars for independence. In the early decades of the 19th century, new Latin American governments eliminated the mercantilist model, and most leaders adopted a LAISSEZ-FAIRE-inspired system of relatively open trade. The laissez-faire structure is generally considered a liberal economic model, but even most conservative leaders in 19th-century Latin America advocated free trade and less government regulation of the ECONOMY. Along with a laissez-faire model, most Latin American nations adopted specialization in export products according to the notion of COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE. Since Latin American countries had a comparative advantage in AGRICULTURE and mining, free trade based on the export of agricultural products and raw materials became the norm for most 19th-century economies. One notable exception was PARAGUAY, under the dictatorship of caudillo JOSÉ GASPAR RODRÍGUEZ DE FRANCIA. Francia kept Paraguay politically and economically isolated from its neighbors and from European influence in the decades immediately after independence. His rejection of liberal economic models allowed Paraguay to begin developing an industrial sector, but later administrations reversed those trends.

Few Latin American leaders adopted all aspects of conservatism in the 19th century, but the resolve to maintain long-standing systems of power and authority was prevalent throughout the region. As conservatives pushed to safeguard tradition in the interest of maintaining order, liberals challenged them, believing that Latin American nations needed to move forward and progress. Liberal and conservative groups competed for power throughout Latin America after independence, and clashes between the two ideologies brought decades of war and instability to many nations.

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Conservative Party, Brazil The Conservative Party of BRAZIL was active in the legislative branch of Brazil's government under constitutional monarchy in the 19th century. Conservatives originally came from members of the Brazilian elite who supported the policies of PEDRO I (r. 1822–31) in the early years of the empire. They generally advocated a centralized government headed by a strong monarch. For much of the 19th century, conservatives also wanted to preserve Brazil's colonial traditions.

Pedro I declared Brazilian independence in 1822. With the conservatives' support, he pushed through the CONSTITUTION OF 1824, which established constitutional monarchy based on an authoritarian emperor. Pedro I abdicated in favor of his five-year-old son PEDRO II (r. 1831–89) in 1831 and fled to Portugal. Brazilian conservatives coalesced during the period of the REGENCY from 1831 to 1840, when a series of surrogate leaders ruled in place of the child emperor. During that time, liberal advocates pushed through constitutional amendments to limit the power of the monarch and decentralize power. Provincial unrest was common and conservative leaders argued that a strong central government under a powerful monarch was the only way to hold the nation together.

When Pedro II assumed the throne in 1840, he faced a divided nation and an unstable political system. The Conservative Party and LIBERAL PARTY had formed, and the two sides faced off regularly in the national legislature. Conservatives pushed for a recentralization of monarchical power and in 1840 succeeded in reinstating the Council of State, which had traditionally checked the power of provincial governments. Conservatives generally advocated maintaining traditional power structures, and they garnered significant support from the rural elite of the northeastern SUGAR-producing regions. Sugar production declined in the last half of the 19th century as the Brazilian ECONOMY shifted to COFFEE production. Coffee planters, based in the southern provinces of SÃO PAULO and Rio Grande do Sul, tended to support liberal

politicians and their calls for economic and political modernization.

Pedro II appeared to understand the potentially divisive nature of party politics and engaged in masterful manipulation of the two competing sides. The young emperor regularly vacillated from one party to the other, supporting a conservative legislative majority in one term only to switch his support to a liberal majority in the next. Pedro II filled his advisory council with members of both parties and for decades managed to strike a delicate balance between them. Indeed, conservatives and liberals often complemented each other on policy platforms. The Liberal Party endorsed abolitionist legislation throughout most of the 19th century as a step toward economic modernization and moral reform. While the pressure to end SLAVERY came primarily from the liberal politicians, it was the conservatives who secured the most substantive legislative changes to bring about the emancipation of slaves. A conservative government ended the transatlantic slave trade in 1850 and promulgated the LAW OF THE FREE WOMB in 1871. And even though conservative leaders opposed complete abolition throughout most of the 1880s, they finally acceded to a complete emancipation decree in 1888 (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

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Conservative Party, Chile CHILE'S Conservative Party was formed in the years immediately following independence and came to dominate the nation's politics for much of the 19th century. Chilean conservative leaders were responsible for promulgating the CONSTITUTION OF 1833. Although many conservative politicians suppressed civil liberties in the interest of maintaining public order, their tactics brought an extended era of stability that was unmatched by Chile's more politically turbulent neighbors.

Chilean leaders began segmenting into political factions on the resignation of independence leader and first leader of the independent republic, Bernardo O'Higgins (1817–23). A group of liberal leaders, referring to themselves as *pipiolo*s, or "novices," rejected O'Higgins's autocratic tendencies and advocated a more open and egalitarian political system. Former supporters of O'Higgins also consolidated their political efforts as a conservative alternative to the *pipiolo*s. They pushed for a more centralized government that would maintain order and stability in the precarious postindependence environment (see CENTRALISM). Liberals dubbed them the *pelucones*, or "big wigs," a name that endured for most of the century. *Pipiolo*s gained control of the government and attempted to impose a liberal constitution in 1828. Those efforts provoked a rebellion by a conservative alliance

made up of *pelucones* and an influential group of businessmen, known as *estanqueros*, led by DIEGO PORTALES. With Portales orchestrating the political landscape behind the scenes, conservatives took power in 1831 and imposed a highly centralized government system that lasted for four decades.

The conservative platform reflected the priorities articulated by Portales, who emphasized the need to maintain order and stability for the greater good of the country. The Constitution of 1833, penned primarily by conservative leader Mariano Egaña (b. 1793–d. 1846), imposed a powerful executive and limited suffrage to the educated elite. With the constitution as a backdrop, conservative leaders retained power in Chile until Congress reformed the political system in the 1870s. Between 1831 and 1861, conservative presidents often used repression to silence opposition, justifying their actions with the nature of executive power outlined in the constitution. In the 1840s, President Manuel Bulnes (1841–51) allowed a degree of social and economic reform that reflected a more liberal political platform—such as secularizing EDUCATION and opening the nation's ECONOMY—but resorted to despotic methods when necessary.

By the 1850s, the conservatives had started to fracture, largely due to the more liberal measures being ushered in by President Manuel Montt (1851–61). Older-stock *pelucones* grew wary of the president's inclination to privilege merit over aristocracy and chafed at policies that limited the power of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. They formed an alliance with liberals, known as the Liberal-Conservative Fusion, to challenge presidential authority, while pro-Montt politicians formed the National Party in an attempt to maintain executive power. In the 1860s, however, Nationalists found themselves outnumbered by the allied liberals and conservatives. Liberal president Federico Errázuriz Zañartu (1871–76) worked with Congress to change the constitution and gave Congress increasing power. Liberal politicians manipulated those powers to prevent conservatives from gaining control of the political system. Over the next several years, tensions between Congress and the executive mounted until Liberal president JOSÉ MANUEL BALMACEDA (1886–91) attempted to exert presidential authority over Congress once again. In 1891, Congress, backed by the navy, rebelled against Balmaceda, who was backed by the army. Balmaceda was overthrown in the CHILEAN CIVIL WAR that ensued, and an era of congressional dominance that lasted until the 1920s began. During that era, known as the Parliamentary Republic, the Conservative Party remained one of the nation's dominant political parties.

See also O'HIGGINS, BERNARDO (Vol. II).

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Timothy Scully. *Rethinking the Center: Party Politics in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Chile* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992).

Conservative Party, Colombia COLOMBIA'S Conservative Party formed as the result of an odd coalition of would-be adversaries in the 1840s. Members of the party vied for power with Liberals between the 1840s and the 1880s. Despite divisions among Conservative leaders, a sustained period of Conservative rule began in 1884 and continued well into the 20th century.

Colombian leadership immediately following independence consisted primarily of self-proclaimed liberals of one stripe or another. Divisions existed between those who fully supported independence leader and first New Granadan president FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER and former supporters of Simón Bolívar who still held out for a stronger form of government (see CENTRALISM). One of these Bolívar supporters, Dr. José Ignacio de Márquez (1837–41), succeeded Santander as president. Márquez invited several former Bolivarian allies into his administration, upsetting MILITARY strongmen across New Granada.

Opposition to Márquez reached a critical point in 1840 when General José María Obando used an isolated revolt over anticlerical policies as an excuse to rebel against the central government. Obando called together a coalition of liberal military leaders across the country and began the conflict that became known as the Guerra de los Supremos (War of the Supremes). Ostensibly, the liberal alliance fought for FEDERALISM, but Obando's ideological platform did not appear significantly different from that of the central government. Eventually, Márquez was forced to strengthen his alliance with the old guard of Bolívar collaborators. What started as an alliance of necessity to put down the liberal revolt in the War of the Supremes morphed into a formal political party in the following years.

Throughout the 1840s, Conservative successors of the Márquez presidency ruled Colombia. During that decade, the ideological line between the two parties became even more ambiguous. Conservatives and Liberals advocated similar political systems, although Conservative administrations did work to strengthen the authority of the central government. Both parties also believed in free TRADE and the basic LAISSEZ-FAIRE 19th-century economic model. Conservative administrations lowered tariffs and devoted a portion of the national treasury to improving TRANSPORTATION infrastructure. Conservative economic policies, in fact, provoked a temporary alliance of urban artisans looking for trade protection and radical idealists in the LIBERAL PARTY.

Conservatives did differ from Liberals on issues of religion. When the Liberal Party came to power in 1849 and began the era of reform known as the Liberal Revolution (1849–54), concerns over anticlerical measures divided the parties even further. Liberal leaders promulgated the new federalist CONSTITUTION OF 1853, only to create a rift within their own party. Liberal infighting allowed Conservative leader and party founder Mariano Ospina Rodríguez (1857–61) to win the presidency.

Ospina oversaw the creation of yet another constitution that, among other things, intended to resolve confusion over the relationship between states and the national government. The 1853 document had given more power to the provinces, and numerous small provinces had begun breaking off from larger entities in search of greater autonomy. Fearing the nation could break apart, Liberal leaders tried to consolidate small regional divisions into large provinces throughout the country. Furthermore, in 1855, the increasingly important Isthmus of PANAMA was declared a “sovereign federal state.” Ospina intended the Constitution of 1858 to resolve the uncertainties that emerged from these changes in status.

The new governing document changed the country’s name to the Granadine Confederation. It recognized eight sovereign states and gave local governments enormous power. Nevertheless, the Conservative administration of Ospina attempted to rein in the federalist inclinations of the provinces by giving himself more control over local government. Many Conservatives disapproved of the move toward confederation in the 1858 constitution, and Liberals reacted to Ospina’s increasingly autocratic governing style. The confused state of politics eventually developed into full-scale civil war. The victorious Liberals wrote a new constitution in 1863 and changed the nation’s name to the United States of Colombia. They remained in power for the next 20 years.

RAFAEL NÚÑEZ, elected president for the second time in 1884, led to the restoration of conservative politics in an era known as the Regeneration (1878–1900). A small regional conspiracy against the central government allowed Núñez to abrogate the Constitution of 1863. Núñez and his Conservative allies worked to create a new document that would limit local autonomy and strengthen the central government. The CONSTITUTION OF 1886 lengthened the presidential term to six years and allowed the national executive to appoint state governors. The document restored national government control over major economic sectors and public lands. It further reflected a more doctrinaire foundation of CONSERVATISM by limiting some civil liberties, such as freedom of the press, and by strengthening the relationship between church and state.

At the same time, Núñez attempted to consolidate the conservative platform under a party called the Nationalists, a move that ultimately divided the Conservative Party between Núñez’s Nationalists and the so-called Historical Conservatives. For the rest of the 19th century, the conservative policies implemented during the Regeneration dominated Colombian politics. Members of the Liberal Party had few opportunities to participate fully in the political system. For their part, conservatives remained splintered into Historical Conservatives, who often aligned themselves with Liberals on issues of trade, and Nationalists, who defended the staunch version of the conservatism that Núñez ushered in. Eventually, those divisions culminated

in the WAR OF THE THOUSAND DAYS (1899–1902). The drawn-out and bloody civil war weakened the nation, allowing U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt to back PANAMANIAN INDEPENDENCE in 1902.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II).

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Helen Delpar. *Red against Blue: The Liberal Party in Colombian Politics, 1863–1899* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1981).

Conservative Party, Mexico The Conservative Party of MEXICO was founded formally in 1848 by renowned statesman LUCAS ALAMÁN. Conservative political leaders vied for power with Mexican Liberals throughout most of the 19th century, and often, competition between the political factions escalated to armed conflict.

The broader conservative movement in Mexico dates back to before independence, and the origins of conservative politics go back to the establishment of the Scottish Rite Masonic Lodge during the war of independence. Its ranks were made up mainly of elite creoles with strong economic and political ties to the Spanish aristocracy. Royalist army officer and future Mexican emperor AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE was a member.

In the years immediately following independence, Scottish Rite Masons worked to ensure their livelihood and well-being. Particularly after the overthrow of Iturbide and the imposition of the CONSTITUTION OF 1824, they collaborated to advocate a centralist form of government and a more conservative social system. The Scottish Rite’s attempts to support CENTRALISM were quickly countered with the establishment of the York Rite Masons by U.S. emissary Joel Poinsett in 1825. Political antagonism erupted as York Rite Masons allied themselves with proponents of FEDERALISM, in opposition to the Scottish Rite Masons and centralists. Civil war broke out between the two sides in 1828, and the Mexican government responded by outlawing all secret societies. Although the Scottish Rite Masons seemed to disappear when reformists ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA and his vice president VALENTÍN GÓMEZ FARÍAS took office in 1833, a group of likeminded creole elite, calling themselves “*hombres de bien*” (righteous men), emerged. This group feared the extremist reform being implemented by Gómez Farías, to whom Santa Anna had handed power, and in 1835, they managed to convince Santa Anna to join their ranks. The once-liberal president abandoned his reform agenda and backed the conservative and centralist SIETE LEYES to replace the Constitution of 1824.

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the conservative elite of the *hombres de bien* constantly found themselves at odds with the liberal descendants of the York Rite Masons. Infighting among the factions created a sense

of chaos and disunity within Mexico, making the country vulnerable to external threats. Those same political fractures counteracted attempts by government leaders to prevent the TEXAS REVOLUTION in 1836 and the subsequent U.S.-MEXICAN WAR in 1846.

Mexico's defeat at the hands of the U.S. Army compelled Alamán to formalize the coalition of conservative elite into an official political party in 1848. The newly formed Conservative Party articulated its political vision in promoting a strong central government in the interest of defending long-standing social and cultural traditions. In particular, Conservatives advocated legal protections for the CATHOLIC CHURCH and argued for a preservation of corporate *FUEROS*, or privileges, enjoyed by members of the church, the MILITARY, and aristocratic nobility. Conservatives insisted that because Mexico had broken with those traditions, the nation had been weakened and was open to foreign invasion and internal instability.

After the formation of the Conservative Party, Alamán garnered support to invite the exiled former president Santa Anna back for his 11th stint as head of state in 1853. This time, Santa Anna ruled as an ultra-conservative dictator, and liberal opponents immediately rallied together to form a resistance movement.

A liberal coalition ousted the dictator during the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA in 1855, and the Conservative Party continued its struggle for political dominance. Conservative leaders contested Liberal attempts to alter the traditional system of privilege and social hierarchy in an era known as LA REFORMA. After suffering defeat in the three-year WAR OF REFORM in 1862, a conservative alliance invited Napoléon III of France to impose a European monarch in Mexico in yet another period of foreign invasion called the FRENCH INTERVENTION. By the time the Liberal army defeated the French in 1867, much of the Conservative platform had been discredited. Liberal leaders dominated Mexican politics for the rest of the century, although the dictatorship of PORFIRIO DÍAZ did bring a restoration of some conservative ideals.

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Torcuato S. Di Tella. *National Popular Politics in Early Independent Mexico, 1820–1847* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

Conservative Party, Venezuela VENEZUELA'S Conservative Party started as a coalition of supporters of independence leader and CAUDILLO president JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ. The MILITARY leader's strong stance in opposition to Gran Colombian leader FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER generated a sense of unity among Venezuelans. Páez declared the region's secession from GRAN COLOMBIA in 1830 and for several years succeeded

garnering support for his nation-building efforts. His tenure as president (1830–35) and as the main political influence behind the scenes until 1848 is known as the conservative oligarchy.

In the 1830s, members of Páez's coalition did not refer to themselves as conservatives. In fact, many of the policies implemented by the caudillo were relatively liberal in nature. Páez decreed freedom of religion in 1834 and took measures to decrease the budget and size of the military. New legislation limited religious and military privileges, or *FUEROS*, such as the parallel court system that had been common in the colonial period. Furthermore, economic policies reflected a close adherence to LAISSEZ-FAIRE principles of little government interference in commerce and TRADE.

For the first 10 years of the Venezuelan republic, Páez and his coalition faced little political opposition. By the end of the 1830s, however, an economic downturn had prompted a rift within the conservative oligarchy. A law passed by the Páez administration allowed money-lenders to raise interest rates without limit, and when the price of COFFEE exports dropped in the following years, many coffee farmers were unable to make the rising payments. Discontented small merchants, farmers, and intellectuals coalesced behind journalist and former Páez cabinet member Antonio Leocadio Guzmán (1801–84) to establish a formal political party. Guzmán's LIBERAL PARTY, through the newspaper *El venezolano*, criticized the Páez administration and called for greater protection of the larger populace. In response, wealthy and upper-class supporters of the president organized the Conservative Party. Páez and the two top members of his oligarchy, José María Vargas (1835–36) and Carlos Soublette (1837–39, 1843–47), led the party.

As opposition mounted, Páez attempted to assuage animosities by supporting Liberal Party member José Tadeo Monagas (1847–51, 1855–58) in the 1847 presidential election. Monagas initially deferred to Páez's tutelage but then abandoned his loyalties to the caudillo, expelling all Conservatives from the government and sending Páez into exile. Monagas and his brother ruled in dictatorial fashion until a delicate and temporary alliance of Liberals and Conservatives ousted them in 1858. Conservatives hoped to regain power with the presidency of Julián Castro (1858–59), but the power vacuum caused by the overthrow of the Monagas brothers culminated in the FEDERAL WAR, which plagued the country from 1858 to 1863. Páez supporters challenged the Liberal Party and succeeded in bringing the caudillo back to power. He served as dictator from 1861 to 1863, but even under his leadership, the Conservative Party splintered. In April 1863, the Treaty of Coche ended the Federal War with a Conservative surrender. Remnants of the conservative movement remained, and later Liberal administrations often adopted many of the centralized government policies that had been advocated by the Conservative Party. Nevertheless, after the conclusion of the Federal War,

the Liberal Party dominated most of Venezuelan national politics for the rest of the 19th century.

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R. B. Cunningham Graham. *José Antonio Páez* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1970).

Constant, Benjamin (b. 1836–d. 1891) *Brazilian political and military leader* Benjamin Constant was a Brazilian positivist whose ideas were instrumental in BRAZIL'S transition from an empire to a republic in 1889. He is considered the “Founder of the Brazilian Republic.” He was a member of the MILITARY and played a role in the abolitionist movement that developed in the late 19th century.

Constant was born on October 18, 1836. He began a military career in 1852 and fought in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE against PARAGUAY in the 1860s. But, his most visible role was as a professor of mathematics at the National Military Academy. Constant was influenced by Auguste Comte's theories of POSITIVISM and carried those ideas into the classroom. Positivists in Brazil generally advocated the abolition of SLAVERY and believed that the ideals of a republic were superior to the imperial structure of the Brazilian government. The movement became particularly strong among young military cadets, who tended to be the sons of the bourgeoisie and who found the underlying positivist tenets of “order and progress” especially appealing. Positivism and republicanism blossomed in Brazil's military circles, and military leaders began to challenge the existing structure of government. Constant and other military officers, including MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA founded the Clube Militar in 1887 as a forum for promoting military interests.

By 1889, the budding Republican Party had formed a de facto partnership with positivists within the military. On November 15 of that year, a military coup led by Deodoro overthrew the emperor and established the Republic of Brazil. Constant served as a cabinet minister in the new government, first as minister of war and later as minister of public education. He died on January 22, 1891. “Order and Progress,” the positivist slogan he endorsed throughout his career, appears on the flag of the Brazilian republic.

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constitutional development, Peru In the 19th century, PERU had seven different constitutions, the first five of which were enacted in the first two decades after independence. In early deliberations over constitutional structure, political leaders debated whether to establish

a constitutional monarchy or form a more democratic republic. In later decades, the debates shifted to whether a controlled and centralized governmental organization or more open and popular political participation was more desirable. Constitutions also became a forum in which the power struggle between the executive and the legislature often played out.

Throughout the war for independence in Peru, MILITARY leaders and regional elite competed for power and clashed over what type of governing system should be put in place. Independence leader José de San Martín attempted to create a constitutional monarchy in 1821, but he was forced to accede to the wishes of Peru's first constituent congress, which met in 1822. Peru's first constitution in 1823 established the nation as a republic, but Peru's political environment was unstable and the governing document was challenged by the last Spanish strongholds in the Andes. Conspiracies abounded as traditionally minded elite attempted to dismantle the republican form of government and replace it with a monarchy. A year later, Simón Bolívar and ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE defeated the last of the Spanish forces and secured independence for Peru.

Bolívar ruled from LIMA and in 1826 promulgated a new constitution, modeled after his BOLIVARIAN CONSTITUTION introduced in BOLIVIA that same year. The Constitution of 1826 created a highly centralized government with a lifetime president and a somewhat confusing system of checks and balances. Bolívar was deposed in 1827, and political chaos ensued. A new, more liberal constitution was created in 1828, modeled largely after that of the United States. The creation of a new governing document did little to stabilize Peru's political climate, and the next 15 years were marred by political infighting and foreign intervention. Local CAUDILLOS battled for power within Peru, and in 1836, Bolivian dictator ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ capitalized on that instability by invading Peru and declaring the PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION. During those years of instability, two more constitutions were written; they were adopted in 1834 and 1839. The constitutions promulgated between 1828 and 1839 all called for a similar form of government with a separation of powers between three branches of government. All of the early constitutions stipulated a limited electorate and indirect election of the president and legislature. The documents differed on the specific powers granted to the president, reflecting the various inclinations of individual caudillos. Despite those distinctions, all Peruvian constitutions up to 1839 were essentially conservative in that they privileged a powerful executive leader.

President RAMÓN CASTILLA introduced a more liberal and democratic constitution in 1856. It introduced direct popular election of national officials for the first time in Peru. That document was replaced in 1860 with a more conservative one, which remained in place for the rest of the century. The Constitution of 1860 moved

electoral participation back to an indirect vote and reinforced property, income, and EDUCATION requirements to vote. The constitution strengthened the power of the executive, but it did set up a system of greater oversight between the Congress and the executive. The Constitution of 1860 remained in place until 1920.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ DE (Vol. II).

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constitutional development, Venezuela

Constitutional development in VENEZUELA began with the promulgation of the Constitution of Gran Colombia in 1821. The federation of former colonies created by independence leader Simón Bolívar included present-day Venezuela, ECUADOR, COLOMBIA, and PANAMA. GRAN COLOMBIA's constitution set up a governing system whereby Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia were supposedly equal and autonomous, but in reality, the central government in Colombia retained a large degree of control over the federation. Under the administrations of Bolívar and fellow independence leader FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER, the government of Gran Colombia became increasingly centralized, frustrating the local Venezuelan leadership. CAUDILLO and independence hero JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ led a revolt against Santander in 1826 but stood down when Bolívar assumed the presidency of Gran Colombia. Within two years, Venezuelans were convinced that Bolívar was even less responsive to local needs than his predecessor, and Páez led a secessionist movement and created the Republic of Venezuela.

Venezuela's first constitution as an independent republic was created in 1830. The system of government it set up reflects the misgivings local elite felt toward the strong central government of the Bolívar era. The Constitution of 1830 called for a president who would serve one four-year term, and a bicameral legislature. Strictly enforced literacy and income requirements restricted the electorate to the educated and the elite. The constitution also called for the abolition of SLAVERY, but this measure—like many other policies—was not instituted. Páez was elected Venezuela's first president under the constitution, and in the age of caudillos, his charisma and hero status from the independence era made him an efficient ruler in the eyes of many Venezuelans. He served multiple terms as president despite the constitution's original one-term restriction and its stipulations on reining in the central government.

The Constitution of 1830 remained in place until the rise of the Monagas brothers—José Tadeo (1847–51, 1855–58) and José Gregorio (1855–58). The brothers formed the LIBERAL PARTY in 1840 and took over the

presidency in 1847. By 1857, they had garnered enough political support to reform the constitution and give the executive greater powers. Their political maneuvering, however, provoked an immediate uprising among influential Páez supporters and other political leaders who saw the move as a return to the centralist government of the pre-republic period. Regional caudillos fought the bloody FEDERAL WAR between 1858 and 1863, which quickly became a battle between the governing systems of FEDERALISM and CENTRALISM. Both sides claimed to be fighting on behalf of the wider populace, and over the next decade, the electorate expanded significantly. At the beginning of the Federal War, a federalist constitution of 1858 was approved; it set up a system of powerful and autonomous provinces with a weak central government. The Constitution of 1864, written by ANTONIO GUZMÁN BLANCO, strengthened the federalist system and called for an array of liberal reforms. Guzmán Blanco oversaw implementation of the constitution in his position as long-term dictator between 1870 and 1888. Although he changed the constitution several times, the basic liberal federalist structure remained. Under Guzmán Blanco, Venezuela's 20 provinces became sovereign and autonomous states with the power to secede from the central government.

A final constitutional change came in the 1890s, when the Revolución Legalista (Legalist Revolution) broke out over constitutional reform. Joaquín Crespo (1884–86, 1892–98) led the revolt and promulgated the Constitution of 1893–94, which introduced the first secret ballot and system of direct elections in Venezuela's history. For the rest of the 19th century, Venezuela's government became increasingly centralized, paving the way for more conflict and numerous constitutional changes in the 20th century.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II).

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Constitution of 1805, Haiti (Imperial Constitution of 1805)

The Constitution of 1805 was the first constitution of the newly independent HAITI. After the defeat of the French, Haitian independence was declared on January 1, 1804, under the leadership of JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES. At this time, the Act of Independence was read in La Place des Armes in Gonaïves. This document changed the name of the former French colony of Saint Domingue to *Hayti* in honor of the original inhabitants of the island, permanently abolished SLAVERY, and declared independence from France.

On October 8, 1804, Dessalines crowned himself Emperor Jacques I of Haiti. On May 20 of the following year, he ratified Haiti's first constitution. The most striking features of the constitution concern issues of land,

race, and religion. Regarding land, Article 12 states that “no white, whatever his nation, could set foot on Haitian soil as master or owner of land.” This article was preserved by the Haitian government until the U.S. occupation of Haiti in 1915. During the occupation, President Woodrow Wilson authorized the Haitian constitution to be rewritten, thereby allowing foreign ownership and investment of local land for the first time since colonial rule.

Article 14 addresses race by allowing “certain whites, such as white women who conceived or will bear Haitian children, and those Germans and Poles who deserted Leclerc’s army in order to fight with the rebels to be naturalized and referred to hereafter as *black* in the generic sense of the word.” Dessalines recognized that racial divisions were a problem in Haiti, and this article was intended to help unify the population.

Freedom of RELIGION (Articles 50 and 51) was protected in the Constitution of 1805. Both the preceding leader, Toussaint Louverture, and the subsequent one, HENRI CHRISTOPHE, recognized only Roman Catholicism as the religion of the state. By allowing VODOU and other African religions to be recognized and practiced, Dessalines was addressing the needs of the black majority.

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Constitution of 1819, Argentina The Constitution of 1819 was the first attempt by the ruling elite in ARGENTINA to establish a formal governing document for the newly formed nation after independence. The Constitution of 1819 followed shortly after the official formation of the first Argentine congress in 1816 and Congress’s Declaration of Independence.

The drafting of the Constitution of 1819 was spearheaded by *unitario* leader Juan Martín de Pueyrredón (see *UNITARIOS*). Pueyrredón had been selected as director of the national congress in 1816, and his policies toward the interior had already alienated many provincial CAUDILLOS. The *unitario*-inspired constitution included a number of measures that angered provincial elite even more. The document stipulated that national authority would be concentrated in the capital city of BUENOS AIRES and gave *porteño* leaders the ability to designate many provincial leaders. *FEDERALES*—or members of the opposing political factions from the provinces—rejected many of the provisions contained in the constitution, arguing that they gave too much power to Buenos Aires. Others took issue with a controversial measure that would have allowed national leaders to establish a constitutional monarchy.

The Constitution of 1819 was never ratified. Shortly after its completion, civil war broke out between *unitarios*

and *federales* over centralized versus provincial control. Martín Rodríguez was selected as governor of Buenos Aires the following year and managed to restore some calm to the struggling nation. *Unitarios* attempted to push through yet another constitution in 1826. This document did not allow for a monarchy and outlined a clear separation of branches of government. Despite several articles intended to safeguard provincial autonomy, *federales* opposed other *unitario*-sponsored measures, and one year later, the two political factions had descended into conflict once again.

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Constitution of 1824, Brazil The Constitution of 1824 was the governing document promulgated by BRAZIL’s first emperor, PEDRO I. The document gave the emperor considerable control over other governing institutions, such as the legislature and provincial governments. The Constitution of 1824 remained in effect until the end of the EMPIRE OF BRAZIL, in 1889.

Pedro I declared Brazil’s independence in 1822 largely in response to mounting pressure from Brazilian liberals who wanted to move the former Portuguese colony toward self-government. Those same liberal supporters envisioned a postcolonial governing system based on a parliamentary monarchy with the emperor retaining little real power. A constituent assembly met in 1823 to draft a new constitution outlining the parameters of government, but when the delegates attempted to limit the sovereign’s authority, Pedro disbanded the assembly and exiled José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, one of its more influential leaders. Under a hastily organized Council of State, Pedro oversaw the writing of the Constitution of 1824, for which he secured approval from important sectors of the population.

Brazil’s Constitution of 1824 created a conservative and centralist governing system. It called for a parliamentary branch made up of a Senate of lifetime appointees selected by the emperor and a Chamber of Deputies chosen through indirect elections. The document severely restricted the political system by establishing property requirements for voting and holding political office. It safeguarded the authority and power of the emperor by allowing him to reject legislation and dissolve Parliament. Pedro also held enormous sway over judicial decisions. The document called for a circle of advisers in the Council of State and a cabinet of ministers to be appointed directly by the emperor. Pedro had the ability to name provincial leaders, in an attempt to secure executive oversight of local politics. The constitution maintained the religious legacy of Brazil’s colonial past

by declaring Catholicism the nation's official religion. Pedro also continued the long-standing tradition of appointing CATHOLIC CHURCH officials.

Some aspects of the constitution reflected the liberal influence of some of Pedro's close advisers. The document called for a protection of individual liberties in a way similar to the U.S. Constitution promulgated decades earlier. It allowed for freedom of RELIGION. It called for social equality—at least in theory—while maintaining the legality of SLAVERY. The Constitution of 1824 also provided relatively straightforward mechanisms for changing the document, and many scholars credit those amendment measures for the constitution's longevity.

Pedro's autocratic approach to promulgating the constitution provoked a number of rebellions throughout the country. The emperor put down those revolts violently and temporarily forced the compliance of regional elite. Deep-seated resentment toward Pedro eventually resurfaced in 1831, when in the face of widespread revolt, he abdicated the throne in favor of his five-year-old son, PEDRO II. The Constitution of 1824 remained in place until 1889, when advocates of political and economic modernization overthrew Pedro II and formed the Republic of Brazil. The 1824 constitution was replaced by a democratic constitution in 1891.

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Constitution of 1824, Mexico (Constituent Act of the Mexican Federation)

MEXICO's Constitution of 1824 was enacted following the overthrow of AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE and the dismantling of his postindependence imperial rule. Upon Iturbide's abdication, the interim government convened a constitutional congress, beginning in November 1823, at which political leaders debated what kind of political system to put in place. Generally, conservative leaders wanted to maintain a strong centralist form of government (see CENTRALISM). They felt that deviating too much from the colonial political heritage of monarchy would lead the nation to failure. Liberal leaders wanted to follow the lead of the American and French Revolutions and Spain's Constitution of 1812, whose progressive political platforms marked a complete break from traditional monarchy. These leaders aimed to replace Mexico's highly centralized government with a more balanced, federalist system (see FEDERALISM).

In the end, the Constitution of 1824 created a federal republic, with 19 states making up the Estados Unidos Mexicanos (United Mexican States). The system

of government was similar to that created by the U.S. Constitution of 1787, with three branches of government authority: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. It stipulated a bicameral congress with a Chamber of Deputies, whose representation was to be based on population, and a Senate made up of two senators per state. The executive branch included a president and vice president elected to four-year terms, and the federal judiciary followed a similar structure to that in the United States.

The Constitution of 1824 reflected the wariness of a strong executive after the failed experiment with monarchy by Iturbide. The document significantly restricted the executive branch by stipulating the indirect election of the president and vice president through state legislatures. It also prohibited immediate reelection of the executive, requiring the president to sit out one term before seeking reelection. Other provisions restricted the president's ability to command the MILITARY without the permission of Congress. The writers of the constitution attempted to limit presidential abuses such as depriving individuals of their rights and liberties. These powers could only be exercised in times of emergency.

The conservative centralist influence is also evident in the document. Article 3 preserved Catholicism as the national RELIGION and safeguarded the extraordinary privileges, or *FUEROS*, of church and military leaders.

The constitution was promulgated on October 4, 1824. Although never fully enforced, it remained in place until suspended by ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA in 1833. In 1835, Santa Anna's SIETE LEYES (Seven Laws) dissolved the federal republic in favor of a centralized government and replaced the Constitution of 1824.

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Constitution of 1826, Bolivia

See BOLIVARIAN CONSTITUTION.

Constitution of 1828, Chile The Constitution of 1828 of CHILE established a liberal and unitary system of government in the newly independent nation after five years of political uncertainty and experimentation. The constitution agitated the conservative elite, who began organizing a resistance movement. It also upset those who had advocated a more federalist form of government. The Constitution of 1828 was replaced by the conservative CONSTITUTION OF 1833, which remained in effect for the remainder of the 19th century.

Political anxieties began to surface in Chile almost immediately after the colony achieved its independence from Spain in 1818. Independence leader Bernardo O'Higgins served as supreme director for the first five years, but his authoritarian style disturbed the more

liberal-minded elite, especially as the wars of independence in the region began to subside. In 1823, a powerful political cabal forced O'Higgins to resign. This group, led by Ramón Freire (1823–26), eventually coalesced into the LIBERAL PARTY. Between 1823 and 1828, Liberal leaders struggled to devise a new system of government that would meet the new nation's needs. In a five-year period, four constituent congresses convened and wrote numerous constitutional drafts, all of which pleased virtually no one. The propositions being articulated by those congresses gradually became more liberal and more federalist. The 1826 congress introduced the progressive idea of locally elected assemblies in the provinces that would share a number of lawmaking functions with the national government. The move toward FEDERALISM angered a large number of Liberals, who argued that giving authority to local governments would ultimately weaken the nation. Liberals began to splinter over the issue of federalism, until writer and political intellectual José Joaquín de Mora (b. 1783–d. 1864) helped to guide the writing of the Constitution of 1828.

The new document attempted to create a compromise based on the federalist designs of earlier congresses, but with a strong central government. The Constitution of 1828 retained a nominal representative presence in provincial assemblies, but most power rested in the national government, which was divided into the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The document also adhered to a true sense of LIBERALISM by calling for the abolition of traditional legal privileges that had been enjoyed by the nobility and members of the CATHOLIC CHURCH.

It immediately became clear that nearly every political subgroup found some aspect of the constitution unacceptable. Those advocating greater provincial authority felt that the document was not federalist enough. Conservatives reeled at the attacks on the clergy and aristocracy, while Liberals felt the reforms included in the document did not go far enough. In 1829, a dispute over the presidential elections ignited the conflict that had been building throughout the decade. After a brief but violent armed conflict, Conservatives defeated the Liberals, who were still divided among themselves. By 1831, a new government was in place under General Joaquín Prieto (1831–41). His adviser, DIEGO PORTALES, helped draft a new conservative constitution in 1833, which replaced the Chilean liberal experiment in the Constitution of 1828.

See also O'HIGGINS, BERNARDO (Vol. II).

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Constitution of 1830, Uruguay The Constitution of 1830 was the first governing document produced by

leaders in URUGUAY after the nation achieved complete independence in 1828. It was modeled largely on the constitution of the United States, although it reflected the influence of the emerging COLORADO PARTY by imposing a strongly centralized government (see CENTRALISM). Over the course of the 19th century, several governments failed to implement the constitution fully, and governing practices were reformed substantially in the final decades of the century. Nevertheless, the Constitution of 1830 remained in effect until replaced by a new document in 1917.

Uruguay was once known as the BANDA ORIENTAL and made up the easternmost province of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, the region of South America that eventually became the nation of ARGENTINA. Between 1825 and 1828, the United Provinces and BRAZIL fought the CISPLATINE WAR for control of the Banda Oriental. The conflict was resolved when British mediators intervened and secured the complete independence of the Banda Oriental, to be known as the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, in 1828. Leaders in Uruguay immediately began drafting a constitution. It was ratified on July 18, 1830, by parties in Uruguay and by the leaders of the United Provinces and Brazil.

The constitution established three branches of government with a highly centralized executive. Under the document, the president held extraordinary powers, while the General Assembly and the judicial branch had little means to serve as a check on his authority. JOSÉ FRUCTUOSO RIVERA, who had led the Uruguayan insurgents during the Cisplatine War, was elected as the nation's first president under the new charter. The document also specified that the new nation would be organized into regional departments, and each of those would be headed by a governor, appointed by the president. Like many early 19th-century Latin American constitutions, Uruguay's Constitution of 1830 provided for only a limited electorate and established the Catholicism as the official RELIGION of the new nation. SLAVERY had been abolished in earlier years by independence hero José Gervasio Artigas, and the constitution reinforced that decree by stipulating that slavery was illegal in Uruguay.

The centralized government and powerful executive established in the 1830 constitution produced numerous conflicts over the next 40 years as regional CAUDILLOS demanded a more federalist structure (see FEDERALISM). In the 1830s, these regional leaders, representing rural interests, coalesced in a new political faction led by MANUEL ORIBE and known as the BLANCO PARTY. The *blancos* battled the centralizing tendencies of the newly formed Colorado Party, led by President Rivera. The *colorados* generally represented urban and intellectual interests. The two parties split further as foreign leaders continued to intervene in Uruguay's internal politics. Those divisions eventually escalated into the GUERRA GRANDE, (1838–51) a lengthy and violent civil war between the *blancos* and the *colorados*. During that

time, various governments ignored numerous aspects of the Constitution of 1830. In 1878, the two rival political parties implemented the system of *coparticipación* (coparticipation), which allowed for formal and informal sharing of power between the parties. The 1830 constitution remained in place until President José Batlle y Ordóñez introduced a new governing document in 1917.

See also ARTIGAS, JOSÉ GERVASIO (Vol. II); BATLLE Y ORDÓÑEZ, JOSÉ (Vol. IV).

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Constitution of 1833, Chile CHILE'S Constitution of 1833 was put in place by the government of Conservative president General Joaquín Prieto (1831–41) under the guidance of political mastermind DIEGO PORTALES. It was written primarily by MARIANO EGAÑA. The document imposed a centralist political system that was intended to allow the government to maintain order and a sense of stability in the newly independent nation (see CENTRALISM). The Constitution of 1833 remained in effect until 1924 and is often cited as one of the reasons the 19th century was a period of relative peace and prosperity for Chile, in contrast to the more tumultuous experiences of its South American neighbors.

The predecessor to the 1833 document was the CONSTITUTION OF 1828. The earlier plan had been drafted by a Liberal government during a time when national leaders were considering a more federalist system of regional authority. Although the Constitution of 1828 included only token measures of FEDERALISM, it concerned leaders such as Portales, who considered any fracturing of the national government's power to be a step toward weakening the nation. The 1828 constitution also angered hardline Conservatives with its provisions to dismantle the privileges enjoyed by the aristocracy and members of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Prieto and the Conservatives formed an alliance with Portales's centralists in 1829 and rebelled against the Liberal government. Prieto's victory in 1830 ushered in an era of Conservative rule and provided an opportunity to replace the 1828 constitution.

Portales's insistence on a strong central government and the rule of law was evident in the new constitution. Formalized in May 1833, the document called for a powerful president, elected for up to two five-year terms. Suffrage was limited, and the president was to be chosen by a small, select group of electors. Although the constitution included a legislative arm, in practice, the head executive held extraordinary powers over all aspects of government. Furthermore, the slight degree of provincial power allowed for in the Constitution of 1828 disappeared. The 1833 system established provincial

intendants, who were appointed by and answered to the president.

Other aspects of the Portalian system reflected the leader's pragmatism. The Constitution of 1833 protected Catholicism as the official RELIGION of Chile. It restored the ecclesiastical and aristocratic privileges that had been attacked in 1828. Portales also created a system that aimed to prevent the MILITARY from threatening internal stability. He forbade high-level military officers to become involved in politics and created a civil militia, led by businessmen and landowners, to maintain domestic order.

In the 1840s and 1850s, suffrage was gradually expanded, and even though the CONSERVATIVE PARTY monopolized the presidency for four full decades, opposition parties began to gain momentum. The legislative branch of the Chilean national government became more vocal in the last decades of the 19th century, and in 1891, the constitution was amended to limit presidential authority. The basic text of the Constitution of 1833 remained in place in Chile until it was replaced by a new document in 1924.

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Constitution of 1843, Haiti HAITI'S Constitution of 1843 was created by a constituent assembly following the overthrow of the regime of JEAN-PIERRE BOYER (1818–43). Important features of this constitution are that it appointed a new president, created a variety of civil and elected offices and jurisdictions, and extended the vote to peasants.

Boyer's regime was criticized for its oppressive economic, social, and diplomatic policies. Political opposition grew and finally organized under the mulatto poet and political activist Hérard Dumesle. The rebels, under the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, used 18th-century French Enlightenment rhetoric and excerpts from the 1789 French document the Declaration of the Rights of Man to express their desire for guaranteed, fundamental human rights.

When Dumesle's group began openly criticizing Boyer, all its members were immediately purged from the legislature. This overt attempt to suppress opposition significantly compromised Boyer's power. Political opponents headed by General CHARLES RIVIÈRE-HÉRARD (1843–44), Dumesle's cousin, gained public support and began marching toward the capital. The threat of a MILITARY coup forced Boyer from office and into exile. Rivière-Hérard then rose as military leader.

A constituent assembly, sensitive to the political agenda of the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, then organized and drafted a new constitution, which legally appointed Rivière-Hérard as president on

December 31, 1843. The liberal and democratic provisions, such as widespread suffrage, of the constitution were ineffectual due to the chaotic and unstable nature of Haitian politics during this period.

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Constitution of 1844, Dominican Republic

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC'S Constitution of 1844 was the nation's first constitution after achieving its independence from neighboring HAITI. The constitution was signed and promulgated on November 6, 1844, at Benemérita de San Cristóbal following a successful revolt by LA TRINITARIA movement, which had been fighting for years against the HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO. The Constitution of 1844 marked the onset of self-determined government in the Dominican Republic but also set off a long period of conflict among competing national leaders.

Trinitaria leaders Juan Pablo Duarte (b. 1813–d. 1876), Matías Ramón Mella (b. 1816–d. 1864), and Francisco del Rosario Sánchez (b. 1817–d. 1861) envisioned a republic based on democratic ideals. A constitutional congress initially drafted a constitution based on that of the United States. The document was considered a liberal statement of government, with separate branches to provide a system of checks and balances. The Constitution of 1844 also included a progressive series of individual rights and protections for Dominican citizens, modeled on the United States Bill of Rights. Constitutional constituents established the nation's motto as "God, Fatherland, Liberty" (*Dios, patria, libertad*) but also took measures to maintain the separation of church and state in the first governing document.

Independence leaders generally agreed on the basic principles of democratic self-government, but continued threats of invasion by Haiti caused the tenuous consensus to break down. As the Haitian MILITARY attempted to reoccupy the eastern portion of the island, hardline military leaders began to advocate a more authoritarian system of government in the interest of protecting the nation's independence. PEDRO SANTANA forced Trinitaria leaders into exile and claimed the presidency for himself in 1844. He then pressured the constitutional congress to approve Article 210 to protect national sovereignty. The controversial article gave Santana dictatorial powers with the understanding that more autocratic rule may be necessary to defeat the Haitian military and safeguard Dominican independence. Santana led the nation in repelling the Haitian invasion, but the neighboring coun-

try persisted in its attempts to reoccupy the Dominican Republic in the coming years. As a result, Santana refused to cede his tight control over the government and instead revised the constitution to extend his autocratic rule. Santana ruled by executive decree and summarily suspended basic individual rights. Tight executive authority allowed him to control his political opponents with the threat of arrest and exile. Nevertheless, opposition to Santana mounted and government control seesawed over the next 20 years. Santana's meddling in the constitution began a trend of oscillation between authoritarian and more democratic constitutional systems.

November 6, or Constitution Day, is still commemorated as a national holiday in the Dominican Republic.

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Constitution of 1853, Argentina

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1853 IN ARGENTINA created a democratic and constitutional government after the overthrow of CAUDILLO and dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. The constitution consisted of 31 articles outlining individual rights and 76 articles defining the structure and organization of the government. It was reformed several times (in 1860, 1866, 1898, 1957, and 1994), but the original document is still the foundation of the nation's governmental structure today.

After achieving independence, leaders in Argentina immediately set about creating a constitutional government. Ideological divisions between *UNITARIOS* and *FEDERALES* led to violent clashes as political leaders from BUENOS AIRES produced the CONSTITUTION OF 1819 and the Constitution of 1826. Federalist politicians in the provinces perceived both of these early documents as favoring Buenos Aires over the interior and rebelled against the *unitario* leadership. Rosas abandoned the idea of establishing a constitution in the 1830s and 1840s, and the caudillo violently stifled any attempts to create consensual government. Only after his overthrow in 1852 by JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA were political leaders able to move the nation toward constitutional government.

Shortly after Rosas's overthrow, Urquiza called for a constitutional congress to convene and draft a new governing document. Delegates met in Santa Fe in August 1852 and spent the next several months debating and writing the constitution. Shortly after the inauguration of the congress, Buenos Aires rose in revolt, with delegates from that province boycotting the convention. The traditional conflict between the port city and the provinces became a point of contention in the deliberations over the constitution. In the end, delegates approved a document that created a national government based

on a bicameral legislature, an executive branch, and an independent judicial branch. Many of the details relating to the organization of the government were influenced by the writings of JUAN BAUTISTA ALBERDI. The constitution gave the legislative branch considerable power in an attempt to prevent the reemergence of strongman rule after the era of Rosas. Delegates also anticipated that a strong legislature would safeguard the rights and interests of the interior.

The Constitution of 1853 was approved immediately by all provinces except Buenos Aires. Urquiza, who became president the following year, promulgated the document without the participation of the province, which for the next six years existed autonomously from the rest of the nation. As the main seaport, the city of Buenos Aires was able to obstruct the interior's export and import TRADE. Urquiza invaded the city on several occasions, and eventually, Buenos Aires came to an agreement with the interior and ratified the Constitution of 1853, with several amendments. Constitutional changes in 1860 offered significant protections to Buenos Aires, including financial safeguards and constraints on federalizing the capital city. Buenos Aires was eventually federalized in 1880. The constitution also changed the name of the nation from the Confederación Argentina (Argentine Confederation) to the República Argentina (Argentine Republic).

Minor amendments followed in later years of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the Constitution of 1853 retained much of its original structure until major reforms in the 20th century.

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Constitution of 1853, Colombia COLOMBIA'S Constitution of 1853 was drafted by radical Liberals and became the first formal attempt to implement a liberal and federalist system of government in the nation in the 19th century (see FEDERALISM). The document authorized numerous controversial reforms that eventually led to conflict between Liberals and Conservatives and within the LIBERAL PARTY itself. Although the Constitution of 1853 was replaced by a conservative constitution in 1858, it paved the way for the even more progressive Constitution of 1863.

The predecessor to the Constitution of 1853 was the Constitution of 1832, which had been drafted upon the dissolution of GRAN COLOMBIA. The 1832 document established a moderately federalist system. It was amended by the Conservative government of Pedro

Alcántara Herrán (1841–45) in 1843 to strengthen the central government after a series of divisive wars. The election of General José Hilario López (1849–53) in 1849 marked the beginning of the so-called Liberal Revolution propelled by the *gólgota* faction of radical Liberals. López led a reform movement that aimed to move Colombia's political system away from CENTRALISM and CONSERVATISM. López's reforms culminated in the new national Constitution of 1853.

Inspired by a radical and doctrinaire version of LIBERALISM, GÓLGOTAS drafted the constitution to bring drastic changes to Colombian society. The document called for universal male suffrage and gave new powers to state governments. Other liberal reforms included the abolition of SLAVERY and land reform measures. Liberal leaders envisioned parceling out communally owned indigenous lands in the hope of creating a nation of private property owners. This measure had the unintended consequence of allowing the wealthy, elite classes to begin acquiring formally protected indigenous properties and consolidating their landholdings into enormous estates.

A final liberal cause championed in the Constitution of 1853 was that of RELIGION. The document included measures that limited the authority of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. One of the most important was the elimination of the ecclesiastical *FUERO*, a colonial legal protection that allowed members of the church to stand trial for offenses in the ecclesiastical, rather than the civil, courts.

Although radical Liberals envisioned even more progressive reform, the more cautious, old-line *dracónico* faction of the Liberal Party prevented more drastic changes from being included in the 1853 document. In particular, DRACONIANOS grew concerned that the increasingly federalist platform being advocated by the radical *gólgota* faction would ultimately divide and weaken the country. *Draconianos* led a rebellion against the *gólgota*-dominated government in 1854, a move that led to a revival of the CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

Conservative leaders replaced the Constitution of 1853 with a federalist constitution in 1858. The new document renamed the nation the Granadine Confederation. The new political structure called for eight states with greater powers. But, a civil war in 1860 brought the radical Liberals back to power. In 1863, leaders approved the Constitution of Rionegro, which called for a staunchly federalist system and changed the nation's name to the United States of Colombia. The Constitution of 1863 remained in effect until replaced with the CONSTITUTION OF 1886.

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Constitution of 1857, Mexico The Constitution of 1857 was written and promulgated by the Liberal

leaders in MEXICO who deposed ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA in 1855. Under the leadership of IGNACIO COMONFORT, a cadre of intellectuals including BENITO JUÁREZ consolidated the liberal laws of LA REFORMA (1855–58) and incorporated additional measures aimed at dismantling the conservative political and social structures favored by previous administrations. The document contained 128 articles and clearly expressed the liberal political platform of its creators. The constitution, along with the Reform Laws that preceded it, triggered intense resistance from conservative interests, and the nation eventually descended into the WAR OF REFORM (1858–61).

Precedent for the Constitution of 1857 was set in the Spanish constitution of Cádiz in 1812, in José María Morelos's Constitution of Apatzingán, and in the Mexico's CONSTITUTION OF 1824. The three earlier documents represented attempts to infuse liberal institutions into a culture deeply entrenched in conservative and religious traditions. Even the Constitution of 1824, which established Mexico as a federal republic and attempted to create a democratic tradition, preserved Roman Catholicism as the nation's official RELIGION. Conservative and centralist interests that aimed to protect the religious and monarchist legacy of the Spanish colonial model resisted.

In 1835, Conservatives backed Santa Anna's efforts to centralize authority by abolishing the federal republic and replacing the Constitution of 1824 with his SIETE LEYES. The new government, based on a strong executive, dissolved states and nullified local authority. Those measures led to rebellions and secessionist movements in the Yucatán and Texas. Mexico lost the latter in the TEXAS REVOLUTION of 1836, and the nation faced further threats from abroad. In 1843, Congress began laying the foundation for a new constitution and created Bases Orgánicas de la República Mexicana (Organic Bases of the Mexican Republic). The bases reaffirmed the conservative and centralist system specified in the Siete Leyes. They were replaced only a few years later with the Acta Constitutiva y de Reforma in 1847, which restored the federalist system originally outlined in the Constitution of 1824. These acts were created in the midst of the chaos of the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR and proved to be short lived. In 1853, Conservatives managed to put Santa Anna back in power, but the dictator was overthrown just two years later in the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA, paving the way for a new, stronger liberal constitution.

As stipulated in the Plan of Ayutla, once in power, Liberal leaders implemented a series of measures that attacked corporate and conservative interests, collectively known as the Reform Laws. These included the Juárez Law (1855), which abolished the parallel court system of the MILITARY and the CATHOLIC CHURCH; the Lerdo Law (1856), which divested corporate institutions of nonessential real estate; and the Iglesias Law (1857), which supplanted church oversight of births, deaths, and

marriages with a civil registry for vital statistics. The Plan of Ayutla also called for delegates to write a new constitution. The new document was to encompass the liberal Reform Laws, as well as pose additional challenges to conservative interests.

Debate surfaced almost immediately among Liberals over numerous measures to be included in the constitution, revealing a rift between *moderados* (moderates) and *pueros* (staunch Liberals). *Puros* advocated the pursuit of liberal reform and the dismantling of corporate privileges, while *moderados* worried that such drastic measures would lead to a backlash and further instability. Some of the most intense debate erupted over the issue of religious freedom. While the final version of the constitution did not specifically provide the right of religious freedom, it also did not protect the Catholic Church as the official religion of the nation.

Adopted by Congress in February 1857, the constitution was based on the U.S. Constitution as well as the Constitution of 1824 and pursued a liberal political agenda much more aggressively than its predecessor. It streamlined the governing powers of the legislative branch into one strong lawmaking body in an attempt to curtail the power of the executive. It called for indirect election of the president and justices of the Supreme Court, but direct election for members of Congress; the electorate was expanded to include all adult males. Reflecting the *puro* Liberal agenda, the constitution repealed many of the legal rights that had traditionally been preserved for members of the church, military, and nobility. It upheld the Reform Laws that abolished separate court systems for the church and military. Finally, in keeping with liberal philosophy that advocated EDUCATION as a way to build a strong nation, the constitution secularized education, removing it from church control.

Some of the most notable measures of the new constitution were its protections of individual freedoms. Detailed articles spelled out freedoms of speech, press, and assembly. It reinforced earlier measures abolishing SLAVERY and prohibited the death penalty and other forms of extreme punishment. By privileging civil liberties, the Constitution of 1857 reflected the central tenet of LIBERALISM that valued the rights and well-being of individuals as the foundation of a strong nation.

Even while the constitution was being written, opposition to its liberal measures began to mount. Conservative leaders unsuccessfully attempted to counteract *puro* efforts at aggressive liberal reform by derailing the new constitution. Church leaders used their religious influence to encourage parishioners to reject the new document. President Comonfort, a *moderado* Liberal, refused to implement the most controversial measures and eventually cooperated with Conservative leaders in the Plan de Tacubaya to nullify the constitution. That plan gave rise to a revolt led by Conservative military leader General Félix Zuloaga. Once again, political infighting plunged Mexico into a period of tur-

moil. Between 1858 and 1861, Conservative and Liberal forces—divided over the Constitution of 1857 and other political measures—fought a destructive and violent civil war known as the War of Reform.

The Constitution of 1857 remained in place for the remainder of the 19th century, although during the dictatorship of PORFIRO DÍAZ (1876–80, 1884–1911), many of the measures protecting the democratic process and civil liberties were ignored. After 1910, revolutionary leader Venustiano Carranza pushed for a reinstatement of the Constitution of 1857, earning him and his followers the name “Constitutionalists.” The document was replaced with the Constitution of 1917.

See also CONSTITUTION OF 1812 (Vol. II); MORELOS Y PAVÓN, JOSÉ MARÍA (Vol. II).

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Constitution of 1886, Colombia COLOMBIA’S Constitution of 1886 was written by Conservatives led by President RAFAEL NÚÑEZ to replace the liberal and federalist Constitution of 1863. The older document had instituted a progressive social and political system, emphasizing individual liberties, provincial autonomy, and a weak central government. The liberal constitution also weakened the power of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Creators of the Constitution of 1886 sought to reverse the liberal policies that they perceived were weakening the nation.

The drafting of the Constitution of 1886 was overseen by President Núñez during his second term as part of the Regeneration movement (1878–1900). Initially a member of the LIBERAL PARTY, the nationalist politician formed an alliance with Conservatives after putting down a failed federalist conspiracy against the central government. He abrogated the Constitution of 1863 and began implementing a series of reforms known as the Regeneration, which aimed to strengthen the central government. Among the reforms included in the Regeneration and the new constitution was an expansion of the presidential term from two to six years, allowing for reelection. Conservatives hoped that a strong executive figure would put an end to the regional instability that had plagued the country for most of the 19th century. In addition, the document severely weakened individual state authority and changed the name of the country from the United States of Colombia to the Republic of Colombia. Núñez’s reforms curtailed individual states’ ability to raise money and gave the national government greater oversight in the administration of local budgets. At the same time, the national budget increased, as many duties that had been undertaken by local authorities, such as law enforcement, were taken over by the national government.

The aspects of the Constitution of 1886 dealing with RELIGION marked a major change for Colombian society. Liberal policies implemented in the 1860s had diminished the role of the Catholic Church in society and politics by confiscating and selling off church properties and outlawing several religious organizations. The Regeneration reforms rolled back these anticlerical measures and established a strong system of collaboration between church and state. Núñez formalized his prochurch position by signing the Concordat of 1887, an agreement with the Vatican that effectively restored church privileges and autonomy in Colombia. Catholic doctrine was once again included in the EDUCATION of the nation’s youth, and the church regained its monopoly over the institution of marriage.

Finally, the Constitution of 1886 reversed many of the social protections and individual liberties that had been embraced in the earlier liberal document. Literacy requirements limited suffrage, and the central government gained greater censorship powers over the nation’s press. Other measures included limiting the right to public assembly and reinstating the death penalty. Measures included in the constitution, combined with other conservative policies, prompted a backlash among Liberals that eventually led to the destructive WAR OF THE THOUSAND DAYS (1899–1903). Nevertheless, Conservative leaders eventually defeated their Liberal opponents and upheld the conservative system outlined in the constitution.

The Constitution of 1886 laid a political foundation that allowed Conservatives to remain in power until 1930. Although amended numerous times during the 20th century, the document remained in effect until replaced by the Constitution of 1991.

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Constitution of 1891, Brazil The Constitution of 1891 in BRAZIL was the governing document promulgated by the government of MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA to usher in the era of the OLD REPUBLIC. The constitution was ratified about two years after the EMPIRE OF BRAZIL was overthrown. The document remained in effect until the rise of dictator Getúlio Vargas in the 1930s.

For most of the 19th century, the Brazilian government operated under the system of constitutional monarchy established in the CONSTITUTION OF 1824. The drafting of that document was overseen by the first Brazilian emperor, PEDRO I, shortly after he declared Brazil’s independence from Portugal. The Constitution of 1824 called for a powerful monarch, with legislative, judicial, and advisory branches of government having less authority. The original document provided mechanisms for changing the constitution and allowed for the development of political parties. The flexibility written into the

Constitution of 1824, balanced by monarchical authority, allowed Brazil's imperial system to operate with relative stability for more than 60 years. The freedoms provided in the constitution also allowed new ideas to emerge in the second half of the 19th century that included discussions of establishing a republic.

A number of MILITARY leaders and Brazilian intellectuals were influenced by the theories of POSITIVISM—originally espoused by Auguste Comte—in the 1860s and 1870s. BENJAMIN CONSTANT taught at the National Military Academy, which became a forum for developing positivist ideas. Adherents of positivism found common ground with political leaders who promoted republican ideals. A Republican Party formed in SÃO PAULO in the 1870s, and positivist and republican supporters came together in the coming years to promote significant government changes. In 1889, a military coup led by Deodoro da Fonseca dethroned Emperor PEDRO II and established the Republic of Brazil. Two years later, a committee of positivist and republican thinkers created the Constitution of 1891.

The new document was modeled largely on the U.S. Constitution, but parts were inspired by the Argentine CONSTITUTION OF 1853 and the Swiss Constitution of 1874. It established Brazil as a federalist republic, converting the former provinces into states and calling for an elected president to replace the monarch. The legislative

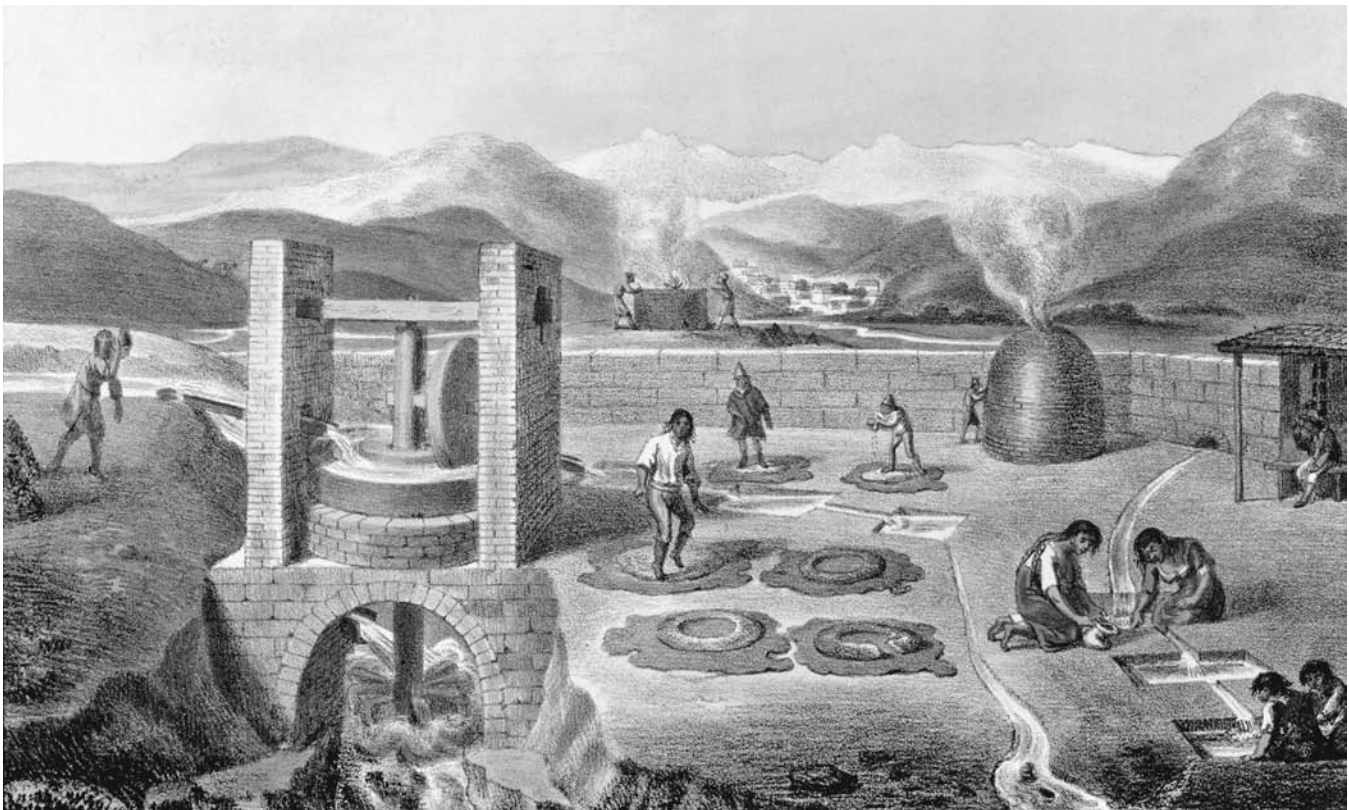
branch was made up of a Chamber of Deputies—with representation based on population—and a Senate—with equal representation per state and whose members no longer served life terms. The federalist nature of the constitution gave states considerably autonomy, allowing them to raise money and form their own militias (see FEDERALISM). The electorate was still limited under the Constitution of 1891, but the document did provide for a direct vote of representatives. Deodoro da Fonseca was elected the nation's first president under the new constitution, but political turmoil plagued the nation throughout most of the 1890s. By the beginning of the 20th century, a network of regional elite had usurped the political system, and many of the structures outlined in the constitution were being effectively ignored. Nevertheless, the document remained in force—at least nominally—until 1934.

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contradanza See MUSIC.

copper Copper is a metal that is mined throughout the world. In Latin America, it is found primarily in the



Chile became a major world supplier of copper in the 19th century. This 1824 illustration from Peter Schmidtmeier's *Travels into Chile* shows a silver and a copper mining operation. (Private collection/The Bridgeman Art Library)

mountainous regions of Andean South America and in some areas of MEXICO. Copper is used to make coins, and it is a good conductor of heat and electricity. It is also used in alloys such as bronze and brass. Copper MINING was a small but viable economic activity in Latin America during the colonial period. After independence, CHILE emerged as a major supplier of copper in the world, and much of the nation's economic growth during the later decades of the 19th century was tied to the copper industry (see ECONOMY). The copper industry also grew in Mexico in the late 19th century. As the world embraced electric energy starting in the late 19th century, the demand for copper wiring and other products increased substantially.

Copper mining and processing techniques in Chile and elsewhere in Latin America were crude and inefficient prior to the 1830s. Only high-quality ore could be processed until new smelting techniques were introduced. Technological innovations evolved as international demand for copper increased. For example, trees were cut down to fuel the copper furnaces, causing deforestation, until smelters began using coal as fuel. While coal imports increased, coal mining was also undertaken locally to support the growth of copper mining and smelting activities. After 1840, a more mature copper industry developed based on exporting ore, as well as bars and other forms of processed copper.

During the 19th century, much of the investment and technological innovation in Latin American copper industries came from abroad. The British exerted enormous influence in the Chilean copper industry, while U.S. interests controlled mining activities in Mexico and PERU. Foreign investors also supported the expansion of infrastructure such as railroads and ports to transport the copper and the coal required to process it (see TRANSPORTATION). Indeed, the extraordinary growth of the Latin American copper industries often benefited foreign investors at the expense of local laborers. Working conditions in the mines were often unsafe, and miners were underpaid. Some remote mines paid workers in credit at the company store, where workers were forced to pay inflated prices for food and other necessary items.

By the end of the 19th century, social strains created by inequalities in the copper industry were becoming evident. In Mexico, the unrest turned into resentment of foreign ownership. A major strike occurred at the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company in the northern state of Sonora in 1906, when workers protested unfair treatment by U.S. owners and managers. Mexican dictator PORFIRIO DÍAZ put down the strike forcefully; the episode is considered one of the precursors of the Mexican Revolution, which broke out in 1910. Chilean mining companies became increasingly reliant on the British market and on foreign financiers throughout the 19th century. After the WAR OF THE PACIFIC, Chile took over new mining regions from neighboring BOLIVIA and looked to foreign investors to develop these. By the turn of the century,

foreign companies had assumed almost complete control of Chilean mining interests, setting the stage for conflict when the Chilean government attempted to nationalize the mining industry later in the 20th century.

See also CHILE (Vol. IV); MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV).

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corrido See MUSIC.

Costa Rica Traversed by the mountains of the Continental Divide, this nation of CENTRAL AMERICA is 19,652 square miles (50,898 km²) and is bounded on the north by NICARAGUA, on the east by the Caribbean Sea and PANAMA, and on the south and west by the Pacific Ocean. The ash from Costa Rica's volcanoes provided the highlands with rich, fertile soil, which, combined with its humid coastal plains, contributed significantly to the country's agricultural development (see AGRICULTURE).

Because of distance and poor TRANSPORTATION facilities during the Spanish colonial period, Costa Rica remained an outpost in the captaincy general, whose capital was Guatemala City. This isolation contributed to the emergence of four distinct political units, based in the towns of Cartago, San José, Heredia, and Alajuela. When independence was achieved in 1821, Costa Ricans reluctantly joined the Mexican Empire until its collapse in 1823 and subsequently joined the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA. Although Costa Rica remained part of the United Provinces until its collapse in 1838, most Costa Ricans had little interest in the federation; indeed, they often looked down on the mestizos who made up the majority of people in their neighboring states. Additionally, the political turmoil and inward-looking foreign policy that characterized the other federation members contrasted sharply with Costa Rican's historical experiences, which had led them to place national interests over political ideology.

In 1824, the provincial congress elected Juan Mora Fernández (b. 1784–d. 1854) as the first president of the Free State of Costa Rica. In the early 1830s, a rivalry developed among the four political units, but by 1835, Braulio Carrillo Colina (b. 1800–d. 1845) was elected president and brought some stability. Carrillo was a committed liberal who established the capital at San José. His forces fought off an armed rebellion in 1835, and he seized control of the government after losing the 1838

election. Despite his dictatorial rule, Carillo introduced government and legal reforms, paid off foreign debts, and directed the efficient and honest handling of public finances. He also decreed that titles to municipally owned lands be given to those who farmed them, a move that significantly increased the number of small landowners. In 1841, Carillo suspended the constitution and declared himself dictator for life, but one year later, he was overthrown by FRANCISCO MORAZÁN. Costa Rica descended into political turmoil until 1847, when a 29-year-old publisher, José María Castro Madríz (b. 1818–d. 1892), was elected president. He abolished the army, emphasized public EDUCATION, and guaranteed basic liberties such as freedom of expression and freedom of association.

In the mid-1850s, COFFEE planter and President Juan Rafael Mora Porras (b. 1814–d. 1860) came to view U.S. filibusterer WILLIAM WALKER's vision of a personal empire in Central America as a threat to Costa Rican sovereignty. With the financial support of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, who had a personal score to settle with Walker, Mora Porras raised a 9,000-man army and, with other Central American armies, drove Walker from Nicaragua in 1857. Costa Rica and Nicaragua then feuded over control of the San Juan River, which at the time was considered the best route for a transisthmian canal. Although the 1858 Cañaz-Juárez Treaty recognized Nicaragua's claim to the river, Costa Ricans continued to challenge the decision, and this became a factor in the U.S. decision to instead select Panama for its transisthmian canal in 1903 (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS).

A new constitution in 1859 retained limited suffrage and the indirect election of a president through the Congress. Although three successive presidential elections were peaceful, political power was in the hands of the Montealegres, a wealthy coffee-growing FAMILY that had risen to power early in the 19th century and used political clout to favor the landed coffee interests. Then, in 1870, General TOMÁS MIGUEL GUARDIA GUTIÉRREZ engineered a coup. Despite declaring himself a populist and promising to end the dominance of the coffee barons, Guardia ruled as a dictator until his death in 1882. He did much to modernize the country, however. Guardia fostered the growth of public education, installed modern sanitation facilities in cities, abolished capital punishment, and expanded TRADE opportunities that led to increased coffee and SUGAR production. His successors, Próspero Fernández Oreamuno (b. 1834–d. 1885) and particularly Bernardo Soto Alfaro (b. 1854–d. 1931), continued and expanded these reforms. For example, Oreamuno's Liberal Laws provided for the separation of church and state and introduced civil marriage and divorce. Some church properties were confiscated, and the Jesuits were expelled from the country for allegedly interfering in politics.

The most significant economic accomplishment of latter decades of the 19th century was the completion of a railroad from the central highlands to Puerto Limón

on the Caribbean coast in 1890. MINOR COOPER KEITH, nephew of the South American railroad tycoon Henry Meiggs, did more than build the Atlantic coast railroad. Keith came to own the wharf at Puerto Limón. He eventually brought the banana industry to Costa Rica, a move that earned him extensive wealth before he sold his holdings to the United Fruit Company. Keith's place in Costa Rican society was guaranteed by his marriage to the daughter of former president José María Castro Madríz.

The 1890 presidential election of José Joaquín Rodríguez Zeledón (b. 1837–d. 1917) marked the transition of power to the "Generation of '89," which dominated Costa Rican politics for the next 50 years. Before the close of the 19th century, these liberals had overseen the construction of the Pacific Railroad, linking the central valley to the port at Punta Arenas, and placed the national currency on the GOLD standard, actions that further stimulated the agro-export ECONOMY.

See also COSTA RICA (Vols. I, II, IV); UNITED FRUIT COMPANY (Vol. IV).

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cotton Cotton is a soft, natural fiber that grows around the seeds of the cotton plant. It is native to tropical and subtropical climates; the plants were first found in regions of India, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The fibers have been used for centuries to make textiles. Over time, cotton became an important commodity in international TRADE.

In Latin America, indigenous peoples cultivated the plant long before 1492 and the arrival of Europeans. The cultivation of cotton for textile production continued throughout the colonial period, although the cotton and textile industries remained both small and local until 19th-century industrial advancements.

The emergence of the British textile industry in the 18th century propelled greater interest in the cultivation of cotton, which was soon closely linked to the institution of SLAVERY. Throughout the century, the Portuguese-controlled Pombaline Company encouraged the growth of cotton plantations in the Brazilian regions of Maranhão and Pernambuco. This increased the demand for slave LABOR, and slave-based cotton plantations spread throughout those regions. Indeed, cotton production became their main economic activity. By the end of the century, BRAZIL provided 30 percent of cotton exports to British textile manufacturers, and more than 30,000 slaves worked on its cotton plantations. A similar

trend occurred in the French colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique and in British colonies such as Jamaica (see CARIBBEAN, BRITISH; CARIBBEAN, FRENCH).

The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 paved the way for industrial textile production in the 19th century. The new machine removed the cotton seeds from the soft fiber more efficiently than manual removal methods. The cotton gin and the precipitous growth of the textile industry created a new demand for slaves in the United States, as more manual labor was now required to pick large amounts of cotton for production. The gin did not have the same effect in Latin America. Cotton plantations in Brazil found it impossible to compete with the enormous surge in output in the U.S. South. French colonies also saw a decrease in cotton cultivation, although that decline was driven in part by the flight of French planters after the outbreak of the Haitian Revolution in the 1790s (see HAITI).

Throughout the 19th century, Latin American economies struggled to compete with the industrial production of cotton and textiles in the United States and Europe (see ECONOMY). Liberal TRADE policies favored unencumbered access to foreign markets, and U.S. and British cotton producers quickly claimed the COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE in producing affordable, quality cotton textile products. As a result, in Latin America other agricultural and commodity products replaced cotton both as an export product and one cultivated for local consumption. By the end of the century, some of the larger Latin American countries, such as MEXICO and Brazil, had seen a modest growth in local textile manufacturing, but the cotton continued to come from abroad (see CLOTHING).

See also CLOTHING (Vol. I); COTTON (Vol. I); TEXTILES (Vol. I).

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Creel, Enrique See TERRAZAS FAMILY.

crime and punishment The criminal justice system in colonial Latin America was complex and cumbersome. Spanish and Portuguese law established layers of jurisdiction and appeals that varied by location, severity of crime, and social class. Royal *audiencias* were the highest court of appeal in Spanish America and served as a type of check and balance to the colonial viceroys, who

oversaw the judicial system. Simultaneously, a series of parallel courts existed for members of corporations, such as the CATHOLIC CHURCH and the MILITARY. Membership in those groups provided access to certain corporate privileges such as the ecclesiastical and military *FUEROS*, which allowed members of the clergy and the military to be tried in ecclesiastical and military courts, respectively, rather than in civil courts.

The wars for independence brought a period of disorder and lawlessness to many areas of Latin America between 1808 and 1825. As insurgent militias rose up against royal authority in the Spanish colonies, traditional colonial authority figures were often driven from power. The absence of legitimate authorities created a power void, and many areas suffered from rampant banditry and other crimes throughout the first half of the 19th century. Some independence leaders emptied jails and exonerated prisoners in exchange for military service against the royal army.

After independence, new governments in Latin America inherited the unwieldy justice system left over from the colonial period. The complicated system of criminal justice was aggravated by the expansion of social banditry that occurred during the wars for independence. In many new nations, crime and law enforcement became ambiguously intertwined in the first half of the 19th century as military strongmen rose to power using a combination of oppression and personal appeal. CAUDILLO dictators dominated the Latin American political system for several decades. Many, like Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, established extralegal security forces ostensibly to maintain law and order (see MAZORCA, LA). Oftentimes, caudillos' personal armies used violence and intimidation to ensure loyalty to their leader.

By the middle decades of the 19th century, Latin America's political future was being debated by conservative and liberal elite who had differing views on the direction their nations should take. Liberal leaders began consolidating power in such nations as MEXICO, ARGENTINA, and COLOMBIA. They believed that the privileges that existed for certain corporations under the colonial justice system needed to be erased. Under liberal governments the colonial *fueros* for members of the church and the military were abolished.

In the final decades of the 19th century, many Latin American leaders had adopted a positivist philosophy toward society and national development (see POSITIVISM). National policies began to reflect an emphasis on modernity and progress and the belief that there were scientific and social explanations for crime. Positivist leaders in Mexico, Argentina, and elsewhere devoted national resources to studying criminology and modernizing the criminal justice system. Prisons and asylums were renovated, or new ones were built. Punishments began to focus on reform and rehabilitation.

See also AUDIENCIA (Vol. II); CRIME AND PUNISHMENT (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Cuba Cuba is an island nation located in the Caribbean Sea, to the west of the island of Hispaniola (HAITI and the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC) and about 90 miles (145 km) south of the Florida Keys. Cuba is a relatively small nation, roughly the size of Pennsylvania. Its topography is a mixture of mountainous terrain and fertile plains.

THE COLONIAL BACKDROP

Cuba played a prominent role in the Spanish Empire throughout the colonial period. As one of Spain's oldest settlements, the island became a bastion of royal authority. Its strategic location on the outskirts of the Gulf of Mexico made Cuba an ideal transit point for Spain's commercial fleet, which tightly controlled colonial TRADE. Cuba also became an outpost for the Spanish MILITARY, as numerous garrisons were stationed on the island to protect the empire's commercial and territorial interests.

Cuba's indigenous population was wiped out by disease and mistreatment shortly after the arrival of Spanish settlers in the 16th century. Without a large native LABOR supply and lacking the mineral wealth of MEXICO and PERU, Cuba held little economic interest for the Spanish for most of the colonial period. That changed in the late 18th century when TOBACCO, COFFEE, and SUGAR cultivation boomed on the island, due to its fertile soil. The production of cash crops required a large and reliable labor source, and Cuba became a prime destination of the African slave trade throughout the 19th century. The drastic changes brought about by the expansion of sugar production and SLAVERY defined much of Cuba's history in the 19th century.

THE EXPANSION OF SLAVERY

Napoléon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808 sparked independence movements throughout the Spanish Empire. The Cuban population, however, was not as quick to embrace the idea of a complete break from Spain. Plantation AGRICULTURE—and in particular sugar cultivation—had come to dominate the island's ECONOMY, and many of the planter elite understood that they relied on their relationship with Spain for continued economic growth. Furthermore, by the early 19th century, more than one-third of Cuba's population was made up of black slaves. Cubans had witnessed the independence movement in Haiti only two decades before, which had quickly erupted into a massive slave uprising. The planter elite in Cuba feared a similar violent and uncontrolled reaction if they dared challenge the traditional authority

of the Spanish Crown. As a result, Cubans did not follow the example of Spain's mainland colonies and push for complete independence in the early 19th century. Instead, they pledged their loyalty to the Spanish Crown, and the island maintained its colonial status.

Cuba's sugar industry boomed throughout the 19th century aided by changes in Spanish policy that allowed more open and free trade between Cuba and foreign nations. As the production of sugar grew, so did the island's need for slave labor. Despite an 1817 treaty between Spain and Great Britain abolishing the transatlantic slave trade, an illegal slave trade into Cuba thrived for decades. During the 19th century, the island's slave population grew exponentially, as hundreds of thousands of new slaves were imported. Their labor helped to fuel the expanding plantation economy. Nevertheless, a strong abolitionist movement emerged led by liberal-minded writers and social critics. JOSÉ ANTONIO SACO became a leader in advocating for the abolition of slavery and the formation of a strong Cuban national identity.

The large number of African slaves made many of the planter elite fearful of a massive slave uprising, and several attempted uprisings occurred in 1826, 1837, and 1843. In 1844, evidence of an abolitionist plot provoked violent government retribution. Thousands were arrested and hundreds killed in what became known as the LADDER CONSPIRACY. The ruling elite foiled all early attempts at overturning the social order, and slavery continued until 1886. An African-based culture accompanied the growth of the slave population and remains an important component of Cuban culture today. African traditions often fused with Spanish customs to form new practices unique to Cuba. SANTERIA is one example of the merging of West African religious beliefs with practices of the CATHOLIC CHURCH.

After the death of King Ferdinand VII, the Spanish Crown enacted a series of reforms in the 1830s. These included a move toward LIBERALISM in social and economic policies. The Crown allowed even greater access to foreign investment in Cuba. Additionally, railroads on the island were expanded, financed largely by British investors. The advent of railroad transport led to a further expansion of the sugar economy. Spain progressively relaxed trade restrictions, and a new trading partner emerged to dominate Cuba's export market. The United States grew to become one of the most important destinations for the island's sugar. Through all of these changes, the planter elite struggled to maintain their position at the top of Cuba's economy and society. Many landowners understood that their success relied largely on the continuation of slavery. Since the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1817, any slaves arriving in Cuba after that date were technically being held illegally. Planters constantly worried that Spain would bow to pressure from the British and crack down on the illegal trade. Some of the elite even looked to the United States for protection and possible annexation as another slave

state. These hopes were dashed with the onset of the American Civil War. The war also changed the economic dynamic of the U.S. South, with many sugar plantations collapsing with the cessation of slavery there. As a result, demand for Cuban sugar grew. Many planters on the island adopted new technologies and modernized their production.

Additionally, Cuban planters understood that abolitionist pressures coming from abroad might eventually lead to an end to Cuban slavery. By mid-century, some of the smaller plantations in Cuba were experimenting with nonslave labor. Large numbers of Chinese contract workers went to work on plantations and in other industries, almost as indentured servants. White immigration also increased, and the island's nonslave population grew precipitously in the 1840s and 1850s.

THE TEN YEARS' WAR

Throughout the 19th century, the creole elite in Cuba pushed to have a greater say in the island's economic interests. In the 1860s, the Reformist Party emerged, demanding political representation and equality among creoles and peninsulars. The party also looked to modernize Cuba's economy by altering the tariff structure and restricting the slave trade. The Spanish government finally established the *JUNTA DE INFORMACIÓN* in Madrid to propose reforms in the overall administration of the colony. Several delegates represented Cuban interests, but the meetings failed to bring about any meaningful changes.

As reformist delegates tried to push for change in Madrid, politicians in Cuba's eastern provinces began conspiring to rebel against the Spanish government. In 1868, plantation owner *CARLOS MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES* issued the *GRITO DE YARA*, declaring independence and initiating the *TEN YEARS' WAR*. Céspedes freed his slaves and recruited them into his army. Many planters in the surrounding provinces followed his example, and a revolutionary army quickly formed. Céspedes and other leaders of the insurgency demanded a large array of reforms, including changes in taxation, social equality, and open trade. By 1869, the insurgents had gained control of most of the eastern provinces. Leaders formed a parallel government and promulgated a constitution.

The issue of slavery proved to be a divisive topic, as some within the independence leadership favored complete abolition, while others feared a slave insurrection. Another controversial issue was the type of relationship Cuba should form with the United States. Some Cuban elite pushed for annexation, while others advocated complete Cuban independence. Such divisions resulted in the overthrow of Céspedes in 1873. The leadership fell to *MÁXIMO GÓMEZ*, who continued to dominate the eastern portion of the island. *ANTONIO MACEO* also emerged as an important military leader during the Ten Years' War, but the conflict eventually reached an impasse, as neither side could gain the advantage. Most revolutionary leaders

signed on to the *TREATY OF ZANJÓN* in 1878, which called for a cease-fire and offered amnesty to those who had fought against the Spanish government. The treaty also freed slaves who had fought on the side of the revolution, and the offer of reprieve convinced many revolutionary soldiers to abandon the cause. Gómez and Maceo rejected the treaty and fled into exile.

Even though the Ten Years' War failed to bring about complete independence for the island, Cuba experienced significant changes in the decades following the war. As the Cuban economy struggled to recover after a decade of armed conflict, sugar prices declined across the world. Furthermore, the clauses in the Treaty of Zanjón that offered freedom to slaves who had fought on the side of the rebellion inspired many others in Cuba to challenge the institution of slavery. Spain passed laws in 1880 that gradually eliminated the forced system of labor over the next six years. These changing economic conditions forced many plantations into bankruptcy. U.S. investors often stepped in to take over ownership of plantations and related businesses. The new owners modernized production, and economic ties between the United States and Cuba strengthened considerably. By the end of the century, Cuba was sending nearly all of its agricultural exports to the United States. The island also became reliant on the United States for imports of finished goods. The old Cuban planter elite, which had kept the island so closely tied to Spain, virtually disappeared in the last two decades of the 19th century.

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE

Over the next decade, nationalist Cuban exiles began to mobilize from abroad, with many of them coming together in New York to organize a resistance movement. *JOSÉ MARTÍ*, an exiled Cuban nationalist and writer, emerged as one of its leaders. He used his writings to encourage racial equality and to speak out against imperialism. He eschewed Spanish rule but also cautioned that by allying themselves too closely with the United States, Cubans risked replacing one unwanted imperialist power with another. In 1892, Martí helped found the Cuban Revolutionary Party (*Partido Revolucionario Cubano*), and he recruited other Cuban exiles to reignite the independence movement. The group spent the next several years planning a general uprising. Martí contributed to the movement by writing propaganda and teaching less educated Cuban exiles to help prepare them for revolution. By 1895, a new group of revolutionaries was ready to renew the struggle for independence.

In January of that year, Martí joined up with Gómez in the Dominican Republic, and the two issued the *Manifiesto de Montecristo*. The manifesto called for Cuban independence, racial equality, and an end to imperialism on the island. Gómez and Martí led a small invasion army to Cuba and met up with other insurgents, and the War of 1895 began. After only six weeks, Martí was killed in a battle with the Spanish military. Despite

the loss of one of its principal leaders, the independence movement grew stronger as the rebellion spread throughout the island. Revolutionaries quickly gained control over much of the eastern portion of the island, and after a year of guerrilla warfare, areas of western Cuba fell to the insurgents as well.

The Spanish government tried to control the situation by sending General Valeriano Weyler to serve as governor of Cuba and suppress the rebellion. Weyler tried to weed out guerrillas by forcing all noncombatants into concentration camps. Deplorable conditions in the camps and cruel tactics on the battlefield earned Weyler a reputation as a ruthless tyrant. The American population watched the conflict unfold with curiosity that turned to shock as the death toll mounted. Furthermore, a number of U.S. businessmen lost property in the conflict; in the United States, the public began to pressure President William McKinley to intervene. McKinley sent the USS *Maine* warship to anchor in HAVANA harbor in the early months of 1898. A mysterious explosion killed most of the crew on February 15, and a month later, the United States went to war with Spain in the WAR OF 1898.

The war was short lived, and both militaries were devastated by tropical disease. After destroying Spain's Pacific fleet in the Philippines, the U.S. military set its sights on Cuba. Actual fighting on the island lasted only a few months before Spain was forced to surrender. The Treaty of Paris officially ended the war on December 10 and forced Spain to relinquish all of its colonial possessions in the Caribbean and the Pacific. Those possessions included the Philippines, Guam, and PUERTO RICO, which the United States kept as protectorates. Cuba was granted independence in accordance with the Teller Amendment passed by the U.S. Congress at the beginning of the war.

Independence did not bring the autonomy many Cuban leaders had hoped for. The U.S. military occupied the island from December 1899 until May 1902, and U.S. leaders controlled most of the postwar reconstruction. More U.S. investors rushed to the island to take advantage of new opportunities in the now independent nation. Many Cuban businesses struggling to recover after the war were forced to sell to Americans. With even

more Americans involved in the Cuban economy, U.S. leaders insisted on being able to safeguard American interests in the new political system. Pressured by U.S. diplomats, delegates to the Cuban constitutional convention approved the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States the authority to intervene in Cuba to protect American interests. The United States used the Platt Amendment as justification for several interventions in Cuba in the first half of the 20th century. Nationalist Cubans despised the clause, and many argued that Martí's fears had been realized: Cuba had replaced one imperial power with another. The conclusion of the War of 1898 set the stage for the growing resentment toward the United States that would define Cuba politics in the 20th century.

See also CUBA (Vols. I, II, IV); HISPANIOLA (Vols. I, II); PLATT AMENDMENT (Vol. IV).

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Cuban Revolutionary Party See MARTÍ, JOSÉ.

cumbia See MUSIC.

Cunha, Euclides da See CANUDOS.

Curaçao See CARIBBEAN, DUTCH.

D

Democracia, La Founded in 1890 by politician and writer Luis Muñoz Rivera (b. 1859–d. 1916), *La Democracia* was the newspaper of the Puerto Rican Autonomist Party. The autonomists sought Puerto Rican self-government through nonviolent means, wishing to unite with the Spanish Liberal Party in order to gain PUERTO RICO greater freedom from Spanish control.

Denouncing the evils of the Spanish regime against Puerto Rican society, *La Democracia* attempted to stir up popular sentiment for greater independence from Spain without completely severing existing political and cultural ties. This view was controversial even among some Liberal Puerto Ricans, with some advocating for complete Puerto Rican independence and others for full assimilation with Spain. To promote the autonomist position, Rivera journeyed to Spain in 1895 as part of a four-member commission to meet with Práxedes Mateo Sagasta (b. 1825–d. 1903), head of the Liberal Party in Spain. Upon securing Sagasta's assurances that once in power he would grant Puerto Rico autonomous control of local politics and resources, the group journeyed home and voted to change their name to the Fusionist Liberal Party.

After the death of Spanish prime minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (b. 1828–d. 1897) at the hands of Spanish terrorists in August 1897, Sagasta quickly climbed to power during the political and social chaos that followed. As promised, Prime Minister Sagasta promptly issued a royal decree granting Puerto Rican autonomy on November 25, 1897, giving the island a level of political freedom previously unseen in its history.

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democracy Democracy is system of government in which authority comes from the people. Democracies are characterized by elections and are generally accompanied by an assumed set of individual rights and freedoms. Most democratic governments are representative democracies, meaning that elected representatives, such as legislators and executives, make decisions on behalf of the people. The precise structure and function of democratic systems differ from one country to another. Most Latin American nations attempted to introduce some form of democracy in the 19th century to replace the monarchies of the colonial period.

Modern democracies have their origins in 18th-century Enlightenment thinking. The writings of philosophers such as John Locke, Thomas Paine, Voltaire, Thomas Hobbes, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau challenged the power structures that had for centuries defined European political networks. In particular, they questioned the validity of the divine right of monarchs, the concept that legitimized monarchical forms of government. Enlightenment thinkers argued that divine authority was irrational and that authority to rule was not bestowed by God; rather, it should come from the people. The American and French Revolutions of the late 18th century were strongly influenced by Enlightenment thinking. After the North American colonies achieved independence from Great Britain, the newly established United States of America became the first modern democracy. Later democratic movements often held up

the U.S. experience as the model for creating a representative governing system.

The former Spanish colonies in Latin America were among the first countries to follow the U.S. example in attempting to create democratic forms of government. Only BRAZIL differed; it maintained both its ties to Portugal and a monarchy for most of the 19th century. After fighting wars of independence for more than a decade, all of the Spanish mainland colonies successfully ousted the royal government and formed new political systems. Most independence leaders had been inspired by the liberal ideals that emerged during the Enlightenment, including the concept of representative democracy. Initially, many Latin American nations established democratic governments backed by constitutions modeled largely on that of the United States. Latin American constitutions generally attempted to define citizenship, protect individual rights, and identify the political electorate. In the immediate instability following independence, however, democratic development was often difficult and elusive.

Most Latin American nations saw political ideologies divide along conservative and liberal lines in the first half of the 19th century (see CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM). Many of the conservative movements wanted to continue the political traditions of strong executive power and a centralized governing structure that had existed prior to independence. Mexican conservatives several times even attempted to reinstate a monarchical government. Liberal groups ostensibly stood for the representative governments and the individual rights and freedoms associated with democracy. Despite those claims, in practice, most liberal leaders demonstrated little concern for establishing a popular electorate. Ideological conflicts kept liberals and conservatives at odds with each other, and many nations experienced a series of rebellions and *pronunciamentos*, or declarations of government overthrow, as conservatives overthrew liberals and liberals in turn worked to destabilize conservative governments. Most nations went through multiple constitutions as civil wars and MILITARY insurrections led to persistent changes in government.

The quest for democracy in 19th-century Latin America was further complicated by the emergence of dictatorial CAUDILLOS throughout the region. As internal infighting and the threat of external intervention threatened new governments, powerful and charismatic leaders assumed control of national and local governments. Whether liberal or conservative, most caudillos privileged order and stability over individual rights and, indeed, often suspended individual rights in the interest of imposing order on volatile environments. The dictators often resorted to censorship, intimidation, and violence to suppress opposition and exert their authority. Their methods thwarted democratic development in Latin America in the first half of the 19th century.

In the late decades of the 19th century, powerful groups of liberal leaders known as LIBERAL OLIGARCHIES

consolidated power in many Latin American countries. Liberal oligarchies were made up of wealthy, politically influential men who had for the most part been affiliated with the earlier liberal political movements. But, just as the earlier liberal parties had failed to impose meaningful democratic reform, liberal oligarchies also neglected the political rights of most people. The governments of the late 19th century were often swayed by the philosophy of POSITIVISM. Citing positivist logic, they argued that rural peasants and the urban poor were developmentally behind the rest of the populace and, thus, were not ready for full democracy. Late 19th-century suffrage was generally limited to the property-owning and educated elite. Some countries, such as ARGENTINA and URUGUAY, welcomed large numbers of European immigrants late in the century. This influx of immigrant workers created additional confusion in establishing citizenship and democratic processes.

By the end of the 19th century, Latin American nations had experienced varying degrees of democratization. MEXICO ended the century in the midst of the 34-year dictatorship of PORFIRIO DÍAZ. Political democracy developed there only after the bloody 1910 revolution. The Brazilian monarchy collapsed in 1889 in favor of a republican form of government, but elections remained closed to large numbers of people for several decades. The CHILEAN CIVIL WAR of 1891 overthrew the dictator JOSÉ MANUEL BALMACEDA and ushered in a period of democratic reform in that country. By the early decades of the 20th century, populist movements had emerged in Argentina, Uruguay, CHILE, and other nations to promote democratic and social reform.

See also ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II).

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Deodoro da Fonseca, Manuel (b. 1827–d. 1892) *president of Brazil* Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca was a MILITARY officer who led the coup against PEDRO II in 1889 that effectively brought an end to monarchical rule in BRAZIL and ushered in the era of the OLD REPUBLIC. He was elected the nation's first president but was forced to resign because of conflict within the new government.

Deodoro was born on August 5, 1827, in the state of Alagôas in northeastern Brazil. He was a career military man and fought in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE in the 1860s. He entered politics and became the governor of the COFFEE-producing state of SÃO PAULO in the 1880s.

In that position, Deodoro was swayed by positivist intellectuals within the military establishment and members of São Paulo's recently formed Republican Party to move away from his earlier conservative political leanings (see **POSITIVISM**). Deodoro joined republican and positivist leaders in opposing **SLAVERY** and in promoting a move toward republicanism in the political system. He publicly opposed the increasingly autocratic policies of Pedro II. In 1889, Deodoro led a military coup that successfully overthrew the emperor and declared the Republic of Brazil. He was named provisional president and helped to frame the new government over the coming years.

Deodoro called for a constitutional assembly to draft a new governing document and oversaw the promulgation of the **CONSTITUTION OF 1891**. In February of that year, he was officially elected president and spent the next several months trying to curtail the political infighting that began to surface. He attempted to dissolve Congress and rule by decree. His despotic policies provoked several insurrections, and in November 1891, Deodoro was forced to resign. He was replaced by his vice president, Floriano Peixoto (b. 1839–d. 1895). Deodoro died less than one year later in **RIO DE JANEIRO**.

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Dessalines, Jean-Jacques (Jacques I) (b. 1758–d. 1806) *leader of Haitian Revolution and first ruler of independent Haiti* Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the first leader of the newly independent **HAITI**, was born a slave at Grande Rivière du Nord in 1758. Although he had no formal **EDUCATION**, Dessalines was a natural **MILITARY** leader and an adept political strategist. He fought for the abolition of **SLAVERY** under Toussaint Louverture and later led a united Haitian front to defeat and gain independence from France.

In 1802, Napoléon sent General Charles-Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc on an expeditionary force to Saint Domingue (the French colony that became independent Haiti) with the intention of reinstating direct French rule and slavery. Coastal towns were quickly taken during the massive invasion. Nevertheless, at the battle at Crête-à-Pierrot, which took place in March 1802, the Haitians shocked the French with their military prowess and their ability to hold out under siege for 20 days. That battle was credited to Dessalines. Although the French eventually took the fort, their losses were twice as high as those of the Haitians. “Crête-à-Pierrot” became the Haitian battle cry for the rest of the war.

The struggle raged on, with **HENRI CHRISTOPHE** and Louverture negotiating a ceasefire later that year. Dessalines then defected to the French and was promoted to the rank of general in the south, where he fought against the Haitian rebels. After Louverture was

tricked, arrested, and deported, Dessalines, fearing that Napoléon would reinstate slavery as he had in the nearby island of Guadeloupe, determinedly and successfully resumed the fight against the French. French forces were also weakened by yellow fever, which claimed the life of General Leclerc in November 1802. Leclerc's successor, the count of Rochambeau, directed exceedingly bloody tactics against the Haitian rebels. The final year of the Haitian Revolution is recorded as “a war of racial extermination on both sides.”

On May 18, 1803, Dessalines and the mulatto **ALEXANDRE PÉTION** (who had been fighting with Leclerc) met in secret. During this meeting, Dessalines, leader of the black forces, convinced Pétion, who was commanding the mulatto forces, to unite against the French. This united force defeated Rochambeau at the Battle of Vertières on November 18, 1803.

After Haitian independence was proclaimed on January 1, 1804, most remaining French colonists were slaughtered, regardless of their age, gender, or profession. In response, the Vatican promptly broke off relations with Haiti, while the larger international community ignored and/or isolated Haiti until the latter half of the century.

Dessalines proclaimed himself emperor of Haiti as Jacques I in a coronation ceremony on October 6, 1805. He ruled under the imperial **CONSTITUTION OF 1805**. In an attempt to generate capital, he reinstated Toussaint's **FERMAGE** system, a forced-**LABOR** system that bound laborers to the land, allowing them minimal profit and providing basic necessities for free. Although the system did improve the **ECONOMY**, laborers' lives were highly regulated, and punishment for disobedience was severe. Dessalines's rule was criticized for his strictness and tendency to govern “with an iron fist.”

Dessalines's land policies and financial tactics also concerned his people. The state absorbed a large amount of land as a result of irregularities in land titles left over from the colonial era, but Dessalines's government resorted to favoritism and cronyism in redistributing the land. Dessalines also spent to excess, leaving little in the treasury for military salaries and provisions. It is believed that he was aware of the problems but made no attempt to resolve them. Adding to the general unrest, Dessalines led three failed attempts to secure the Spanish colony of **SANTO DOMINGO**, which occupied the eastern part of the island.

Conspiracies smoldered and finally came to head on October 17, 1806, when Dessalines was shot at Pont-Rouge. He had been riding south with his troops to subdue a revolt. Tradition tells that his body was hacked to pieces and left to rot. A woman named Défilée, a sutler of Dessalines's army, carried the remains to a nearby cemetery. It is said that she herself was driven mad by the brutality of war. Pétion, who was suspected of ordering Dessalines's assassination, paid for his burial. Dessalines was succeeded by Christophe in the north and Pétion in the south.

See also **HISPANIOLA (Vol. II)**; **SANTO DOMINGO (Vol. II)**.

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Díaz, Porfirio (b. 1830–d. 1915) *president of Mexico* José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz was a military hero, LIBERAL PARTY leader, and president of MEXICO. His politics eventually shifted from the Liberal mantra of "no reelection" to a more autocratic approach to achieving order. During the period from the beginning of his first presidency in 1876 to the end of his last administration in 1911—known as the PORFIRIATO—Díaz became



Photograph of Porfirio Díaz, president of Mexico from 1876 to 1911 (*Library of Congress*)

increasingly dictatorial. He was eventually ousted by the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

Porfirio Díaz was born on September 15, 1830, in the city of Oaxaca to a modest mestizo family. Following the death of his father, Díaz went to work at a young age to help support the family. At the age of 13, his mother sent him to study for the priesthood, but instead, he joined one of the local militias that had formed to challenge the U.S. invasion in 1846 and found a MILITARY career more to his liking. In 1849, he began studying law under the tutelage and influence of such Liberal thinkers as BENITO JUÁREZ.

Díaz's legal career was disrupted by the Liberal stance against ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA'S Conservative dictatorship, and Díaz aided in bringing down what was the CAUDILLO'S last foray as the nation's leader in 1853. Díaz joined Juárez and other Liberal opponents in challenging Santa Anna's regime, and when the dictator finally fell in 1855, Díaz received a local political post in Oaxaca as a reward. He soon found himself called to action once again as a military leader on the side of the Liberals in the WAR OF REFORM and the subsequent FRENCH INTERVENTION. It was Díaz who led the Mexican forces to victory against the invading French army in the famous Battle of Puebla on May 5, 1862—a battle which has long since been commemorated in CINCO DE MAYO celebrations. Díaz continued to contribute significantly to the eventual victory over the French army.

After ousting the French in 1867, Liberal leader Juárez encouraged his military supporters to lay down their arms and return to civilian life. Díaz retired to his family farm but ran in the 1871 elections against Juárez, who was seeking a fourth term. Upon Juárez's victory, Díaz accused the president of fixing the elections and led the unsuccessful Plan de Noria in an attempt to overthrow his one-time ally. Although the 1871 revolt failed, when presidential incumbent SEBASTIÁN LERDO DE TEJADA won reelection in 1876 through alleged fraud, Díaz initiated the Plan de Tuxtepec and this time succeeded in taking the presidency for himself.

The success of Díaz's revolt in 1876 ushered in the period of Mexican history known as the Porfiriato. Although Díaz stepped down from the presidency between 1880 and 1884 in favor of his loyal military general MANUEL GONZÁLEZ, he continued to exert enormous influence behind the scenes. When González's term ended amid corruption and financial crisis, Díaz used the situation to justify running for president again, despite having earlier defended the "no reelection" clause of the CONSTITUTION OF 1857.

After Díaz's successful second election, he proceeded to rule the nation uninterrupted until 1911. He had built his career by allying himself with Liberal leaders and promoting their politics. Nevertheless, after 1884, he increasingly moved away from promoting individual liberty and electoral transparency in favor of "order and progress" as espoused in the 19th-century philosophy of POSITIVISM.

Díaz surrounded himself with like-minded intellectuals, known in Mexico as the *CIENTÍFICOS*, and used a combined strategy of coercion and cooptation to bring order and stability so that the nation could modernize.

In the last decades of the 19th century, Díaz oversaw substantial economic developments that were facilitated by his policies encouraging INDUSTRIALIZATION and the development of TRANSPORTATION and communication infrastructures. During his administration, numerous manufacturing sectors expanded, especially textiles, MINING, and steel. He welcomed foreign investment, particularly from the United States, and finalized a restructuring of Mexico's foreign debt to the United States and other nations. Those economic policies significantly improved diplomatic relations, and many elite and the growing middle class looked to those "modern" nations as the embodiment of high culture. Foreign but especially French foods, fashion, and other trends became the standard to which Mexicans should aspire. The widowed Díaz himself reflected these cultural values when he married Carmen Romero Rubio, who educated him in French culture and general social etiquette; under her influence, Díaz began dressing and acting as a cultured and sophisticated statesman.

Advances and modernization under Díaz came at a cost. The dictator cracked down on lawlessness by expanding and fortifying the *RURALES*, a rural security force established by Juárez. The *rurales* kept order in the countryside through increasingly oppressive means, while Porfirian policies restricted free speech. Political opposition was stymied as Díaz justified his tyranny as the best way to maintain order in the interest of progress. His virtually unchallenged dictatorship began to falter as economic troubles emerged in 1906. These were punctuated by political challenges from the Partido Liberal Mexicano (Mexican Liberal Party) and growing LABOR unrest throughout the country. Díaz's claim that he would not seek to be reelected president in a 1908 interview with U.S. journalist James Creelman sparked hope among would-be political opponents. But, when the dictator rescinded that promise and jailed potential presidential opponent Francisco Madero in 1910, conditions were ripe for a major revolt.

It was precisely that jailed opponent who led the revolt that brought down the 34-year dictatorship. Madero escaped from jail, declared Díaz's electoral victory a fraud, and called for a massive uprising in his Plan de San Luis Potosí in November 1910. That call to arms set off a series of revolts that began the Mexican Revolution, and on May 25, 1911, Díaz resigned the presidency and fled into exile. The deposed dictator died in Paris on July 2, 1915.

See also CREELMAN, JAMES (Vol. IV); MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV); MADERO, FRANCISCO (Vol. IV).

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Domingue, Michel (1877) *president of Haiti* Michel Domingue was the black commander-in-chief of the Haitian army in 1874. Seeking a "black figurehead president" to execute the will of the mulatto legislature, the Council of the Secretaries of State, operating as the executive power of Haiti, facilitated his election on June 11, 1874. Domingue was elected for a term of eight years but served only two before vacating office.

Domingue's first action in office was to appoint his relative, Septimus Rameau, whom he believed capable of governing, as vice president of the Council of the Secretaries by decree on September 10, 1874. Rameau immediately drew up a dictatorial constitution, which temporarily disempowered the mulatto elite. He also resumed negotiations with General Ignacio María González, leader of the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, to end the bloodshed on the border and recognize the Dominican Republic as a new state. On November 9, 1874, a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation was signed. It fully recognized the independence of the Dominican Republic.

In 1875, a fraudulent loan believed to be secretly instigated by Rameau was floated in Paris and connected to three prominent MILITARY officials. The debt was to be paid by the people of the Haitian republic. The three men implicated in the affair were arrested, and two were killed. News of this incident sparked a riot, and Rameau was murdered in the streets. Having received word of the riot, Domingue set sail to Jamaica with his family. Domingue was succeeded by Boisrond Canal in 1876 and died in 1877.

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Dominican Republic The Dominican Republic occupies the eastern two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola. Present-day Dominican Republic encompasses nearly 30,000 square miles (77,700 km²) of territory. With both mountainous and tropic terrain, the cultivation of SUGAR, COFFEE, and TOBACCO and the MINING of nickel form the basis of its ECONOMY.

The Dominican Republic shares Hispaniola with neighboring HAITI, and the histories of the two nations

have long been intertwined. The island was the first Spanish stronghold in the Americas during the age of exploration and conquest. Hispaniola became home to the first permanent European settlement in the Americas when the city of Isabella was founded in 1493. After the founding of the capital city and *audiencia*, the colony was referred to as SANTO DOMINGO. The city of Santo Domingo later became the national capital.

Spanish LABOR requirements and European diseases had a devastating effect on the indigenous Taino population, who were almost completely killed off within two decades after the arrival of the Spanish. The demise of the native population caused a labor shortage, and the colonists began importing African slaves in the early 16th century. As the Spanish turned their attention to the conquest of the mainland, Santo Domingo became a plantation-based economy fueled by slave labor.

HAITI AND INDEPENDENCE

Throughout most of the colonial period, the Spanish Crown neglected Santo Domingo, and as a result French pirates and other settlers began occupying the western portion of the island in the early 17th century. In 1697, the Spanish officially ceded control of the western third of the island to the French, who named it Saint Domingue. The French encouraged the development of plantation AGRICULTURE and imported large numbers of slaves from Africa as laborers. Saint Domingue became one of the wealthiest colonial economies in the Americas, while Santo Domingo continued to suffer from Spanish neglect (see CARIBBEAN, FRENCH). Inspired by ideals of the French Revolution, a group of slaves and free blacks rebelled in Saint Domingue in 1791, and the revolt quickly spread to the rest of the island. In 1795, the Spanish had ceded control of Santo Domingo to the French in the Treaty of Basilea, but the slave revolt had escalated into a full-scale war for independence. Rebel leader François Dominique Toussaint Louverture (1801–03) took control of the movement and declared an end to SLAVERY throughout the island. After several more years of bloody warfare against the French MILITARY, Toussaint's successor, JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES, secured independence for the western portion of the island, establishing the nation now known as Haiti in 1804.

The French retained control of the eastern portion of the island and returned that territory to the Spanish in 1809. The Spanish reestablished slavery and engaged in regular raids into Haitian territory in search of blacks to press into labor. The Spanish also maintained close ties with the French, and Haitian leaders worried that their former colonial masters would use Santo Domingo as a base to reconquer the western portion of the island. In 1822, Haitian president JEAN-PIERRE BOYER invaded Santo Domingo; the entire island remained under Haitian control until 1844. This era is known as the HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO. During that 22-year period, Boyer worked to rid the island of Spanish colonial influ-

ence. He suppressed the power of the CATHOLIC CHURCH and chased out the traditional colonial elite. The Haitian leader ended slavery and attempted to impose a system of forced wage labor on the eastern portion of the island, similar to one that had failed in earlier years. Dominicans for the most part viewed the Haitian occupation as a time of tyranny. Haitian soldiers frequently raided local homes and stores, fueling the growing opposition to Haitian rule.

CREATION OF THE REPUBLIC

An anti-Haitian resistance movement struggled at first but eventually coalesced in the 1830s when Juan Pablo Duarte (b. 1813–d. 1876) joined forces with Matías Ramón Mella (b. 1816–d. 1864) and Francisco del Rosario Sánchez (b. 1817–d. 1861) to form LA TRINITARIA. The secret movement took its name partially as a tribute to the Holy Trinity and as a symbol of its defense of the Catholic Church against Haitian cultural attacks. Between 1838 and 1843, La Trinitaria attracted followers until it was well positioned to challenge Haitian authority. In 1843, the movement's leaders joined forces with a similar anti-Boyer movement in Haiti led by CHARLES RIVIÈRE-HÉRARD. With a coordinated effort, simultaneous revolts erupted in Haiti and Santo Domingo. Within a few months, Boyer was forced to flee. La Trinitaria leaders at first believed they had succeeded in ousting the Haitians from the eastern portion of the island, but Rivière-Hérard betrayed his alliance with the Dominican rebels and claimed control of the island. Although La Trinitaria leaders now fled into exile, the resistance movement persisted. In 1844, insurgents led one final, successful revolt against the Haitian military. Leaders of this movement declared independence and formally established the Dominican Republic.

After the 1844 revolt, Duarte and the other original Trinitaria leaders returned to the island and formed a governing junta. They called for the formation of a constitutional congress and began drafting the nation's first governing document. Modeled largely on the U.S. Constitution, the Dominican Republic's CONSTITUTION OF 1844 included a basic Bill of Rights and outlined provisions to ensure the separation of church and state. It was signed and put into effect at Benemérita de San Cristóbal on November 6.

Even though Duarte had widespread support, he faced serious challenges as Rivière-Hérard continued to threaten to invade. This constant menace from Haiti convinced many local Dominican leaders that a more aggressive security policy was required in order to protect the new nation from its neighbor. Within a few months, a new powerful Dominican general emerged and a long era of CAUDILLO rule began on the island. PEDRO SANTANA drove out Duarte and the other Trinitaria leaders in 1844 and took power for himself. Santana believed that a Haitian invasion posed the greatest threat to the stability and security of the new nation. The military leader cited

concern for national security as the reason for stifling the fledgling movement toward DEMOCRACY. Santana forced through Article 210 of the new constitution, which gave him wide-reaching dictatorial powers. With the continuing threat of invasion—this time by Haitian leader FAUSTIN SOULOUQUE—the autocratic leader further tightened his rule. Late changes to the constitution allowed him to extend his rule while suspending individual liberties and persecuting political opponents under the pretext of protecting the nation.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION

One rival caudillo rose to challenge Santana in the following decades. BUENAVENTURA BÁEZ had participated in the revolt against the Haitian occupation and initially operated as a close ally of Santana. Báez became president for the first time in 1849, and shortly thereafter, a rift developed between the two powerful military men. For more than two decades, power alternated between Báez and Santana, with each claiming to be more capable of protecting the Dominican Republic from Haiti. Supporters of the two leaders eventually formed competing militant factions, and the nation struggled through years of instability and infighting.

The 20 years of caudillo rule by Báez and Santana was also characterized by regular negotiations with foreign powers, such as the United States, Spain, and France. Both leaders repeatedly attempted to secure national interests by placing the Dominican Republic under the protection of a foreign power. Those negotiations ranged from annexation of the island by the United States to recolonization by the Spanish. In 1861, Santana finalized an accord that invited the Spanish to take over the Dominican Republic as a protectorate in the interest of sheltering the eastern portion of the island from its belligerent neighbor.

As Spanish troops descended on the island, scattered opposition forces rose in revolt. Santana initially led pro-Spanish forces against the insurgencies and succeeded in quelling the early revolts. Unrest over the Spanish occupation, however, was soon complicated by political infighting. Supporters once loyal to Báez joined the anti-Spanish rebellions as Santana attempted to bring the various insurrections under control. By 1863, disjointed skirmishes had evolved into a full-scale war against Spanish occupation. JOSÉ ANTONIO SALCEDO consolidated the insurgency under one central leadership and issued a formal declaration of independence on September 14, 1863, launching the WAR OF RESTORATION. Within a few months, Salcedo's forces captured Santana and the once-powerful caudillo died while in rebel custody. Salcedo mounted increasingly aggressive challenges to the Spanish, and the Restoration Army quickly gained momentum.

Despite its obvious successes, the nationalist movement struggled through internal dissent. Salcedo wanted to invite Báez back into a leadership position, while other

members of the Restoration Army cautioned against Báez's friendly stance toward the United States. The rift among Restoration forces eventually led to the overthrow of Salcedo in 1864, but those internal divisions did not stifle the anti-Spanish movement. Nationalist forces consolidated their control over the island and drove the Spanish out in the early months of 1865. Restoration leaders drafted a new constitution and attempted to institute a democratic political system.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

The end of the War of Restoration marks the beginning of the period known as the SECOND REPUBLIC. Dominican leaders began the era of renewed independence with hopes of establishing a strong democratic tradition, but political rivalries surfaced once again. Several provisional governments crumbled within the first few years as Báez returned and challenged Restoration leader GREGORIO LUPERÓN. Báez supporters consolidated under the Red Party, while Luperón led the Blue Party and political factionalism intensified. Báez eventually seized power in 1868 and renewed his attempts to annex the Dominican Republic to the United States. Even though he continued to face serious local challenges from the Blue Party, Báez negotiated an annexation treaty with U.S. president Ulysses Grant that narrowly missed ratification in the Senate. Luperón's supporters finally ousted Báez in 1878, although the military leader assumed control of the country for a brief period in 1879.

Luperón had earned a reputation as a staunch defender of democracy, and his Blue Party victory over Báez raised hopes that the nation's turbulent history was coming to an end. But, a competition for power began among Blue Party leaders, and escalating political rivalries again gave rise to an era of dictatorship. ULISES HEUREAUX was a one-time supporter of Luperón who held important government positions under the Blue Party provisional governments. He became president in 1882 and at first appeared to support Luperón's democratic initiatives. Heureaux stepped down after serving his two-year term only to continue to manipulate politics from behind the scenes. He rose to power again in 1886 after seemingly fraudulent elections and used his intricate network of political connections to secure constitutional changes that allowed him to remain in office.

As Heureaux consolidated control, he silenced his opposition by limiting basic liberties such as freedom of speech. He also established a special security force to maintain order through repression, if necessary. Heureaux ordered his former ally, Luperón, into exile and imprisoned other dissenters. By 1888, he had strengthened his tyrannical hold over Dominican politics.

Heureaux's dictatorship was characterized by a strengthening of ties with the United States. His economic policies invited large amounts of U.S. investment into the region and expanded TRADE in terms favorable to U.S. interests. Large U.S.-owned sugar-producing



An 1871 drawing of residents of Azua gathering water at the Via River in the Dominican Republic (*Library of Congress*)

operations opened on the southern half of the island, and by the turn of the century, sugar had replaced tobacco as the mainstay of the Dominican economy. Heureau did oversee some development of infrastructure but did so by borrowing large sums of money from abroad. Many loans also financed his lavish lifestyle, and within a short time, the Dominican Republic faced a serious financial crisis. Opposition mounted as the dictator's policies drove the nation further into financial ruin. In 1899, Heureau was shot by conspirators. His death brought an end to another long era of dictatorship, but Heureau's policies set the stage for conflict between the Dominican Republic and the United States in the 20th century.

See also DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (Vol. IV); HISPANIOLA (Vols. I, II); SANTO DOMINGO (Vols. II, IV).

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draconianos The *draconianos* made up a minority faction within COLOMBIA'S LIBERAL PARTY in the mid- to late 19th century, which included many liberal leaders and MILITARY men from the independence generation. They opposed the radical liberal politics of the dominant faction, the *GÓLGOTAS*. The *draconiano* old-guard of liberalism was led by one-time independence leader and president José María Obando (1831–32, 1853–54).

Draconianos got their name from the *gólgotas*, who had brought the Liberal Party to power in 1849. The

gólgotas were pushing for an abolition of the death penalty, a move that Obando and the rest of his faction opposed. It was their “draconian” position on that issue that prompted radical Liberals to call them “*draconianos*.” Most of the latter were either active or former members of the military who viewed the *gólgota* faction as a pretentious group of intellectuals and aristocrats who ignored the reality of the nation’s circumstances in favor of idealistic theories of LIBERALISM. *Draconianos* feared that the rapid pace of change and drastic nature of reforms that the *gólgotas* were pursuing would weaken the nation.

The party rose to power in an era known as the Liberal Revolution (1849–54) and succeeded in implementing a number of radical reforms. Laws giving the government new authority over the CATHOLIC CHURCH raised the ire of Conservatives and traditionally minded Liberals. Economic policies promoting free and open TRADE antagonized the urban artisan faction of the Liberal Party. Eventually, *draconianos* and urban artisans joined forces to rebel against the *gólgota* faction of the party. Infighting within the Liberal Party allowed the Conservatives to take power briefly in the 1850s and eventually led to a civil war. By the 1860s, radical Liberals had stamped out most of the opposition and dominated Colombian politics until the 1880s.

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drugs Drugs are natural or chemically altered substances that are used to cure or prevent disease. The term also applies to psychotropic substances that can trigger substantial behavioral and psychological changes and that can become addictive. Historically, the indigenous people of Latin America have relied on a number of natural remedies to treat a variety of ailments. Other substances native to Latin America, such as TOBACCO, mushrooms, cacti, and COCA, have a long history of practical functions as well as uses in religious and spiritual rituals. In the 19th century, worldwide attitudes toward drugs changed significantly, and natural substances in Latin America attracted the attention of scientists in Europe. By the end of the century, Latin American drugs had been integrated into scientific MEDICINE. In addition, psychotropic substances became popular in the emerging recreational drug culture. The changes in drug practices that took place in the 19th century laid the foundation for the illegal drug TRADE that developed around the world in the 20th century.



Recreational drug use was not widespread in 19th-century Latin America, but alcohol consumption was common. This photo from circa 1884 shows the outside of a pulque shop in Tacubaya, Mexico. (Library of Congress)

During the colonial period, Spanish officials first attempted to ban but then began to regulate and tax mind-altering substances. Church leaders were particularly concerned with the coca leaf, which had ritualistic uses in pre-Columbian religious ceremonies. Once the stimulant effects of the plant became known to HACIENDA and mine owners, Spanish leaders eventually permitted and even encouraged its use among slaves and draft laborers, marking a shift away from the earlier ritualistic use by indigenous nobility. Nevertheless, a spiritualistic association with the coca leaf persisted. The marijuana, or cannabis, plant was introduced to the Americas during the colonial period. It became particularly important in the British colonies of North America and in the northern Spanish colonies of present-day MEXICO. Some strains of the cannabis plant produced hemp, a fiber used in paper, rope, textiles, and a variety of other products.

Coca and cannabis plants were widely used in the 19th century for medicinal purposes in the Americas. While the cultivation and use of marijuana was common throughout the world, the use of coca-based medications was limited primarily to the Andean regions of South America. Coca leaves had a short shelf-life, so transport was difficult. The leaves became less potent and took on a strange flavor in a short period of time. Therefore, coca leaves in their natural form were not widely used in European medicine. By the late 19th century, however, researchers in Germany were experimenting with the coca plant. In 1855, Friedrich Gaedcke, a German scientist, isolated the active alkaloid in coca that gives the plant its psychotropic effects. By 1860, another German researcher, Albert Niemann, had formulated a chemical purification process that allowed small and more potent amounts of the alkaloid to be extracted and then used in other medications. Niemann called the substance “cocaine,” and within a few years, drug companies in Europe and the United States were producing a variety of over-the-counter medications whose main active ingredient was cocaine.

Cocaine-based medicines were used first as pain relievers, but the drugs’ side effects of appetite suppression and mood elevation made them popular for other general uses. A market for patent medicines emerged in the United States and Europe in the last half of the

19th century as doctors and traveling salesmen marketed a variety of tonics and “cure-all” medicines to treat ailments ranging from fatigue and digestive problems to general aches and pains. The ingredients of patent medicines were guarded as “secret formulas,” but most of the tonics contained some cocaine. Cigarettes and beverages containing cocaine also became popular. Vin Mariani was a French wine containing coca extracts that provided a stimulant effect. In response to the temperance movement in the United States, beverage makers developed Coca-Cola as a nonalcoholic stimulant; the original recipe called for small amounts of cocaine extract.

As legal and unregulated use of cocaine and other drugs increased worldwide in the late decades of the 19th century, medical professionals, social reformers, and government leaders grew concerned at the potentially addictive properties of various medicinal drugs. Recreational drug use accelerated at the same time, and many began associating drug use with crime and poverty. Some migrants moving from Mexico into the U.S. Southwest were stigmatized for smoking marijuana. By the turn of the century, leaders in the United States and Europe were coming under increasing pressure to regulate psychotropic substances. Some state and local governments began passing legislation that established some drugs as “controlled substances.” A major turning point came with the passage of the Harrison Narcotics Act of 1914, which attempted to regulate the distribution and use of a number of drugs—including cocaine and opiates—in the United States. That law was followed by other decrees in later years targeting marijuana and other substances.

See also ALCOHOL (Vol. I); COCA (Vols. I, II); DRUGS (Vols. II, IV); DRUG TRADE IN MEXICO (Vol. IV); MEDICINE (Vol. I).

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Dutch Guiana See SURINAME.

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E

Easterners See THIRTY-THREE IMMORTALS.

Echeverría, Esteban (b. 1805–d. 1851) *Argentine writer and political critic* Esteban Echeverría was a prominent writer in ARGENTINA whose style strongly reflected the movement of ROMANTICISM in 19th-century Latin America. Through his writings, Echeverría challenged the dictatorship of JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS.

Echeverría was born in BUENOS AIRES on September 2, 1805. As a young man, he began studying the arts and eventually relocated to Paris, where he developed his own literary style. Echeverría was influenced by European romanticism, which celebrated nature in ART and LITERATURE. He and other Latin American writers infused the movement with the patriotism that was emerging in newly independent Latin American nations. He returned to Buenos Aires in 1830 and promoted the literary style by forming literary salons and participating in intellectual groups. He published several romantic poetic works, including *Los consuelos* in 1834 and *Rimas* in 1837.

The Rosas dictatorship ordered the closure of one of Echeverría's literary salons, so in 1838, the writer formed the Asociación de Mayo in secret to continue his romantic writings, and he began forming a resistance movement to the caudillo's tyrannical rule. Echeverría associated with prominent UNITARIOS who opposed Rosas and his political alliance with the FEDERALES. In 1840, Rosas's anti-unitario campaign forced Echeverría to flee to neighboring Montevideo, Uruguay.

Echeverría lived in exile in Montevideo until his death in 1851. During the final years of his life, the writer continued to devote himself to producing literary works in the style of romanticism. He also used his literature

to challenge the Rosas dictatorship by publishing works that were considered highly propagandistic. One of Echeverría's most famous writings was the short story "El matadero" (The slaughterhouse), which was a scathing indictment of Rosas. It was not published until after his death.

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economy Most Latin American economies went through a major transformation in the 19th century. They evolved from the closed mercantilist system of the colonial period to open and relatively unrestricted markets closely tied to global TRADE networks. Abrupt changes in trade regulations accompanied independence and provided room for economic growth but also created volatility amid the sweeping political and social changes that were occurring at the same time. Generally, Latin American economic and political leaders worked to specialize economic activity according to the natural resources of each region. Throughout most of the 19th century, nations produced and exported raw materials from the agricultural and MINING sectors. They imported finished manufactured goods from industrializing nations such as the United States and those in western Europe.

COLONIAL ECONOMIES

The colonial economic structure in Latin America was based on the system of mercantilism, under which the production of raw materials was tightly controlled by

Crown policies in Spain and Portugal. Under mercantilism, Spanish colonies extracted large amounts of SILVER and other precious metals in the mining-rich regions of MEXICO and PERU. Other Spanish colonies specialized in agricultural goods, such as cattle and hides in the PAMPAS. Some plantation AGRICULTURE emerged in tropical and coastal regions to provide commodity products such as COFFEE, TOBACCO, and SUGAR. The internal economies of the Spanish colonies subsisted mainly through large, self-sufficient HACIENDAS that specialized in agricultural and mining output. Plantation agriculture—designated for export rather than domestic consumption—came to dominate much of BRAZIL's economic activity. Brazilian plantations specialized in commodity production, and sugar emerged as the main export product during the colonial period. As a result of trade and Crown policies that favored the development of raw material production, Latin American economies remained relatively underdeveloped throughout the colonial period. Even as western European countries began experimenting with modernization and INDUSTRIALIZATION, Latin American economic systems remained in a state of relative infancy.

Merchant trade had developed by the end of the colonial period, and the opportunity to expand trade networks globally compelled many creole elite to push for economic reforms. In the 18th century, the Bourbon monarchs in Spain began lifting some of the traditional trade restrictions that had defined the colonial economic structure. Similar reforms were implemented in BRAZIL by the Portuguese marquês de Pombal. The Bourbon and Pombaline Reforms opened new ports for trade, eased restrictions on trade with other European nations, and allowed for more intracolony trade. Even after decades of reform, however, the peninsular (Iberian-born) elite still controlled much of the economic activity in the colonies, and the CATHOLIC CHURCH had control over most real estate and banking activities. Free trade and general economic development increasingly became part of the independence debate that surfaced throughout the colonies in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The Spanish mainland colonies fought violent wars for independence between 1810 and 1825, while severing colonial ties with Portugal was a more conciliatory affair in Brazil in 1822. For the first half of the 19th century, new governments struggled to reverse the ineffective economic structures they had inherited.

THE IMPACT OF INDEPENDENCE

The wars for independence had a devastating impact on the economies of many new nations in Latin America. More than a decade of fighting had destroyed much of the meager infrastructure that had existed in the colonial period. The silver mining industries of Mexico and the Andean regions of South America suffered the most as mine shafts were abandoned and flooded during the lengthy conflicts. Government leaders hoped to bolster political institutions and the national treasuries by reviv-

ing mining operations, but repairs were costly and the political situation in the newly formed nations remained highly unstable. Rebellions, MILITARY overthrows, and civil wars were regular occurrences. Investors were disinclined to put money into dilapidated mining industries in countries with volatile political systems.

Further complicating matters was the lack of a viable TRANSPORTATION infrastructure. Inland colonial trade had been relatively small and local and had required only primitive roadways for mule transport and human porters. Tightly controlled mercantilist trade during the colonial period also meant that there were few developed coastal ports. Latin American governments had few resources to devote to making necessary infrastructure improvements in the first half of the 19th century. As a result, most economies experienced only negligible growth prior to 1850, and some even declined.

The Spanish Caribbean stood in a stark contrast to this overall trend. CUBA and PUERTO RICO remained under Spanish control until 1898 and became the bulwarks of Spain's colonial economy in the 19th century. Economic growth in the Spanish Caribbean colonies was aided by Haitian independence and the simultaneous abolition of SLAVERY. The former French colony, whose economy was founded on plantation slavery, had been one of the leading sugar producers prior to the 19th century. After abolition in HAITI, sugar production on the island declined, while Cuba and Puerto Rico—where slavery still thrived—stepped in to replace Haiti as a world supplier of sugar.

FREE TRADE

Many of the Latin American elite who had supported the independence movements did so in the hopes that severing ties with Spain and Portugal would open up previously restricted trade networks. In the early decades of the 19th century, most Latin American governments began to adopt more open trade models. LAISSEZ-FAIRE economics called for nations to engage in relatively open and unfettered trade and to specialize in producing goods according to their COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE. Throughout the 19th century, most Latin American nations adopted the spirit of laissez-faire and produced agricultural goods and mining products for export to western Europe and the United States. Those areas, which had already experienced the onset of the industrial revolution, exported finished goods to Latin America. First, British merchants and, later, U.S. and French merchants took advantage of the more open trade policies to sell manufactured goods to ARGENTINA, Brazil, and other newly independent countries. At first, foreign merchants imported primarily consumer goods, but in the last half of the 19th century, Latin American nations were importing heavy industrial goods as well.

One notable exception to the general trend toward laissez-faire was PARAGUAY, where CAUDILLO leader JOSÉ GASPAR RODRÍGUEZ DE FRANCIA maintained a closed eco-

conomic system in an attempt to protect the new nation from outside threats in the early decades after independence. Francia's policies allowed Paraguay to develop some basic industries and brought a considerable degree of economic development compared to its neighbors. BOLIVIA also maintained a more closed economic system in the first half of the 19th century. In all of Latin America, the political instability created by internal power struggles and foreign invasions in the aftermath of independence posed serious challenges as struggling governments attempted to encourage economic growth.

ECONOMIC EXPANSION

In the last half of the 19th century, the political environment in Latin America began to stabilize as liberal oligarchies consolidated control in many countries (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY). More consistent and reliable government institutions paved the way for dramatic economic growth. Latin American leaders had watched as the industrializing nations of western Europe and the United States made dramatic gains in the early decades of the century, and many believed that Latin America had fallen behind. Government leaders introduced policies intended to create a favorable investment climate in Latin America for foreign interests, believing that attracting foreign investment was the most effective and expeditious way of promoting modernization and progress.

As a first step toward promoting economic development and bringing progress, Latin American governments looked to railroad transportation as a way to develop the necessary infrastructure to facilitate trade. In the 1850s, the first mainland rail lines opened in CHILE and Argentina, while the first railway connecting MEXICO CITY and Veracruz did not open until 1873. In the final decades of the 19th century, rail transport expanded throughout Latin America as thousands of miles of new lines were built, financed largely by European and U.S. investors. The expansion of rail lines allowed for more cost-effective shipments of large quantities of goods, most of which were destined for coastal ports to be exported to the industrial sectors of Great Britain and the United States. Money also flowed in to renovate existing port facilities and to build new ones to support the growing export market. Government leaders improved overland roads and bridges, and by the turn of the century, telegraph lines and other communications infrastructure connected major production centers, urban areas, and coastal ports.

Foreign investments also provided the necessary capital to revive old industries and develop new ones throughout Latin America. Mining operations in Peru and Mexico recovered substantially during the 19th century, although the output of silver and other materials never again reached the levels seen in the colonial period. The Bolivian economy struggled for most of the 19th century, but the discovery of rich veins of tin deposits high in the Andes brought a period of prosperity in the final decades of the century.

The Chilean economy thrived as COPPER mining expanded, facilitated by new highways and railroads snaking throughout the country. The early stabilization of copper mining in Chile provided a degree of economic progress rivaled by no other Latin American country. Economic growth accompanied by relative political stability made Chile a regional powerhouse, and that role was reinforced when rich deposits of nitrates were discovered in the disputed territory along the Chilean-Bolivian border. The boundary conflict eventually escalated into the WAR OF THE PACIFIC in which the Chilean military fought a Bolivian-Peruvian alliance from 1879 to 1884. Chile's resounding victory in the war forced Bolivia and Peru to cede parts of the lucrative nitrate region to their southern neighbor. Nitrate and mining income became the basis for the Chilean economy by the end of the century.

Many mining enterprises in 19th-century Latin America were owned by local elite. In Chile, an influential mining oligarchy rose to prominence in the last half of the century. In other countries—such as Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia—foreign investors owned the largest share of the mining industry. British and U.S. industrialists took advantage of a friendly investment environment designed to attract foreign money into local industries. Foreign investments facilitated an impressive expansion in mining production, but the majority of mining profits left Latin America rather than being reinvested in projects that would ensure long-term, local economic growth.

COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE

Agricultural production, which had long been a foundation of Latin American economies, also expanded in the last half of the 19th century. New transportation and communications infrastructure allowed for large-scale production and transport of agricultural commodities. The small-scale, local agrarian systems of the colonial period had been limited by primitive roadways and the use of animal and cart transportation. Those local networks gave way to commercial agriculture by the late 19th century as railroads and new highways allowed for larger and more cost-effective shipment.

Government policies facilitated the transition to commercial agriculture in many Latin American nations. Liberal leaders believed that the landholding systems left over from the colonial period prohibited economic growth. At the beginning of the 19th century, corporate institutions such as the Catholic Church and indigenous communities owned the majority of Latin America's arable land. Liberal theorists posited that such institutions did not put that land to its most productive use. Instead, they envisioned nations built on a large network of independent farmers. Liberal leaders in Mexico, COLOMBIA, and elsewhere passed laws calling for the confiscation and sale of corporate landholdings. Throughout the last half of the 19th century, land ownership shifted from the hands of the church and



The economies of many Latin American nations relied heavily on mining and the production of other raw materials in the 19th century. This 1863 photograph shows the Nopal silver mine operation in Mexico. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

indigenous communities to private individuals. But, the beneficiaries of land reforms were not small farmers, as many liberal leaders had envisioned. Instead, land was increasingly concentrated into the hands of a few rural elite in a system known as *LATIFUNDIO*. Large landed estates became the basis for commercial agriculture throughout Latin America. As in the mining industry, land owners in the agricultural sector were often the local elite, but in some areas, foreigners purchased large tracts of land and established large-scale agricultural production. By the turn of the century, foreign-owned agrarian production dominated the economies of the nations of CENTRAL AMERICA and Colombia. MINOR COOPER KEITH, a U.S. businessman, purchased large agricultural estates and invested in the cultivation of tropical fruits. Keith, like other foreigners, also invested money in the construction of railroads, which gave him reliable transportation to support his commercial agricultural enterprises. Keith was one of the founding executives of the United Fruit Company, which formed at the turn of the century and eventually controlled a significant portion of the export economies of COSTA RICA, Colombia, and GUATEMALA.

The Mexican agricultural sector also saw a marked increase in foreign ownership at the end of the century.

British and U.S. investors controlled large haciendas and produced a variety of goods for the export market. In northern Mexico, the influential TERRAZAS FAMILY formed an alliance with U.S. diplomat and businessman Enrique Creel through the marriage of one of the Terrazas daughters. The family controlled millions of acres of land by the turn of the century. Extensive foreign ownership of arable land was one of the factors leading to the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Foreign involvement in land ownership also led to a number of violent conflicts in Central America in the 20th century.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

By the end of the 19th century, many liberal governments in Latin America were also promoting industrialization programs in an attempt to bolster national economies. Most new industries were devoted to the production of consumer goods, in contrast to industrialization strategies in the United States and western Europe that prioritized heavy industries. Government leaders were largely influenced by positivist theories, which originated in French philosophical circles and argued that societies must go through stages of deterministic progress. Adherents of POSITIVISM in Latin America saw industrialization as a way to promote progress and modernity.

Much of the industrial development of the late 19th century was financed by foreign interests, although local elite in many countries participated in the industrial sector as well. Specific industries varied from one country to the next, but most tended to be in consumer goods such as textiles and foodstuffs, which were often marketed to growing urban centers or to export markets. Rubber cultivation took off in the Brazilian Amazon, and the nation's planter class continued to cultivate large quantities of coffee for export. Argentina's strong cattle-ranching industry allowed for the development of meatpacking plants. That industry expanded significantly at the turn of the century after refrigeration and freezing technologies allowed for the shipment of Argentine meat to the European market. Mexico also experienced a dramatic increase in industrialization as heavy industries such as cement, oil, and steel emerged alongside food processing and textile factories.

Industrialization brought new challenges for Latin American economies. Some nations actively recruited large numbers of European immigrants to fill the ranks of urban labor. Argentina, Brazil, and URUGUAY experienced the greatest success with their immigration policies. In all countries, industrialization led to the rapid growth of cities. Large populations of poor urban workers emerged in the cities, creating pressure on government services. Urban workers became an important part of the political shifts that took place in the 20th century.

By the end of the 19th century, the economies of Latin American countries had moved away from the closed and controlled system of mercantilism. Instead, they were based on export-oriented production, often of commodity products and raw materials. The export orientation of Latin American economies tied those countries closely to global markets and eventually made them vulnerable to fluctuations in those markets in the 20th century. Laissez-faire economic structures and export-oriented economies in Latin America were dismantled after the onset of the Great Depression.

See also BOURBON REFORMS (Vol. II); ECONOMY (Vols. I, II, IV); PLANTATIONS (Vol. II).

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Ecuador Events in 19th-century Ecuador were in large measure defined by the country's topography. In the absence of modern TRANSPORTATION systems, Ecuador's rugged terrain created an exaggerated sense of regionalism and hampered the quest for a national identity. So deep was the rivalry between the coast and the highlands and their respective capital cities, QUITO and GUAYAQUIL, that one historian described the country's 19th-century history as a "tale of two cities." This view oversimplified the situation, for in reality, Ecuador had four or more regions, each with a distinctive identity.

Two mountain ranges, the eastern and western cordilleras, defined the northern and central highlands. In between ran a corridor of fertile basins that the German scientist and traveler Alexander von Humboldt called the "Avenue of the Volcanoes." The coast, largely a warm, humid plain with some hills, was more sparsely populated and dedicated to the production of CACAO. Ecuador barely exercised sovereignty over its two other distinctive regions, the Galápagos Islands (used primarily as a penal colony) and the Oriente, or jungle, inhabited by hunter-and-gatherer indigenous peoples. These regions today are the source of much of Ecuador's wealth, from tourism and petroleum, respectively.

The people of the north and central highlands mainly were herders and producers of food crops, held traditional religious values, and included an indigenous majority not anxious to integrate into larger Ecuadorean society. Farther south, highlanders cultivated medicinal plants and made straw hats (misnamed Panama hats) and held moderate, liberal views. Most distinct of all, the coastal region had a vibrant ECONOMY and produced tropical export products and cacao, which became Ecuador's principal crop by the end of the century. The population there held much more secular attitudes and included very few indigenous people. The three regions competed for resources throughout the century, with the coast ultimately winning that battle. Consequently, many undertakings that would ordinarily have contributed to national unity were scrapped in favor of regional development projects, even in the 20th century.

INDEPENDENCE

Ecuadoreans take pride in the fact that Quito's creole elite, led by the marquis of Selva Alegre, was the first group in Latin America to declare independence from Spain, on August 10, 1809 (now Ecuador's independence day). The attempt, however, was quickly suppressed by the Spanish army. A second attempt, about a year later, was also suppressed and led to the death or exile of much of the central highland elite. Recent

views of the independence movement suggest that the elite wanted greater representation in the new transcontinental Spanish state and autonomy rather than outright independence.

Ecuador ultimately achieved independence largely as the result of external forces. On October 9, 1820 (a secondary independence day holiday), the city of Guayaquil declared its freedom from Spain after the failure of the autonomy movement and quickly received assistance from Simón Bolívar. Because Bolívar himself remained primarily occupied with the struggle for independence in COLOMBIA, his lieutenant, the Venezuelan general ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE, liberated Ecuador at the Battle of Pichincha on May 24, 1822. Although adopted as an Ecuadorean national hero, Sucre was only one of a series of foreigners who dominated the MILITARY and the political scene, particularly during the epoch of GRAN COLOMBIA (1819–30), the union of VENEZUELA, Colombia, PANAMA, and Ecuador. Ecuador broke away from Gran Colombia and established a separate republic in 1830.

PROMINENT RULERS

After independence, foreigners continued to exert a great deal of influence in Ecuador. Between 1830 and 1845, two individuals, the conservative JUAN JOSÉ FLORES and his more liberal rival, VICENTE ROCAFUERTE, alternated in the presidential chair. Both dreamed of nation-building projects featuring roads and EDUCATION, but a lack of funds hampered progress. This period saw considerable political upheaval as a result of disagreements between Liberals and Conservatives, regional disputes, and the poor state of the republic's finances. For example, Ecuador often defaulted on its Gran Colombian loan repayments, and bureaucratic and military salaries ate up scarce revenues.

The *marcista* (March) revolution of 1845 brought more chaos but some change. Led by coastal elites and military men, the *marcistas*, dominated by General José María Urbina (b. 1808–d. 1891), over the next decade abolished Afro-Ecuadorean SLAVERY and the tribute (a head tax on NATIVE AMERICANS) and reformed some debt peonage laws. While they occurred largely as a result of a humanitarian impulse, it was the need to improve government finances, especially increased tariff revenues, that made the reforms possible. They were a mixed blessing for indigenous people, who became equal citizens under the law but now had new obligations. Though most elite highland legislators voted in favor of the measures, they felt that their political power was threatened, and they rebelled against Urbina's successor, Francisco Robles García (b. 1811–d. 1893), in 1859, in the midst of a crisis with Peru.

From 1861 to 1875, GABRIEL GARCÍA MORENO dominated the nation's history. Believing that a reformed CATHOLIC CHURCH could form the basis of a state-building project, García Moreno set about creating a uniquely "Catholic nation," particularly after he centralized the government in 1869. During his first term as president

(1861–65), he had sought a concordat with the Vatican that enabled him to reform or expel corrupt clergy, bring service-oriented orders of brothers and nuns from Europe to Ecuador, and adopt the ultramontane philosophy of Pope Pius IX. During his second term (1869–75), García Moreno improved public education, focusing on primary schools so that young Ecuadoreans would be indoctrinated with Catholic values, and embarked on a morality campaign to curb, in particular, excessive drinking and extramarital sex. He also built roads and the first segment of the national railroad using mainly Amerindian LABOR, while expanding and diversifying the economy.

García Moreno's conservative ideas of state formation, some much modified, would dominate in Ecuador until 1895. After a six-year military dictatorship, some of his former associates, known as the Progressives, governed Ecuador until 1895 (see PROGRESSIVE PARTY). While eschewing García Moreno's most repressive tactics, the Progressives sought to advance the nation's material progress and further modernization. They continued to expand the system of public education in schools taught by French orders such as the Christian Brothers, construct roads, and modernize cities. The Progressive era also marked the first time in Ecuadorean history that the presidency changed hands (twice) as a result of elections rather than civil war.

The Progressive era ended with the LIBERAL REVOLUTION, which brought Eloy Alfaro Delgado (1895–1901, 1906–11) to office. Determined to reduce the power of the church, Alfaro's government passed a spate of anticlerical legislation eliminating *FUEROS*, tithes, and seizing some church-owned lands, policies that echoed the LIBERALISM seen elsewhere in Latin America. In addition, the Liberal Party completed Ecuador's first railroad and presided over the continuing modernization of Guayaquil, including resolving the endemic health issues that had left it with the reputation of "pest hole of the Pacific." Other cities and regions were also modernized, with new transportation systems allowing for the easier movement of both goods and people.

SOCIOECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

In 19th-century Ecuador, the plethora of rebellions and rulers accomplished little toward creating a sense of national identity. The socioeconomic changes that occurred in the period mattered more than who was on the political stage. Most important, there was a shift in influence and power from the landlords of the north and central sierra, who had dominated Ecuadorean politics since the 17th century, to the cacao planters, coastal merchants, and bankers, who replaced them as the dominant political and economic force, especially after the 1870s. As Ecuador became more reliant for export earnings on a single product, cacao, those who controlled that product gained influence. By 1895, cacao dominated the



Ecuador's National Theater was opened in Quito in 1886 at a time when many Latin American nations were trying to convey an image of modernity and sophistication. (RJ Lerich/Shutterstock)

economy, and coastal interests took over those of the government in a revolution that year. At the same time, the construction of roads and railroads helped improve the moribund economy of the highlands.

These socioeconomic changes were accompanied by some important demographic shifts. After independence, the bulk of the Ecuadorean population lived in the central-north, and Quito was by far Ecuador's largest city. By the end of the 19th century, however, many people had left the highlands for the coast, seeking better-paying jobs on the cacao plantations or in the growing port of Guayaquil.

GENDER AND SOCIAL CLASS

The way indigenous people interacted with the dominant white society was an important part of the search for a national identity. While the abolition of native tribute in 1857 made the indigenous people of Ecuador equal citizens in the eyes of the law, Amerindians lost many of the protections they had previously enjoyed, particularly during the conservative-dominated era, up until 1895. Although governments during that period tended to view the Amerindians as weak and defenseless, the indigenous quickly learned to navigate the new system to protect their land and identity. In addition, the abolition of Afro-Ecuadorean slavery in 1853, and the mitigation of some of the most oppressive elements of debt peonage in 1854

and 1918, furthered at least indigenous men's pursuit of equality.

The liberal era produced some modest changes in the status of women in Ecuador. Although patriarchy still dominated philosophically, the Liberals favored civil marriage and divorce as measures to weaken the church. Additionally, married women were granted some control over their dowries. With increased urbanization, middle-class women began working outside the home before marriage. While in some quarters concern was expressed about these women defying the conventions of patriarchy, poor indigenous and mestizo women had worked outside the home since colonial times. Also, during this period, some feminists discussed the possibility of gaining the vote for women, although the liberal legislature failed to pass the suffrage statute in 1910. Nevertheless, in 1929, Ecuador became the first Latin American nation in which women won the vote.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); ECUADOR (Vols. I, IV); NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II).

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education Education became an important part of the nation-building process in Latin America during the 19th century. Newly established governments recognized that providing an educational system would give the state greater influence over the population and strengthen the notions of republicanism that they were trying to promote. Between the independence era of the 1810s and the end of the century, Latin American governments took steps to shift the administration of primary and higher education away from the control of the CATHOLIC CHURCH and place it in the hands of the state. These changes were part of the larger liberal nation-building process that occurred throughout the 19th century.

During the colonial period, education in Latin America was controlled primarily by the Catholic Church, and most educational opportunities were limited to the wealthy elite. Young people received instruction at schools run by members of the clergy and learned basic reading and writing skills as well as religious doctrine. Boys and girls were generally educated separately. In addition to literacy, boys were exposed to mathematics and philosophy, while girls’ education focused more on domestic tasks. The church also ran most institutions of higher education. MEXICO CITY and LIMA became home to the first universities in the Americas in the 1550s, and there were roughly 25 universities throughout the Spanish colonies by the end of the colonial period. University education was intended to be limited to creole men from elite, pure-blood families, although there were some notable exceptions.

Through the Inquisition, the Catholic Church censored writings its leaders deemed threatening or sacrilegious. Despite religious leaders’ attempts to prevent the dissemination of such materials in the colonies, the church was unable to enforce complete censorship, and many impious writings became available, especially in the late colonial period. Of particular concern were the writings of European Enlightenment philosophers and French revolutionaries. New ways of thinking suggested

that human knowledge could be acquired through systematic reasoning. European philosophers rejected the superstitions and networks of authority that had defined medieval societies. Under these latter systems of knowledge, many beliefs about the world were based on religious teachings that had not been tested in a secular context. Many Enlightenment thinkers rejected those long-standing systems and, instead, insisted that knowledge be based on rational thought and empirical testing.

Concepts of empiricism and reasoning combined with other factors to inspire independence throughout the Latin American colonies in the early decades of the 19th century. By the 1820s, all Spanish colonies on the mainland and the Portuguese colony of BRAZIL had achieved independence. New governments emerged to reestablish political and social order. The new concepts of knowledge introduced by Enlightenment thinkers influenced liberal leaders who rose to power in a number of newly independent nations. Liberals advocated applying reasoning and rationalism to government systems and worked to remove traditional power brokers from positions of authority. Liberal policies specifically targeted the Catholic Church. New governments often feared that in practice church leaders held more authority than political leaders and worked to dismantle what they perceived as long-standing superstitions among the people that bolstered church authority. The need to challenge church power informed liberal policies toward education. Many leaders believed the national government needed to have greater control over the education of its citizens as a way to build stronger nations after independence. Since the Catholic Church had controlled most of the colonial education system, liberal attempts to secularize education often met with considerable resistance.

Some new nations were more successful at instituting immediate changes in national education in the 19th century. CARLOS ANTONIO LÓPEZ reformed Paraguay’s education system and built schools. His nation boasted the highest literacy rates in all of Latin America by the mid-19th century. Free and obligatory state-run public education was the goal of many liberal regimes, but real educational reform started first at the university level. CHILE was one of the first countries to establish a successful national university after independence. The CONSTITUTION OF 1833 included a legal mechanism for the creation of the UNIVERSITY OF CHILE, and in 1841, educator and philosopher ANDRÉS BELLO began drafting a law to create the university. The school was intended to replace religious institutions of learning with a secular center of higher education. Liberal leaders believed that by providing a broad general foundation of humanistic training, they could create responsible citizens and potential leaders for the new nation. The University of Chile opened in 1843, and its functions expanded considerably throughout the 19th century.

Argentine leaders also experimented with secularizing higher education from a very early date. Future presi-

dent BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA founded the UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES in 1821 in an attempt to promote liberal reform immediately after independence. As the nation's first non-Catholic center for higher education, the University of Buenos Aires benefited from generous government funding in its early years. Nevertheless, ideological conflict between ARGENTINA'S two main political parties—the liberal *UNITARIOS* and the more conservative *FEDERALES*—had an impact on the administration of the university. The university remained open during the dictatorship of federalist leader JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS (1829–32, 1835–52), but it lost the government support it needed to grow. Enrollment declined, and the university languished until the consolidation of liberal rule in the 1850s. Eventually, the University of Buenos Aires recovered and grew to become one of the premier universities in Latin America. It was converted from a provincial school to a national university in 1881.

The examples set in the early decades of the 19th century by liberals in Chile and Argentina were later followed in other regions as liberal leaders aggressively pursued secularization. Nations under liberal leadership began introducing the concept of public education by the 1850s as a way of further limiting the power of the Catholic Church and shaping responsible citizens. Mexico's CONSTITUTION OF 1857, which represented the liberal era of LA REFORMA, secularized education. That measure, along with others that curtailed the power of the Catholic Church, set off a major civil war known as the WAR OF REFORM. Chilean liberals built hundreds of public schools in the 1850s as part of a campaign to secularize society.

Argentine presidents BARTOLOMÉ MITRE and DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO were known for substantive educational reform policies. Both leaders were educators as well as politicians and firmly believed in the liberal concept that educated citizens make responsible citizens. Under their leadership in the 1860s to mid-1870s, normal schools opened up throughout the country to train schoolteachers and expand opportunities for primary education. Sarmiento, in particular, targeted young WOMEN for teacher training. This opened up new opportunities for many women, who in prior decades had been limited to domestic work and had only limited access to education. Even while enrollment in state-run primary schools increased in places such as Chile and Argentina, however, the liberal vision of providing free and compulsory primary education as part of a nation-building process failed to reach most Latin Americans until well into the 20th century.

By the late decades of the 19th century, many Latin American leaders were incorporating the underlying precepts of Auguste Comte's theories of POSITIVISM into government policies. Positivism suggested that all fact-based knowledge must be tied to observation and experience. Adherents of positivism eschewed metaphysical considerations in favor of experimentation according to the scientific method. In Mexico, GABINO BARREDA spear-

headed efforts to reform the nation's educational system along secular, scientific, and positivist lines starting in the late 1860s. Barreda founded the National Preparatory School, which in turn trained many of the CIENTÍFICOS, or positivist advisers to dictator PORFIRIO DÍAZ. Barreda and other leaders of the National Preparatory School moved Mexico's educational and social foundations toward a more scientific orientation.

Positivism influenced educational programs throughout Latin America and the world in the late 19th century as national leaders pursued progress and modernization. Educators shifted their attention to mathematics and the sciences and often applied scientific observations to society. In many Latin American countries, the turn toward positivism exacerbated the racial and ethnic divide that had defined those societies for centuries. Many intellectuals and political leaders turned to science to explain why rural and poor sectors of the population had failed to achieve the same kind of progress as the educated elite. Some intellectuals suggested that the indigenous and colored population were biologically inferior and less capable of learning. Dictators such as Díaz in Mexico used a lack of education among the poor and NATIVE AMERICANS to justify autocratic rule. Díaz argued that the illiterate and uneducated masses were not ready for the responsibilities of DEMOCRACY.

Despite attempts to secularize and expand education systems throughout the 19th century, educational opportunities in most nations remained limited to the middle-class and elite sectors in urban areas. Control of Latin American education largely shifted away from the church to the state, as liberal leaders had envisioned, but widespread universal and free public education was not a reality in most regions until well into the 20th century.

See also EDUCATION (Vols. I, II, IV); ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II).

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Egaña, Mariano (b. 1793–d. 1846) *Chilean politician and legal scholar* Mariano Egaña Fabres was a prominent political leader in CHILE in the early years after independence. As the principal author of Chile's CONSTITUTION OF 1833, his influence and legacy are evident throughout the nation's 19th-century history.

Egaña was born in SANTIAGO DE CHILE in 1793. He studied law at the colonial predecessor to the UNIVERSITY OF CHILE, the Royal University of San Felipe. As a young man, Egaña supported the cause of independence and took leadership positions in Chile's ruling junta. He went on to participate in the newly formed national government in 1813–14. His services were rewarded after independence was secured: He was named minister of the interior in 1823. He also served as diplomatic emissary for the Chilean government in London from 1824 to 1829.

One of Egaña's most notable contributions to the new nation was his extensive participation in the writing of a new constitution to replace the CONSTITUTION OF 1828. Egaña's ideas on political authority and government structure put Chile on a path toward progress and stability. The Constitution of 1833 remained in place for the rest of the century.

In later years, the government of President José Joaquín Prieto (1831–41) put Egaña in charge of diplomatic communication between Chile and the PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION in 1836. Egaña was heavily involved in negotiating a successful end to the war for Chile. In the 1840s, he served as a senator. Egaña died in office on June 24, 1846.

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ejido *Ejido* was the type of land tenure in indigenous communities in MEXICO and CENTRAL AMERICA during the 19th century. Under the *ejido* system, Amerindian villages owned, managed, and worked land communally. The system was formally put in place during the colonial period as a hybrid version of Aztec and Spanish land tenure systems. Communal control of land was one of the issues liberal reformers attempted to change in the 19th century in an effort to modernize the nation's economic sectors and create what they believed would be a stronger nation (see ECONOMY; LIBERALISM).

During the colonial period, agricultural lands surrounding indigenous communities were placed under the *ejido* system of control and LABOR (see AGRICULTURE). Amerindian villages legally owned the property. In some communities, individual families worked specific fields to provide food for themselves and the rest of the community. Those families passed usage of individual plots through generations. Other communities employed a system where community lands were worked in common. After independence, this system endured, and many villages could trace the communal ownership of local lands back to their pre-Columbian ancestors. Many also had colonial documentation indicating that the community retained ownership of the property. Other communities had no formal documentation, but their legal rights to

the land received de facto recognition by the colonial administration. Some Amerindian village lands were held in trust by the church. At the end of the colonial period, the CATHOLIC CHURCH was the largest single landowner in Mexico, followed by Amerindian *ejidos*.

During the era of LA REFORMA (1855–58), Mexican Liberal leaders turned their attention to the large property holdings owned by corporate entities, specifically the Catholic Church. Intellectuals such as BENITO JUÁREZ (1858–72) and MIGUEL LERDO DE TEJADA believed that the nation's traditional system of land tenure was holding back national development and keeping the country in a weakened state. Liberals argued that strong individuals must be the basis of a strong society, and therefore, the rights and well-being of individuals must be a priority. They borrowed the ideas posited by Thomas Jefferson in the United States that owning private property would make individuals competent and reliable citizens with an interest in making responsible decisions that would benefit both themselves and the entire nation. Collective ownership of land did not instill that sense of national duty. Instead, Mexican Liberals reasoned, individuals who rented real estate or who worked property in a collective manner felt beholden to the community over the general good of the nation. Liberal leaders intended to change those feelings of loyalty by creating a nation of private property owners.

In 1856, as a cabinet minister, Lerdo de Tejada authored legislation that made it illegal for any corporations, groups, or communities to own excess property. Institutions such as the Catholic Church, local and state governments, and *ejidos* were required to divest themselves of all land that was not essential for daily operations. The law inflamed church leaders and members of *ejido* communities. Resistance to the Lerdo Law and other reforms introduced at the same time led to the WAR OF REFORM. The civil war, followed shortly by the FRENCH INTERVENTION, prevented extensive implementation of the land reform law, but with the restoration of Liberal rule under Juárez in 1867, Liberals continued to press Amerindian communities to sell off *ejido* properties. Those efforts accelerated during the PORFIRIATO as PORFIRIO DÍAZ amended land reform laws to encourage land surveyors to confiscate *ejidos* from NATIVE AMERICANS, claiming them as vacant lands.

The reform policies that dispersed *ejido* lands in the 19th century resulted in the concentration of land in large HACIENDAS owned by wealthy Mexicans and foreigners. It created a system of exploitation and inequality that eventually contributed to the outbreak of revolution in 1910.

See also AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, II); AZTECS (Vol. I); HACIENDA (Vol. II); MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV).

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El Salvador El Salvador is the smallest country of CENTRAL AMERICA—8,098 square miles (20,974 km²)—and the only one that lacks a Caribbean coast. Located on the Pacific Ocean, El Salvador is bordered by GUATEMALA to the north, HONDURAS to the east, and the Gulf of Fonseca to the south.

El Salvador lacks mineral wealth, thus its economic development has been based primarily on AGRICULTURE. From colonial times to the 20th century, CACAO, followed by indigo, and then COFFEE were its most important products. During the colonial period, the Spanish Crown bestowed upon select individuals the right to control economic productivity and people on large tracts of land known as *encomiendas* that, over time, became privately owned estates, or HACIENDAS. By the time El Salvador achieved independence in 1821, a landed elite controlled the country's ECONOMY and politics at the expense of a large peasant class that was bound to the land.

El Salvador joined its Central American neighbors in declaring independence from Spain on September 15, 1821, but then had to contend with its annexation by the newly formed Mexican Empire, which wished to maintain its historic control over the Captaincy General of Guatemala. As a self-protection measure, El Salvador proposed its annexation by the United States. While the latter hesitated, General Vicente Filísola (b. 1789–d. 1850) led a combined Mexican-Guatemalan army that forced El Salvador to capitulate to Mexican demands in 1823, just as the empire itself collapsed. Central America, including El Salvador, declared its independence from Mexico on July 1, 1823, and a year later formed the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

The liberal-conservative political struggle that characterized postindependence Latin America was also felt in the new Central American federation, which had a short-lived and turbulent history (1824–39). During that time, El Salvador was dominated by the liberal faction and thus supported the presidency of FRANCISCO MORAZÁN. El Salvador served as Morazán's last bastion in 1840 before he was defeated by the Guatemalan RAFAEL CARRERA. El Salvador officially declared its independence from the United Provinces of Central America in 1841, three years after COSTA RICA, Honduras, and NICARAGUA did so.

The plight of the peasants continued after independence and led to a violent rebellion in 1833 in Nonualco in central El Salvador. After independence, the peasants continued to be pushed off their communal lands (*Ejididos*) by the expanding HACIENDAS, on which they were then forced to LABOR. When the government increased their taxes in 1832, the peasants were stirred to rebellion by Anastasio Aquino (b. 1792–d. 1833). Aquino, a worker on an indigo plantation, recruited some 3,000 men into a ragtag army in January 1833. They terrorized landowners and destroyed farms and villages along the Comalapa and Lempa Rivers. The government finally

suppressed the rebellion in July 1833, and Aquino lost his life to a firing squad on the 23rd of that month. The peasants' situation did not improve and indeed served as the basis for an uprising led by Agustín Farabundo Martí a century later and for the guerrilla movement that bore his name during the wars that plagued Central America in the 1980s.

Like its Central American neighbors, in the 1840s, El Salvador came under conservative rule. Challenge to conservative authority began with the return home of General GERARDO BARRIOS after the suppression of U.S. filibusterer WILLIAM WALKER in Nicaragua in 1857. After serving as provisional president in 1858 and 1859–60, Barrios assumed the presidency in his own right in 1861. He introduced many of the liberal reforms that were contained in the 1886 constitution, such as universal suffrage for literate male adults, one-term presidencies with no immediate reelection, and the right to free expression without fear of reprisal. The constitution remained in effect until 1939 when General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez altered the constitution so he could stay in power. During that same time period, political power rested in the hands of the Salvadoran elite, the so-called "Fourteen Families" that included the Araujo, Meléndez, Montenegro, and Quiñónez Molina groups.

Beginning in 1850, coffee production increased rapidly and within a decade replaced indigo as the nation's primary agricultural export. This had important consequences for El Salvador's economic development. The government increasingly expropriated Amerindian communal lands, passing the legal title to the landed elite for expanded coffee production. By the century's end, coffee provided the national government with nearly 60 percent of its revenues. During the same time period, the rural poor became increasingly tied to coffee plantations, with little recourse for change. Illiterate peasants could not seek change through the electoral process, and with no industrial base, the types of work available to them were extremely limited.

Just as El Salvador's economic prosperity was dependent on the demands of the global market, the development of the country's infrastructure in the late 19th century depended on external capital. Foreign investors financed the construction of docks and port facilities and roads and railroads to and from the ports. North American and French companies benefited from this arrangement by building the infrastructure with funds loaned to the Salvadoran government by foreign banks and bondholders. As the 20th century dawned, in El Salvador political power remained in the hands of the elite, the socioeconomic gap between the elite and peasant had drastically widened, and the government was deeply in debt to external bankers.

See also EL SALVADOR (Vols. I, II, IV); MARTÍ, AGUSTÍN FARABUNDO (Vol. IV); HERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ, MAXIMILIANO (Vol. IV).

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Encilhamento Encilhamento refers to the fiscal policies put in place during the presidency of MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA (1889–91), immediately after the establishment of the OLD REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL. In an effort to stimulate economic activity, the government passed legislation that eventually led to inflation and speculation between 1889 and 1891. Unsound financial policies provoked an economic crisis in the 1890s and challenged the stability of the new republican government.

The Brazilian republic had emerged in 1888 with the backing of an influential group of positivist intellectuals and politicians, many of whom believed that the country needed to modernize its economic systems in the interest of “order and progress” (see POSITIVISM). National leaders hoped to achieve economic progress by encouraging INDUSTRIALIZATION but needed to attract money and investments into new industrial sectors. Deodoro’s minister of finance hoped to attract investors by expanding the nation’s credit market. Part of his strategy involved allowing banks to print large amounts of money, backed by government bonds instead of GOLD. That strategy gave a short-term boost to the ECONOMY as investors took advantage of expanded credit and money poured into new companies. The long-term consequences of those fiscal policies, however, were disastrous. The economy was quickly beset by high inflation, and it eventually became evident that many new companies were merely part of a speculative bubble. The financial crash that resulted in 1891 was only the beginning of nearly a decade of economic decline and instability in the nation.

The Encilhamento challenged the authority of the government of the new republic. The supporters of the old monarchist tradition, in particular, argued that the order and stability promised by positivist republicans was an illusion and that the long-standing imperial institutions of earlier decades were more suitable for Brazil’s needs. Regional rebellions sprang up throughout the country, and republican politicians constantly feared a resurgence of monarchism. One of the most serious challenges developed in Rio Grande do Sul in 1893. Unrest in that region eventually led President Floriano Vieira Peixoto (1891–94) to form a strategic political alliance with the COFFEE planter elite of SÃO PAULO. That alliance brought paulista PRUDENTE DE MORAIS to power as the first civilian president in 1894 and became the basis for

the strong economic and political alliance known as *café com leite* that continued into the 20th century.

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estancia *Estancia* is generally translated as “farm” or “ranch.” In Latin America, the word refers to a large agricultural estate used primarily for cattle raising. *Estancias* were important to Latin American economies at the end of the colonial period, and they produced a large portion of the agricultural output (see AGRICULTURE). *Estancias* are most closely associated with the Southern Cone regions of South America, particularly the PAMPAS of ARGENTINA and URUGUAY. Like other landed estates, *estancias* were usually large and thus contributed to the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few wealthy individuals, known as LATIFUNDIO.

Estancias operated in a similar fashion to HACIENDAS and plantations in other regions of Latin America. Owners held authoritarian and patrimonial control over the workers on their estates, although *estancias* required fewer workers than other types of agricultural estates. Furthermore, the unconfined nature of cattle grazing in the early decades of the 19th century meant that workers on South American *estancias* generally worked in a less restrictive environment. GAUCHOS, or cowboys of the Pampas, were the ranch hands most closely associated with raising cattle. Other peons performed more menial tasks.

The function of *estancias* continuously evolved over the course of the 19th century, particularly in Argentina. Laws put in place almost immediately after independence moved agricultural lands from public to private control. Argentine governments such as that of JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS saw *estancias* as a way of encouraging private citizens to settle the Pampas and to form a buffer between the NATIVE AMERICANS of the unsettled frontier and the rest of the country.

By the middle of the 19th century, European immigrants had introduced sheep ranching in the Argentine Pampas. Sheep *estancias* appeared throughout the countryside, and wool production became an important part of the Argentine ECONOMY. Sheep ranching also led to the introduction of fencing and other forms of confinement on both sheep and cattle *estancias* by the end of the century.

See also CATTLE (Vol. II); ESTANCIA (Vol. II); GAUCHO (Vol. II); PLANTATIONS (Vol. II); RANCHING (Vol. II); SHEEP (Vol. II).

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F

Facundo See QUIROGA, JUAN FACUNDO; SARMIENTO, DOMINGO F.

family At its most basic level, family is defined as a kinship group or social network of people united through marriage, ancestry, or some other common bond. In many societies, the family makes up the basic unit of social organization, and definitions of family have evolved historically as a reflection of its importance. Latin America has long been a family-oriented society, and notions of familial roles were handed down from Iberian traditions throughout the colonial period. Economic activities, power networks, wealth, and even some local politics were tied to the family unit, and those colonial traditions left an important cultural legacy. In the 19th century, attitudes toward family began to change, with new government policies that reflected the liberal emphasis on individualism becoming prominent after independence.

Colonial families and society functioned as patriarchal institutions with ultimate authority residing in the male head of each household. The patriarch served a number of economic and social functions. The family reputation was the basis for the elusive concept of honor, which could be damaged through the scandalous behavior of any member of the family. The male head of household was responsible for protecting the family honor and avenging any affront to the family name. WOMEN were the most vulnerable to damaging the family honor, and colonial laws offered lenience to men who resorted to violence as a means to restore it. Marriages often began as consensual unions that were only later formalized through the marriage sacrament

in the CATHOLIC CHURCH. The practice of entering into informal unions created the potential for conflict and loss of honor, particularly if the union resulted in illegitimate children and was never formalized. The Spanish and Portuguese Crowns recognized the legal authority of the patriarch over all members of his household, and this was generally upheld by the church, especially in the late colonial period. The concept of *patria potestad* stipulated that wives and children under the age of 25 were legally under the jurisdiction of the head of household, usually the father. In practice, parents held enormous influence over their children even past that age.

The family also served as a foundational economic unit, and the male authority figure legally controlled all family assets, including all property owned in common with his wife. Family units generally extended beyond the nuclear family, often in the interest of building a stronger economic network. Those networks included nieces, nephews, grandchildren, and even godchildren. In slave societies such as BRAZIL and on some large landed estates, dependents within the household—who could be slaves, servants, and others—were often considered part of the extended family. Colonial laws recognized those economic networks and protected children in large families with inheritance laws that required the equal division of family assets.

After independence, the power of the Crown was overturned, and the authority of the church was increasingly called into question. Movements for independence were motivated partly by new Enlightenment ideas of LIBERALISM and individualism that ran contrary to the traditional power structures that had defined the colonial period. The dismantling of Crown and church authority left a power vacuum so that in the decades immediately

following independence the family remained the foremost social and economic unit. Nevertheless, liberal trends brought about enormous changes in state attitudes toward family networks and family law.

Liberal leaders viewed most colonial traditions as backward and sought to institute reforms that would modernize Latin American society. Liberal initiatives triggered a conservative backlash in most countries that persisted throughout the first half of the 19th century. By the 1870s, many Latin American nations had come under the control of liberal oligarchic regimes that were able to enforce reform laws that transformed the relationship between church, state, and family (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY). The first step taken by most liberal regimes was to try to weaken the power and influence of the Catholic Church. For example, since marriages, baptisms, and last rites had been formalized as Catholic sacraments in the colonial period, the church had emerged as the primary recorder of vital statistics. Under liberal reforms, civil marriages were introduced, and a civil registry was created to record births, marriages, and deaths.

Liberal reforms were followed in many areas by the adoption of civil codes, which were laws that regulated family relations and other private matters. The liberal emphasis on individuals is evident in many of the laws that went into effect in the late decades of the 19th century. Civil codes changed the family laws that had carried over from the colonial period by lowering the age of majority—generally from 25 to 21—and freed children from *patria potestad* when they reached that age. Single children gained “sovereignty” after the age of 21, although special circumstances applied in some areas to women under the age of 30. The changes in family law signified a weakening of familial patriarchy and a strengthening of the power of the state. Civil codes further eroded patriarchs’ legal jurisdiction over dependents and members of extended families. Many Latin American governments also gave mothers legal control over children under the age of majority, a right that had been restricted to men under colonial law.

While civil codes generally diminished parental control over adult children, many of the new laws had the opposite effect on women. Single women benefited from legal protections and could fully escape parental authority at the age of 30, and civil codes increasingly recognized the legitimacy of female heads of household. But, married women still found themselves limited by many of the same legal structures that had defined the colonial period.

The changes in family laws that occurred in the late 19th century were not fully enforced in some areas. Furthermore, family traditions among the elite and economic necessity among the poor meant that the day-to-day practices within families varied according to individual circumstances. Nevertheless, the codification of family laws marked an important shift toward a more liberal and individualistic approach to social organization

in Latin America. The patriarchal family survived into the 20th century, but the process of nation-state formation and the weakening of colonial power structures fundamentally altered the patriarchal family structure.

See also FAMILY (Vols. I, II, IV).

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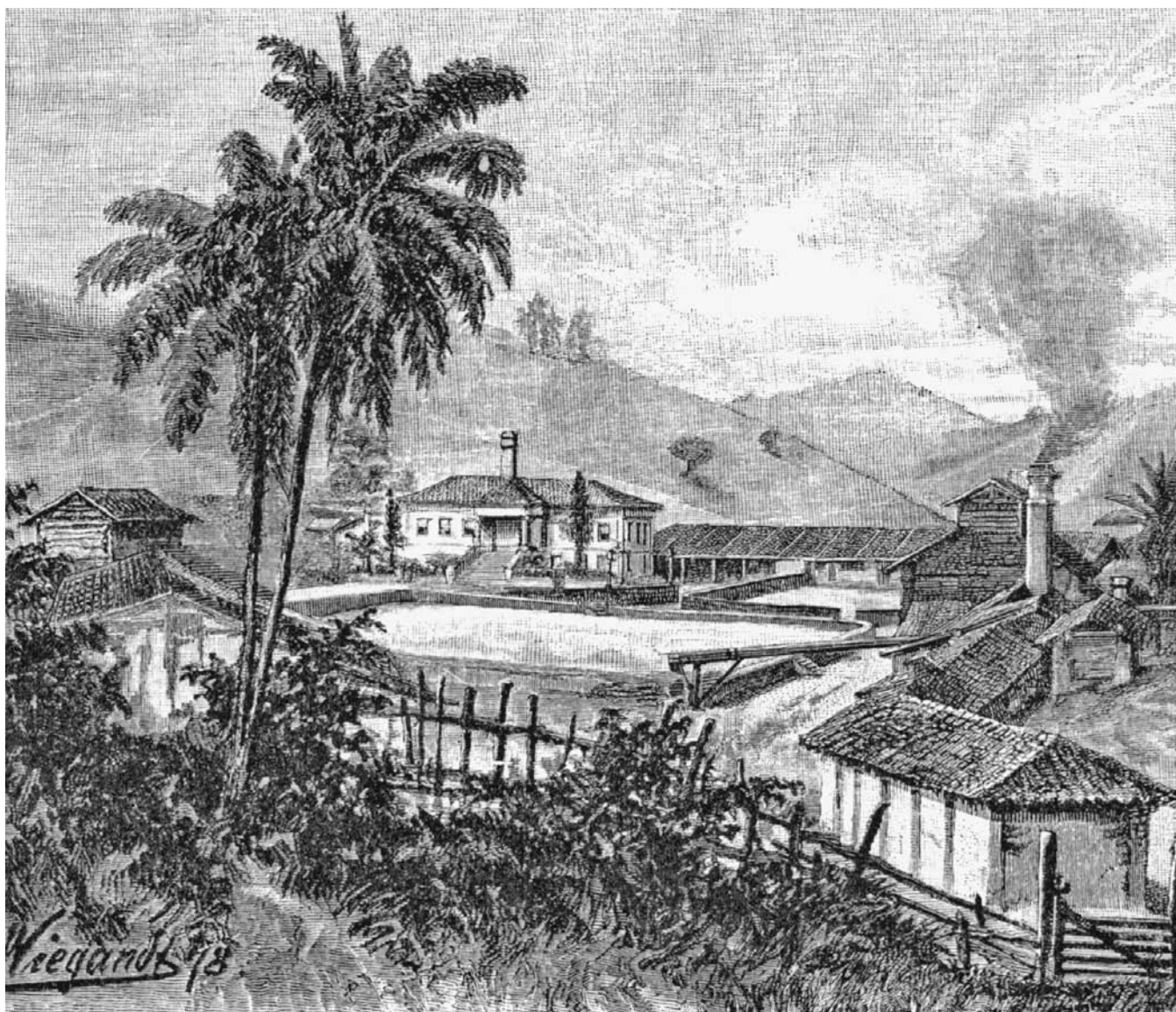
Faustin I See SOULOUQUE, FAUSTIN.

fazenda/fazendeiro *Fazendeiro* is the Portuguese term for the planter class in BRAZIL during the colonial period and the 19th century. *Fazendeiros* traditionally wielded enormous political and economic power, and they helped to shape Brazil’s experience after independence in important ways. *Fazendeiros* generally relied on a constant supply of slave LABOR and successfully resisted demands for the abolition of SLAVERY throughout the 19th century.

Fazendas were large plantations devoted to producing agricultural products for export. Brazil’s colonial economy was closely tied to SUGAR production in the northeastern states of Bahia and Pernambuco. The *fazendeiro* class in those regions became highly influential as Brazil’s sugar production accelerated following the independence of HAITI and the abolition of slavery on the sugar-producing Caribbean island. The planter class of Brazil held firm control over the national legislature throughout most of the first half of the 19th century. Even as Brazil came under enormous pressure from the British and others to bring an end to slavery, few serious debates around the subject took place in Brazil before 1850. The British ended its slave TRADE in 1807 and attempted to enforce a ban on slave imports into Brazil, but the demand for labor and the influence of powerful *fazendeiros* ensured that a black market continued.

In the latter half of the 19th century, COFFEE began replacing sugar as the mainstay of Brazil’s agricultural production, and the sugar planters of the northeast were replaced by coffee planters of the south as the source of economic and political influence (see AGRICULTURE). Coffee *fazendeiros* were less reliant on slave labor and encouraged government policies to recruit European immigration. As the power of the sugar planter class faded, a strong abolitionist movement emerged in Brazil. Lawmakers passed the LAW OF THE FREE WOMB in 1871 as a way of gradually phasing out slavery. Complete abolition finally came about in 1888 (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

See also FAZENDA/FAZENDEIRO (Vol. II); PLANTATIONS (Vol. II).



Sketch of a coffee plantation, or *fazenda*, in southern Brazil (From *Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast: Illustrated from Sketches by J. Wells Champney and Others*, by Herbert H. Smith. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879, p. 513)

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federales (Federalist Party) The *federales* in ARGENTINA consisted of provincial elite and local caudillos who aimed to establish a system of government that did not favor the interests of *porteños*, or residents of BUENOS AIRES. In particular, *federales* demanded protectionist economic policies to safeguard interior industries from foreign competition. In the early years following independence in Argentina, *federales* often found themselves at odds with *UNITARIOS*, the intellectual and economic elite of the capital city, who were seeking

to impose a strongly centralist form of government that benefited Buenos Aires (see CENTRALISM; FEDERALISM).

In the decades after independence, *federales* and *unitarios* confronted each other, sometimes violently, over establishing a centralist or more federalist form of government. The origin of the conflict between Buenos Aires and the interior dated back to the late decades of the colonial period, when the Spanish Crown reorganized the Southern Cone into the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, with Buenos Aires as its capital. The city quickly grew in importance as commerce and politics that had once been directed toward the interior now faced the coast. As the independence movements gained momentum, leaders in Buenos Aires found themselves at odds with provincial elite over important issues such as external TRADE and new political institutions.

Federales and *unitarios* fought a brief civil war over the CONSTITUTION OF 1819, which favored the interest of Buenos Aires over those of the provinces. Similar conflict erupted in 1826 with the drafting of a new constitution, which was influenced by *unitario* president BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA. Provincial challenges brought down the Rivadavia government in 1827, and two years later, *federales* consolidated their control under the caudillo leadership of JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, JUAN FACUNDO QUIROGA, and Estanislao López (b. 1786–d. 1838). Of the three strongmen, Rosas emerged as the dominant figure and controlled national politics throughout his tenure as governor of Buenos Aires. With the backing of the *federales*, Rosas embarked on a campaign to persecute *unitario* leaders. Many members of the opposition fled into exile as the dictator unleashed the MAZORCA security detail on the country to force compliance on his opposition.

Despite Rosas's self-proclaimed alignment with the *federales*, over time, his policies seemed to contradict much of what the provincial elite wanted from the government. *Federales* had long opposed attempts by Buenos Aires leaders to regulate internal TRADE and decried policies that did not share customs revenues raised in the port city with the interior regions. Rosas quietly continued many of these policies and used force to quiet dissent throughout his administration.

The dominance of the *federales* came to an end when Rosas was overthrown in 1852 by a coalition of opponents led by JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA. Over the next decade, participation of *federales* in Argentine politics waned, and by the 1860s, they were no longer a meaningful political force in the country.

See also RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II).

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federalism Federalism generally describes a system of government under which authority is divided between a central government and local or regional entities. Under a federalist system, a constitution or other defining document stipulates which powers will reside with the national government and which are the prerogatives of state or provincial governments. In 19th-century Latin America, proponents of federalism advocated greater autonomy and political powers for state governments in the decades after independence. The opposite of federalism was CENTRALISM, under which supporters wanted strong central governments.

European intellectuals began considering the notion of decentralized governing power in the context of religious authority as early as the 17th century. Enlightenment philosophers incorporated federalist ideas as they considered new social orders and government sys-

tems in the 18th century. Many writers were inspired by the emerging philosophy of LIBERALISM and argued that so-called interlocking federal arrangements would help to guarantee individual freedoms and fight the tyranny of traditional systems of monarchy. The idea of federalism became more prominent after the publication in the United States of a series of articles by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay in 1787 and 1788 that argued in favor of ratifying the U.S. Constitution. After independence, many newly formed nations in Latin America looked to the U.S. Constitution as a model for creating a postcolonial government framework. The role of federalism quickly entered the political debate as Latin American leaders created governments and wrote constitutions.

The nature of the Spanish colonial administration contributed to the emergence of a federalist movement in the early decades after independence. In theory, the colonial political system was highly centralized around an authoritarian Spanish monarch who was represented by viceroys in the Americas. Those colonial officials were chosen by and reported directly to the monarch. Viceroys governed large administrative units called viceroyalties. By the end of the colonial period there were four viceroyalties in the Spanish colonies, which were subdivided into judicial districts known as *audiencias*. The Viceroyalty of New Spain encompassed all of present-day MEXICO, as well as CENTRAL AMERICA and the Caribbean. Its administrative center was in MEXICO CITY. The Viceroyalty of Peru, with its seat at LIMA, included all of Spanish South America at the beginning of the colonial period, but bureaucratic restructuring in the 18th century split the continent into three administrative units based largely around *audiencia* boundaries. At the end of the colonial period, the Viceroyalty of New Granada was made up of present-day COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, and PANAMA, with its administrative center at BOGOTÁ. The Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata included ARGENTINA, PARAGUAY, URUGUAY, and BOLIVIA. It was administered from BUENOS AIRES.

Even with the restructuring of the viceroyalties, geographic obstacles and a lack of adequate TRANSPORTATION infrastructure fostered a strong sense of regionalism and separate notions of identity throughout the Spanish colonies. Residents of CENTRAL AMERICA had little association with Mexico City and almost no contact with the northern regions of the viceroyalty. The Andes Mountains separated parts of Bolivia from the rest of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. Even with a colonial political legacy based on centralized monarchical power, regional identities were deeply rooted throughout Latin America at the onset of independence. Further complicating the situation was the more informal system of local authority that had emerged during the colonial period and had allowed a network of locally based power to evolve. At the regional and municipal level, strong power figures emerged to oversee day-to-day operations in the colonies. Many of these colonial officials ruled under the

doctrine of *“obedezco pero no cumplo”* (I obey, but I do not execute). That catchphrase encompassed the notion that many of the Crown dictates from Spain and Portugal were not feasible at the local level in the colonies. Many laws were passed in Europe by officials who had never been to the Americas and did not understand the complexities of enforcing cumbersome legislation. As a result, the Crown often turned a blind eye when local officials ignored imperial laws, giving legitimacy to the *“obedezco pero no cumplo”* mindset. When jurisdictional conflicts arose among local leaders, the monarch in Europe always held final authority over the colonial political system. Although colonial administration appeared highly centralized, in reality a type of regional power hierarchy already existed in the Americas prior to independence.

After the Spanish colonies fought the wars of independence in the early decades of the 19th century, separate regional identities, geographic isolation, and the informal system of local power brokering all contributed to debates over how to structure the political system of the new nations. Many initially attempted to maintain the boundaries of colonial viceroalties. The provinces that made up the Viceroyalty of New Granada formed the Republic of GRAN COLOMBIA in 1819. Gran Colombia was created by independence leader Simón Bolívar, who envisioned uniting all of South America under one confederation with a federalist balance of local and national power. Initially, the new nation of Mexico encompassed all of present-day Mexico, plus much of the U.S. Southwest and Central America.

Early attempts at establishing large confederations began to unravel after just a few years. Local creole elite formed a separatist movement in Guatemala City in 1823 and established the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA made up of the present-day nations of GUATEMALA, NICARAGUA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS, and COSTA RICA. In Gran Colombia, a desire for autonomy and greater self-government in CARACAS threatened the unity of the federation. Gran Colombia eventually splintered into the nations of Colombia, Ecuador, and VENEZUELA in 1831. The Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata had formed the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata in 1819, but conflict emerged almost immediately over how to divide political authority between Buenos Aires and the provinces. Federalist proponents in Uruguay, and rural Argentina began pushing to separate from Buenos Aires in 1815. The United Provinces eventually dissolved into Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia in the 1820s.

As the former viceroalties subdivided in the decades following independence, leaders in the new nations struggled to ensure stability and security. Many political elite saw the breakup of former viceroalties as a threat to their security. Their solution was to enforce a centralized national government that was strong enough to prevent further disintegration of the former colonies. At the same time, other leaders and intellectuals were articulat-

ing new political ideologies that demanded a departure from traditional colonial models. Those individuals saw centralized political authority as part of the repressive and tyrannical system of monarchy that they wanted to leave behind. From the beginning, political leaders in new nations clashed over how much autonomy to allow provincial entities and how much power to grant the national government. In most areas, the disputes over federalism and centralism became part of a larger political dispute between liberalism and CONSERVATISM.

After independence, Latin American elite debated the basic political philosophies they should adopt in laying the framework for new government. In some areas, those debates evolved into violent clashes and even full-scale war over the merits of liberalism or conservatism. The extent to which provincial autonomy should be part of the new governing model became part of the debate. In most Latin American nations, liberals advocated a federalist structure that would require the national government to share some power with states or provinces. Liberals believed that centralized authority abetted authoritarianism, despotism, and monarchy. Liberal constitutions promulgated in the early decades after independence often set up relatively weak central governments and gave considerable power to state and local governments. Mexico’s CONSTITUTION OF 1824 was designed to limit the authority of the central government and prevent conservative interests from reinstating a monarch. Venezuela’s first constitution, approved in 1830, reflected a similar distrust of a strong central government.

Latin American conservatives tended to advocate a strong central government, believing an abrupt departure from the political structure of the colonial past would breed unrest and instability. Many early conservatives preferred to see a continuation of the monarchical system or a government structure where a strong executive held extraordinary powers. Conservative leaders rejected liberal constitutions, fearing that provincial autonomy would lead to the breakup of territory, weakening the nation. One notable exception to this trend was in Argentina, where liberals in Buenos Aires pushed for a more centralized government based in the capital city in the interest of maintaining control of foreign trade and customs regulations. Many provincial elites in Argentina sided with conservative interests in trying to limit the power of Buenos Aires in favor of provincial autonomy.

The eager adoption of federalism created conflict in many areas of Latin America in the early decades after independence. Conservative interests rose up in some countries to overthrow liberal governments and replace federalist-inspired constitutions with a more centralized political structure. Mexico’s Constitution of 1824 was embraced by many of the frontier provinces but provoked a rebellion by the centrist elite in 1833. The conservative government of ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA abolished the federalist structure in 1835, provoking a

series of local uprisings against the national government. Secessionist movements rose up in the frontier regions of Texas and the Yucatán. Federalism and regional autonomy inspired the TEXAS REVOLUTION of 1836, in which the former Mexican province defeated the national army and won its independence. Yucatán followed suit, declaring its own independence movement in 1838. Sporadic fighting between federalists in the Yucatán and the central government in Mexico City continued for 10 years before the CASTE WAR OF THE YUCATÁN compelled the Yucatán state government to recognize Mexican sovereignty over the region once again.

The federalist desire for regional autonomy was the root of numerous armed conflicts throughout Latin America in the first half of the 19th century. As a result of those conflicts, large regions broke away from previously recognized central government structures, and boundaries for new Latin American countries began to take shape. By 1840, the United Provinces of Central America had split according to boundaries that roughly correspond to the nations of present-day Central America. Secessionist forces began pushing for PANAMANIAN INDEPENDENCE from Colombia as early as the 1830s, but that movement did not succeed until 1903. By mid-century, most Latin American leaders realized that the fragile structure of postindependence governments could not withstand the pressures of excessive provincial independence. Even liberal leaders began to back away from their preference for federalism in the last half of the 19th century. During the era of LIBERAL OLIGARCHY, national leaders often strengthened the power of the central government. Nonetheless, the conflict between federalism and centralism continued.

See also *AUDIENCIA* (Vols. I, II); *VICEROY/VICEROYALTY* (Vols. I, II).

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Federal War (1858–1863) The Federal War was the civil war that took place in VENEZUELA between the LIBERAL PARTY and the CONSERVATIVE PARTY from 1858 to 1863. It is also known in Spanish as the Guerra Larga (Long War), Guerra de los Cinco Años (Five Years' War), and Revolución Federal (Federal Revolution).

Hostilities erupted when members of the temporary alliance between the two factions overthrew the dictatorship of José Tadeo Monagas (1847–51, 1855–58) but could not find a replacement candidate who was agreeable to both sides. After Conservative leader Julián Castro (1858–59) emerged as president in 1858, Liberals rose in revolt, citing the need to defend FEDERALISM. Under the leadership of future president General Juan Crisóstomo Falcón (1864–68), the Liberal Party enlisted the help of numerous regional CAUDILLOS, who saw the war as

an opportunity to entrench the provincial autonomy they had been defending since the republic's break from GRAN COLOMBIA in 1830. General Ezequiel Zamora, known as “General del Pueblo Soberano” (General of the Sovereign People) and with a reputation as a defender of social justice in the Venezuelan countryside, joined the movement as chief of western operations. The war was primarily a grab for power, but Liberals claimed to be defending an array of causes, including social equality, the abolition of SLAVERY, the reversal of land tenure abuses, and a general decentralization of authority. After General Zamora was killed in 1860, leadership of the liberal movement splintered, and the causes broadcast by the party began to vary widely.

Throughout its five-year duration, most of the fighting in the Federal War consisted of small and isolated guerrilla-style attacks. One major confrontation occurred in December 1859 at the Battle of Santa Inés, during which the conservative army attempted an assault on forces under General Zamora in his home territory in the state of Barinas. Zamora repelled the attack, his crucial victory devastating the Conservative army. Subsequent campaigns brought the federalist army ever closer to CARACAS, but Zamora was killed in a battle in the city of San Carlos in October 1860.

Liberals suffered a series of setbacks after Zamora's death. The federalist army lost a series of important battles, while Conservatives rallied some support by bringing former president JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ back to power. Eventually, Falcón took the controversial step of dividing the federalist army into three main bodies, but it was fractures within the Conservative Party that ultimately gave the Liberals an advantage. In the early months of 1862, Falcón's forces enjoyed important victories in battles in Peruche, El Corubo, and Mapararí. One year later, in April 1863, Conservative leaders were forced to surrender in the Treaty of Coche, and in 1864, Falcón became president of the republic.

The Federal War cost 150,000 to 200,000 lives during five years of brutal fighting, but the conflict resolved few of Venezuela's deeply rooted problems. The Falcón administration oversaw the promulgation of an ardently federalist constitution in 1864, but his rule came to an early end when the Revolución Azul (Blue Revolution) overthrew him in 1867.

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fermage *Fermage* is the term used to describe governor-for-life Toussaint Louverture's (1801–03) forced-

LABOR system of newly emancipated slaves on the island of Hispaniola (see SLAVERY). As specified in the Constitution of 1801, the state took over abandoned plantations, leased them out, and “bound” laborers to certain plantations. A quarter of the revenue was paid to the workers, who were also fed, housed, and clothed. The tenant took a fixed share of the profits and the government the remainder. Strict penalties were administered to those who did not comply. During Toussaint’s rule, the system succeeded in generating capital and reinstating a productive agricultural export ECONOMY (see AGRICULTURE).

Both JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES (1804–06) and HENRI CHRISTOPHE (1807–20) resorted to the same system of *fermage*. In ALEXANDRE PÉTION’S (1806–18) republic in the south, *fermage* died out as large land plots were broken apart and sold. In Christophe’s kingdom in the north, *fermage* was extremely successful, with the export of agricultural products earning almost as much as during the colonial period.

JEAN-PIERRE BOYER, Pétion’s successor, unsuccessfully attempted to revive the *fermage* system. He took the plan one step further with his CODE RURAL of 1826, which exempted towns and cities but required rural people to be either laborers or MILITARY servicemen. The law was overseen by HAITI’S army. The plan failed due to Pétion’s land distribution policies and the military’s inability to enforce the code.

See also HISPANIOLA (Vol. II).

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Fernández de Lizardi, José Joaquín (b. 1776–d. 1827) *Mexican journalist and novelist* José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi was a Mexican writer and journalist who penned *El periquillo Sarniento* (*The Itching Parrot* or *The Mangy Parrot*) beginning in 1816. The work is widely considered to be Latin America’s first novel (see LITERATURE).

Lizardi was born on November 15, 1776, to a FAMILY of modest means in MEXICO CITY. He began studying theology but soon left his studies for a career as a minor-level regional judge. In 1810, he surrendered without altercation to independence forces and was jailed by the royalist army as a traitor. Upon his release, he relocated his family back to Mexico City and began working full time as a writer. Inspired by the liberal movement in Spain that advocated freedom of speech, Lizardi founded one of the nation’s first private newspapers, *El Pensador Mexicano* (*The Mexican thinker*). He used it as a forum for expressing his Enlightenment-inspired critiques of the political

and social system. In 1813, he was jailed for a brief period after criticizing the viceregal government. After Ferdinand VII retook the throne in Spain and restored autocratic rule, his criticisms became more subdued.

After 1814, Lizardi turned away from journalism and toward literature to express his social message. *The Mangy Parrot* began as a serialized account of the inefficiencies and corruption of the Spanish system. After the first three installments, censors blocked any further publications, and Lizardi was again imprisoned. In 1820, he was able to return to writing after the Riego Revolt reinstated Spain’s liberal Constitution of 1812, and he founded the Public Society for Reading.

After Mexico achieved independence from Spain in 1821, Lizardi continued to write on social and political issues. But, his politics did not fall neatly into either emerging dominant ideology, and he ran into problems with the constantly changing political leadership of the new nation. Lizardi died of tuberculosis on April 27, 1827. The completed *el periquillo Sarniento* was not published until 1830–31.

See also ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II).

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Firmin, Anténor (Joseph–Anténor Firmin) (b. 1850–d. 1911) *Haitian writer, political activist, and anthropologist* Anténor Firmin was born in Cap Haitien in 1850. As a young man, he worked in teaching and, later, in law and politics, and as a diplomat. He was active in liberal Haitian politics, known as the Parti Libéral (Liberal Party).

Firmin began the journal called *Le messanger du Nord* in Cap Haitien (see LITERATURE). In 1885, he published his best-known article, “De l’égalité des races humaines” (Of the equality of the human races), which was a counter to the nefarious racism of the time as presented by the French writer Arthur de Gobineau in his “Essaie sur l’inégalité des races humaines” (Essay on the inequality of the human races). Firmin responded to de Gobineau by disproving the “scientific method,” a theory believed to prove white superiority. Firmin argued that the systems of thought that suggest such racial conclusions are based on “hierarchical mythic and superstitious misinformation.” His counter argument was so well received in the intellectual community that support for the “scientific method” as a means of proving the superiority of whites over blacks was thrown into question, causing a vigorous and substantive debate.

Firmin also proposed progressive political ideas for HAITI’S government. He believed that the executive power should not control the state, that class divisions should be eliminated, and that the peasantry should be integrated into the wider Haitian society.

Firmin died in Haiti in 1911.

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First Republic See OLD REPUBLIC.

Five Years' War See FEDERAL WAR.

Flores, Juan José (b. ca. 1800–d. 1864) *general and first president of Ecuador* General Juan José Flores, one of the Liberator Simón Bolívar's "faithful friends," was one of many Venezuelans who contributed to ECUADOR's independence and then settled permanently in the country in the 1820s. Marrying the daughter of one of QUITO's most illustrious families brought Flores wealth and access to high society. His role at the Battle of Tarquí in 1829, which temporarily held off Peruvian expansionist plans along Ecuador's southern border, made him a national hero and the logical person to lead the new republic when it broke away from GRAN COLOMBIA in 1830.

Flores held conservative values and flirted with monarchy throughout much of his career. As president (1830–35, 1839–45), he attempted to build a road from Quito to GUAYAQUIL and construct schools, but his government was plagued by revenue shortfalls. In 1843, he attempted to rewrite the constitution (see CHARTER OF SLAVERY) and create a more centralized, monarchical-like government, which resulted in his defeat and exile in 1845.

Flores spent the next 15 years engaged in various schemes to return to power with European assistance. These caused him to be reviled in Ecuador and his principal biographer to dub him the "King of the Night."

In 1860, Flores resuscitated his career and his reputation when GABRIEL GARCÍA MORENO made him commander-in-chief of the Conservative forces in the ongoing civil war. After leading the army to victory, Flores became an integral part of the new regime, regaining his confiscated properties and acting as García Moreno's principal adviser during his first term. Flores suffered his most humiliating MILITARY loss against COLOMBIA in 1863 at the Battle of Cuaspud. Nevertheless, he remained García Moreno's steadiest general until his death in 1864.

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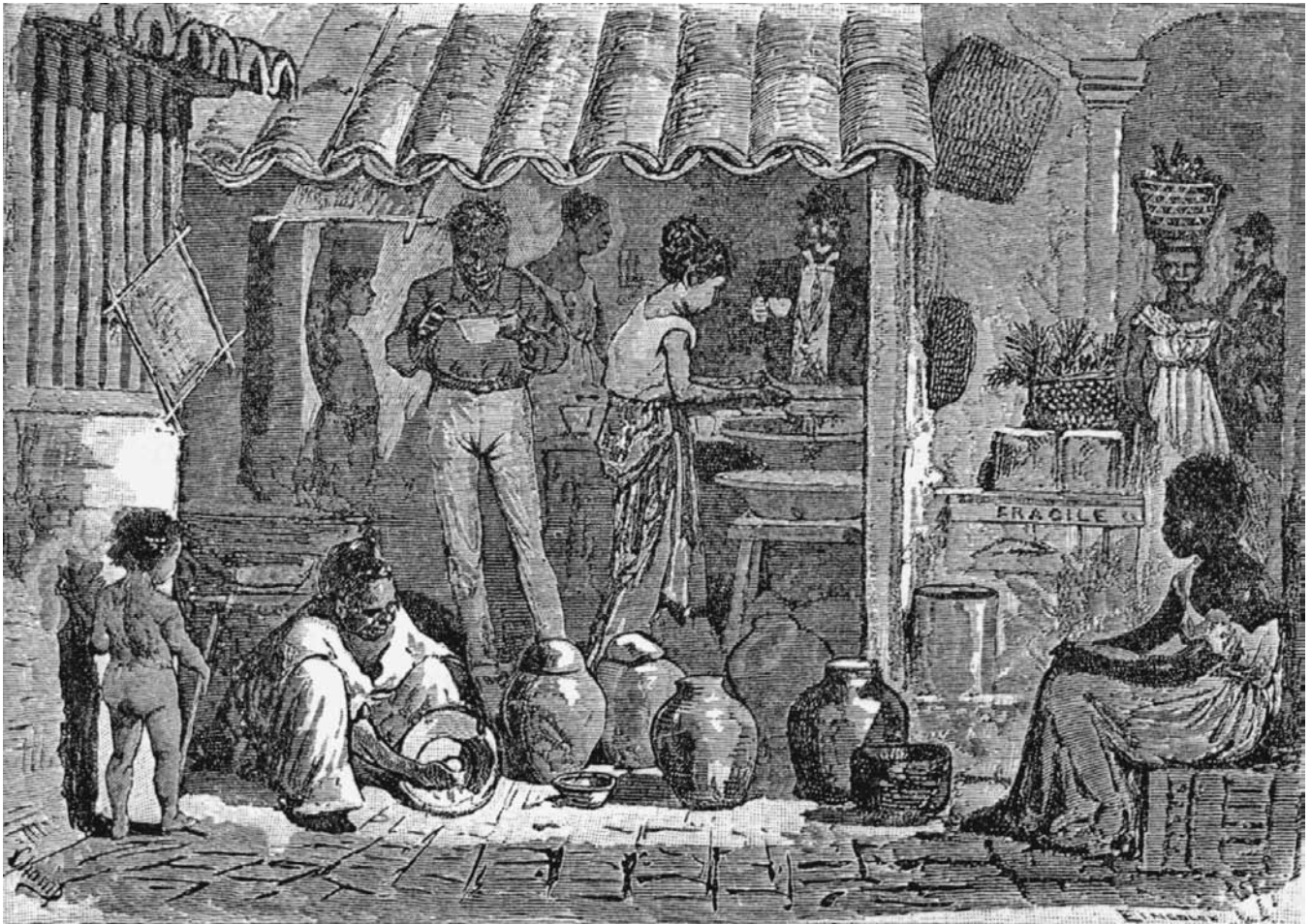
Mark J. Van Aken. *King of the Night: Juan José Flores of Ecuador, 1824–1864* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

food Food played a number of roles in the development of 19th-century Latin America. Aside from its basic function of providing sustenance to the local population, many nations in Latin America specialized in the production of agricultural products for export, thus food production became an important means of earning an income. Food was also used by many people as a symbolic marker of identity, with certain cuisines defining the elite and others defining the wider population. Regionalism and nationalism also surfaced in reference to cuisine, especially in the later decades of the 19th century.

The cultural importance of food in Latin America dates back to the pre-Columbian era, when indigenous civilizations imbued the harvest with religious and social meaning. To Mesoamerican people, corn, or MAIZE, signified life. The Aztecs and Maya performed religious rituals to give thanks for a good harvest to a sophisticated network of deities and to ensure fertile agricultural seasons to come. The South American Inca civilization built an expansive empire and ensured that an adequate food supply was available through an intricate network of roads and political alliances. European colonization introduced new dietary practices and crops to Latin America. The Latin American colonies became major suppliers of commodity foodstuffs such as SUGAR and COFFEE between the 16th and 19th centuries.

The importance of agricultural production in Latin America continued after independence. In the 19th century, the global ECONOMY shifted toward a LAISSEZ-FAIRE economic model, which favored relatively free TRADE and economic specialization based on COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE. Latin American nations had a comparative advantage in the production of a variety of agricultural foodstuffs. Initially, the region produced large amounts of coffee and sugar, but by the end of the century, products such as grains, fruit, and even some meats were being exported. Aided by liberal land reform policies, large HACIENDAS and plantations expanded, while small farmers found it impossible to compete. Foreign interests purchased large tracts of land in the Caribbean, MEXICO, and CENTRAL AMERICA, while national rural oligarchies tended to dominate the economies of ARGENTINA and BRAZIL. The expansion of AGRICULTURE in the late 19th century helped to fuel exponential growth in the economies of most Latin American countries. The benefits of economic progress, however, were not evenly shared; national and foreign elite became wealthy, while rural peasants lost access to land and sank further into poverty.

As Latin American nations were increasingly integrated into the world economy in the 19th century, food became even more tied to national, regional, and ethnic identity. By the end of the century, the Mexican elite often displayed their wealth and status by hosting lavish parties and serving gourmet French cuisine. They displayed their contempt for the supposed backwardness of the indigenous population, who preferred corn tortillas



Sketch of an *assai* stand selling *assai* berries and other local foods in Brazil (From *Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast*: Illustrated from Sketches by J. Wells Champney and Others, by Herbert H. Smith. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879, p. 44)

over WHEAT bread. South American beef played a similar role in expressing identity. Brazilian and Argentine elite preferred freshly prepared steak, and Argentine GAUCHOS were known for their grilled *asado*, while salted meat known as *feijoada* was the dietary staple of Brazilian slaves.

See also AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, II, IV); FOOD (Vol. I); HACIENDA (Vol. II); PLANTATIONS (Vol. II).

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Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez de (Doctor Francia) (b. 1766–d. 1840) *independence leader and dictator of Paraguay* José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia was a theologian and legal scholar who used Enlightenment philosophies as inspiration to lead PARAGUAY into the independence movement in the early 19th century. He became the dictator of the newly formed nation and used that position to take power away from the elite and

defend the interests of ordinary citizens. As “el Supremo Dictador” (the supreme dictator), Francia ruled fairly and honestly but with an iron fist. His autocratic style brought security, stability, and progress to Paraguay in its first decades as an independent nation.

Francia was born in Asunción on January 6, 1766, to a Brazilian father and a local aristocratic mother. He initially studied theology in Córdoba but later returned to Asunción and obtained a degree in law. Francia earned a reputation as an avid follower of Enlightenment philosophers and as a defender of the poor. He eventually entered politics, holding various positions on the Asunción *cabildo*, or town council. In 1811, Francia served as a member of Paraguay’s ruling junta after the province declared independence from Spain. He later played a vital role in negotiating a treaty with BUENOS AIRES leaders that effectively guaranteed Paraguay’s independence from the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata.

Francia resigned from the ruling junta in protest over the policies some of the elite members of the junta were trying to implement. Over the next several years, he worked to build a support base among elite and common-people alike. By 1813, Paraguay faced threats from both

BRAZIL and the United Provinces. Leaders in Asunción invited Francia to help lead the new nation in the face of those threats. Francia guided the Paraguayan congress in rejecting ARGENTINA's attempts at reunification, and the legislative body rewarded him by electing him co-consul in 1814. Two years later, that same congress elected Francia dictator for life.

During his 26-year rule, Francia transformed Paraguay from the backwater frontier colony it had been under Spanish rule into a thriving and economically self-sufficient independent nation. As a dictator, Francia is often depicted as a tyrant, but he was not a simple despot ruling with arbitrary cruelty. Instead, Francia's personality was marked by an ardent sense of nationalism that often influenced the way he ran the country. Seeing other Southern Cone nations descend into violence and instability in the 1820s, Francia attempted to protect Paraguay from the volatility that plagued its neighbors by closing off the nation. He maintained a policy of strict neutrality in the constantly simmering power struggle between Argentina and Brazil and dealt with those nations only as necessary to ensure a limited TRADE in vital goods. Francia's isolationism and xenophobia are often cited as crucial factors in maintaining stability in Paraguay during an era when instability plagued other newly independent Latin American nations.

Francia borrowed ideas from the European Enlightenment and the French Revolution as the foundation for the society he was trying to build. Although he was a political despot, his social policies introduced a radical version of LIBERALISM to the new nation. Francia firmly believed in breaking the power of the traditional elite and empowering the commonpeople. He instituted land reform policies that aimed to eliminate private property—particularly property owned by the traditional elite—in favor of communal landholdings dedicated to the common good. Francia's most aggressive reform measures targeted the CATHOLIC CHURCH. He was one of the first Latin American leaders to abolish the religious *FUEROS*, or privileges and parallel court system, and to take steps to secularize society. He confiscated property once owned by the church and other landed aristocrats. Francia redistributed large amounts of land to small farmers and encouraged the nation's agriculturalists to diversify their production away from traditional export crops such as TOBACCO and yerba maté (see AGRICULTURE). Within a decade, Paraguay had become self-sufficient in a variety of foodstuffs. By the end of his regime, Francia had also introduced basic manufacturing in industries such as textiles and shipbuilding. Generally, peasants and other common folk benefited substantially from Francia's economic and social policies.

Despite the apparent advancements made under his regime, Francia nonetheless was an oppressive dictator, and progress came at the price of individual freedoms. Francia lived in constant fear of conspiracy, and his paranoia was not necessarily unfounded. In 1823, he discov-

ered a plot by the old elite to overthrow his government. Francia responded by arresting and either executing or exiling hundreds of perceived enemies. The dictator used such conspiracies as justification for suppressing free speech and detaining suspected traitors without trial. Many political prisoners were tortured, while others simply disappeared. Francia allowed few individuals into his small circle of advisers and made nearly every decision—large and small—himself. The dictator further attempted to dismantle the elite's power by encouraging the practice of intermarriage. He urged the proliferation of the mestizo race by forbidding people of European descent to marry other Europeans.

Francia's strict control over all aspects of Paraguay's political, economic, and social development may have saved the country from potential instability during his 26-year dictatorship, but it also set up a weak national framework around the strong rule of one man. Francia ruled as supreme dictator until his death on September 20, 1840. He left no successor, and the nation descended into chaos in the days following his death. After months of political turmoil and several coups, CARLOS ANTONIO LÓPEZ was finally chosen as Francia's successor.

The novel *Yo el supremo* (*I, the Supreme*), published in 1974 by Paraguayan writer Augusto Roa Bastos, is based on the life of Francia. Regarded as one of Paraguay's great literary works, *Yo el supremo* is a denunciation of autocratic rule (see LITERATURE).

See also ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II).

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Frelinghuysen-Zavala Treaty (1884) Signed in Washington, D.C., between U.S. secretary of state Frederick T. Frelinghuysen (b. 1817–d. 1885) and NICARAGUA's minister to the United States, Joaquín Zavala (b. 1835–d. 1906), the agreement granted the United States the right to construct a transisthmian canal through Nicaragua, to be jointly administered, in return for a U.S. guarantee of Nicaragua's sovereignty. Although the French Canal Company's effort to construct a canal at PANAMA failed in 1881, in the United States, the public was aroused to the possibility of a transisthmian canal under U.S. control. During the same time period, Central American leaders, particularly Guatemalan president JUSTO RUFINO BARRIOS, anticipated significant development and wealth from such a canal. Barrios even boasted that he would guarantee Nicaragua's passage of the treaty. Reluctantly, Nicaragua signed. The Nicaraguans feared Barrios had ulterior motives, including the establishment of a Central American union under his leadership.

The U.S. Senate, unwilling to be drawn into CENTRAL AMERICA's political affairs, rejected the treaty. The United States remained committed to the ideal of a canal under its control while remaining free of involvement in regional issues (see TRANSITIMIAN INTERESTS).

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French Guiana French Guiana is a former French colony along the northeastern coast of South America. It is bordered to the south and east by BRAZIL and to the west by SURINAME. French Guiana encompasses less than 34,000 square miles (88,060 km²), and today, the former colony is an overseas *département* of France.

The territory that makes up French Guiana was originally explored by the Spanish in the early 16th century, but other European powers began establishing permanent settlements there. Throughout much of the 17th century, the French, Portuguese, British, and Dutch competed for control of the northeastern coastal region of South America. By the 18th century, the French had secured their claim over the region, and the colony became known as Cayenne, after the principal city and capital. A small plantation ECONOMY emerged, and the colony became home to approximately 10,000 slaves who produced cotton, dyes, and other local products. Inhabitants of the small French outpost led a relatively quiet existence until the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. The political upheaval in the empire had a lasting impact on the South American colony. Cayenne became a popular destination for political exiles in the 1790s. In later decades, the French established a network of penal colonies in the tropical territory. Conditions in the penal colonies were notoriously bad. One of the worst was the Devil's Island colony on one of the small Îles du Salut (Safety Islands) just off the coast. French Guiana's penal colonies remained in use until the 1950s.

The French Revolution also provoked a major slave rebellion in the FRENCH CARIBBEAN colony of Saint Domingue in 1791. The revolt quickly escalated into a full-scale movement for independence, and French officials tried to control the unrest by abolishing SLAVERY in all of the French Empire in 1794. The emancipation decree changed the legal status of African slaves in French Guiana to "apprentice," but that move toward full emancipation lasted for only six years. In 1802, the French reinstated slavery throughout the colonies, and "appren-

tics" in French Guiana legally became slaves once again. Although slavery continued, the French Revolution did have an impact on the social and economic development of the colony. Haitian independence secured the abolition of slavery and brought about a decline in the once-prosperous SUGAR industry on the island of Hispaniola. The worldwide demand for sugar remained high, and other tropical regions of the Americas stepped in to fill the void in production left by HAITI. Sugar production increased in French Guiana, and by the 1840s, the slave population in the colony had almost doubled. But, in the early decades of the 19th century, sugar planters in French Guiana had failed to modernize or diversify production. As a result, when slavery was finally abolished in 1848, the economy was ill prepared to adjust to a free-market and free-LABOR system. After abolition, many former slaves abandoned the plantations, and the small but viable agricultural export sector that was the basis of the French Guianese economy fell into decline.

Like other French colonies, French Guiana was affected by the political developments in France throughout the 19th century. As a result of the Napoléonic Wars in the early decades of the century, French possessions in the Americas were taken over by the British. They eventually reverted back to French control, but the colonial atmosphere began to change. The French Revolution had introduced ideas such as liberalism, equality, and republicanism, and during the brief period of emancipation following the 1790s uprisings in Saint Domingue, expectations rose among the slave and colored population of French colonies. Conservative interests in France resurfaced in the early decades of the 19th century, and republican and monarchist forces challenged each other over the coming decades in the mother country. French revolutionaries were quashed with the rise of Napoléon Bonaparte in 1804, and advocates of republicanism endured several decades of monarchical rule before leading another revolution in 1848 and creating the Second Republic. That brief period of liberal rule brought about the final abolition of slavery and introduced universal male suffrage to the French colonies for the first time. But, republicanism was short lived, and Napoléon III abrogated many of those reforms in 1852. He also expanded French Guiana's function as a penal colony, and shiploads of prisoners arrived in the small territory over the coming decades. It was only after the establishment of the Third Republic in the 1870s that the inhabitants of French colonial possessions received full citizenship rights, which included the right to vote (for adult males) and political representation in the French Parliament.

The economy of French Guiana fell into decline after the abolition of slavery and remained in a state of underdevelopment for the rest of the 19th century. French planters resented the abolition of slavery and blamed the wage-labor system for the decline of the sugar economy. Racial tensions ran high in the late 19th century and were made worse after the discovery of GOLD

deposits in the Guianese interior in the 1850s. For the rest of the century, white settlers, many of them former plantation owners, invested in gold MINING. They formed the General Gold Mining Company and divided interior lands among various partners. Gold mining strained social relations, as the former planter elite continued to control economic resources. Interior expeditions also encroached on territories that had traditionally been occupied by small groups of indigenous and maroon communities.

After 1946, French Guiana became a *département* of France, and today has equal status with other mainland provinces.

See also FRENCH GUIANA (Vol. II); PLANTATIONS (Vol. II).

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French intervention (1862–1867) The French intervention in MEXICO was the five-year period from 1862 to 1867 when the French army occupied Mexico in an attempt to build a French empire in the Americas. French emperor Napoléon III installed Austrian archduke Maximilian of Habsburg (b. 1832–d. 1867) as emperor of Mexico. Eventually, Liberal forces under President BENITO JUÁREZ (1858–82) forced the French army to withdraw and executed Maximilian and his supporters.

The French intervention in Mexico began under the pretext of debt collection, with the cooperation of the French and the British. Under the Convention of London, Queen Victoria of Great Britain, Queen Isabella II of Spain, and Emperor Napoléon III of France collaborated to occupy major ports along the Gulf of Mexico and seize customs house revenues. Spanish troops arrived in December 1861, followed by British and French fleets in January 1862. Spanish and British troops soon withdrew, but Napoléon, encouraged by disgruntled Mexican Conservatives, prepared for a large-scale occupation. The United States, embroiled in civil war, was unable to fulfill the pledge contained in the MONROE DOCTRINE of 1823 to defend any nation in the Americas against European invasion. Emboldened by his Conservative Mexican accomplices, Napoléon saw an opportunity to build a French empire around the idea of a “Latin league” that included Mediterranean areas of Europe and former Spanish and Portuguese holdings in the Americas. This Napoléonic vision gave origin to the term *Latin America*.

French troops took control of major port cities along Mexico’s Gulf coast in spring 1862, and in April, the army began marching toward MEXICO CITY. Many of Mexico’s poorly defended towns and cities fell easily to the superior French MILITARY, but Napoléon’s troops encountered

resistance where they least expected. In PUEBLA, a city known for its strong ties to the CATHOLIC CHURCH and conservative politics, Mexican forces under the leadership of General Ignacio Zaragoza and Brigadier General (and future president) PORFIRIO DÍAZ put up a strong stand and drove the French army back. The anniversary of the unexpected and patriotic victory, May 5, or CINCO DE MAYO, is celebrated as a national holiday in Mexico and among Mexican communities in the United States and elsewhere.

Although Zaragoza temporarily succeeded in repelling French forces at Puebla, Napoléon quickly sent reinforcements, and within a year, the French army had taken Puebla and other surrounding cities. By June 1863, Juárez and his administration were forced to flee the capital, and French forces easily took Mexico City. Juárez and his Liberal cadre continued to organize opposition while in hiding in San Luis Potosí, Chihuahua, and El Paso del Norte, while Napoléon and his Conservative Mexican allies attempted to consolidate power by offering Austrian archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph von Habsburg the throne of Mexico in the Convention of Miramar. Maximilian and his young wife, Charlotte of Belgium, known in Mexico as Carlota, allowed themselves to be persuaded by Conservative politicians that in a plebiscite, Mexicans had voted overwhelmingly in favor of Maximilian’s rule. The couple arrived in Mexico in May 1864 expecting a welcome befitting of a beloved royal family but instead found a hostile nation in ruins after years of warfare.

Maximilian and Carlota did their best to build support and assimilate in their adopted country. They paid homage to the Virgin of Guadalupe, learned Spanish, and worked to adopt local customs. The couple moved into Chapultepec Castle and began designing a court with all the trappings of European royalty but incorporating Mexican culture. They changed Mexico’s coat of arms to include both a royal crown and the traditional Mexican eagle. All royal decorations, such as official china and the royal carriage, bore a seal with an interlocking *MM* symbolizing Maximilian and Mexico as one. But, perhaps Maximilian’s most significant gestures were those policies that pandered to Juárez’s supporters. A liberal at heart, Maximilian granted amnesty to political prisoners and refused to reverse the liberal Reform Laws of the 1850s (see LA REFORMA). He alienated Conservative supporters by forcing the CATHOLIC CHURCH to loan money to his financially strapped regime and by attempting to bring Liberals into his inner circle of advisers.

For their part, Liberals were generally not swayed by Maximilian’s attempts at conciliation, and the Juárez faction continued to challenge the new emperor. Despite some crucial victories late in 1864, Maximilian and Carlota’s regime was never self-sustaining, and the royal couple continually relied on support from Napoléon and the French army. In October 1865, Maximilian aimed to capitalize on recent victories against Juárez and issued a



During the French intervention, Austrian archduke Maximilian of Habsburg and his bride, Carlota, attempted to integrate themselves into Mexican culture. This seal from circa 1864 features cameo portraits of Maximilian and Carlota, Benito Juárez, Ramón Méndez, and Miguel Miramón. The coat of arms above the *M* is an attempt to merge the identities of Maximilian and Mexico and was typical of the emperor's attempts to legitimize his authority. (*Library of Congress*)

decree that all opposition forces would be executed within 24 hours of capture. The decree only strengthened Liberal resolve and sealed Maximilian's fate once Juárez's troops retook the country. Furthermore, the end of the American Civil War in 1865 had freed up hundreds of thousands of armed and battle-ready U.S. Army soldiers, who were now prepared to help defend Mexico and uphold the Monroe Doctrine. Throughout 1865, the U.S. government aided Juárez's resistance by sending arms and other forms of military aid. U.S. leaders also applied unyielding diplomatic pressure on Napoléon to abandon his aspirations to build an empire in the Americas. By November 1866, Napoléon began withdrawing his troops, leaving Maximilian virtually defenseless.

The beleaguered emperor and a close circle of Conservative allies mounted a last stand against Juárez's

rapidly advancing army. Carlota went to Europe to plead with Napoléon and Pope Pius IX, but neither was willing to continue supporting what had obviously turned into a failed endeavor. Overwrought, Carlota suffered a mental breakdown and retreated to a family-owned castle in Belgium.

Maximilian was forced to abandon Mexico City as Juárez's forces advanced. He was captured in Querétaro on May 15, 1867, and tried on 13 counts of crimes against the Mexican nation. Juárez ignored numerous requests by foreign dignitaries to spare Maximilian's life, and when the court handed down the death penalty, Maximilian was shot by firing squad on June 19, 1867. The end of the French intervention erased the last vestiges of Conservative political power. Juárez returned to the presidency and, in an era known as the "Restored Republic," implemented many of the liberal policies of the 1850s that had been interrupted by civil war and foreign invasion.

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French West Indies See CARIBBEAN, FRENCH.

fuero The special privileges granted by the Crown to members of the CATHOLIC CHURCH, the MILITARY, and other corporate groups in Latin America during the colonial period were called *fueros*. The term *fuero* is often also used to refer to the separate, parallel court systems that existed for clergy and members of the military. It can also refer more broadly to the special entitlements enjoyed by the elite.

The granting of *fueros* was a practice that dates back to the medieval period in Spain. It was carried over the Americas as an important part of social and political authority in the Spanish Empire. According to tradition, certain groups were granted special status as a corporation by the Crown. The church and the military were the two largest and most powerful corporations, but other groups enjoyed the special status as well. Members of the nobility enjoyed a type of corporate privilege, as did leaders of *cabildos*, or town councils. By the end of the colonial period, members of the merchant guilds could also claim some corporate privileges.

The specific *fueros* enjoyed by members of the privileged classes in Latin America varied according to their size, influence, and function. Each group enjoyed varying degrees of self-government, as evidenced by the separate

ecclesiastical and military court systems. Members of the church and military accused of a crime were tried in the church and military courts, which were generally more lenient than the civil courts. Furthermore, members of some corporations were not subjected to the onerous taxes that were imposed in the Spanish colonies. They also generally had enormous social prestige, their status often giving them political sway in local affairs.

Fueros complicated the already-complex social hierarchy that existed in colonial Latin America. Jealousies and jurisdictional disputes often were settled only by the monarch, who was the one overarching authority holding the system of privileges together. When the wars for independence in Latin America removed the monarch and the system of absolute rule, the intricate social network surrounding corporate privileges was thrown into chaos. *Fueros* and other remnants of the colonial era were increasingly challenged by the liberal elite, who often pushed for aggressive social reform,

including a dismantling of the *fueros* and other corporate privileges. Conservative leaders, many of whom descended from powerful corporate groups, challenged liberal ideals and insisted that subverting the long-standing system of authority and privilege would undermine social stability. Conflict between liberals and conservatives led to widespread violence throughout Latin America in the 19th century. MEXICO and COLOMBIA fought violent civil wars as liberal reformers attempted to suspend corporate privileges. Similar unrest surfaced in other regions, as liberal constitutions in the last half of the 19th century systematically eliminated most corporate protections.

See also *FUERO* (Vol. II).

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G

Gadsden Purchase (1853) The Gadsden Purchase was negotiated in the Mesilla Valley Treaty (also known as the Gadsden Treaty) in 1853 between the United States and MEXICO. Under the agreement, Mexico ceded the Mesilla Valley territory, a 30,000-square-mile (77,700-km²) area along its northern border to the United States, in exchange for \$10 million.

The Gadsden Purchase came just five years after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had ended the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR and resulted in the transfer of approximately half of Mexico's territory to its northern neighbor. That treaty had only nebulously defined the new border between the two nations. On the U.S. side, the boundary issue soon became part of a larger endeavor to develop a route for a southern railroad. In the aftermath of the war, boundary disputes arose between the two nations, and boundary commissions began haggling over the details. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had also guaranteed protection (or restitution) by the United States for any damages inflicted on Mexican citizens by Amerindians in the ceded territory. It became clear that the United States was unable to enforce the provisions of the treaty that dealt with NATIVE AMERICANS, and Mexican claims for damages escalated into the millions. Other issues arose as well: National treasures and other valuables were found to have disappeared from Mexico after U.S. troops were withdrawn; property and citizenship disputes arose for Mexicans living in the ceded territory; and filibustering expeditions along the border increased.

Rather than going to war again to settle these disputes, U.S. president Franklin Pierce sent James Gadsden to Mexico to negotiate a new agreement with the goal of acquiring more territory. Pierce and Gadsden were well aware that Mexico was experiencing

a major political and economic crisis under the increasingly autocratic leadership of ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA. Using a combination of deceit, persuasion, and remuneration, Gadsden obtained a settlement of boundary claims, a suitable route for a southern railroad, and a remittance of the U.S. obligation to protect Mexicans from Amerindian incursions.

As a result of the Gadsden Purchase, the southernmost portions of what today are the states of Arizona and New Mexico came under U.S. control. In Mexico, the loss of yet another expanse of national territory to its northern neighbor produced even greater resentment toward the United States and further destabilized Santa Anna's regime. Shortly after the Gadsden Treaty was signed, Liberal opponents declared the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA and within a year had overthrown Santa Anna for the final time.

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Gálvez, José Felipe Mariano (b. ca. 1794–d. 1862) *head of Guatemalan state* Abandoned after birth at a church doorstep in Guatemala City, José Felipe Mariano Gálvez was adopted by the wealthy family of Gertrudis Gálvez. He received all of his EDUCATION in Guatemala City schools, earning a doctorate of law in 1819. Following CENTRAL AMERICA's independence in 1821, Gálvez favored annexation to MEXICO and after the collapse of the Mexican Empire in 1823 supported the establishment of the UNITED PROVINCES



OF CENTRAL AMERICA. Gálvez joined the federation's MILITARY under the Honduran FRANCISCO MORAZÁN. Elected head of GUATEMALA in 1831, Gálvez improved public education and separated it from church authority. He also founded the National Museum and the National Library. Gálvez promoted civil rights and freedom of the press and instituted the LIVINGSTON CODES, a set of legal reforms originally written for the

Louisiana territory in the United States. Gálvez also established a general head tax.

Gálvez's liberal reforms drew strong opposition from conservative groups, including the church. In 1838, the United Provinces of Central America began to crumble, and Gálvez faced a number of insurrections throughout Guatemala. Eventually the provinces of Antigua, Chiquimula, and Salama withdrew their recognition of

the Gálvez government, leaving it defenseless against RAFAEL CARRERA's indigenous army. Carrera entered Guatemala City, forcing Gálvez to relinquish control of the government and flee to Mexico. There, Gálvez practiced law until his death on March 28, 1862. In 1925, his remains were returned for burial in Guatemala City, and in 1966, the Universidad de Mariano Gálvez opened in the same city.

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Miriam Williford. "The Reform Program of Dr. Mariano Gálvez." Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1963.

Gamarra, Agustín (b. 1785–d. 1841) *president of Peru* Agustín Gamarra was a MILITARY leader during the wars of independence and was twice selected to be president of PERU. He was known for his desire to reunite Peru and BOLIVIA and worked to that end during his presidencies (1829–33, 1839–41). Gamarra also oversaw the beginning of the GUANO AGE and the expansion of Peru's ECONOMY.

Gamarra was born in 1785 in central Peru. He built a successful military career, fighting almost from the beginning with the independence forces in Peru and Bolivia. He served under the command of future Bolivian president ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ. The two shared a common aspiration to unite the two regions into one large and powerful nation after independence. Gamarra led the Peruvian invasion of Bolivia in 1827 that forced the resignation of independence leader and Bolivian president ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE. When Santa Cruz took power in Bolivia in 1829, the two leaders concluded to create a unified confederation. However, when Gamarra's presidency expired in 1833, political opponents within Peru temporarily impeded Santa Cruz's efforts to create the PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION. The Bolivian dictator succeeded in creating the short-lived confederation three years later, but Gamarra rejected the limits on Peruvian authority under the proposed political structure.

In 1839, Gamarra participated alongside Chilean forces in the pivotal Battle of Jungay, in which Santa Cruz was defeated and which led to the dismantling of the Peru-Bolivia Confederation. Shortly thereafter, Peru's Congress elected Gamarra president for a second time. During his second presidency, Gamarra charged his finance minister and future president RAMÓN CASTILLA with developing the nation's guano deposits. Gamarra also continued to press for a strategy to annex Bolivia and in 1841 led an invasion force into the neighboring country. He was killed on November 18, 1841, in the Battle of Ingavi.

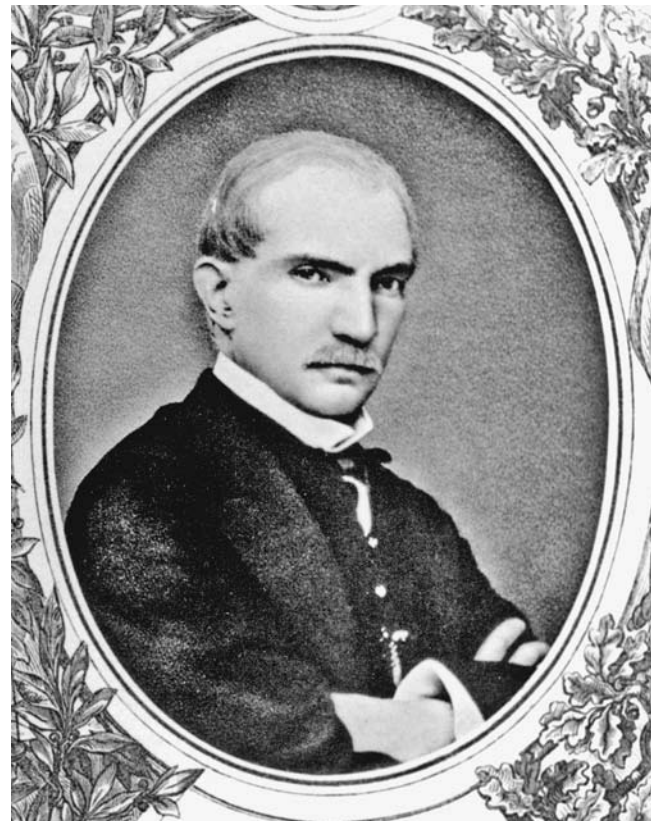
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García Moreno, Gabriel (b. 1821–d. 1875) *Ecuadorian Conservative political leader and two-term president* Born to a poor but elite religious family, Gabriel García Moreno was sent to QUITO for his secondary and university EDUCATION. Originally intending to become a priest, he ultimately decided to pursue a career in law and politics. While at university, he befriended the sons of many elite families from the highlands. In 1845, he married his best friend's sister and determined "not to write about history, but to make it." For the next 14 years, he protested against any and all of ECUADOR's governments, spending years in exile in PERU and Europe.

Ongoing diplomatic battles with Peru provided him the opportunity to lead fellow Conservatives in Ecuador against their neighbor. In 1859, Peruvian president RAMÓN CASTILLA blockaded the harbor at GUAYAQUIL, and García Moreno and his friends entered into one of the 19th century's hardest fought civil wars as regional interests divided over how best to deal with the Peruvian threat. Later that year, Ecuador divided into four factions as the tendency toward regionalism reasserted itself. While Guayaquil's commander sought an alliance with Peru, García Moreno



Portrait of Gabriel García Moreno, president of Ecuador on two occasions between 1861 and 1875 (*Library of Congress*)

dallied with France, leading enemies to brand him a monarchist and a traitor. Eventually, García Moreno asked former president JUAN JOSÉ FLORES to return to Ecuador to help lead the Conservative army, and the two defeated their regional rivals by September 1860.

Although the next 15 years have been described as the “age of García Moreno,” and he clearly was a major political player at this time, García Moreno was constrained by a federalist system until 1869. Regional interests had led to a decentralized constitution, which gave great power to the municipalities and hamstrung the president. Headstrong and quick tempered, García Moreno wasted much of his first term (1861–65) fighting two wars against COLOMBIA, in which Ecuador was fortunate to lose no territory. García Moreno left the presidency in 1865, only to find that his would-be puppets preferred to act independently. Consequently, for much of the time between 1865 and 1869, he found himself either in opposition to the government or on diplomatic assignments abroad designed to remove him from the scene of the action.

During his second presidential term (1869–75), García Moreno earned his reputation as the Conservative founder of the modern Ecuadorean state. While in CHILE in 1866, he had studied that country’s constitution, which featured a strong, centralized government in which presidential authority dominated. Not only did the president appoint governors and local officials, but he selected the members of the Supreme Court. Chile’s document became the model for Ecuador’s Constitution of 1869, which added many pro-Catholic features. Not only did the church retain all its traditional powers, but being a Roman Catholic was required to become a citizen of Ecuador.

Building on the foundations of his first term, García Moreno hoped to create a conservative “Catholic nation.” In the 1860s, he had entered into a concordat with Pope Pius IX that accorded the church great privileges, retaining its traditional *FUERO* and guaranteeing its right to own property. Yet the concordat, the only concrete achievement of García Moreno’s first term, also greatly strengthened the state. Not only did the government gain a larger portion of tithe revenues for itself, but the church was required to create new dioceses and parishes, giving it more influence outside the three major cities. In addition, the concordat required the church and state to cooperate to ferret out corrupt clergy and allowed Ecuador to contract with European religious orders to provide social services and education.

García Moreno argued that members of foreign service orders were better educated and more pedagogically progressive than Ecuadorean monks and nuns, and schools in every province were staffed with them. French monastic orders such as the Christian Brothers and Sisters of the Sacred Heart taught boys and girls at the elementary school level. Jesuits provided quality secondary schools, usually in provincial capitals. Not only did the number of children attending school dramatically increase during the

García Moreno era, a trend that would continue throughout the remainder of the century, but the quality of education improved. García Moreno also opened a polytechnic university, as well as a fine arts academy, a music conservatory, and a school of obstetrics. His efforts were designed to educate all members of society, including WOMEN and NATIVE AMERICANS, who had been traditionally excluded. Expanding education would allow him to inculcate the population with certain values so that eventually Ecuador would enjoy a Catholic society in keeping with its conservative traditions. García Moreno also criminalized excessive drinking and extramarital sex, hoping to force adults to serve as “good examples” for youth.

García Moreno was more than a stereotypical Latin American conservative seeking to restore the colonial ideal of a strong state working in partnership with a powerful church. He also believed in modernization and progress. As a result, he embarked on a host of road-building projects to unify the country and provide for a more vigorous economy. Only the road from Quito to Guayaquil was completed during his presidency, but García Moreno initiated construction on the first railroad, encouraged a diversified economy of tropical agriculture and forest products, and modernized cities, especially Quito.

Given his extreme religious views and his suppression of those who opposed him, García Moreno evoked vehement opposition among Liberals. Tagging him a monarchist and tyrant, Liberals such as JUAN MONTALVO foresaw the coming of a “perpetual dictatorship” when Moreno was constitutionally reelected in 1875. In August that year, liberal youths and a disgruntled retired military officer brutally hacked García Moreno to death on the balcony of the government palace. García Moreno left as his legacy an ideal for nation building focused on conservative principles coupled with modernization that would inspire governments in Ecuador until the LIBERAL REVOLUTION of 1895.

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gaucho *Gaucha* was a term used to describe the rural population in ARGENTINA and the surrounding areas of the Southern Cone in the late colonial period and into the 19th century. Gauchos tended to work as cattle herders and are considered a close equivalent to the cowboys of the U.S. western frontier.

Historically, gauchos were itinerant and tended to be loners. The image of the quintessential gaucho is one of a strong and rugged frontiersman who exuded masculinity and mystery. The gaucho was considered to be connected culturally to the land and to the lifestyle of the interior. Because of the stereotypical imagery associated with gauchos, they quickly became a symbol of national pride and regional greatness. Gauchos were known for their distinc-



Three Argentine gauchos dressed in the typical attire of the 19th-century cowboy of the Pampas. (Library of Congress)

tive lifestyle. They dressed in baggy trousers, or *bombachas*, and heavy ponchos. They generally carried a knife known as a *facón* and *boleadoras* (a type of lasso) to help herd cattle.

Gauchos played an important role in the formation of new nations in the Southern Cone. Many of them used their skills as horsemen to make up large contingents of cavalry in the wars for independence and in many of the regional conflicts that followed. As local strongmen, *caudillos* often recruited gauchos to serve in their private militias. Though he relied on their cooperation at times, the dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS saw their independent spirit as a threat and imposed measures to bring them more firmly under government control.

As the cattle and ranching industries grew in importance in Southern Cone economies during the 19th century, demand for the gauchos' skills grew. The cattlemen played an important role in the national ECONOMY, but they also became less free roaming, with many attaching themselves to large ranches. In the late decades of the 19th century, Argentine leaders encouraged modernization and INDUSTRIALIZATION instead of small-scale AGRICULTURE. President DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO was seen as being openly hostile to the gauchos. The epic poem *Martín Fierro*—a classic in Argentine LITERATURE—was written by José Hernández in 1872 as an indictment of Sarmiento's antigaucho policies (see MARTÍN FIERRO).

See also GAUCHO (Vol. II).

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Richard W. Slatta. *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

Geffrard, Fabre-Nicholas (b. 1806–d. 1878) *president of Haiti* Fabre-Nicholas Geffrard was born in Anse-à-Veau on September 23, 1806. He was a high-ranking

officer in the Haitian army under FAUSTIN SOULOUQUE (1847–59).

Geffrard disassociated himself from the dictatorial regime of Soulouque. After earning the trust of the people, he proclaimed himself leader of the republic in Gonaïves, causing Soulouque to abdicate his rule.

As president (1859–67), Geffrard was a *griffe* (of black and mulatto ancestry) who reinstated order and tranquility after the upheaval and terror of Soulouque's term in office. Geffrard is known for creating a new constitution, based on ALEXANDRE PÉTION'S 1816 document, which primarily improved TRANSPORTATION and EDUCATION.

Geffrard helped restore ties with the Vatican, which had been strained since the revolutionary period. By signing a concordat with the Vatican in 1860, Geffrard expanded the domain of the CATHOLIC CHURCH in HAITI. The agreement contributed to the development of parochial schools, led by predominantly foreign-born clergy members.

Discontent among the elite and the rural *piquets* (rural peasants who were descendents of slaves) eventually forced Geffrard out of office in favor of the mulatto general Sylvain Salnave (1867–69). Geffrard died in 1878 in Jamaica.

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gold Gold is a precious metal historically used to make currency, religious relics, jewelry, and other luxury items. Prehistoric cultures in both Europe and the Americas viewed gold as a valuable substance, and its presence in the Americas was a major motivating factor for Spanish conquistadores during the era of conquest. The potential for gold and SILVER MINING in part dictated settlement patterns in the Spanish colonies in the early years of the colonial period. The apparent absence of gold in BRAZIL delayed Portuguese interest in establishing settlements there.

The extraction of gold and other metals for bullion made the Spanish Crown extremely wealthy during three centuries of colonial rule in Latin America. After the discovery of large gold deposits in Minas Gerais in 1690, the Portuguese Crown profited from its Brazilian colony. New gold mining activity also caused a population shift as large numbers of Brazilians moved to the mountainous southern region of the colony. While the mining of precious metals provided enormous profits for the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, however, it bred an exploitative LABOR system in many areas. Indigenous workers

performed back-breaking labor in the Spanish mines, while black slaves worked in the gold mining regions of Brazil (see *SLAVERY*). Gold, silver, and other minerals were mined under Crown monopolies in the highly regulated mercantilist *ECONOMY* of the colonial period.

The wars of independence that plagued the Spanish colonies in the early decades of the 19th century brought a precipitous decline in the output of precious metals. A decade or more of warfare took its toll on most regional economies as mines were abandoned and infrastructure was destroyed. In Brazil, which achieved independence without the protracted warfare that had plagued other areas, the store of gold had largely been depleted by the turn of the century. As a result, the output of precious metals after independence never reached colonial levels. New technological advancements in the late 19th century helped to revive the mining of both gold and silver, however. The introduction of dynamite in the late 19th century allowed miners to bore more efficiently into the ground where gold deposits were found. The use of sodium cyanide

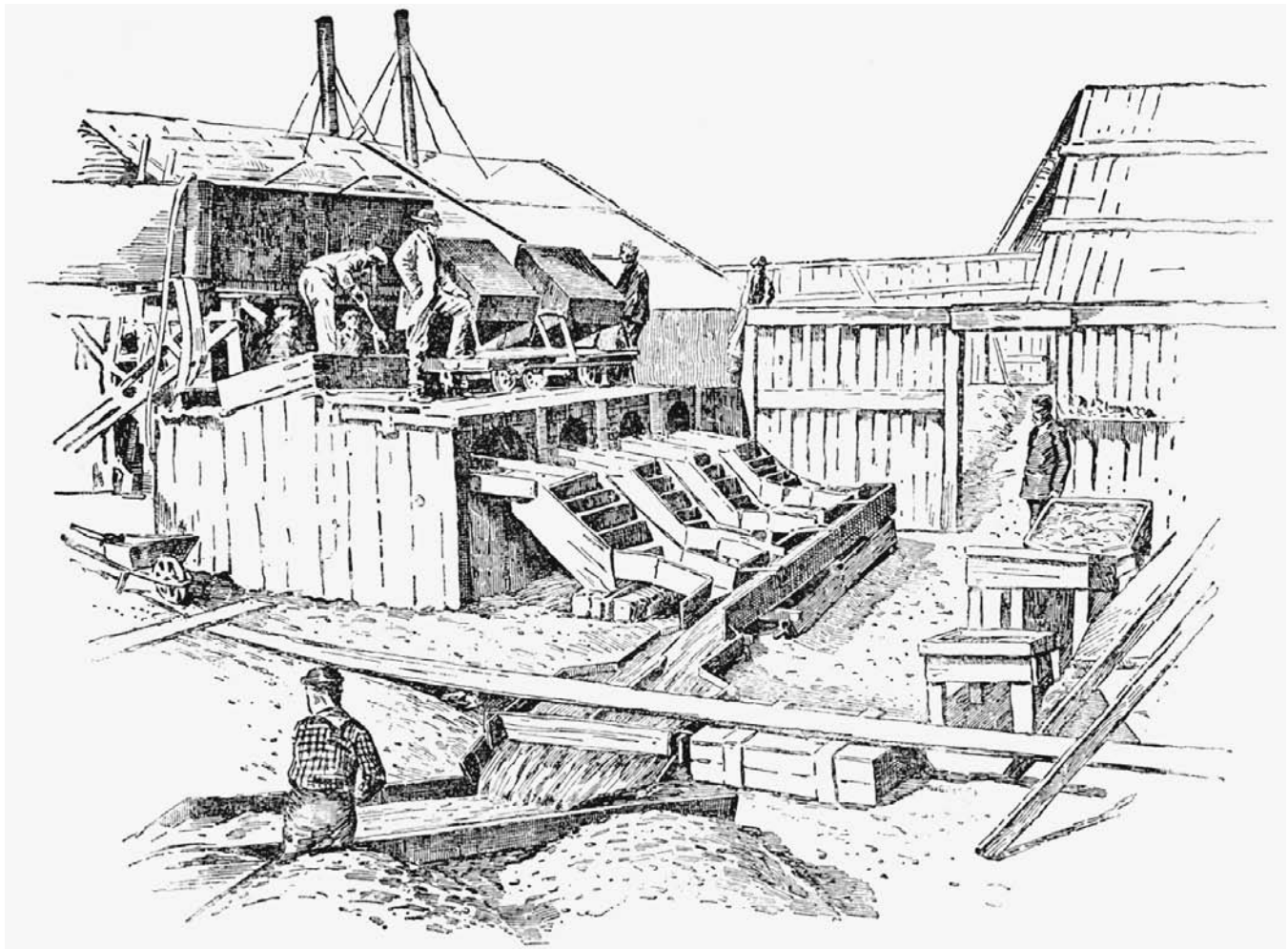
in extracting and cleaning the gold allowed miners to process ore of lesser quality. Periodically, new gold deposits were discovered in previously secluded and unsettled regions of the mountains or far-reaching frontiers. Foreign investment helped fund improvements in the mining industry, and gold extraction had made a modest recovery in areas such as *MEXICO* and *CHILE* by the end of the 19th century.

Rich gold veins were discovered in the California territory in 1849. That region had been part of the northern Mexican frontier since the colonial period and had been ceded to the United States after Mexico's defeat in the *U.S.-MEXICAN WAR* only a few months earlier. Large numbers of Latin Americans, particularly Mexicans, migrated north to join prospectors from all over the United States in the California gold rush (see *MIGRATION*).

See also *GOLD* (Vols. I, II).

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Sketch of a Brazilian gold-washing apparatus (From *The Gold Diggings of Cape Horn: A Study of Life in Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia*, by John R. Spears. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895, p. 14)

gólgotas *Gólgotas* were a faction within the Colombian LIBERAL PARTY. They dominated Liberal politics in the mid- to late 19th century. *Gólgotas* advocated a radical form of LIBERALISM, and their aggressive reform led not only to a backlash by the opposing CONSERVATIVE PARTY but also to heated infighting within the liberal movement.

The *gólgota* faction was made up of young, idealistic, educated Liberals who came mainly from a wealthy and/or elite background. One such idealist, José María Samper (b. 1831–d. 1888), gave the group its name when he delivered a speech comparing its cause with that of the “martyr of Golgotha,” in other words, Jesus Christ. Overall, the group believed that strict adherence to orthodox liberalism would solve the new nation’s problems. *Gólgotas* were inspired by European liberal movements and other organized democratic societies that were set up at the same time.

COLOMBIA’S Liberal Party came to power in an era known as the Liberal Revolution, from 1849 to 1854. During that time, the *gólgota* faction dominated the party and pursued policies that upheld a progressive concept of individual liberties. Those policies, written into the liberal CONSTITUTION OF 1853, included a wide variety of liberal reform measures such as the abolition of SLAVERY, the nullification of the church *FUERO* (parallel court system), and the establishment of universal male suffrage. *Gólgotas* also imposed a federalist system of states’ rights and maintained a persistent LAISSEZ-FAIRE economic policy of free and open TRADE.

Such staunch adherence to doctrinaire liberalism incited opposition from competing factions within the Liberal Party. *DRACONIANOS* considered the *gólgota* policies too radical, while an influential artisan group resented open economic policies. Discord among Liberal factions culminated in a revolt that briefly brought the Conservative Party back to power. But, in 1863, the *gólgota*-dominated Liberal Party toppled the Conservative government once again and introduced the even more liberal Constitution of 1863. That document severely limited the power of the national government and defined Colombian politics until the rise of CONSERVATISM under RAFAEL NÚÑEZ.

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Helen Delpar. *Red against Blue: The Liberal Party in Colombian Politics, 1863–1899* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1981).

Gómez, Máximo (b. 1836–d. 1905) *Cuban independence leader* Máximo Gómez was the MILITARY leader of the revolutionary forces during the Cuban independence movement in the TEN YEARS’ WAR, 1868–78. He later played a prominent role in the movement for independence in the 1890s that culminated in the WAR OF 1898.

Gómez was born in Baní, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, on November 18, 1836. He joined the Spanish military at a young age and fought Haitian incursions into the Spanish section of the island. He left the Dominican Republic in 1836 and relocated to CUBA as part of the Spanish army.

By the time the Ten Years’ War erupted in 1868, Gómez had grown disillusioned with the Spanish administration and the institution of SLAVERY in Cuba. He joined insurrection leader CARLOS MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES and supported the movement for independence. Gómez’s tactical skills made him a natural leader on the battlefield, and by 1873, he had taken over command of the revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, by 1878, the war had stalled, and Gómez began negotiating with Spanish general Arsenio Martínez Campos. Martínez Campos proposed the TREATY OF ZANJÓN, which offered amnesty to the insurgents and freed slaves in the independence army. The treaty did not guarantee Cuban independence, and Gómez and other leaders rejected the agreement. Unrest continued in the coming decades as Gómez fled into exile.

In 1895, Gómez joined JOSÉ MARTÍ and ANTONIO MACEO in another movement for independence. That rebellion eventually led to U.S. intervention in the War of 1898 and secured Cuban independence. Gómez turned down an opportunity to become president and instead retired from public service. He died in 1905.

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Gómez Farías, Valentín (b. 1781–d. 1858) *liberal politician and president of Mexico* Valentín Gómez Farías was a leader of the liberal political movement in MEXICO in the 19th century and served as president in the 1830s and 1840s. His attempt to enact reforms curbing the power and influence of the church, army, and aristocracy incited a rebellion that compelled ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA to join forces with Conservative leaders and impose a highly centralized government.

Gómez Farías was born on February 14, 1781, in Guadalajara. He was educated in MEDICINE and was influenced by the scientific focus of Enlightenment principles. In 1833, he was elected as vice president alongside Santa Anna. When Santa Anna retired to his HACIENDA and left the presidential duties in the hands of Gómez Farías, the Liberal politician immediately set about enacting aggressive liberal reforms that targeted primarily church and MILITARY interests. He reduced the size of the military and eliminated special *FUEROS*. He passed legislation restricting the political participation of the clergy, outlawing the mandatory tithe, and confiscating some church assets. Finally, he took control over EDUCATION away from the CATHOLIC CHURCH and closed down the University of Mexico.

These reforms represented the first bold attempt to force the tenets of LIBERALISM onto Mexican society and produced a powerful backlash among church and military leaders and other antiliberal forces. Conservatives rebelled under the cause of “*Religión y fueros*” (religion and

privileges) and called for the overthrow of Gómez Farías's administration. Although he had devoted his early career to promoting liberal politics, Santa Anna responded to the national crisis by coming out of retirement and fighting, this time on the side of the Conservatives. Gómez Farías was forced to flee to New Orleans, while the new Conservative administration of Santa Anna replaced the CONSTITUTION OF 1824 with his SIETE LEYES and formed a centralized and authoritarian government.

Gómez Farías returned to office briefly once more in 1846 during the chaos of the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR. He died in MEXICO CITY on July 8, 1858.

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Will Fowler. "Valentín Gómez Farías: Perceptions of Radicalism in Independent Mexico, 1821–1847." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 15, no. 1 (1996): 39–62.

González, Manuel (b. 1833–d. 1893) *president of Mexico* Manuel González was a political and MILITARY leader in MEXICO who was president of the nation from 1880 to 1884. His presidency was both preceded and succeeded by that of PORFIRIO DÍAZ and is considered the interregnum of the long period of rule known as the PORFIRIATO.

González was born on June 18, 1833, in Matamoros, Tamaulipas, into an agricultural FAMILY. He received a basic EDUCATION and worked for a short time as an apprentice to a family member. At the age of 14, he joined the Mexican military to fight against the U.S. invasion, and he continued his military career in the coming years. He fought on the side of the Conservatives during the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA and the subsequent WAR OF THE REFORM. Nevertheless, when the French invaded in 1862, González offered his services to the resistance movement of BENITO JUÁREZ and fought under the leadership of Porfirio Díaz.

González rose through the ranks of the military and gained the trust of Díaz as a loyal general. As a Díaz supporter, González aided in the defeat of SEBASTIÁN LERDO DE TEJADA in the Plan de Tuxtepec, thus placing Díaz in power in 1876. González was elected president after Díaz stepped down after one four-year term, as required by the CONSTITUTION OF 1857. During his administration, he oversaw railroad development, and the first line between MEXICO CITY and El Paso was completed. González also created the Mexican National Bank, attempted to improve the nation's diplomacy and debt system with foreign countries, and put the nation officially on the metric system. Nevertheless, the end of his presidency saw a return of financial problems and corruption.

It was precisely those problems that allowed Díaz to return to office in 1884 despite constitutional restrictions and his own "no reelection" position. After leaving the presidential office, González served as governor of Guanajuato until his death in 1893.

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Don M. Coerver. *The Porfirian Interregnum: The Presidency of Manuel González of Mexico, 1880–1884* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1979).

González Prada, Manuel (b. 1848–d. 1918) *Peruvian politician, intellectual, and literary figure* Manuel González Prada was one of PERU's most prominent literary figures in the late 19th century. He was an early proponent of a radical form of LIBERALISM and in his later years was exposed to the influences of POSITIVISM in Europe. He used his literary skills to advance his deeply held political beliefs.

González Prada was born in LIMA on January 6, 1848. As a young man, he studied theology but quickly abandoned that discipline for the more alluring study of LITERATURE and poetry. Many of his early writings already demonstrated antagonism toward the CATHOLIC CHURCH, the MILITARY, and other institutions. González Prada fought in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–84). After Peru's defeat, the bitter poet traveled to Europe, where he was exposed to positivist and anarchist movements. On his return to Peru, he made strong appeals for reform in his increasingly radical writings. González Prada despised the legacy of restrictions the Spanish had placed on Peruvian society and called for greater awareness of the nation's racial and ethnic makeup in the context of national identity. In an era when many Latin American leaders were trying to "redeem" the Amerindian population, González Prada blamed society as a whole for the problems of NATIVE AMERICANS in works such as the essay "Nuestros indios" (Our Indians), published in 1904.

González Prada is best known for his collections of essays *Páginas libres* (*Free Pages*) and *Horas de lucha* (*Hard Times*), published in 1894 and 1908, respectively. His writings introduced the Latin American modernist style, which was later emulated by numerous literary figures (see MODERNISM). González Prada died on July 22, 1918, in Lima.

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Gran Colombia Gran Colombia was republic established in South America by Simón Bolívar as the wars for independence were concluding. Gran Colombia was the Liberator's attempt at creating one unified nation made up of the former colonies in Latin America. Bolívar intended it to be the foundation for a United States of South America. *Colombia* was a name commonly used to refer to the Americas prior to independence, and Bolívar selected the name for the new republic in the spirit of unity and the common colonial heritage of the region. Formally known as the Republic of Colombia, Gran Colombia was

in existence from 1819 to 1830. The republic encompassed the current countries of VENEZUELA, ECUADOR, COLOMBIA, and PANAMA as well as parts of PERU, BRAZIL, COSTA RICA, and GUYANA. Gran Colombia was weakened by internal divisions and infighting, and eventually, those problems caused it to break apart.

Independence leaders Francisco de Miranda and Simón Bolívar had long envisioned a unified American nation made up of all former Spanish and Portuguese colonies. They and others initiated a liberation movement in Venezuela in 1810, but for many years, it suffered various setbacks. As Bolívar succeeded in driving Spanish royalist forces out of crucial strongholds in Venezuela after 1816, he launched plans to establish the republic. He convened the Congress of Angostura in February 1819, at which delegates began drafting a constitution and debating progressive measures such as agrarian reform and the abolition of SLAVERY. Bolívar was elected president in August of that year, with FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER as vice president. Citing the need for strong-handed leadership in time of war, the congress also granted Bolívar near-dictatorial powers. The conflict over a strong, centralized government versus local autonomy eventually contributed to the decline of Gran Colombia.

While the congress worked on the new constitution, Bolívar continued to fight to rid neighboring regions of Spanish royalist forces and secure independence in those areas. His victory at the Battle of Boyocá ousted the royalist presence from New Granada. Leaders there had declared independence in 1810 and had since struggled against the Spanish royalist army. New Granada included the present-day countries of Colombia and Panama. Bolívar brought together the leaders of New Granada and Venezuela and formally created the Republic of Colombia.

In 1821, the Congress of Cúcuta finalized a constitution defining the political and legal structures of Gran Colombia. The document was approved on August 30, and in the interest of strengthening the coalition to win further wars of independence, it called for a highly centralized form of government. Geographically, the constitution divided Gran Colombia into three departments. Cudinarmarca, with its capital at BOGOTÁ, included the former region of New Granada. The Republic of Venezuela, with its capital at CARACAS, made up the second department. A third region consisting of present-day Ecuador was still under Spanish control, but upon its liberation in 1822, it became the third department of QUITO. Bolívar remained president and retained many of his dictatorial powers. Nevertheless, when Bolívar left to continue fighting wars of independence in Peru and BOLIVIA, authority passed to Vice President Santander.

Notably, the Constitution of 1821 included numerous progressive reform measures, including freedom of the press and full equality of all male citizens. It called for the gradual elimination of slavery through a “free birth” law and the abolition of the *mita*, the forced indigenous LABOR system. In keeping with the liberal politics of its framers, the document also stipulated measures for eliminating

communal landholdings by indigenous communities and provided for the confiscation of church properties. In Bolívar’s absence, Santander oversaw the implementation of many of these measures and attempted to administer the transition to the new government. He tried to stabilize the new republic’s ECONOMY by stimulating agricultural recovery after more than a decade of war (see AGRICULTURE). Santander also secured foreign loans and began attracting foreign investors to the region. Despite his efforts, however, the economy languished, and Gran Colombia was soon forced to default on foreign loans.

Despite a somewhat bleak beginning, Bolívar and Santander were both reelected in 1826. But, discontent had been festering over some of the reforms, such as Santander’s attempts to secularize EDUCATION. More important, regional resentment began to emerge. Much of the discord was rooted in ideological differences between CENTRALISM and FEDERALISM, but to some degree, the discontent was also tied to logistics. With such a large territory and relatively underdeveloped infrastructure, it was difficult for political and economic leaders to travel and communicate from one region to the next. Caracas and Bogotá were separated by more than 600 miles (966 km) of mountainous terrain. With the central seat of government authority in Bogotá, the Venezuelan elite felt isolated from the inner workings of the national government. Animosity also surfaced in Ecuador, where leaders felt the smallest of the three regions was generally overlooked by the government. Local craftsmen and manufacturers appealed to leaders in Bogotá for economic protection in TRADE policies, but in the spirit ON LAISSEZ-FAIRE ECONOMIC LIBERALISM, leaders favored free trade over protectionism.

In April 1826, MILITARY COMMANDER JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ rose in revolt against the government in Bogotá. Bolívar, who had been finalizing his BOLIVARIAN CONSTITUTION in Bolivia and Peru, returned to Venezuela to negotiate with Páez. After pacifying the revolt, Bolívar attempted to introduce the Bolivarian Constitution in Gran Colombia. Most leaders, including Santander, found the document to be unworkable. They also considered many of its measures, such as the appointment of a president for life, to be counter to the liberal, republican ideals that most of them favored. As conflict brewed within Gran Colombia, the fledgling republic also found itself challenged from abroad. A territorial dispute with Peru erupted into the Gran Colombia–Peru War from 1828 to 1829, further destabilizing the fragile government in Bogotá. When supporters of Bolívar moved to establish a monarchy after the Liberator’s tenure, Páez once again led Venezuela in rebellion in 1829. Liberal leaders emerged in the various regions in opposition to Bolívar, and Ecuador withdrew from Gran Colombia in 1830. By 1831, the republic had broken apart into Venezuela, Ecuador, and the Republic of New Granada (present-day Colombia and Panama).

See also ANGOSTURA, CONGRESS OF (Vol. II); BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); MIRANDA, FRANCISCO DE (Vol. II); MITA (Vol. II); NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II).

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Grau Seminario, Miguel (b. 1834–d. 1879)

Peruvian naval admiral Miguel Grau Seminario was the admiral of PERU's naval forces in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–84). He commanded the *Huáscar*, Peru's famous ironclad warship that saw battle in numerous conflicts, such as the Spanish attack in 1866. Grau was known for his bravery and cunning in battle, as well as for his well-mannered disposition. His heroic leadership in the War of the Pacific stalled the Chilean advance for several months.

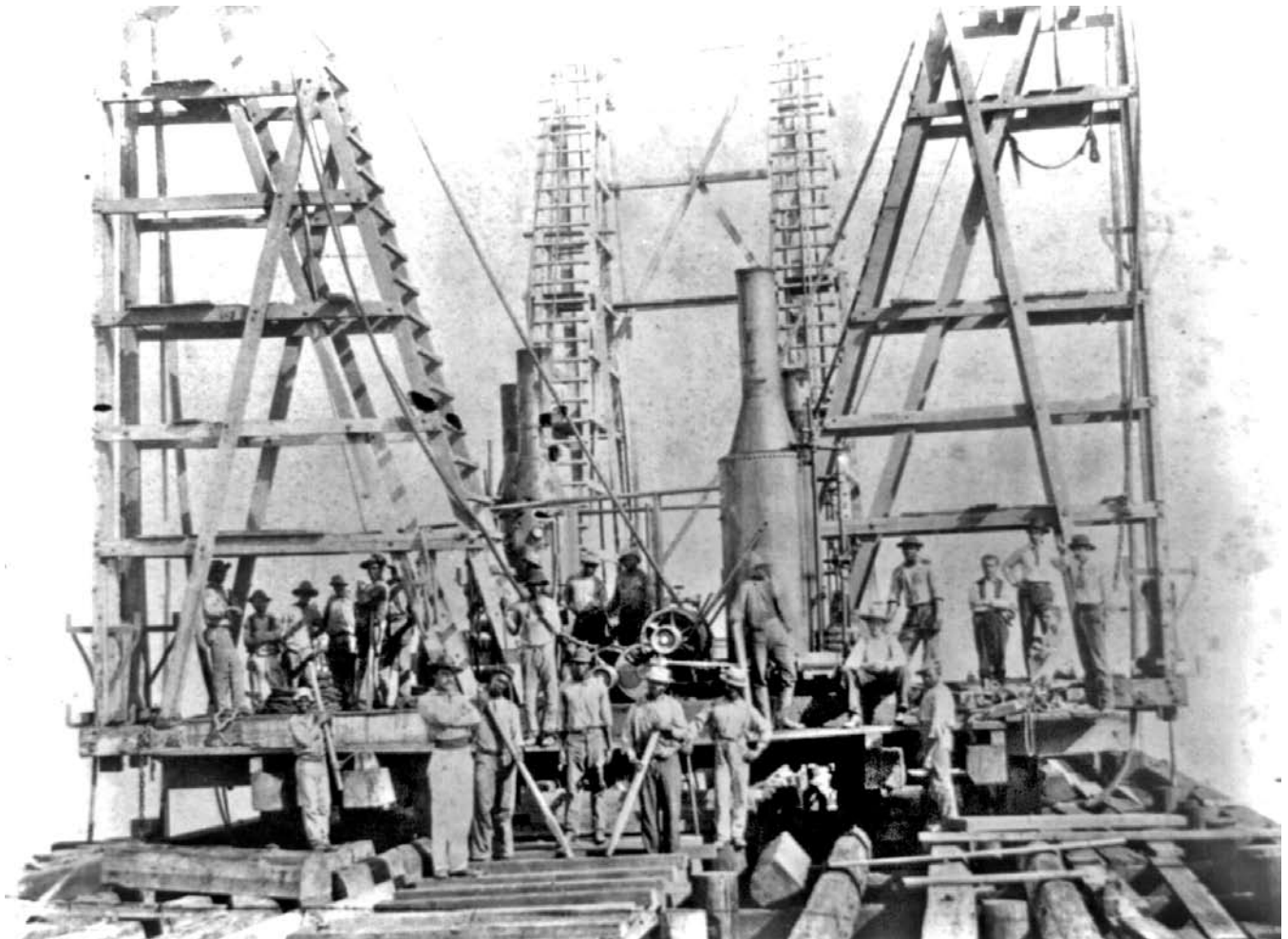
Grau Seminario was born on July 27, 1834. As a child, he worked on numerous merchant ships, and as a young man, he entered the Peruvian naval service. He took command of the *Huáscar* in 1868 and served in that position until he was elected congressional deputy in 1876. In 1879, Grau returned to his naval command with the outbreak of the War of the Pacific. Once again at the helm

of the *Huáscar*, Grau guided Peru's most important naval vessel in hit-and-run attacks against the Chilean forces for more than six months. The naval commander led his forces in liberating the port city of Iquique from a Chilean blockade and went on to wreak havoc on Chile's navy until fall 1879. On October 8, Grau's crew was roundly defeated by Chilean forces at the Battle of Angamos. Grau Seminario was killed in that battle, and his famous ship was captured by the Chilean navy. The naval commander was celebrated as a national hero for his bravery and MILITARY successes in the War of the Pacific.

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Greytown Affair (1854) Greytown, a small town at the mouth of the San Juan River on the Caribbean coast of NICARAGUA, received its name in 1841 when the British proclaimed its protectorate over the MOSQUITO COAST. A TRADE depot that dated to the Spanish colo-



This photograph from the 1880s shows a dredge-clearing channel in the Greytown harbor, in an attempt to build a canal across Nicaragua. (*Library of Congress*)

nial period, Greytown took on new significance as the United States and Great Britain became interested in a transisthmian transit route focused on the San Juan River, which had long been considered one of the most viable options in crossing the isthmus route (see TRANS-ISTHMIAN INTERESTS).

In 1850, Ephraim G. Squier negotiated a contract that gave Cornelius Vanderbilt's ACCESSORY TRANSIT COMPANY the right to construct a transisthmian connection using the San Juan River, Lake Nicaragua, and a road to the Pacific coast town of Rivas. To service his company's interests on the Caribbean side, Vanderbilt received a concession from British authorities to construct the town of Puntarenas, just north of Greytown, but serviced by the same bay area. Owing to the success of Vanderbilt's project, by 1853, Greytown was in economic decline. The British sought to impose high harbor and port fees on the Accessory Transit Company's ships using Greytown harbor. Violence followed Vanderbilt's refusal to pay such fees, and buildings in both towns were damaged. In July 1854, the U.S. government sent the USS *Cyane* to force the British to pay for the damage to Vanderbilt's properties. When the British refused, the *Cyane's* captain, George I. Hollins, acting on his own, ordered the bombardment of Greytown. The town was leveled and never recovered. A year later, the whole incident faded into the background as the Accessory Transit Company's route lost its popularity to the Panama Railroad Company, which crossed the isthmus at PANAMA, and WILLIAM WALKER arrived in Nicaragua in 1856 with visions of establishing his own rule over CENTRAL AMERICA.

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Grito de Ipiranga (1822) The Grito de Ipiranga was the Brazilian declaration of independence made by PEDRO I on September 7, 1822.

BRAZIL had risen from colonial status upon the Portuguese Court's relocation to RIO DE JANEIRO in 1807. Regent and future king John VI (r. 1816–26) made Brazil a kingdom in 1815 and continued to rule the Portuguese Empire from the Americas until a liberal revolt compelled him to return in Lisbon in 1821. John left his son Pedro to administer Brazil, but the regent found himself surrounded by advisers who increasingly promoted a complete break from Portugal. The Portuguese Cortês feared that Pedro would yield to calls for independence and demanded the prince regent return to Lisbon in 1822. At the same time, the Cortês attempted to repeal many of the freedoms Brazil enjoyed as a newly conferred kingdom. Backed by the powerful Brazilian elite, Pedro rejected Portugal's attempts to return Brazil to its former colonial status and declared independence.

Ipiranga was a small river running through SÃO PAULO, and it was from its banks that Pedro made his famous declaration. According to patriotic tales, Pedro



The Ipiranga Museum opened in São Paulo in 1895 to commemorate the 1822 declaration of independence by Dom Pedro I. (*Library of Congress*)

unsheathed his sword and uttered a few powerful words to sever Brazil's ties with Portugal. Three months later, he was crowned Pedro I, first sovereign of the EMPIRE OF BRAZIL. Pedro's reign lasted only until 1831, when he was forced to abdicate in favor of his five-year-old son, PEDRO II (r. 1831–89). Nevertheless, the memory of the Grito de Ipiranga remained. The event is memorialized today with a monument and a museum in São Paulo. The much-disputed Brazilian national anthem, officially approved in 1922, pays homage to Ipiranga in its opening lines.

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Grito de Lares (1868) Organized by revolutionary Puerto Rican nationalists, the Grito de Lares was an armed rebellion against the Spanish control of PUERTO RICO launched on the night of September 23, 1868. The chief planner of this MILITARY uprising was RAMÓN EMETERIO BETANCES, a Puerto Rican physician in political exile communicating with fellow revolutionaries on the mainland to plan the revolt.

The revolt was originally to take place on September 28, but following the capture of several rebel conspirators and the confiscation of incriminating documents from their homes, the attack was quickly moved up to September 23 before key members of the rebellion could be arrested. That night, around 400 poorly armed men gathered at the farmhouse of revolutionary leader Manuel Rojas, just outside of the town of Lares.

At midnight, they assaulted and easily captured Lares, where they arrested Spanish leaders, declared the establishment of the Republic of Puerto Rico, and declared a provisional government. However, the rebellion did not gain the support it needed from the local populace or from abroad in order to defeat the Spanish troops on the island. On the outskirts of the town of San Sebastián de Pepino, the Spanish army killed or captured the majority of the rebel army in less than 24 hours after the uprising began.

Many of the captured rebels eventually were given amnesty or sent into exile, and an armed uprising against Spanish control of Puerto Rico was never again attempted. Failing to incite popular revolt among the civilian populace of the island, the Grito de Lares maintained symbolic importance to the Puerto Rican independence movement, its only long-term consequence. Numerous proindependence Puerto Rican politicians have made the journey to the mountain town of Lares to pay homage to its revolutionary history, and September 24 is now a holiday in Puerto Rico.

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Grito de Yara (1868) The Grito de Yara was the rallying cry issued by CARLOS MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES in 1868. It marked the beginning of the TEN YEARS' WAR, CUBA's first major independence struggle against Spain.

Céspedes was a small plantation owner in the eastern provinces of Cuba. He had grown disillusioned with Cuba's colonial status in the Spanish Empire and led a conspiracy of local plantation owners to incite a revolution and push for the island's independence. The rebellion began on October 10, 1868, with the Grito de Yara. In his *grito*, Céspedes freed his slaves and called all Cubans to battle. The following day, Céspedes issued a formal proclamation that listed numerous grievances against the Spanish government and demanded independence. The list of complaints included a lack of political equality among Cuban creoles and the Spanish elite and unfair taxation. Céspedes also protested various violations of individual liberties, such as freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly.

Céspedes's Grito de Yara laid the foundation for the demands made by the independence movement and provided the basis for a revolutionary government in the following years. Céspedes and his supporters wrote a constitution and set about instituting the reforms that had been part of their original battle cry. Even though the Ten Years' War failed to bring independence to Cuba immediately, October 10 has become a Cuban national holiday commemorating the Grito de Yara and the beginning of the war for independence.

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Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of See U.S.-MEXICAN WAR.

Guadeloupe See CARIBBEAN, FRENCH.

guano age (1843–1879) The guano age was a period of rapid economic growth in PERU between 1843 and 1879 fueled by the newly developed guano industry. The economic prosperity created during the guano age provided the basis for several decades of relative peace and stability, and guano profits funded the expansion of infrastructure and other public works. Despite the overall potential for economic growth during the guano age, the benefits from the lucrative industry were spread unequally. Furthermore, Peruvian leaders failed to invest

the nation's wealth in projects that would sustain long-term development, and the country's ECONOMY slumped once the guano boom was over.

By definition, guano is seabird and/or bat excrement, which is rich in nitrogen, phosphorus, and other elements. During the colonial period, large deposits of guano found on the shores of Peru's coastal islands were used as fertilizer in South America's large agricultural sector (see AGRICULTURE). In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, European scientist Alexander von Humboldt (b. 1767–d. 1835) traveled throughout the South American continent studying nature and writing his observations. Humboldt's studies introduced the European agricultural sector to the possibilities of guano fertilizer, and demand for the substance began to grow. Guano fertilizers could increase crop yields substantially and as European agriculturalists were looking for ways to feed the ever-increasing industrial LABOR force, guano merchants looked to Peru for a steady supply.

Peruvian president RAMÓN CASTILLA was primarily responsible for negotiating guano contracts with British investors in the early 1840s. As finance minister under AGUSTÍN GAMARRA and then as president, Castilla set up a system of guano TRADE whereby British companies cultivated the fertilizer, and the Peruvian government kept a percentage of the revenues. The money earned during the guano age filled Peru's treasury, and Castilla used the proceeds to build schools and expand the nation's railroads. He devoted a sizable percentage of revenues to stabilizing Peru's economy and reducing the national debt. Guano profits also allowed the CAUDILLO to bolster his own popularity and become an enormously influential politician. With the national treasury no longer destitute, Castilla did away with the Amerindian tribute tax. In 1854, he pushed through legislation abolishing SLAVERY and used guano profits to compensate former slave owners for the loss of their "assets."

Castilla's policies seemed to put Peru on a track to economic and social stability, but a closer examination reveals that poor planning and unsound policies often created new problems for the nation. Many of the public works projects funded by guano profits were mismanaged and ultimately cost much more than they should have. Furthermore, the Peruvian government's blanket free trade policies allowed guano traders to prosper at the expense of the nation's merchants and craftspeople. Finally, in 1864, Spain attempted to seize one of the guano-producing islands, which led to a three-year war between the two nations that was ultimately won by Peru.

By the end of the 19th century, Peru's guano deposits had been dangerously depleted, causing a precipitous drop in exports. At the same time, artificial substances replaced guano in fertilizers. Peru suffered a severe economic downturn as demand for guano diminished and total output stalled. As the nation's economy worsened, treasury head and future president NICOLÁS DE PIÉROLA

brokered a deal with French investors, effectively turning over control of Peru's guano production. Piérola's policies contributed to the growing sense of dissatisfaction that led to the formation of the probusiness CIVILISTA PARTY.

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Guardia Gutiérrez, Tomás Miguel (b. 1831–d. 1882) *president of Costa Rica* Tomás Miguel Guardia Gutiérrez was a two-term president of COSTA RICA who accelerated liberal reforms. He was born into a prominent cattle ranching family in Guanacaste Province. Guardia joined the national army and rose to the rank of colonel, a position he used to engineer a coup that ousted President Jesús de Jiménez Zamora (b. 1823–d. 1897) on April 27, 1870. Guardia's support came not from the elite COFFEE barons who had dominated Costa Rican politics since the country's independence from Spain in 1821 but from small farmers and other groups of more modest means. The latter were concerned about the economic and political influence of the coffee-growing elite. The influence of the most prominent coffee-growing families, such as the Montealegres and Moras, was terminated with the ousting of Zamora.

Guardia ruled the country through a puppet government and directed the writing of a new constitution in 1871, a document that remained in effect until 1949. Guardia won the 1872 presidential election but was constitutionally restricted from seeking reelection in 1876. His successor, Bruno Carranza Ramírez (b. 1830–d. 1897), served only four months, however, before Guardia engineered another coup on September 11, 1877. Guardia remained in office until his death by natural causes on July 6, 1882.

Guardia ruled as a dictator. While he outlawed political associations and public political debate, he nevertheless reflected the LIBERALISM that swept across Latin America in the late 19th century. He directed the government seizure of idle land on large estates for distribution to farmworkers and instituted taxes on personal wealth and possessions. He oversaw the construction of public schools and modern sanitation facilities in urban areas and abolished capital punishment. At great cost to the government, Guardia administered the construction of the Atlantic railroad that further boosted sugar and coffee exports. The debt incurred for construction of the Atlantic railroad became Guardia's greatest legacy.

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Guardia Rural See *RURALES*.

Guatemala Totalling 42,092 square miles (109,018 km²), Guatemala is the northernmost nation in CENTRAL AMERICA. It is bounded to the north by MEXICO, to the southeast by HONDURAS and EL SALVADOR, to the east by BELIZE and the Gulf of Honduras, and to the south by the Pacific Ocean. Its high mountainous regions provide excellent land for agricultural pursuits, particularly COFFEE growing, while the hot and humid plains in the east are home to the banana industry (see AGRICULTURE). Both products have dominated Guatemala's ECONOMY into the 21st century.

First Antigua and then Guatemala City served as the capital of the captaincy general for Central America during Spanish colonial times. The Spanish administrative presence in the region contributed to a strongly conservative political philosophy. Influenced by the rhetoric of the French Enlightenment in the mid- and late 18th century, Guatemala City became a seedbed for liberal political thought. Controversy between conservatives and liberals erupted in 1821. The liberals supported independence, first in joining the Mexican Empire and subsequently, in 1824, the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA. In contrast, the conservatives remained loyal to Spain. After independence, conservatives favored maintaining colonial political, economic, and social structures. Liberal philosophy prevailed in both instances.

The ideological controversy was the basis for a three-year civil war, from 1826 to 1829. Led by MANUEL JOSÉ ARCE, the conservatives sought to regain and then secure their control of the Guatemalan government. The liberal president of Honduras, FRANCISCO MORAZÁN, led an army against Arce, ousting him in 1829 and installing the liberal newspaper editor Pedro Molina (b. 1777–d. 1854) as provisional president. Molina was followed by another liberal, JOSÉ FELIPE MARIANO GÁLVEZ, in 1831, who served until ousted by a conservative counter-revolt in 1838, the same year that the United Provinces of Central America disintegrated. During his tenure, Gálvez introduced several liberal reforms, including the building of roads and schools, legalizing rights of illegitimate and legitimate children, and passing the controversial LIVINGSTON CODES, which mimicked the U.S. and British legal systems. Among other provisions, the codes abolished the death penalty and provided for trial by jury.

The Livingston Codes triggered a conservative backlash that had been simmering throughout the Gálvez administration. A cholera epidemic gripped Guatemala in 1838. While it concerned urban dwellers, it frightened rural

indigenous groups who were already protesting against Gálvez's reforms, particularly the restrictions placed on the CATHOLIC CHURCH. José Rafael Carrera, a 23-year-old ladino (or mestizo) resident of Mataquescuintla, used the epidemic to mobilize the NATIVE AMERICANS into a guerrilla insurgent movement that brought down Gálvez on February 1, 1839. Carrera's victory earned him the support of the conservative Catholic clergy, the conservative landowning elite, and the uneducated Amerindian populace. While Carrera remained the power behind the scenes, he imposed Mariano Rivera Paz (1839–44) as head of the Guatemalan government. Rivera Paz presided over a period of strong conservative reaction to earlier liberal reforms until 1844, when Carrera took over the presidency until he was forced out in 1848. Carrera returned to the presidency in 1851 and, three years later, on October 21, 1854, declared himself president for life, a declaration approved by the conservative elite and the clergy, who later played a significant role in Carrera's dictatorial regime.

Throughout his administration, Carrera encouraged the agro-export economy and paid greater attention to the national infrastructure than any of his predecessors. Coffee replaced cochineal as Guatemala's primary export and by 1865 accounted for 50 percent of all exports. Even so, Carrera prevented large-scale acquisition of Amerindian lands by coffee growers. In regional matters, Carrera intervened directly in El Salvador and Honduras to maintain governments friendly to Guatemalan interests. In 1856–57, he sent troops into NICARAGUA to join the Central American coalition that ousted WILLIAM WALKER from that country. At the time of Carrera's death in 1865, Guatemala's elite enjoyed prosperity and stability under a dictatorial government.

Although Carrera exiled most of his liberal opponents, the simmering opposition continued and surfaced in 1865 when General Vicente Cerna (b. 1810–d. 1885) succeeded him. The Cerna administration proved to be nothing more than a transition to liberal rule. In 1871, leading liberal spokesman Miguel García Granados (b. 1809–d. 1878) joined with General JUSTO RUFINO BARRIOS to defeat the government army at the Battle of San Lucas Sacatepéquez on June 29, 1871. Two days later, Barrios was named provisional president, and two years later, in 1873, he was elected president. He was the first of a long line of liberal dictators who governed Guatemala until the mid-20th century.

In the political arena, Barrios instituted sweeping changes. The Catholic Church found its tithes abolished and property expropriated, and the number of priests in the country was reduced. Marriage and divorce came under civil law, and the government replaced the church as the keeper of vital statistics. Barrios also began the modernization of Guatemala City and Quetzaltenango. While he boasted about expansion in EDUCATION, only the urban middle and upper classes benefited from this, at the expense of rural villagers. To encourage expanded

production and exportation of coffee, Barrios supported infrastructure projects, such as the construction of roads, railroads, and port facilities financed by foreign capital. The government permitted coffee planters to encroach on indigenous lands. The confiscation of land by elites made Amerindian LABOR available for plantation work. Finally, in 1879, Barrios directed the writing of a new constitution, which permitted his reelection the next year.

Barrios intervened in Honduran and Salvadoran political affairs and settled differences with MEXICO by giving up Guatemalan claims to Chiapas State but renewed the Guatemalan demand for the annexation of present-day BELIZE. Barrios's effort to reestablish a Central American union met with failure; it also resulted in his death, when a Salvadoran army defeated the Guatemalans in the Battle of Chalchuapa on April 2, 1885.

The Guatemalan "coffee elite" from the western highlands picked General Manuel Lisandro Barillas (b. 1845–d. 1907) as the "Reformer" Barrios's successor. In 1892, Barrios's nephew José María Reina Barrios (b. 1854–d. 1898) assumed the presidency until his assassination in 1898. Both emphasized the nation's continued economic development and witnessed large-scale German immigration into the country and the spread of the U.S. banana interests in mainly the Caribbean region. Another liberal from Quetzaltenango, Manuel Estrada

Cabrera, became president in 1898 and commenced a 22-year reign in Guatemala.

See also ESTRADA CABRERA, MANUEL (Vol. IV); GUATEMALA (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Guayaquil Located in present-day ECUADOR, the port city of Guayaquil was founded in 1538. The city gained prominence as Spain's principal shipyard on the Pacific coast and the occasional site of pirate attacks. Beginning in the 18th century, the region around Guayaquil began exporting CACAO, from which chocolate is made, and this product became the source of Guayaquil's wealth in the 19th century.

During the age of independence, Guayaquil hosted the historic meeting between the two great liberators,



Port scene of Guayaquil, Ecuador's main seaport (Library of Congress)

Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín, after which San Martín retired into exile and Bolívar saw the independence movement in South America to completion. After independence, Guayaquil and its environs gained the reputation of being the Liberal Party's base and the locus for Liberal rebellions against Conservative regimes from the highlands. Guayaquil and its surrounding provinces provided José Eloy Alfaro Delgado with recruits for his LIBERAL REVOLUTION of 1895.

By the late 19th century, Guayaquil emerged as Ecuador's most important city. Attracted by the possibility of more lucrative employment, indigenous people from the highlands crowded into Guayaquil, swelling its population and straining its ability to provide social services. Although some of the trappings of modernization, such as gas streetlights, brightened Guayaquil, for many years it lacked a potable water supply and did not have sufficient schools for the growing population. All-too-frequent fires consumed entire neighborhoods, and until the 20th century, respiratory and enteric illnesses killed thousands. Infectious diseases such as yellow fever took a tremendous toll until U.S. officials helped clean up what had become known as the "pest hole of the Pacific." Funding for sanitation improvements came from increased tax revenues from cacao exports, and locals complained that too many resources were siphoned off to support the wasteful national government in QUITO.

See also ALFARO DELGADO, JOSÉ ELOY (Vol. IV); BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ DE (Vol. II).

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Guerra Grande (1838–1851) Guerra Grande was the civil war fought in URUGUAY between the BLANCO PARTY and the COLORADO PARTY from 1838 to 1851. The destructive war destabilized the newly independent nation and brought foreign intervention by BRAZIL, ARGENTINA, France, and Great Britain. The war resulted in near dominance by the Colorado Party and a close alliance between Uruguay and Brazil for much of the rest of the 19th century.

The Guerra Grande began as political factionalism developed among former independence allies MANUEL ORIBE, president from 1835 to 1838, and JOSÉ FRUCTUOSO RIVERA, president in 1830–34 and 1839–43. Rivera split with Oribe during the latter's presidency and eventually overthrew Oribe's administration. Political rivalries escalated into war as Oribe's rural and agricultural supporters formed the *blancos* and Rivera's urban intellectual supporters formed the *colorados*. The war immediately attracted the attention of foreign leaders. Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS supported the *blancos*, while the Colorado Party won the support of France, Great

Britain, and Brazil. The French initially intervened by sending a naval blockade to the Río de la Plata. In 1842, Argentine forces aided the *blancos* in defeating the *colorados* at the Battle of Arroyo Grande, and Rivera fled to Brazil in exile. After 1842, Great Britain and Brazil both intervened on behalf of the *colorados*, while Oribe laid siege to Montevideo for eight years.

By 1850, it appeared that the *blancos*—backed by Rosas—would win the conflict, but JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA began a rebellion against Rosas, who was forced to withdraw his support in Uruguay. The *colorados*—aided now by Brazil—took control of Montevideo and ended the long civil war. An 1851 peace treaty declared neither side the winner, although the *colorados* dominated Uruguay's political scene for most of the rest of the century.

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Guerrero, Vicente (b. 1782–d. 1831) *independence leader and president of Mexico* Vicente Guerrero was a mixed-race *casta* who became a leader in MEXICO's war of independence and eventually second president of the federal republic of Mexico.

Guerrero was born on August 10, 1782, in a village near Acapulco. His family was of meager means, and Guerrero was uneducated, working as a mule driver and a gunsmith. When the independence movement erupted in 1810, he joined the insurgents, serving as a lieutenant under José María Morelos y Pavón. Guerrero quickly proved himself an able MILITARY leader. Guerrero is credited with keeping the independence movement alive after Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla and then Morelos were captured and executed. His army kept constant pressure on the colonial government through small insurgent strikes in Oaxaca. He rejected government offers of a pardon and land in exchange for laying down his arms.

In 1820, Spanish army officer AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE was sent to launch an offensive against Guerrero but instead requested a meeting to propose a compromise. After a series of negotiations, Guerrero and Iturbide produced the Plan of Iguala, which proclaimed Mexico's independence under a traditional system of monarchy. The two leaders combined forces and created the Army of the Three Guarantees. Iturbide was later named emperor Agustín I, but when he proved ineffective, Guerrero joined ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA and other military leaders in the PLAN DE CASA MATA, which eventually ousted Iturbide in February 1823.

Guerrero found himself at the head of the Yorkish Rite Masonic Lodge in the 1820s and in that position supported fellow independence hero and liberal GUADALUPE VICTORIA as the first president of the republic (1824–29). In 1828, Guerrero ran for president and lost

to a conservative candidate, but he and his supporters led a rebellion that placed Guerrero in office in 1829. He promoted policies to improve the lot of the poor, including abolishing SLAVERY. He also led the country through an attempted invasion by the Spanish in 1829. Shortly after putting down that uprising, Guerrero was deposed by his conservative vice president, Anastasio Bustamante. He was captured by forces loyal to Bustamante and executed on February 14, 1831.

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Guyana (British Guiana) Guyana is a former British colony along the northeastern coast of South America. It encompasses roughly 80,000 square miles (207,200 km²) and is bordered by SURINAME to the east, BRAZIL to the south and west, and VENEZUELA to the west. Its tropical climate made it ideal for plantation AGRICULTURE, and SUGAR cultivation thrived for many centuries.

Guyana was first colonized by the Dutch in the 17th century (see CARIBBEAN, DUTCH). Although a relatively large indigenous population inhabited the region, Dutch settlers were unable to use the local population as a reliable LABOR SOURCE. Many NATIVE AMERICANS fled into the interior as plantation agriculture emerged along the coast. Sugar soon became the main agricultural product, and planters brought in large numbers of African slaves to perform the necessary manual labor on plantations. Like other areas with large slave populations, the Guyanese faced a number of serious revolts, which were put down violently. Escaped slaves often sought refuge in the colony's vast and dense jungle interior. By the 19th century, maroon communities had developed into large self-sufficient villages of former slaves. Attempts by the Dutch to encourage white settlers to migrate to Guyana resulted in large numbers of British moving into the region in the late 18th century. Conflicts between the British settlers and the Dutch colonial administration were common, as planters resisted tax laws and made numerous attempts to create institutions of self-government. A diplomatic dispute that erupted between the British and the Dutch after the outbreak of the French Revolution eventually resulted in the Dutch ceding control of Guyana to the British in 1814.

The British abolished SLAVERY throughout the colonies in 1838, and former slaves quickly abandoned Guyanese plantations. Some former slaves attempted to make the transition to small farming, while large-scale planters faced a serious labor shortage. In an attempt to meet the growing labor needs, colonial officials implemented a system of indentured servitude and relocated thousands of workers from the British East Indies colonies. As a result of those labor policies, Guyana's

population experienced a profound transformation in the last half of the 19th century. Large numbers of Afro-Guyanese found themselves competing with the expanding Indo-Guyanese sector, which eventually grew to make up approximately half of the colony's population. The two ethnic groups have a long history of conflict and animosity.

In the last half of the 19th century, British colonial officials attempted to consolidate Crown control over the region (see CARIBBEAN, BRITISH). A series of political reforms culminated in the 1891 Constitutional Ordinance, which diminished some local autonomy and tied the colony more closely to the British system. Investors began promoting economic modernization, and the region's first railroads opened in the 1840s. In later decades, Crown policies to encourage economic development resulted in an expansion of MINING. Survey expeditions to mark Guyana's boundary resulted in a border dispute with neighboring Venezuela. That conflict was only resolved in 1899 after a long series of outside arbitrations.

Guyana remained a British colony until the 1960s. It remains a part of the British Commonwealth today.

See also GUYANA (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Guzmán Blanco, Antonio (b. 1829–d. 1899) *caudillo and president of Venezuela* Antonio Guzmán Blanco was born on February 28, 1829, in CARACAS, VENEZUELA. Son of prominent journalist and LIBERAL PARTY leader Antonio Leocadio Guzmán (b. 1801–d. 1884) and Carlota Blanco Jerez de Aristiguieta of the Caracas elite, Guzmán Blanco pursued studies in law and politics in the nation's finest schools. He began a career in public service in 1848, when he went to work in the office of the Ministry of Foreign Relations. While working in this post and pursuing his law degree, Guzmán Blanco became romantically involved with the niece of then president José Tadeo Monagas (1847–51, 1855–58). Disapproving of the relationship, the president appointed Guzmán Blanco to a diplomatic post in the United States.

The young politician returned to Venezuela in 1858 but soon after was caught up in the turmoil of the FEDERAL WAR. The struggling government of Julián Castro (1858–59) expelled him from the country on suspicion of conspiring to overthrow the provisional president. Guzmán Blanco took refuge in the Caribbean and allied with fellow Liberals Ezequiel Zamora and Juan Crisóstomo Falcón (1864–68) to lead the revolution. After a five-year civil war,

the Liberal coalition secured a Conservative surrender in the Treaty of Coche. General Falcón became president, and Guzmán Blanco became vice president in 1864. In that post, he carried out important diplomatic missions in Europe over the next two years.

The Liberal leaders also promulgated a new constitution that provided considerable provincial autonomy under a federalist system. The document included numerous social reforms intended to appeal to the general populace, which had largely supported the Liberals in the Federal War. Recalcitrant regional CAUDILLOS, now with constitutional autonomy, constantly challenged the federalist government, as did the old guard supporters of the Managas brothers. The latter group led a revolt in 1867 known as the *Revolución Azul* (Blue Revolution) to overthrow President Falcón. Forced into exile once again, Guzmán Blanco joined forces with his father to challenge the *azules*. Together, father and son enlisted the support of numerous powerful regional caudillos, and in April 1870, Guzmán Blanco successfully led the April Revolution to overthrow the *azules* and take Caracas. The Liberal leader began a dictatorship that continued virtually uninterrupted for 18 years, referred to as the *guzmanato*.

During his first administration, known as the *septenio* (seven years), from 1870 to 1877, Guzmán Blanco built a reputation as a strong-armed leader and defender of liberal ideals. He eliminated many traditional privileges held by the CATHOLIC CHURCH, such as the ability to own private property and the parallel court system. He also established laws allowing civil marriage, removing yet another social control from the hands of the church. Guzmán Blanco deviated from his earlier federalist platform by consolidating power in order to eliminate the threat of regional caudillos and reduced the number of states from 20 to nine. He stabilized the nation's ECONOMY by issuing a common national currency and attracting foreign investors. Bolstering the nation's finances allowed him to implement a number of social

reforms, and he started by legislating free and obligatory primary EDUCATION. A healthy national treasury also provided funding to improve the nation's TRANSPORTATION infrastructure. Guzmán Blanco oversaw the expansion of major roadways, the development of an effective port system, and the construction of the first railroad. His administration was associated with modernization and progress as he worked to beautify major cities by building national monuments and public buildings in grand style. These accomplishments earned him the title the "Illustrious American," and he cultivated his image through a combination of personality politics and intimidation.

Guzmán Blanco's second term of five years, from 1879 to 1884, is known as *el quinquenio*. It began when he overthrew the administration of Francisco Linares Alcántara (1878–79) in the *Revolución Reivindicadora* (Vindicating Revolution). This conflict demonstrated once again that Guzmán Blanco would resort to force of arms to ensure that his political visions were followed. His final term, from 1886 to 1888, is known as *el bienio* or *la aclamación* and was characterized by the same combination of charisma, tyranny, and persuasion to continue his liberal modernization agenda. During the *guzmanato*, Guzmán Blanco achieved some semblance of national unity and progress but frequently at the expense of civil liberties. He is also criticized for the personal fortune he amassed in shady financial deals involving the national treasury.

In 1888, a coup overthrew Guzmán Blanco's administration while he was traveling in Europe. The caudillo retired to Paris and died there on July 28, 1899.

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H

hacienda An hacienda is a large landed estate devoted primarily to AGRICULTURE in Latin America. Haciendas were an important form of agrarian production and land ownership dating back to the colonial period. Haciendas sometimes emerged around MINING activities and early industrial plants to provide foodstuffs and other agricultural supplies to the workforce. The hacienda system caused a variety of problems, such as income inequality and an imbalance in the concentration of land ownership.

Many haciendas were enormous, encompassing 25,000 acres (10,117 ha) or more, but smaller haciendas were also common. Initially, nearly all haciendas operated as self-sufficient units of production. Generally, they had their own chapel, jail, retail store, and housing for workers. During the colonial period, haciendas were owned mainly by the nobility and the CATHOLIC CHURCH. The church acquired property through endowment and bequeathal and by the end of the colonial era was the largest landowner in Latin America.

The extensive landholdings of the Catholic Church became the target of a number of liberal reforms throughout Latin America in the 19th century. Postindependence leaders in MEXICO, COLOMBIA, and BOLIVIA passed laws requiring the church to divest itself of all properties not required for immediate church business. Liberal leaders intended to break up church-owned haciendas and sell smaller plots of land to individual farmers. Many liberal intellectuals envisioned creating new nations with an economic system based on the agricultural output of small farmers, but these visions failed to take into account that most NATIVE AMERICANS did not understand the concept of private property, while the elite saw liberal land reform as a way to increase their large landholdings even further.

Instead of creating nations of small farmers, 19th-century liberal land reforms exacerbated the trend of land concentration in the hands of a few in a system known as *LATIFUNDIO*. By the end of the 19th century, most of Latin America's arable land was owned by local elite or foreign agribusinesses.

The owner of an hacienda, known as the *hacendado*, traditionally held a type of patrimonial control over the entire estate. Below the *hacendado*, a variety of supervisors and overseers managed a large workforce made up of poor peasants. During the colonial period, forced LABOR drafts supplied the labor for large haciendas. By the 19th century, many haciendas operated under a labor system of debt peonage. Workers frequently entered into contracts that were designed to force them into debt and long-term servitude. Contracts generally stipulated that workers were to be paid in credits that could be redeemed only at the overpriced hacienda store. Oppressive working conditions on haciendas combined with the disproportionate concentration of land and wealth provoked numerous calls for reform in the 20th century. Land disputes were a driving force behind the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Conflict over land issues continued in most of the region throughout the 20th century.

See also CREDIT (Vol. II); DEBT PEONAGE (Vol. II); HACIENDA (Vol. II); MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV).

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Haiti At the close of the 18th century, Haiti was in the final phases of the Haitian Revolution, which had begun in 1791. By 1797, the French held power in Saint Domingue (as Haiti was known before independence) in name only, and SLAVERY in the colony had been abolished (see CARIBBEAN, FRENCH). The colony's leader, Toussaint Louverture (1801–03), having proclaimed himself governor-for-life, alarmed and offended the French ruler Napoléon Bonaparte by promulgating his own constitution without France's approval. In response, in late 1801 Napoléon sent an expeditionary force led by General Charles Leclerc to reinstate direct French rule. The Haitian rebels resisted, but when the French negotiated for peace, one by one they surrendered. The Haitian military officers then joined the French army.

Nevertheless, when Toussaint Louverture was tricked, arrested, and deported to France, where he was imprisoned and later died, the Haitian rebels rose up once again. Mulattoes under ALEXANDRE PÉTION (1806–18) and blacks under JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES (1804–06), fearing that Napoléon would reinstate slavery (as he did in nearby Guadeloupe), joined forces and defeated the French at the Battle of Vertières on November 18, 1803.

Independence from France was proclaimed on January 1, 1804, with Dessalines as the new governor-for-life, making Haiti the first free black republic in the world and the second country (after the United States) to gain independence in the Western Hemisphere. This feat generated both positive and negative attention in the international community. As much as the Haitian Revolution symbolized hope for those in bondage, it shocked and instilled terror in nations still actively using the slave system.

The years of war upset the highly lucrative colonial agricultural system. While many of the plantations that had been worked by slaves were destroyed, the newly acquired colonial plots of land were irregularly distributed under the new Haitian government. Freed slaves were not interested in undertaking the intensive physical LABOR required to generate the volume of crops necessary for profit either on plantations or the smaller plots of land.

Regional racial divisions between northern “black” Haiti and southern “mulatto” Haiti were strong. In the north, where the most fertile farmlands lay, the French had used African slaves primarily as disposable farm labor on SUGAR plantations. The work was extremely difficult, and the death toll was high. For this reason, African slaves were continually imported in high numbers to these plantations. The ratio of black to white immediately preceding the revolution is estimated at 10 to 1.

The French colonial plantations in the south were smaller owing to the terrain. The colonists had compensated for this by cultivating crops that required less space and labor, such as COFFEE and indigo. These plantations, therefore, had smaller slave populations and a lower slave mortality rate. Additionally, slave owners and slaves

often cohabitated or lived in much closer proximity than in the north. The result was an abundance of mulatto offspring as Frenchmen engaged in sexual relations with their female slaves. Mulatto children were often claimed by their French fathers, as permitted by French law (Code Noir), and thus received better treatment than they might have otherwise. They were commonly freed by their fathers and educated in France, and many were Catholic. They also often inherited their father's property, with some becoming wealthier than whites and slave owners themselves. Although mulattoes were unhappy with the restrictions placed on them by France and the racism they experienced as people of “mixed race,” they nonetheless desired to be closer to the French and strove to emulate European culture and habits.

During the revolution, the Haitian population, both the black majority and the mulatto minority, had unified to overthrow the French. However, once independence was declared, racial and class tensions reignited under Dessalines.

Since the 19th century, blacks have made up the majority of the Haitian population. During the 19th century and still today most Haitians speak Creole and are members of the poor, uneducated, and agrarian peasantry. Most have tended to follow VODOU and/or other African traditions, whereas the French-speaking mulattoes have generally identified with the rich, educated, governing elite controlling the cities and commerce and adhering strongly to European ideology and RELIGION.

Because Haiti had been under colonial rule since 1492, when Christopher Columbus claimed Hispaniola for Spain, the new Haitian government was patterned after the European model. This perpetuated hierarchical and elitist attitudes, which further exacerbated differences of class, race, and gender.

Many of the 19th-century leaders of the Republic of Haiti were corrupt. Some were repressive and prone to violence, excess, and tyranny, while others expropriated land and other national assets. Not a few were career MILITARY officers who became national leaders. The tendency of Haitian presidents to use the military as police and/or paramilitary forces against the populace and/or political opponents began in the 19th century and set a precedent that has negatively affected successive regimes.

INDEPENDENCE

As the Republic of Haiti's first leader, Dessalines ruled as a dictator. Immediately after independence was proclaimed, he unleashed a bloody fury on the remaining French colonists, who were, by and large, either thrown out of the country or killed, regardless of age, gender, or occupation. Agricultural productivity was nonexistent at this time. In an attempt to re-create an ECONOMY based on AGRICULTURE, Dessalines reinstated Toussaint's plantation system, FERMAGE, which bound workers to a specific workplace. Similar to slavery, severe penalties were imposed on runaways and those who harbored them.

Dessalines used the military to help govern the nation. In 1804, he crowned himself emperor of Haiti. Despite his stated intentions, Dessalines was corrupt, spending lavishly and tapping the country's natural resources for personal gain. Additionally, land expropriated from the French colonists was unfairly distributed. Despite having been born a slave and suffered racism most of his life, Dessalines harbored racist attitudes and his corrupt practices soon alienated mulattoes in the south, including his former ally Pétion. Although many mulattoes resented Dessalines for racial reasons, the more educated among them considered the emperor and his aides and officers offensively ignorant. Furthermore, brutality toward whites during and immediately after the revolution shocked foreign governments and resulted in further isolation of the new nation. Dessalines was eventually assassinated by political rivals on October 17, 1806, at Larnage (now known as Pont-Rouge).

Following Dessalines's death, the black HENRI CHRISTOPHE (1807–20) and the mulatto Pétion engaged in a leadership conflict. While Christophe was popular in the north, the southern mulatto elite wanted power and refused to accept the idea of a black leader. In an attempt to resolve the issue, a constituent assembly, composed of *anciens libres* (pre-revolution freedmen) and army officers, assembled for the task of creating a new government. A constitution was drafted, establishing a weak presidency and a strong legislature. Christophe was chosen as president and Pétion as head of the legislature. This arrangement was the earliest instance of what is known in Haiti as *la politique de doublure*, in which a weak black leader serves under mulatto elitist rule.

Christophe refused to be a simple figurehead, and the mulatto legislature voted to impeach him. Pétion was elected president in March 1806. The outraged Christophe organized forces and marched on the capital, Port-au-Prince. A fully armed Pétion resisted but did not defeat Christophe, who then withdrew to the north of the Artibonite River and established his own territory. The same year, Christophe declared his territory a kingdom and crowned himself King Henri I of Haiti. The southern half of the country remained under Pétion's rule, and Haiti remained divided until Christophe's death in 1820.

King Henri, a man of grandeur, was also known as the "builder king." He had magnificent buildings erected at great expense, including the fortress Citadel Laferrière, and a luxurious royal palace, Sans Souci. Life under him was also less cruel and economically more profitable. He slightly relaxed forced labor laws. Although laborers remained bound to their plantations, their hours were more flexible, and their wages were increased to one-fourth of the harvest. Christophe also showed concern for children's education and made minimal provisions for public education of elite children during his regime.

PÉTION AND BOYER

In the southern territory of Haiti, where Pétion ruled as president-for-life, the large-scale plantation system

fell away as a result of Pétion's land distribution policies. Pétion distributed state-owned land to individuals in small tracts. He then extended the land-grant plan to other beneficiaries, which further lowered the price of state land until it was affordable for all. Although this enabled peasants to own land and provide food for their families, subsistence farming ultimately proved detrimental to the economy.

At this time in their history, the vast majority of Haitians in both the north and the south were subsistence farmers living in areas isolated from the government and the army. They traded in markets for essentials, buying and selling products at a fraction of their international cost. The government was centralized in the towns and large cities, such as Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haïtien. The towns were controlled by small, property-owning elites. Pétion's land policies further reinforced these divisions in the south, resulting in a rural population that remained socially, economically, and politically separated from the "official Haiti." Although the south did not prosper under Pétion, the appeal of personal autonomy lured laborers from Christophe's kingdom. As a result, there were frequent defections to the south.

Pétion issued two constitutions during his rule. The 1806 constitution resembled the U.S. Constitution. However, Pétion found the "rigors of democracy too onerous to enforce" and replaced the elected presidency with the office of president-for-life in 1816. Although his policies were not intended to discriminate against blacks, he remained politically loyal to the mulatto elite, who often benefited financially from his decisions. Additionally, Pétion's efforts at fairer land distribution and the promotion of blacks into governmental positions failed, with political control remaining firmly with the mulatto elite throughout his rule.

Pétion was referred to as "Papa Bon Coeur" (Papa Good Heart) by the people of Haiti. He died in 1818 without a named successor. King Henri attempted reconciliation after Pétion's death, but again, southern mulattoes did not want a black leader. Instead, the Senate elected Pétion's secretary and commander of the presidential guard, the mulatto general JEAN-PIERRE BOYER (1818–43), as president. In the meantime, Christophe suffered a stroke and lost control of his main source of power, the army. Fearing that he would be taken prisoner by approaching rebels, he committed suicide on October 8, 1820. Later that month, Boyer claimed the north, uniting Haiti into a single nation.

Boyer's primary concern during his regime was national security. Concerned that the Spanish would return to reclaim the newly independent SANTO DOMINGO, or "Spanish" Haiti, he invaded, conquered, and held the entire island in 1822 (see HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO). Likewise, Boyer was concerned about the return of French colonial rule and slavery. He wanted Haiti to be recognized as an independent nation. For years, France had refused to settle outstanding claims

from the revolution, but in 1825, France's king Charles X made Boyer a highly unusual offer. He proposed that Haiti pay France 150 million francs within five years, and when that payment had been made in full, independence would be recognized. The offer was made while 14 French warships sat in Port-au-Prince harbor, supported by some 500 guns. Boyer, certain that anything short of agreement would reopen hostilities, signed the treaty on July 11, 1825, crippling the Haitian economy. In 1838, two more treaties were signed. The first recognized Haiti's independence, and the second laid out a more reasonable financial arrangement for the indemnity, lowering the moneys to 60 million francs to be paid in full within 30 years. Nevertheless, the damage to Haiti's finances was irreversible.

Haiti also faced diminished productivity as a result of Pétion's economic policies. In an attempt to generate income to repay the debt to France, Boyer reinstated the basic plan of *fermage* that Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe had used. Then, to further increase production, he introduced the CODE RURAL, or Rural Code, in 1826. This took the forced labor system to an extreme in that it not only bound cultivators to their land and placed production quotas on them but exempted towns and cities and enlisted the Haitian army as overseers of the law. Boyer's plan failed because the plantations had been broken into smaller tracts under Pétion, and the smaller farms were unable to support the large-scale agricultural production necessary for an export industry. Furthermore, the Haitian army had deteriorated since the revolution and was incapable of enforcing the law.

In the late 1830s, political opposition to Boyer mounted. An organization called the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, led by Hérard Dumesle, a mulatto poet and liberal political activist, criticized Boyer for corruption, nepotism, and suppression of free speech. The group also brought to light concerns about Haiti's economy and its dependence on imported goods, as well as the elite's adherence to French culture, which contributed to the lack of a national identity. When Dumesle and his legislative allies demanded an end to Boyer's rule, they were expelled from government. Violence ensued, ending with rebel forces led by Dumesle's cousin, CHARLES RIVIÈRE-HÉRARD (1843–44), marching toward the capital with the intention of removing Boyer from office by military coup. When Boyer learned that his army had joined the revolt, he fled to Jamaica and later settled in France.

A constituent assembly gathered to write a constitution that took into account the liberal views of the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. Three months later, the CONSTITUTION OF 1843 was promulgated, and Rivière-Hérard became the next president.

POLITICAL INSTABILITY

The period between 1843 and 1915 marked a particularly chaotic era in Haitian history. During this time, there

were 22 heads of state. Of these, one served his prescribed term, three died in office, one was blown up with his palace, one is believed to have been poisoned, one was hacked to pieces by a mob, and one resigned. The remaining 14 were forced from office by revolution. The length of the term served by these 22 leaders ranged from three months to 12 years. The distribution of economic and political power in Haiti remained in the hands of a small, corrupt, mainly mulatto elite. However, a small but wealthy community of Germans living in Haiti at this time began supplying capital for the revolutions.

The cycle of revolution tended to follow a pattern. The different factions of the elite would sponsor a president, then while under the protection of the current government, the group in power would deplete the national assets. Finally, a different faction of elite, funded by German sources, would raise an army, march on Port-au-Prince, and drive the current government into exile. This cycle continued until the U.S. occupation of Haiti in 1915.

Class and race divisions were further ingrained as a result of the practices of corrupt governments. Rivière-Hérard did not remain in office for long as his inability to suppress rebels weakened his power. First, he lost the city of Santo Domingo in the Dominican revolt of 1844 under Juan Pablo Duarte. Then, discontented rural blacks, or *piquets* and *cacos*, organized under the black former army officer, Louis Jean-Jacques Accau. Through violent means, they demanded an end to mulatto rule and the election of a black president. Their demands were eventually met when Rivière-Hérard was ousted, bringing to power Philippe Guerrier, an aged black officer. Guerrier's placement in office by a mulatto power marked the return of *politique de doublure*. This political "installment" procedure began a series of short-lived black leaders who were chosen to appease rural blacks.

Despite the series of ineffectual leaders, several stronger personalities did come into power. The first of these was FAUSTIN SOULOUQUE (1847–59), a black general, who appeared at first to be a weak and malleable "puppet" for the mulatto elite that elected him. However, once in office, Soulouque proved himself a realistic, pragmatic, and excellent, if ruthless, politician. He curbed the power of the military, created the *zinglins*, a secret police force, and killed his mulatto opponents. In August 26, 1849, he proclaimed himself Emperor Faustin I and was crowned on April 18, 1852. Faustin's foreign policy was centered on preventing foreign intrusion into Haitian politics and sovereignty. As a result, he spent a considerable amount of his administration's energy trying to secure Santo Domingo. He made three attempts to invade the eastern portion of the island, and all three efforts failed. By 1856, Faustin's power was in decline. Under Soulouque, or Faustin I, there were no visible improvements in Haiti, and his rule had been brutal and repressive. He was overthrown and forced into exile by the mulatto FABRE-NICHOLAS GEFFRARD (1859–67) on December 22, 1858.

Geffrard restored order and tranquillity after the turmoil of Soulouque's time in office. Geffrard is known for creating a new constitution based on Pétion's 1816 document, which improved mainly TRANSPORTATION and education. Geffrard also restored ties with the CATHOLIC CHURCH by signing a concordat with the Vatican in 1860. This agreement permitted the development of parochial schools, which were to be led by predominantly foreign-born members of the clergy.

Discontent among both elite mulattoes and rural blacks forced Geffrard out of office in favor of General Sylvain Salnave (1867–69), a mulatto. Although Salnave was popular for a time among both blacks and mulattoes, the revolt that put him into office upset the country to such an extent that another rebellion of rural blacks then forced him from office. He was captured at the Dominican border, where he was tried and executed on January 15, 1870.

The last notable president of the late 19th century was the black LYSIUS SALOMON (1879–88). A member of the National Party (Parti National), Salomon was a reformer as well as an effective leader. In two terms, he managed to revive agriculture, improve education, attract foreign investments, develop a national bank, and connect Haiti to the rest of the world through the telegraph. Salomon maintained the support of the general populace until the end of his term and contained several mulatto plots against him. He was therefore in power much longer than any other ruler. After years of conflict with the Liberal Party (Parti Libéral) and other elitist forces/factions, he was forced to cede power in 1888. From the time of Salomon's fall until 1915, Haitian politics remained unstable.

The United States became increasingly interested in Haiti because it was predominantly German capital that funded the revolutions, which increased foreign power on the island. Although the German population was small (approximately 200 by 1910), it controlled 80 percent of the Haitian economy and government. Furthermore, the Germans owned and operated utilities, a tramway in Port-au-Prince, and a railroad in the north. To U.S. officials, the German influence in Haiti appeared to be in violation of the MONROE DOCTRINE of 1823, which forbade European colonization in newly independent Latin American nations.

With the increase in tensions with Germany as World War I drew near, the increasingly aggressive military force displayed by Germans throughout the Caribbean also worried the U.S. administration. The Germans came into direct conflict with the United States over their intention to locate a coaling station at Môle Saint-Nicolas. American interest in Môle Saint-Nicolas stemmed from the prospect of a transoceanic canal that was to be built in either PANAMA or NICARAGUA, which prompted the United States to secure naval stations in Haiti and elsewhere in the Caribbean (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). When the United States attempted

to secure Môle Saint-Nicolas, Haiti refused to cede the territory.

See also HAITI (Vol. IV); HISPANIOLA (Vols. I, II).

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Haitian occupation of Santo Domingo

Between 1822 and 1844, the newly independent government of HAITI controlled SANTO DOMINGO (present-day DOMINICAN REPUBLIC) on the eastern two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola. Santo Domingo had long been a Spanish colony, although the territory was briefly ceded to the French in the Treaty of Basilea in 1795. When the Spanish reclaimed control of Santo Domingo, they reinstated SLAVERY and sent regular slave-raiding expeditions into neighboring Haiti. Fearing a joint Spanish-French attempt to recolonize the struggling nation, Haitian president JEAN-PIERRE BOYER sent an invading force and occupied Santo Domingo for the next 22 years.

The Haitian occupation was characterized by tyranny and abuse. In an attempt to rid the island of colonial traditions, Boyer closed Spanish universities and worked to stamp out all remnants of Spanish culture. He expelled the Spanish elite and confiscated their landholdings, which were distributed to Haitian leaders. The president also feared the influence the CATHOLIC CHURCH had held over Spain's colonial possessions. He severed ties with the Vatican, confiscated church property, and exiled church leaders suspected of maintaining foreign loyalties. Ardent Catholics in Santo Domingo viewed these policies as an affront to their spiritual well-being, and resentment toward the Haitian leadership began to mount. The poorly paid Haitian army, known for its corruption and mistreatment of the Haitian peasantry, carried that reputation into Santo Domingo. Soldiers often raided the stores of local merchants in an effort to feed themselves and keep themselves supplied with necessary materials. Dominicans perceived the MILITARY's pillaging as arbitrary acts of banditry and violence, further fueling anti-Haitian sentiments.

Despite the growing animosity between Haitians and Dominicans, Boyer did attempt to effect much-needed improvements in Santo Domingo. Perhaps his most successful achievement was the abolition of slavery. Nevertheless, ending the institution created new complications as Boyer struggled to ensure an adequate LABOR force for the island's plantation ECONOMY. In the 1820s, the Haitian president had instituted a controversial CODE RURAL in Haiti, which aimed to force laborers to work on specific plantations. The thinly disguised system of "wage slavery" failed miserably, and Haiti's thriving plantation export economy quickly deteriorated into a meager subsistence economy. Nevertheless, Boyer attempted to enforce the same labor system in the eastern portion of the island. As the Spanish landholding elite fled the island and the former slave population shifted to subsistence AGRICULTURE, Santo Domingo's economy languished, and the entire population sank further into poverty.

In the 1830s, a resistance movement emerged in Santo Domingo. Led by Juan Pablo Duarte, LA TRINITARIA took shape and challenged Haitian authority over the eastern portion of the island. Duarte had been educated in Europe and was influenced by nationalism and LIBERALISM. He aimed to overthrow Boyer and create a new governing system based on liberal ideals. Duarte joined forces with Ramón Mella and Francisco del Rosario Sánchez to lead the movement. Despite its secretive nature, its leaders attracted many supporters between 1838 and 1843. It was particularly attractive to intellectuals, students, and other young activists. After five years of planning, Duarte formed an alliance with an anti-Boyer Haitian group led by CHARLES RIVIÈRE-HÉRARD. The Haitian dissidents denounced the corruption and government inefficiencies that had surfaced after the island was devastated by a major earthquake the previous year. Rivière-Hérard and Duarte's groups initiated simultaneous rebellions in 1843 and eventually drove Boyer into exile.

Although La Trinitaria succeeded in ridding Santo Domingo of the unwanted dictator, the Haitian occupation continued. Rivière-Hérard turned on his Dominican allies, arresting Mella while Duarte fled to South America and then Curaçao. A new resistance movement emerged once again in Santo Domingo, also taking the name La Trinitaria. By 1844, the anti-Haitian opposition leaders in Santo Domingo had organized a new initiative, and on February 27, they ousted the last of the Haitian occupying forces. They declared independence for the nation, which they now referred to as the Dominican Republic.

Duarte returned to the island to participate in a newly formed ruling junta along with fellow Trinitaria leaders Mella and Sánchez, but their victory was short lived. Rivière-Hérard remained a constant menace from neighboring Haiti. Some influential Dominicans rejected Duarte's push for DEMOCRACY, instead insisting that more authoritarian measures were necessary to repel the Haitian threat. By the end of 1844, General PEDRO SANTANA had seized control of the Dominican govern-

ment. Duarte and his Trinitaria accomplices were imprisoned and later exiled. The Haitian occupation had come to an end, but an era of despotism and CAUDILLO rule took root in the new nation and would endure for the rest of the 19th century.

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Havana Havana is the capital city of CUBA. It is located on the northern coast of the island and has historically played an important role as an economic, defensive, and administrative center for the nation.

Havana is one of the oldest Spanish settlements in the Americas and was the original administrative center for Spanish conquest and colonization in the 16th century. The city was founded by Diego Velázquez in 1515 and became the base of operations for mainland expeditions into present-day MEXICO. Havana's location at a natural harbor led to the city's becoming a principal port for shipping between Spain and the Americas throughout the colonial period. The Spanish fleet set sail from Havana, and the port's strategic role in colonial TRADE was supported by a series of MILITARY garrisons stationed in Havana to defend Spanish economic interests in the Caribbean. Havana was invaded by the British in 1762, and the failure of the city's defenses led to a series of military reforms in the Spanish colonies in the late decades of the 18th century.

Cuba's ECONOMY grew throughout the colonial period around plantation AGRICULTURE and trade. The island had a large slave population by the early 19th century, and concern over the potential for a large-scale slave rebellion—such as had occurred in Saint Domingue decades earlier—compelled the Cuban elite to withhold their support for independence (see HAITI; SLAVERY). Even as other Spanish colonies rose in revolt after Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of Spain, Cuba maintained loyalty to the imperial system in exchange for a loosening of trade restrictions. Havana's importance grew substantially in the 19th century as the Caribbean region developed close trading ties to the United States. SUGAR production expanded in Cuba, and the United States became the main export market for Cuban agricultural commodities. Many elite planters spent little time on their rural plantations, preferring instead to maintain permanent residences in Havana. The city's strategic location made it a natural exit point for Cuban exports. British investors financed railroad projects, and the island's first railroad, connecting Havana with the interior city of Güines, opened in 1838.

Havana became an important setting in the final chapter of Cuba's colonial experience as independence

insurgencies culminated in a major rebellion in the 1890s. U.S. investors watched the insurrection closely and concern mounted for the safety of U.S. interests on the island. President William McKinley sent the USS *Maine* to stand guard in Havana Harbor in January 1898. Less than a month later, a mysterious explosion sank the battleship, prompting the United States to declare war against Spain (see WAR OF 1898). By September, U.S. troops had taken Havana, and that occupation lasted until Spain had surrendered and guaranteed Cuban independence. Havana became the capital of the independent nation, and throughout the 20th century, the city continued to grow and develop. U.S. influence was evident as tourism and trade became the basis for the city's economy.

See also HAVANA (Vols. II, IV); VELÁZQUEZ DE CUELLAR, DIEGO (Vol. I).

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Hay-Pauncefote Treaty See TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS.

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Heureaux, Ulises (b. 1845–d. 1899) *president of the Dominican Republic* Ulises Heureaux was a MILITARY leader and supporter of GREGORIO LUPERÓN during the WAR OF RESTORATION. In the 1880s, he drove Luperón into exile and emerged as an autocratic dictator. He enacted policies that destabilized the island's ECONOMY and eventually led to intervention by the United States.

Heureaux was born in Puerto Plata in the CIBAO region in 1845. He participated in the rebellion to oust the Spanish from the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC in the 1860s and became one of the top military commanders under Luperón. As Restoration leaders consolidated their control, Heureaux held high-level government positions, and in 1882, he became president for the first time. When his term ended in 1884, Heureaux stepped down but attempted to control the political system from behind the scenes. After several years, he forced Luperón into exile and took power once again.

Heureaux consolidated his control over the Dominican Republic during the next 12 years and ruled in an increasingly dictatorial fashion. He amended the constitution to legitimize his authoritarian control and silenced political opponents through repression. Heureaux oversaw the Dominican Republic's transition from a TOBACCO-based to a SUGAR-based economy in the last decades of the 19th century. His unwise economic policies increasingly placed the Dominican Republic

under U.S. dominance; Heureaux drove the nation into debt and surrendered many Dominican national resources to U.S. interests. Opposition to Heureaux began to mount as political enemies opposed his tyrannical rule and unsound management of the economy. Ramón Cáceres Vásquez organized a conspiracy and assassinated Heureaux on July 26, 1899.

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Hise, Elijah (b. 1802–d. 1867) *U.S. diplomat in Central America* Elijah Hise was a Pennsylvania native, who spent most of his life in Kentucky, where he practiced law. He served in the state legislature and later in the U.S. Congress in Washington, D.C. From March 31, 1848, to June 21, 1849, Hise served as U.S. chargé d'affaires in Guatemala City. He was the first State Department representative to be assigned to CENTRAL AMERICA since 1839. In the meantime, the British had expanded their interests throughout Central America, including the MOSQUITO COAST. Alarmed by this, Hise recommended that the United States eject the British from the region under the terms of the MONROE DOCTRINE. Although Secretary of State James Buchanan (b. 1791–d. 1868) rejected this suggestion, Hise went on to negotiate a treaty with NICARAGUA that challenged the British presence on the Mosquito Coast. Signed in June 1849, the treaty granted a private U.S. company (subsequently Cornelius Vanderbilt's ACCESSORY TRANSIT COMPANY) exclusive rights to construct a canal, railroad, and transit roads across Nicaragua. It also granted access to all public lands necessary for the project, and it gave the United States the right to fortify the route. Furthermore, the treaty guaranteed free passage of people and goods without restrictions or payment of tariffs or taxes. In return, the United States was to support Nicaragua in the exercise of its sovereignty over all its territory, which was a clear reference to the Mosquito Coast. Hise returned home with treaty in hand, but President Zachary Taylor did not submit it for congressional approval. The significance of the proposed Hise Treaty rests with the concessions it provided to the United States. Those concessions served as a harbinger of future U.S. pursuits for a transisthmian canal (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS).

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Hispaniola See DOMINICAN REPUBLIC; HAITI.

Honduras Encompassing 43,277 square miles (112,087 km²), Honduras is bordered to the north and the east by the Caribbean Sea, to the northwest by GUATEMALA, the southwest by EL SALVADOR and the Gulf of Fonseca, and directly to the south by NICARAGUA. It is a country plagued by poor TRANSPORTATION systems so that the commercial north coast, the eastern Olancho region, the southern plains surrounding Choluteca, and the northern and western mountainous sectors developed largely in isolation of each other.

Approximately 150,000 people resided in Honduras when it declared its independence in 1824 and joined the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA. In addition to the geographic divisions that plagued the country, Honduras was mired in the liberal-conservative political controversy seen also in its Central American neighbors and other Latin American nations following independence from Spain (see CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM). In Honduras, the rivalry between the old colonial and conservative capital at Comayagua and the newer and more liberal city of Tegucigalpa continued for more than 200 years. Little of note occurred within Honduras during the life of the United Provinces, between 1824 and 1838, and in fact, Honduras was among the first nations to withdraw from the federation in 1838. Nevertheless, two of its leaders, José Cecilio del Valle (b. 1780–d. 1834) and FRANCISCO MORAZÁN, served as presidents of the federation.

Until the 1870s, Honduras experienced domestic political turmoil and endured foreign interventions from both its neighbors and abroad. From 1840 to 1871, conservative presidents such as Francisco Ferrera (1840–47), Juan Lindo Zelaya (1847–52), Santos Guardialo (1855–62), and José María Medina (1864–71) dominated the Honduran political system. They pursued traditional conservative policies, such as centralized government, and they privileged the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Unlike its Central American neighbors at this time, Honduras was further weakened by its failure to develop a commercial and agricultural class. The Honduran elites remained poorer than their Central American counterparts and could not mobilize the rural peasants to engage in export AGRICULTURE, hence they had no substantial interests to protect. For 50 years following its independence from Spain, Honduras became a launching pad for or a partner in regional conflicts between the 1840s and 1860s, mostly between Guatemala and El Salvador and Nicaragua and El Salvador.

In the 19th century, foreign powers developed interests in Honduras. In 1834, the British laid claim to the Bay Islands located off the Honduran Caribbean coast, and a decade later, British warships bombarded the ports of Cortés and Trujillo to collect unpaid debts. In the 1850s, British loans paid for the construction of a rail-

road from Puerto Cortés to San Pedro Sula, but it did not facilitate north coast economic development. British bankers made further loans to the Honduran government for the construction of a trans-Honduran railroad, which never materialized. Subsequent Honduran governments incurred \$125 million in debt but saw only 90 miles of rail track in return. The debt was the subject of an international controversy in the early 20th century.

U.S. interests in CENTRAL AMERICA were awakened in the 1840s as U.S. leaders sought to limit British influence in the region. In 1849, U.S. diplomat EPHRAIM GEORGE SQUIER arranged for Honduras to cede Tigre Island in the Gulf of Fonseca to the United States. Tigre Island had for long been considered the western terminus of the proposed trans-Honduran railroad or the anticipated trans-isthmian canal through Nicaragua. As tensions increased between U.S. and British diplomats in Honduras, cooler heads prevailed in Washington, D.C., and London, which resulted in the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, whose provisions prevented both the British and the North Americans from seeking new territorial possessions throughout Central America. The most renowned foreign interloper was WILLIAM WALKER, a North American who arrived in Nicaragua in 1855 with plans to unite Central America under his leadership. In response, the Central Americans united to expel Walker from the region in 1856, but the determined filibusterer twice returned. On his third return in 1860, British forces captured him at Trujillo. They turned him over to Honduran soldiers, and he was executed on September 12, 1860.

As elsewhere in Central America, during the 1870s and 1880s, liberals came to the Honduran presidency. MARCO AURELIO SOTO was first in 1876, followed by Louis Bográn (1883–91) and Policarpo Bonilla (1894–99). The Constitution of 1880 proclaimed the new, liberal ideology. It declared that the state would do everything possible to stimulate progress in agriculture, industry, and TRADE and would build railroads and highways. Lacking financial resources, an entrepreneurial class, and the rudiments of basic industry, foreign companies and businessmen received lucrative contracts that enabled them to import duty-free into Honduras not only the materials and tools to conduct their business but also liquor, furniture, and clothing to satisfy their personal needs and those of their managers and families.

By the end of the 19th century, the Honduran government had constructed a telegraph system that connected most of the country with the capital at Tegucigalpa and a dirt highway to connect the capital with the port of Amapala on the Gulf of Fonseca. Foreigners, however, profited most in Honduras. A total of 276 MINING companies operated in the country by 1900, but the U.S.-based Rosario Mining Company accounted for 45 percent of total Honduran exports. In addition to import exclusions, the company paid no export duties or municipal or state taxes. And without LABOR laws or labor unions to protect them, Honduran miners were poorly paid, had no

benefits, and worked in difficult conditions. The veins of Rosario's SILVER mines dissipated during the 1890s, to be replaced in economic importance by bananas.

Bananas appeared along the Honduran Caribbean coast in 1870. Initially, local growers cultivated the crop and sold their produce to exporters shipping to the United States. Before the century was out, however, two U.S. companies had come to dominate the operation, from cultivation to the marketplace: the Vacarro Brothers, later known as the Standard Steamship and Fruit Company, and the Cuyamel Company, which later became part of the United Fruit Company.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Honduras remained an economically underdeveloped country administered by the elite at the expense of middle and lower socioeconomic groups.

See also HONDURAS (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Hostos, Eugenio María de See *PILGRIMAGE OF BAYOÁN, THE*.

Huáscar See GRAU SEMINARIO, MIGUEL.



Iglesias Law See LA REFORMA.

industrialization Latin American economies did not experience the onset of the industrial revolution in the late 18th century when those economic transformations were occurring in western Europe and the United States. Improvements in TRANSPORTATION and manufacturing propelled the emergence of an industrial sector first in Great Britain, and those economic trends then spread to other parts of the world. But, Latin America was still under the colonial administration of the Spanish and Portuguese in the late 18th century. A modest version of industrialization took hold in some areas of the region only at the end of the 19th century.

The colonial economic system in Latin America was based on the concept of mercantilism. Under this model, colonies produced raw materials for TRADE with the mother country. Generally, finished goods and luxury items were imported directly from the mother country. The Crown held tight control over all aspects of the ECONOMY. The colonies were not allowed to trade with other nations, and imperial trade was limited to certain regulated ports. Colonial trade, transportation, and finance networks were set up to support the mercantilist structure, and under the highly regulated system, local entrepreneurs were not allowed to experiment with new enterprises. While other areas of the world entered the industrial revolution, Latin American economies remained in a state of infancy, producing raw materials through MINING and AGRICULTURE, with only small, local, artisan-based manufacturing.

Most of Latin America had achieved independence by the 1820s, and new national governments dismantled

the old mercantilist system in favor of relatively free and unencumbered trade under the LAISSEZ-FAIRE economic model. The 19th century saw a dramatic increase in trade between Latin America and the rest of the world, particularly between Britain and South America and the United States and MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, and the Caribbean. But, throughout most of the century, Latin American nations still exported raw materials and imported manufactured goods. Their leaders operated under the principle of COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE, which stated that countries should specialize in products that they produce relatively well compared to other countries. Latin American nations held a comparative advantage in agriculture and mining, and the products of those sectors came to dominate economic production. Europe and the United States provided finished, manufactured goods to Latin American markets. This system created a trade imbalance as Latin American countries were constantly importing goods that were more expensive than the products they exported. Business leaders did not show much interest in developing the region's industrial potential in the first half of the 19th century. Most countries were plagued by near-constant political unrest, with civil wars, boundary disputes, and even foreign invasions being common. Political instability and a general lack of security meant that the transportation and communications infrastructure necessary for a viable industrial sector did not develop, and investors viewed Latin America as a risky place to put their money.

It was not until the late decades of the 19th century, which saw the rise of liberal oligarchic regimes, that some Latin American nations began to industrialize (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY). Liberal oligarchies were generally powerful groups of the political and economic elite who

consolidated power after decades of conflict and infighting. Their exact nature varied from one country to the next, but nearly all shared a common interest in bringing modernization and progress to their nations. Liberal leaders worked to develop the infrastructure that would allow economic growth. In BRAZIL, ARGENTINA, CHILE, Mexico, and elsewhere, foreign investors were brought in and oversaw the construction of thousands of miles of railroads to connect urban centers with ports. Telephone and telegraph lines were installed, and electric power became available in some of the major cities.

Improvements in infrastructure allowed for an expansion of trade in commodity agricultural and mining products, as well as for the development of an industrial sector. Many Latin American governments were inspired by the positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte, who suggested that all societies must go through phases of deterministic progress (see POSITIVISM). Latin American leaders often associated progress with industrial development, and governments began encouraging the manufacture of consumer goods and even some heavy industry in the late 19th century. Some of those sectors began modestly as basic processing centers for the raw materials that Latin American economies were already producing. Additionally, many industries relied on large investments from foreign entrepreneurs so that European and U.S. interests gained a controlling share of new economic enterprises. FOOD-processing plants opened near major urban areas, and textile factories began to replace some of the small businesses run by local artisans. Argentina saw a rise in meatpacking plants, particularly after the advent of refrigerated transportation. Brazilian abolitionists used the notion of modernization and industrialization to push for an end to SLAVERY, which had long been a main source of LABOR for plantation agriculture (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF). Slavery was abolished in 1888, and in the late decades of the 19th century, Brazil saw an expansion of food processing and textile manufacturing. Exploration and development in the Amazon region propelled the development of a rubber industry, and rubber production had grown substantially by the end of the century.

Mexico experienced a dramatic industrial transformation in the late 19th century, fueled by government policies during the PORFIRIATO to develop infrastructure and attract foreign investors. Mexico's industrialization also began with consumer goods such as textiles and foods but included some heavy industry such as cement, oil, and steel operations. By the turn of the century, many of those industries were controlled and/or owned by foreign interests. Most Latin American nations also attempted to build a skilled industrial labor force by attracting European immigrants. Argentina and Brazil experienced a drastic increase in immigration, primarily from southern Europe, during the era of industrialization.

Industrialization in Latin America produced numerous consequences in the late decades of the 19th century.

In some areas, it came about as a result of foreign involvement in the economy. The presence of foreign industrialists helped to set the stage for populist and nationalist movements in the 20th century. Industrialization was also accompanied by rapid urbanization in BUENOS AIRES, Monterrey, MEXICO CITY, RIO DE JANEIRO, and elsewhere. The sudden growth of cities created new challenges for Latin American governments that found a growing sector of urban poor in need of housing, EDUCATION, and social services. Industrialization contributed to a widening of the socioeconomic gap between rich and poor in the late 19th century. Many of those problems led to social and political reform efforts in the early 20th century.

See also INDUSTRY (Vol. IV).

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Iturbide, Agustín de (Emperor Agustín I) (b. 1783–d. 1824) *military leader and emperor of Mexico* Agustín de Iturbide was the first leader of MEXICO after independence. He began his career in the Spanish MILITARY and eventually fought for both sides in Mexico's war of independence. Iturbide ruled the newly independent nation as emperor from 1821 to 1823.

Iturbide was born into a Spanish family in Valladolid on the Yucatán Peninsula. He capitalized on the social standing that accompanied his status as creole and began a career in the Spanish army. When the struggle for independence broke out in 1810, Iturbide led Spanish forces in fighting the rebellion and quickly climbed through the officers' ranks. Spanish forces successfully challenged the early independence movement, the leadership of which passed from Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla to José María Morelos y Pavón and finally to VICENTE GUERRERO and GUADALUPE VICTORIA.

By 1820, Iturbide held the rank of colonel. As he began a new offensive against the rebel army, political changes were under way in Spain that influenced his position on independence. A military coup led by Spanish officer Rafael Riego was resolved when King Ferdinand VII implemented the liberal Constitution of 1812 and agreed not to send reinforcements to fight against independence insurgencies throughout the Spanish colonies. Realizing that additional military support would not be coming from Spain and, more important, seeing the Spanish adopt a political system of which he did not approve, Iturbide began conferring with the insurgent forces to resolve the independence conflict on his terms.

After a series of careful negotiations, Iturbide and Guerrero brokered the Plan de Iguala on February 25, 1821, to secure Mexican independence. Also known as

the Treaty of the Three Guarantees, the plan praised the Spanish colonial legacy for having provided a solid foundation for Mexico as an independent nation. In doing so, the treaty deviated significantly from the previous position of the insurgents, who had advocated a complete break from Spain. Iturbide viewed the conservative politics of the Spanish monarchy as the best system for Mexico and feared the liberal stance the Spanish government was being forced to take on the heels of the Riego Revolt. Iturbide, therefore, included provisions in the Plan de Iguala that would establish a constitutional monarchy in Mexico, preferably under the leadership of Ferdinand VII or another European monarch. The treaty also safeguarded the CATHOLIC CHURCH as the guardian of Mexico's official RELIGION and guaranteed equality for all male creoles.

Iturbide's plan paved the way for independence and established the Army of the Three Guarantees to validate the compromise. The plan quickly won the approval of Mexican conservatives who had repudiated the anti-Spanish tone and seemingly radical ideas of the insurgency. It also gained acceptance among liberals by establishing Mexico as a sovereign and independent nation. When Ferdinand VII and other European monarchs rejected the crown of Mexico, a conservative congress named Iturbide Emperor Agustín I. He was crowned in a grandiose and stately ceremony on July 21, 1822.

For several months, the Mexican Congress established formal protocols to bolster the image and legitimacy of the monarch. But, amid the pomp and circumstance, the new nation found itself in precarious financial problems after years of warfare. Mexico fell into severe economic

decline, and many turned their frustrations against the emperor. Agustín I responded by censoring the press and jailing political adversaries and, in the face of mounting opposition, even took the drastic measure of dissolving Congress in October 1822.

Agustín's mismanagement of the nation and strong-armed tactics against his enemies crystallized forces against him. In December 1822, a coalition led by military commander ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA issued the Plan de Veracruz, which declared revolt against the emperor and established Mexico as a republic. A short time later, other military officers issued the PLAN DE CASA MATA and consolidated their efforts with those of Santa Anna. Under increasing pressure from leaders of his own military, Iturbide relinquished his throne and retreated into exile in Europe. Although he was tried for treason, his life was spared so long as he never returned to Mexico.

While in exile in 1824, Iturbide learned of a plot by the Spanish to invade and retake Mexico as a colony. Believing he would be welcomed as a hero, Iturbide returned to Mexico to warn Congress and help defend the newly formed republic. Instead, he was arrested in the state of Tamaulipas and executed by firing squad on July 19, 1824.

See also CONSTITUTION OF 1812 (Vol. II); FERDINAND VII (Vol. II); HIDALGO Y COSTILLA, MIGUEL (Vol. II); MORELOS Y PAVÓN, JOSÉ MARÍA (Vol. II); RIEGO REVOLT (Vol. II).

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Jamaica See CARIBBEAN, BRITISH.

Janvier, Louis-Joseph (b. 1855–d. 1911) *Haitian writer and intellectual* Louis-Joseph Janvier was born in Port-au-Prince in 1855. In 1877, he went to Paris to study MEDICINE, politics, and law. He attended regular gatherings (salons) of prominent French writers, poets, and intellectuals. His affiliation with ingénues, such as the French symbolist poet Stéphane Mallarmé, largely influenced Janvier’s romantic and highly evocative literary style (see LITERATURE; ROMANTICISM).

Janvier became an active voice countering current racist notions about blacks, specifically Haitians. Among his more notable essays are “Haïti aux Haïtiens” (“Haiti for the Haitians”), “L’Égalité des races” (“Equality of Races”), “Les Antinationaux” (The anti-nationals), and “Les Constitutions d’Haïti” (“The Constitutions of Haiti”). Janvier’s work is paradoxical in that while he defends the black race and independence of HAITI, he also portrays an image of Haitian peasants as a “black France” and describes Haitians as like the French, only with “fizzy-hair,” above all preferring “French prose, Haitian coffee and the philosophical doctrines of the French Revolution as the best stimulants of the Haitian brain.”

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Juárez, Benito (b. 1806–d. 1872) *liberal leader and president of Mexico* Benito Pablo Juárez García was a

lawyer, judge, and politician who helped create and implement liberal reform in MEXICO in the 19th century. As the nation was embroiled in civil war and the FRENCH INTERVENTION, Juárez held the office of president off and on from 1858 until his death in 1872.

Juárez was born into a Zapotec Indian family in San Pablo Guelatao in Oaxaca on March 21, 1806. He grew up speaking only his native dialect. His parents died when he was very young, and Juárez lived with an uncle and worked for him herding sheep. At the age of 12, he went to Oaxaca City to live with his sister and began studying for the priesthood. He later abandoned his religious aspirations and began studying law at the local Institute of Arts and Sciences. He became involved in local politics in the 1830s, serving as a member of the town council and as a deputy in the federal Congress. After receiving his law degree in 1834, he became a judge and, eventually, governor of Oaxaca in 1847.

While involved in local and state politics, Juárez made a name for himself as an advocate of the liberal side of the ideological debate that gripped the nation in the 19th century (see CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM). When ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA returned to power as a Conservative despot in 1853, Juárez was among the Liberal leaders who fled into exile in New Orleans. From there, he helped lay the plans for the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA, which ousted Santa Anna in 1855 (see LIBERAL PARTY, MEXICO). Upon returning to Mexico, Juárez participated in the Liberal provisional government and helped design the aggressive reform measures articulated in the Lerdo Law, Iglesias Law, and the Juárez Law—the latter named for him—that became the basis for the period known as LA REFORMA (1855–58). Those reforms, which collectively represented the largest and most



A photographic portrait of Benito Juárez, liberal leader and president of Mexico between 1858 and 1872 (*Library of Congress*)

aggressive challenge to CATHOLIC CHURCH authority the country had seen, became part of the CONSTITUTION OF 1857. As the constitution was promulgated, Juárez was named chief justice of the Supreme Court, making him second in line for the presidency behind President IGNACIO COMONFORT.

In response to the Constitution of 1857, Conservative foes rebelled under the Plan de Tacubaya, and Juárez was arrested along with several of his Liberal allies (see CONSERVATIVE PARTY, MEXICO). He was released in January 1858, and as Comonfort had fled into exile, Juárez legally assumed the presidency according to the chain of command established in the constitution, even though Conservative leader Félix Zuloaga had claimed it for himself. Juárez took leadership of the Liberal side of the emerging civil war. The WAR OF REFORM turned into a bloody and devastating conflict that tore the nation apart for three years. Juárez and the Liberals initially found themselves in a nearly constant state of retreat, but Juárez eventually led the Liberals to victory in 1861.

Juárez and the Liberals had little time to celebrate their victory over the Conservatives, as the president had to deal with a devastated ECONOMY and national infrastructure. Foreign debt that had accumulated during earlier crises had gone unpaid, and Conservative leaders

had acquired even more debt from foreign creditors. In December 1861, Great Britain, Spain, and France joined forces to blockade the port of Veracruz and seized customs revenues to offset Mexico's debt obligations. After negotiations with Juárez's government, the British and Spanish withdrew, but the French remained. Napoléon III aimed to build a worldwide empire that included the former Spanish colonies of the Americas, and Mexico's fragile state made it an easy target to start that empire. French forces occupied Mexico, beginning a period of conflict known as the French intervention. As French troops marched toward MEXICO CITY, local MILITARY units resisted the onslaught, and forces at PUEBLA managed to repel the French army briefly at the Battle of Puebla on May 5, 1862. This victory is the basis for the Mexican holiday CINCO DE MAYO.

Although the Mexican army won some important early victories, French forces soon recovered and marched into the capital. Once again, Juárez was forced to flee and lead his nation in a war while on the run. French forces took Mexico City, and Napoléon installed Austrian archduke Maximilian of Habsburg as emperor of Mexico. Maximilian and his young wife, Charlotte, known in Mexico as Carlota, arrived to find the nation at war and the national forces of Juárez constantly gaining ground. After five more years, Juárez—aided by diplomatic pressure and military supplies from the United States—compelled Napoléon to withdraw French forces in 1867. Maximilian was captured and executed, along with Mexican Conservatives who had supported his regime.

Finally, in 1867, the war-weary president returned to Mexico City to put the national government back together. He won an easy victory in the presidential election that year, but his administration faced serious problems. Juárez began centralizing power in his own hands in an attempt to provide stability and recovery, but his increasingly autocratic approach angered many former allies. To replenish the treasury, Juárez aggressively implemented land policies that had been established under Liberal reforms. Large estates that had been church property and communal *ejidos* that had sustained indigenous villages were auctioned off to the Liberal elite, exacerbating the concentration of land in the hands of a few wealthy individuals.

Juárez also had to deal with revolts by both peasants and his former military allies in reaction to his political and economic policies. When he won the presidency again in 1871 in an election that many considered fraudulent, his former military commander PORFIRIO DÍAZ led an unsuccessful uprising in his Plan de Noria to try to force him to step down. Even though the revolt did not succeed, it did indicate that Juárez's image as a hero and defender of the people was in question.

Juárez did not fulfill his final term as president. He died in Mexico City in 1872 and was succeeded by SEBASTIÁN LERDO DE TEJADA.

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Juárez Law See LA REFORMA.

Junta de Información (Junta de Información de Ultramar, Junta Informativa de Reformas) The Junta de Información was a commission formed by the Spanish government in 1865 to examine the reform demands of its colonies CUBA and PUERTO RICO. Delegates from the colonies appealed for changes in slave laws and proposed a variety of economic and political reforms. The junta failed to bring any meaningful changes, however, and in 1868, a major revolt against Spanish rule erupted in Cuba and led to the TEN YEARS' WAR. The same year, a small insurrection developed in Puerto Rico following the GRITO DE LARES. Although both movements were eventually put down by the Spanish MILITARY, it was clear that the demand for reform in the two colonies was gaining momentum.

Throughout the 19th century, Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under Spanish control, although the mainland colonies achieved independence in the 1820s. Both islands boasted a booming SUGAR ECONOMY, fueled largely by a ready supply of slave LABOR, and many among the elite advocated maintaining colonial status as a way to protect their wealth. Economic and political conditions were changing by the middle of the century, however, as many colonists began to question the status quo. Liberal tensions had also been mounting in Spain, and in 1865, the government seemed ready to listen to colonists' grievances.

The Spanish government proposed the Junta de Información to examine possible reforms in Cuba and

Puerto Rico. Both colonies sent delegates to represent their interests in the junta, and proceedings began on October 30, 1866. During several months of deliberations, the commission heard a number of proposals from colonial delegates. Among the most salient issues were economic and TRADE policies. Delegates asked for reciprocal free trade between the colonies and Spain, which would require doing away with the import and export fees that had long been a lucrative source of income for the Spanish government. The commission also considered lessening trade restrictions with nations outside the Spanish Empire and revisited tax structures.

Colonial delegates made more sweeping proposals with respect to the administration of the colonies. Cubans and Puerto Ricans wanted political reforms that would place the islands on a more equal status with Spain. Delegates wanted colonists to have the same rights as citizens of Spain, as guaranteed in that country's liberal constitution. They also requested various administrative changes that would give local governments more autonomy. A final set of proposals dealt with SLAVERY. A cadre of Puerto Rican delegates went so far as to propose complete abolition, but the junta did not seriously consider this option. Most reform scenarios dealing with slavery advocated a more gradual shift away from the institution.

Despite its ambitious aims, the Junta de Información failed to adopt any significant reforms during its brief tenure. It adjourned on April 27, 1867, and colonial delegates returned to their respective islands disappointed. Shortly after the junta was disbanded, local revolts broke out in both Puerto Rico and Cuba as colonists began to push for complete independence.

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K

Keith, Minor Cooper (b. 1848–d. 1929) *U.S. railroad builder and businessman in Costa Rica and the Caribbean* A grade-school-educated native of Brooklyn, New York, Minor Cooper Keith established a successful cattle ranching business on South Padre Island, Texas, before being lured to COSTA RICA at age 22 by his brother Henry to participate in the construction of a railroad from San José to Puerto Limón. The contract originally belonged to their uncle, Henry Meiggs (b. 1811–d. 1877), a railroad tycoon in South America. In late 1871, the Keith brothers began railways in San José and Limón, with plans to connect somewhere en route. By 1873, confronted with a shortage of funds and difficult mountainous terrain, they halted construction, and the Costa Rican government canceled the contract. Nevertheless, Minor Keith, an established businessman in Limón, negotiated a new agreement with the government, allowing him to renew construction in 1875. Finally, on December 7, 1890, the first train made the 97-mile (156-km) trip from San José to Puerto Limón.

In addition to the treacherous mountain terrain and swampy Atlantic lowlands, Keith faced a LABOR problem in a country of 146,000 people. An uncounted number of West Indian laborers were brought to Costa Rica to work on the project, and afterward, they remained in the country to work on the banana plantations along the Caribbean coast. Over time, the West Indians significantly altered Costa Rican demographics and politics.

In negotiating the railroad contract, Keith acquired 800,000 acres (323,749 ha) of land that paralleled the rail line and on which he established banana plantations. He

also constructed port facilities at Limón and seagoing vessels that were used to carry Costa Rican bananas and COFFEE to the United States and Europe. He moved beyond Costa Rica into banana ventures in COLOMBIA and PANAMA and in 1899 joined with Andrew W. Preston (b. 1846–d. 1924), owner of the Boston Fruit Company, to form the United Fruit Company, which subsequently became the largest banana producer in all CENTRAL AMERICA.

Keith founded the International Railways of Central America (IRCA), which he envisioned as connecting Central America, from GUATEMALA to Panama, but for lack of funding and with the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914, this dream went unrealized. The IRCA did, however, connect EL SALVADOR's coffee fields with the Atlantic markets through the Guatemalan port at Livingston. Keith's other ventures included the construction of railroads in BRAZIL and cultivating SUGAR in CUBA.

Keith married Cristina Castro Fernández, the daughter of Costa Rican president José María Castro Madriz (b. 1818–d. 1892). This won him many infrastructure contracts in Costa Rican cities.

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labor Labor systems evolved in 19th-century Latin America generally in concert with changes in economic production. Latin American economies developed during the colonial period as a result of exploitative labor systems, and new nations inherited those labor systems after achieving independence in the 1820s. Labor systems changed over the course of the 19th century, but the general condition of exploitation remained.

European conquistadores initially attempted to enslave the indigenous populations they encountered in the Americas in the 15th and 16th centuries. Due to church and Crown regulations, the outright enslavement of NATIVE AMERICANS was eventually banned, but Portuguese settlers continued to capture and enslave the indigenous of BRAZIL for most of the colonial period. Spanish settlers created parallel forced labor systems aimed solely at drafting Amerindian workers for MINING and agricultural operations (see AGRICULTURE). The *mita* in PERU and the *repartimiento* in MEXICO forced indigenous villages to provide a minimum quota of workers, and those systems remained in place until independence leaders abolished them in the early 19th century. The wars for independence had sent mining industries into decline, and they were not revived in many areas until the last half of the 19th century. While mine owners no longer resorted to draft labor, mine workers nonetheless suffered deplorable conditions for meager pay. In some areas, workers' collectives began to emerge by the end of the century as a predecessor to 20th-century labor unions. An attempted strike at the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company in Sonora, Mexico, was put down violently by the PORFIRIO DÍAZ regime in 1906. Collective action began to intensify in CHILE and other regions of South America that had experienced high rates of European immigration.

African SLAVERY was introduced in Latin America at the beginning of the colonial period as Crown policies evolved forbidding the enslavement of Native Americans. Slave labor became the basis of the large plantation ECONOMY in Brazil, and slavery was also common in many coastal plantation regions of the Spanish colonies. After independence, governments in mainland Spanish America abolished slavery, although a de facto form of slavery continued for many black workers for several decades. In Brazil, slavery continued and strengthened throughout most of the 19th century. African slavery also expanded substantially in CUBA and PUERTO RICO, which remained as Spanish colonies in the Caribbean until 1898. Much of that expansion was due to the growth of SUGAR cultivation in Brazil and the Spanish Caribbean. The French colony of Saint Domingue (present-day HAITI) had been a leading sugar producer until its independence movement commenced in 1791. The independence movement started as a rebellion by slaves, free blacks, and mulattoes against the white European elite. The postindependence governments in Haiti struggled to stabilize the new nation's political and social systems. Slavery was abolished, and economic turmoil led to a collapse of the Haitian sugar industry. Brazilian, Cuban, and Puerto Rican plantations quickly filled the void.

Despite enormous pressure from the British to end the transatlantic slave TRADE after 1807, planters in Brazil and the Spanish Caribbean continued to import African slaves until the 1850s. An estimated 600,000 Africans were taken to Cuba in the 19th century, and more than 1.5 million went to Brazil. Many of these new arrivals were smuggled to the Americas as part of a large black market after government regulations began curbing the slave trade. Slavery thrived in Brazil and in the Spanish

Caribbean throughout the first half of the 19th century, and as a result, commodity production of plantation products such as sugar, COFFEE, and TOBACCO expanded in those economies. Working conditions on plantations remained as oppressive as ever, with extremely high levels of infant mortality and a low life expectancy.

Latin American slavery was also characterized by relatively high rates of manumission. Plantation owners were more likely to grant slaves their freedom or allow slaves to purchase their freedom than in other slaveholding regions, such as the U.S. South. Slave labor on plantations was often supplemented by a large free black and mulatto population. Former slaves generally held more skilled positions in the workforce and received only a nominal wage. By the 1850s, pressure was mounting for Brazil and the Spanish Caribbean to abolish slavery. Spain passed the MORET LAW on July 4, 1870, which freed all slaves born after that date and all slaves over the age of 65. The Brazilian government passed the similar LAW OF THE FREE WOMB in 1871. Full abolition was finally achieved in the Spanish colonies in 1886 and in Brazil in 1888 (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

Other forms of forced or semi-forced labor began replacing African slavery as governments phased out that practice in the last half of the 19th century. Chinese indentured servants, or “coolies,” were brought in to work on plantations in the Caribbean and in South American mines. Chinese workers were also used to build the Panama Canal in the early decades of the 20th century. Some Chinese laborers entered into indentured servitude voluntarily, while others were coerced. The labor system was often characterized by the same types of cruelty and abuse that had been a part of slavery.

Other systems of coerced labor involved relocating rebellious indigenous groups to forced labor camps or to plantations. The Yucatán Peninsula in Mexico was in a state of near-constant rebellion throughout the last half of the 19th century as Maya groups defied national government authority and attempted to secede. The Díaz government arranged for captured Amerindians to be sent to the Caribbean to work on plantations. The Mexican state of Sonora was also beset by violence as the Yaqui tribe resisted government authority. Many of those Amerindians were relocated to the Yucatán Peninsula, where they were forced to work on henequen plantations.

Most Latin American nations implemented policies to modernize their social and economic systems in the last half of the 19th century. For some of the larger countries, such as Mexico, Brazil, and ARGENTINA, economic modernization meant pursuing basic INDUSTRIALIZATION. Many leaders believed their nations had fallen behind the rest of the world, and some argued that they must recruit a more skilled workforce to allow them to catch up. Many nations actively attempted to attract European immigrants to fill the ranks of a modern workforce, but the success of those policies varied widely. Mexico had struggled through decades of political instability, civil

wars, and foreign invasions, and most potential immigrants saw better opportunities elsewhere. CHILE also attempted to recruit foreign workers, but the country’s location on the eastern coast of South America added to the time, distance, and expense required to travel there.

Brazil and URUGUAY experienced more success in recruiting immigrant workers in the last half of the 19th century. After 1880, more than 100,000 European immigrants per year arrived in Uruguay. They generally settled in urban areas and went to work in new industries. Brazil had a long history of attracting Portuguese migrants, and attempts to build a skilled workforce led to an increase of Italian and Spanish immigration as well. Many of those new workers settled in urban areas and became a part of the growing industrial workforce. Immigrants also went to work as artisans and merchants and in other roles that eventually became the foundation of the nation’s growing middle class. Some immigrant workers found employment on Brazil’s coffee plantations as replacements for African slaves once abolition went into effect. Over time, some European immigrant families managed to acquire their own land and became part of the 20th-century agricultural sector. The Brazilian government specifically attempted to attract German immigrants as part of a colonization program to settle regions of Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia, and Pernambuco.

Argentine immigration policies achieved the greatest success in the late 19th century. As in Brazil, the government of Argentina hoped to settle large expanses of the countryside through colonization programs. Male European migrants initially worked as seasonal laborers in the agricultural sector, but eventually, entire families immigrated (see MIGRATION). Some families acquired land and became small farmers, while others remained as hired laborers on large estates. Many more immigrant families settled in cities—including BUENOS AIRES, Córdoba, and Rosario—where new industries created a demand for wage laborers. By the turn of the century, immigrant laborers made up a significant portion of the Argentine working class. They brought with them new ideas about workers’ rights and collective organizations. A working-class consciousness began in those urban immigrant communities and became the basis for 20th-century labor movements.

See also LABOR (Vols. I, IV); MITA (Vol. II); REPAR-TIMIENTO (Vol. II).

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Ladder Conspiracy (Conspiración de la Escalera)

The Ladder Conspiracy was a ruthless government reprisal intended to suppress an attempted slave uprising in CUBA in 1844. In the crackdown, hundreds of slaves and free blacks were executed, and thousands more were arrested and tortured on suspicion of supporting an abolitionist conspiracy. Many of those detained were tied to ladders and flogged. Among those persecuted were influential intellectuals and other members of the black middle class.

Cuba was one of Spain's few remaining colonies in the 19th century. The island had developed a thriving ECONOMY based on the cultivation of SUGAR, which relied on a ready supply of slave LABOR. Despite an 1817 treaty between Spain and Britain abolishing the transatlantic slave TRADE, Cuba's slave population exploded due to illegal trade that kept the island supplied. As the slave and free population grew, pressure from abolitionist forces at home and abroad also increased. The Cuban planter class lived in constant fear that a slave revolt could lead to abolition and Cuban independence, as it had in HAITI. Officials had foiled attempts to incite slave rebellions in 1826, 1837, and 1843, and government reprisals became increasingly violent over those years.

The movement that provoked the Ladder Conspiracy originated in 1844 in the western province of Matanzas. The Matanzas Military Commission discovered evidence of an abolitionist plot and began arresting slaves and free blacks by the hundreds. Some mulattoes and creoles also fell victim to the Ladder Conspiracy. Cuban poet PLÁCIDO was executed as a suspected conspirator after spending several months in jail. After the conspiracy, many middle-class blacks in Cuba began to question the role of SLAVERY on the island.

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laissez-faire Laissez-faire is an economic philosophy that was common throughout the world in the 19th century. Derived from the French for “to leave alone,” the laissez-faire approach to economic development advocated little to no direct government involvement in finance and TRADE. Laissez-faire economics of the 19th century were characterized by relatively free and open trade based on COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE. Laissez-faire also rejected burdensome taxes and government monopolies. The theory favored the well-being of individuals

as the basis of a successful society. Adherents believed that competition and free market forces would encourage economic growth and lead naturally to a stronger ECONOMY. Laissez-faire was the preferred economic theory of liberal leaders in 19th-century Latin America. Governments throughout the region dismantled many of the trade restrictions that had characterized the colonial period, but some government control over the economy still remained.

Laissez-faire economic theory was introduced in the 18th century by French economists known as physiocrats. French merchants, in particular, opposed the tightly controlled economic policies of the mercantilist system. Scottish economist Adam Smith popularized the notion of free trade and open competition when he published his landmark book, *Wealth of Nations*, in 1776. Laissez-faire economics quickly took root as the preferred economic doctrine among liberal thinkers in the early decades of the 19th century. As Latin American liberals began to challenge the political and social status quo of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial systems, laissez-faire also took root in that region.

The earliest theories of laissez-faire economics in Latin America took aim at the traditional mercantilist structure of colonial economy. For centuries, the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns had attempted to administer the colonial economies through tightly controlled trade and royal monopolies. Under the Spanish system of mercantilism, the colonies existed for the well-being of the mother country. Spanish laws placed restrictions on the type and amount of economic activity allowed in the colonies in an attempt to maximize profits and tax income. Manufacturing was limited so that the colonies would become both the markets for goods manufactured in Spain and the sources of raw materials to make those goods. In order to enforce its trade laws, the Spanish Crown allowed only limited shipping to and from select ports in Spain and the Americas. In addition to highly regulated trade policies, Spanish mercantilism involved extracting large amounts of bullion from the SILVER and GOLD mines of MEXICO and South America. Portuguese mercantilism in colonial BRAZIL employed similar measures to limit trade and benefit the mother country.

Mercantilism was a generally inefficient economic system, and its cumbersome structure produced a number of weaknesses in the colonial economies. In many areas, Crown regulations were not enforceable. Other European powers constantly attempted to make incursions into the colonial markets, and a black market of smuggled and contraband goods thrived throughout the colonies. Furthermore, laws restricting colonial trade and manufacturing kept the colonial economies in a state of infancy, while European powers prepared for the onset of the industrial revolution.

As many European nations began to experiment with laissez-faire economic policies in the 18th century, some liberal-oriented advisers pushed the Spanish and

Portuguese Crowns to consider lifting trade restrictions. Fiscal reports often emphasized the backwardness and inefficiencies of the Latin American economies. Colonial merchants also began to push for liberalized trade policies, believing that the mercantilist policies were preventing economic growth and limiting their ability to make profits. These pressures, combined with a growing desire to make the colonies run more efficiently, compelled the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies to institute a series of reforms in the last half of the 18th century. Bourbon and Pombaline Reforms were instituted in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, respectively. Many of those reforms were aimed at easing trade restrictions and opening up the colonial economies, but they were also piecemeal and inconsistent. By the end of the century, many members of the merchant elite felt that their economic needs were not being met under the colonial system, and the desire to move toward a more open, *laissez-faire* economy led many of them to support the independence movements of the early 19th centuries.

After the wars of independence, most Latin American economies turned to policies based on the principles of the *laissez-faire* model. Liberal politicians incorporated less restrictive trade policies into their platforms, and even most conservatives leaders did not advocate maintaining an economic model based on colonial mercantilism. Finished goods from primarily Great Britain immediately flooded local markets in South America and Mexico. British goods were accompanied by loans and investments in the declining MINING industries. Latin American countries' new links to Great Britain set the stage for trade and economic exchanges with other industrializing powers in the last half of the century. The Netherlands, France, Germany, and the United States joined Britain as providers of finished goods to Latin America.

As Latin American economies became increasingly tied to those of western Europe and the United States, *laissez-faire* theories in the region came to favor the notion of foreign trade based on comparative advantage. The idea of comparative advantage was articulated by *laissez-faire* advocate David Ricardo in 1817. According to the theory, nations should produce and export the product or products they make well, relative to other countries. In the 19th century, Latin American nations had a comparative advantage in producing raw materials such as FOOD and gold and silver. However, the colonial economies based on AGRICULTURE and MINING did not allow for the development of industrial and manufacturing sectors. As a result, under liberal *laissez-faire* measures, Latin American economies continued to favor the production of raw materials for export and lacked diversity. Since western Europe and the United States held a comparative advantage in finished goods, Latin America continued to be a market for foreign-produced manufactured products.

The spirit of *laissez-faire* economics persisted throughout the 19th century. As the political and security

situation stabilized in the last half of the century, economic development fueled by a growth in exports took root throughout the region. Latin American governments, controlled by the elite cadre that made up the LIBERAL OLIGARCHY, embraced *laissez-faire* policies as a way to ensure progress. Economic expansion, though, was accompanied by increasing foreign involvement in the local mining and agricultural sectors. Foreign funds financed advancements in mining technology in CHILE, PERU, and Mexico, and the mining industry in those countries became increasingly reliant on foreign markets. U.S. and European agricultural investors also began acquiring landholdings throughout Latin America. Foreign investors also helped to finance the new infrastructure that was necessary for economic growth. Railroads, ports, and communication lines proliferated throughout the region (see TRANSPORTATION).

The positivist regimes of the late 19th century abandoned some of their strict reliance on *laissez-faire* theory but worked to attract even more foreign involvement into their economies (see POSITIVISM). Positivist leaders in Mexico, Brazil, and elsewhere believed that foreign investment was the best way to ensure continued economic growth and development. Exports did indeed increase dramatically in the late 19th century, but increasing foreign investment brought new problems. Many positivist regimes often favored foreign owners of industry over local workers, and a widening gap between rich and poor was evident by the turn of the century.

The emphasis on *laissez-faire* economics had diminished throughout Latin America by the early decades of the 20th century, but it was not until the economic crash brought about by the Great Depression in 1929 that the idea of free trade fell from favor. A modified version of *laissez-faire* economics has made a resurgence in recent decades as neoliberal Latin American governments have reconsidered free trade and the role of Latin America in global markets.

See also BOURBON REFORMS (Vol. II).

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Lastarria, José Victorino (b. 1817–d. 1888) *Chilean writer, intellectual, and liberal politician* José Victorino Lastarria was a prominent literary figure and political leader in CHILE in the mid-19th century. He belonged to a distinguished literary group called the Generation of 1842 and gained a reputation for promoting liberal politics.

Lastarria was born on March 23, 1817, in the rural town of Rancagua. As a young man, he received government sponsorship to study at the liberal Liceo de Chile in SANTIAGO DE CHILE. Armed insurrection brought Conservatives to power in 1829, however, and the government of General Joaquín Prieto (1831–41) closed the school down. Having gained a thirst for liberal doctrine, Lastarria enrolled in the Instituto Nacional in 1831, where he pursued a curriculum based on philosophy and the humanities. In later years, he became a professor at the Instituto while pursuing a law degree.

Throughout his career, Lastarria devoted himself to promoting the liberal ideology through his writings. His themes expanded to include an examination of POSITIVISM in later years. He founded the Sociedad Literaria (Literary Society), members of which became known as the Generation of 1842. In 1843, Lastarria joined the inaugural faculty at the newly established UNIVERSITY OF CHILE. At the same time, he built a political career, intermittently serving as both a congressional deputy and a senator, as well as in various cabinet positions, over the next several decades.

Lastarria and his cohorts in the Generation of 1842 believed that LITERATURE should help create and maintain a sense of national identity, a notion that is reflected in many of his writings. He also believed in free, state-run primary EDUCATION. Lastarria's influence on Chilean culture and politics was visible throughout the 19th century.

Lastarria died of pneumonia in Santiago on June 14, 1888.

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Allen L. Woll. "Positivism and History in Nineteenth-Century Chile: José Victorino Lastarria and Valentín Letelier." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37, no. 3 (July–September 1976): 493–506.

latifundio *Latifundio* refers to the concentration of landholdings in the hands of a few wealthy individuals. It emerged out of the HACIENDA structure of land control that was common in Latin America during the colonial period. After independence, Latin American governments implemented a variety of land reform policies that ultimately led to a greater concentration of land ownership among a few. By the end of the 19th century, most arable land in Latin America was owned by a small group of local and foreign elite.

The tradition of *latifundio* dates back to ancient Rome, when members of the nobility and other elite controlled large landed estates that were worked by peasants or slaves. During the 16th century, the Spanish Crown put in place a system of land and LABOR dispersal known as *encomiendas* to reward minor nobles and conquistadores

for their contributions to the conquest. The *encomienda* system was largely eliminated by the beginning of the 17th century, but large *ESTANCIAS*, plantations, and haciendas quickly replaced the earlier system. *Estancias* were large tracts devoted mainly to cattle and sheep ranching and were most common in the PAMPAS of ARGENTINA and URUGUAY. Plantations were large agricultural estates that produced commodity cash crops for export or for sale in local markets. Haciendas were large, self-sufficient estates devoted primarily to AGRICULTURE, although haciendas were also prominent in MINING regions and housed some processing and smelting functions. Throughout all regions of Latin America, the CATHOLIC CHURCH acquired large expanses of land during the colonial period as wealthy parishioners provided endowments to accompany a family member's admission into a convent or monastery. Other devout colonists bequeathed property and other forms of wealth to the church, which emerged as the largest landowner in many parts of Latin America.

Political and economic instability immediately after independence compelled some large landowners to sell off their estates, causing the size of landholdings to decline in the short term. By mid-century, however, a variety of factors had moved land ownership trends back toward *latifundio*. In some areas, natural geographic barriers and a lack of public infrastructure made large, self-sufficient haciendas the logical choice for agricultural production. In others, liberal political factions put in place new land policies. Liberal theories advocated private property ownership as a mechanism for building strong nations and privileged the role of small farmers. Policies centered on dismantling the large property holdings of certain institutions but not on reversing the trend of *latifundio* in general. Haciendas and other large estates owned by wealthy individuals were not included in land reform laws; rather, liberal leaders focused their energies on breaking up the large estates owned by the church, since the church as an institution defied the notion of private property ownership by individuals. In MEXICO and COLOMBIA, Liberal policies also applied to the system of communal control of property by indigenous communities that had existed since precolonial times (see *EJIDO*).

The liberals' intention was to make smaller plots of land available for purchase by individual families, but in reality, most people could not afford to purchase the lands freed up by the new laws. Furthermore, rural NATIVE AMERICANS did not fully understand the concept of private property, since local lands had been administered communally for centuries. Instead the elite, many of whom already held large landholdings, purchased the large estates that had once belonged to the church and the communal properties that had been controlled by the indigenous. The large landed estates that had characterized rural land ownership in the colonial period became enormous estates in the 19th century.

In the late decades of the 19th century, liberal leaders consolidated their power further as liberal oligarchies

emerged across Latin America (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY). Liberal oligarchies favored modernization and efficiency, and *latifundio* fit the economic models they envisioned. By the end of the 19th century, haciendas had evolved from the self-sufficient, semi-isolated estates of the colonial period into agribusinesses making profits by producing commodity products for export. While many large estates of the late 19th century were owned by the local elite, foreign ownership of agricultural land also increased substantially. The few peasant farmers who had managed to acquire smaller tracts of land soon discovered that the family farm could not compete with the colossal estates of *latifundio*. Most rural peasants became menial laborers on the enormous haciendas and other landed estates under a system of debt peonage.

The strengthening of *latifundio* coincided with the consolidation of export-oriented economies in Latin America at the end of the century. National and foreign elite owned the majority of arable land and used it to cultivate products such as COFFEE, SUGAR, fruit, and grain for export. The existence of *latifundio* created a volatile system of income disparity, and the focus on commodity exports placed Latin American economies in a vulnerable position in the world economy. In Mexico, the asymmetrical system of land ownership fueled the social hostilities that culminated in the 1910 Mexican Revolution. Elsewhere in the region, the precarious reliance on commodity exports hurt many economies with the onset of the Great Depression after 1929, because the economic downturn brought a precipitous decline in commodity prices. Numerous Latin American countries struggled to alter the deeply ingrained system of *latifundio* during the 20th century, but land ownership remains a source of intense conflict in many areas.

See also AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, II, IV); DEBT PEONAGE (Vol. II); ENCOMIENDA (Vols. I, II); ESTANCLIA (Vol. II); HACIENDA (Vol. II); MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV); PLANTATIONS (Vol. II).

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Lavalleja, Juan Antonio (b. 1784–d. 1853) *independence hero and political leader in Uruguay* Juan Antonio Lavalleja led the movement for the independence of present-day URUGUAY from its occupation by Brazilian forces from 1825 to 1828. He spent the rest of his life defending the interests of ranchers and agriculturalists in the countryside against the urban-centered power of Montevideo.

Lavalleja was born on June 24, 1784, in Villa de la Concepción de las Minas. He worked as a rancher until the beginning of the independence movement and

then became a lieutenant under José Gervasio Artigas. Together, the two GAUCHOS led the movement to separate Uruguay—then known as the BANDA ORIENTAL—from the Río de la Plata government in BUENOS AIRES. Lavalleja was given command of the port city of Colonia, and in 1818, he led local forces in defending the Banda Oriental from an invasion by BRAZIL. He was captured and imprisoned but upon his release in 1821 formed an alliance with FRUCTUOSO RIVERA and organized an aggressive resistance movement of the THIRTY-THREE IMMORTALS. The insurrection soon received support from Argentine president BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA and escalated into the CISPLATINE WAR in 1825. The war dragged on for three years until mediation by British agents resulted in the Treaty of Montevideo, which secured complete independence for the newly named Eastern Republic of Uruguay.

Lavalleja ran for president in 1830 but lost to Rivera, causing a split between the two former allies. Lavalleja engaged in several campaigns against the Rivera government and eventually was forced to flee into exile in ARGENTINA. During the GUERRA GRANDE, he accompanied the forces of the BLANCO PARTY under MANUEL ORIBE. At the conclusion of that war, Lavalleja was selected to serve as a member of the governing triumvirate in 1853. He died while in office on October 2, 1853.

See also ARTIGAS, JOSÉ GERVASIO (Vol. II); UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II).

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John Street. *Artigas and the Emancipation of Uruguay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

Law of the Free Womb (Rio Branco Law) (1871) The Law of the Free Womb was the first major legislation in BRAZIL designed to bring about a gradual abolition of SLAVERY. The law was passed in 1871 by the Brazilian legislature and by Emperor PEDRO II. It provided freedom to all children born of slave mothers from the date it went into effect. At the same time, other laws were passed to ameliorate the conditions of slavery. They included provisions for keeping slave families together and regulating market prices to allow slaves fair access to purchasing freedom. These laws came in response to the abolitionist pressures that had been building in Brazil in the last half of the 19th century.

Prior to the Law of the Free Womb, slave or free status for children born in Brazil was determined by the status of the mother. The institution of slavery had thrived in Brazil since the 17th century, and Brazil's slave population had grown to more than 1.5 million in the 19th century. Other nations had outlawed slavery in earlier decades, and the abolitionist movement had taken hold around the world. The British government formally ended the transatlantic slave TRADE in 1807, and most former Spanish colonies had outlawed slavery by the 1850s. Brazil finally ended the external slave trade

in the 1850s, but the demands of its plantation economy ensured that forced labor remained a foundation of the nation's labor system. The Brazilian Liberal Party made abolition one of its political platforms, arguing that the forced labor system was both immoral and prevented economic modernization. As abolitionist pressure mounted, the Brazilian emperor began to articulate an argument in favor of emancipation. Ironically, it was a legislature led by the Conservative Party that eventually passed the Law of the Free Womb. The law ensured that slavery would be phased out over time, since external sources of slaves had been eliminated in earlier decades.

The Law of the Free Womb marked a major victory for abolitionists, but by the end of the 1870s, they were challenging its effectiveness. Joaquim Nabuco, a legislator and writer who had played an important role in creating the law, argued that it was bringing about abolition too gradually and pointed out that children of slave mothers lived in a state of virtual slavery, regardless of their legal status. He also criticized the government's continued protection of slavery and believed the practice was keeping the Brazilian economy and Brazilian society in a state of backwardness. In 1880, Nabuco founded the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society, which pressured the government particularly through its publications. Nabuco authored a number of antislavery books and essays. Pressure by Nabuco and others like him eventually began to pay off. In the 1880s, several states passed laws abolishing slavery. The Brazilian government eventually followed with a decree freeing all slaves in Brazil in 1888 (see *SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF*).

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Lerdo de Tejada, Miguel (b. 1812–d. 1861) *Mexican liberal politician* Miguel Lerdo de Tejada was a Mexican writer and liberal politician who played a prominent role in the era of *LA REFORMA*. He is most famous for his *Ley Lerdo*, or Lerdo Law, which attempted to curb the wealth and influence of the Catholic Church and reform landholding practices in Mexico in the 1850s.

Lerdo de Tejada was born on July 16, 1812, in Veracruz into a well-to-do creole family. From an early age, he pursued a career in public service, holding various municipal posts in Mexico City. In the 1850s, he published *Historia de Veracruz* and *Historia del comercio del exterior de México*. After the Liberal Party ousted the Conservative government of Antonio López de Santa Anna in 1855, Lerdo held several ministry positions and actively pushed an agenda aimed at moving Mexican society toward secular liberalism and away from many of the conservative and traditional practices that had dominated since independence.

Lerdo is most famous for writing and helping push through the Lerdo Law. This legislation changed property-holding practices in Mexico by requiring all private property to be titled to individuals. Groups or corporate entities, such as the church or local governments, that had traditionally held large landholdings had to surrender any nonessential real estate to the government to be auctioned to private individuals. Lerdo intended to convert Mexico into a nation of private property owners, modeled largely on the U.S. concept of the Jeffersonian yeoman farmer. His reform law also divested Amerindian communities of the *ejido* properties that had been owned and worked collectively for centuries. The Lerdo Law and other reform laws sparked a Conservative backlash that escalated into a civil war known as the *War of Reform* (1858–61).

Lerdo de Tejada died shortly after the conclusion of the *War of Reform* in Mexico City on March 22, 1861.

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Lerdo de Tejada, Sebastián (b. 1823–d. 1889) *liberal leader and president of Mexico* Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada was a lawyer and magistrate in Mexico who served in various government posts during the era of *LA REFORMA* in the 1850s and the *FRENCH INTERVENTION* in the 1860s. He served as president following the death of Benito Juárez in 1872 until he was overthrown by Porfirio Díaz in 1876.

Lerdo de Tejada was born in Jalapa on April 24, 1823, to a Spanish father and a creole mother. He studied law and followed a career both in the judicial system and as a legal scholar and professor. During the 1850s, he served in the Ministry of Foreign Relations and actively fought against U.S. attempts to expand further into Mexico. Although his brother, famed Liberal leader Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, became actively involved in crafting liberal reform legislation in the era of *La Reforma*, Sebastián maintained a low profile in an era of contentious politics.

After the *War of Reform*, Lerdo's politics seem to have molded firmly in the Liberal camp, and he became a loyal supporter of Juárez. He accompanied the president when his administration escaped Mexico City during the French intervention of 1862, providing legal and logistical advice. When Juárez returned to power in 1867, Lerdo served as minister of foreign relations and as a main adviser to the president. He ran unsuccessfully in the 1872 election, but when Juárez died of a heart attack on July 19, 1872, Lerdo assumed the role of president. Lerdo oversaw numerous policies to stabilize the nation's security and finances during his presidency. He also continued to pursue many of the liberal reforms initiated under Juárez.

Lerdo attempted to run for reelection in 1876 but was overthrown by Díaz in the Plan de Tuxtepec. Lerdo de Tejada died in April 1889 in New York City.

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Lerdo Law See LA REFORMA.

Letelier Madariaga, Valentín (b. 1852–d. 1919) *Chilean intellectual, diplomat, and educational reformer* Valentín Letelier Madariaga was the Chilean intellectual most involved in educational reform in the final decades of the 19th century. He is largely responsible for introducing social theories and teaching strategies based on POSITIVISM into CHILE's educational system.

Letelier Madariaga was born in Linares on December 16, 1852. The son of a successful agribusinessman, Letelier received an early EDUCATION. His thirst for knowledge brought him to SANTIAGO DE CHILE in 1867 to study at the Instituto Nacional and later at the UNIVERSITY OF CHILE. While studying law at the university, Letelier was exposed to the positivist theories of French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798–1857) that were gaining in popularity throughout Latin America and around the world.

Letelier joined the literary society formed by JOSÉ VICTORINO LASTARRIA. His association with other intellectuals affirmed many of his philosophical inclinations and provided a forum for engaging more actively with the positivist doctrine. Letelier built a career as a writer and educator and served on the faculty of the University of Chile. At the same time, he wrote for numerous journals and periodicals (see LITERATURE). Letelier became peripherally involved in politics, which earned him the post of the first secretary to the new German legation in Berlin. He held that post for four years.

In the final decades of the 19th century, Letelier dedicated himself to educational reform and writing. He pushed for improving the system of teacher training and was a strong advocate of WOMEN's education. All the while, Letelier promoted the incorporation of positivism into national curriculums.

Letelier became rector of the University of Chile in the early decades of the 20th century. He died of a heart attack on June 19, 1919.

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Allen L. Woll. "Positivism and History in Nineteenth-Century Chile: José Victorino Lastarria and Valentín Letelier." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37, no. 3 (July–September 1976): 493–506.

Liberal Conservative Party (Partido Liberal Conservador) The Liberal Conservative Party of PUERTO RICO was formed in 1870 by José R. Fernández, Pablo Ubarri y Capetillo, and Francisco Paula Acuña as a response to the formation of the LIBERAL REFORMIST PARTY months earlier. The Liberal Conservative Party members were known as "traditionalists," and many were born in Spain and strictly followed the political doctrine sent down by the Spanish government to Puerto Rico.

Following the removal of Spanish queen Isabella II (b. 1830–d. 1904) from her throne in 1868, a new liberal Spanish government and constitution were created. This had repercussions for Puerto Rico, allowing for the formation of new political parties on the island. Both the Liberal Conservative Party and the Liberal Reformist Party were formed in 1870 but with very different views on the best course of action for Puerto Rico's future. Liberal Conservatives wanted to maintain the status quo and retain all the privileges for Spanish-born peninsulars regarding political and MILITARY appointments, social status, and legal rights, while Liberal Reformists wanted to do away with these privileges and enact sweeping political reforms at the municipal level.

Following the death of conservative Spanish prime minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (b. 1828–d. 1897) at the hands of Spanish terrorists in August 1897, the new liberal Spanish prime minister, Práxedes Mateo Sagasta (b. 1825–d. 1903), granted autonomy to Puerto Rico. This action dashed the Liberal Conservatives' hopes of maintaining the social and political conditions on the island that had existed throughout the colonial period.

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liberalism Broadly defined, liberalism is a system of political, economic, and social theories that became prominent in the recently independent nations of Latin America in the 19th century. Early notions of liberalism originated centuries earlier in Europe, and those incipient forms of the philosophy evolved in the intellectual circles of Enlightenment thought.

Liberalism is difficult to define since the philosophy encompasses many complex aspects of society. Individual movements, governments, and nations have tended to adapt the theory to fit local circumstances. Nevertheless, 19th-century liberal movements throughout the world shared some common characteristics. At its most basic level, liberalism promoted the role of the individual in society. Liberal thinkers advocated a shift away from what they perceived to be the stagnant and backward political, economic, and social systems of the past. Liberal leaders

were often challenged by conservatives who wanted to preserve traditional systems (see CONSERVATISM).

Some of the most sophisticated manifestations of liberalism appeared in the North American colonies' Declaration of Independence in 1776 and in the fervor of the French Revolution in 1789. Both the American and French Revolutions strongly reflected Enlightenment thought. The organizing principles of both movements—equality, liberty, and self-determination—had been championed in the writings of philosophers such as John Locke, Thomas Paine, Voltaire, Thomas Hobbes, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Enlightenment thinkers encouraged a new way of viewing social relations that favored rationalism and empiricism over blind faith and superstition. They insisted that humans were capable of scientific reasoning and that society should challenge and question traditional notions by testing observations. They therefore believed that people were capable of changing and improving society.

The rise of liberal thought in 19th-century Latin America was closely tied to Enlightenment currents in Europe and in the Americas. Despite efforts by the Spanish Crown and the CATHOLIC CHURCH to censor the essays and books of Enlightenment philosophers, educated Latin Americans had relatively easy access to their writings in the last half of the 18th century. And though those writings alone did not trigger revolutions in the Spanish colonies, liberal ideas did inspire a number of liberation leaders in North and South America once the wars for independence were under way.

After Napoléon Bonaparte invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 1808, Enlightenment-inspired liberal leaders emerged in Spain and in the Americas to challenge long-held colonial traditions. Napoléon placed the Spanish monarch under house arrest, and the absence of the Spanish king provided an opportunity for liberal-minded thinkers to begin challenging the status quo. Liberal ideas found expression as resistance juntas formed to oppose Napoléon and participants began discussing how to improve the existing political, economic, and social systems. Liberal colonists and Spaniards alike expressed doubts about the political system based on monarchy, the mercantilist structure of the ECONOMY, and the societal inequalities that had defined the colonial period. In 1812, members of the main resistance junta in Cádiz wrote a constitution calling for a complete restructuring of the Spanish Empire. The document called for a limited constitutional monarchy and protection of individual rights. Spain's Constitution of 1812 is considered to be the first canon of 19th-century liberalism in Latin America. And although Spain's king, Ferdinand VII, abrogated the constitution when he returned to power in 1814, numerous liberal leaders in newly liberated Latin American nations used the document as a model for writing their first constitutions.

The liberal philosophical tenets that surfaced in Latin America during the era of independence matured

into full-scale political movements over the course of the 19th century. Liberal leaders in Latin America argued that in order for their new nations to succeed, they must divest themselves of backward-looking colonial traditions and embrace the progressiveness championed by liberal thought. The specifics of movements varied from one country to the next, but some similar characteristics can be identified.

POLITICAL LIBERALISM

Latin American liberals opposed the traditional colonial political system of monarchy, and most wanted to move away from highly centralized rule by an absolute sovereign. Based on Enlightenment notions, liberals generally upheld the idea that the power to govern came from the people. The traditional governing principle of the divine right of kings—the idea that a monarch's right to rule came from God—that prevailed during the colonial period was therefore challenged by liberal tenets after independence. Liberalism's influence throughout Latin America could be seen in numerous constitutions that included provisions calling for a separation between church and state and some form of representative government. Early liberal governments also reflected a fear of strong authoritarian rule. Many of the first constitutions called for a sophisticated system of checks and balances and granted extensive powers to legislative bodies in the hopes of preventing a kinglike figure from seizing power and reestablishing colonial political traditions.

Although liberal theories promoted a progressive system of self-government, in practice many liberal leaders in 19th-century Latin America did not favor complete political DEMOCRACY. Most were members of the elite and were more concerned with safeguarding their own political power than with enforcing a system of true political equality. Furthermore, white elites often mistrusted the colored populace and feared that granting full political rights to large populations of NATIVE AMERICANS and former slaves would create an inefficient and unstable environment. Therefore, liberals championed the cause of democracy and political inclusion in their rhetoric but in practice sought to limit the political participation of the poor and uneducated. Likewise, WOMEN were not included in early liberal discussions of political participation. Liberal constitutions in the early 19th century often struck a fine balance of calling for equality and freedom while restricting the electorate.

Because political liberalism aimed to dismantle highly centralized government, many early liberal constitutions also called for a federalist system that would grant more autonomy and power to smaller geographic entities such as provinces and states (see CENTRALISM). As a result, FEDERALISM generally accompanied liberalism in newly formed Latin American governments in the early 19th century. Liberal leaders often railed against the centralist model under absolute monarchy that had bolstered imperial and viceregal capitals as the hub of political,

economic, and cultural activity. Provincial elite, who made up a large segment of the liberal leadership, urged a shift away from the older colonial model, and many early liberal governments attempted to accommodate provincial concerns by severely limiting the authority of the central administration and granting extraordinary powers to state and provincial leaders. Other federalist tendencies were tied to issues such as territorial security or TRADE and commercial networks.

The federalist preference created problems for some Latin American governments. Provincial autonomy contributed to a greater sense of local identity over nationalism in the early years after independence. Many areas, such as the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA and the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, split into smaller nations in the early decades of the 19th century as a result of regional separatist movements. In the last half of the 19th century, liberal leaders often abandoned their insistence on provincial autonomy in favor of a more unified sense of national identity.

SOCIAL LIBERALISM

Nineteenth-century liberal ideology promoted the role of the individual as the foundation of society. Liberals rejected the colonial tradition that had privileged institutions and corporations such as the Catholic Church, the nobility, and the MILITARY over the individual. Conservatives, who wished to preserve those systems, tended to be those who had benefited from them. Postindependence liberal leaders aimed to dissolve the rigid system of social hierarchy and corporate privilege that had defined earlier centuries.

Latin American liberals' social agenda targeted the hierarchical structure of society most aggressively. Much of the liberal platform across the region aimed to dismantle the economic power and social influence of members of prominent corporations, as well as the exclusive privileges enjoyed by the church, the military, and the nobility. Those privileges, or *FUEROS*, included exemption from taxation and access to a separate court system. Postindependence leaders believed that by forming republican governments and writing constitutions they could reshape the faulty social system to favor the individual over the group.

The Catholic Church, as the largest and most commanding of the colonial corporations, became the main target of liberal reform. Liberal leaders throughout Latin America envisioned building nations of responsible, civic-minded citizens and modeled those visions on the recent experiences of the United States. Liberals argued that the very nature of corporate privilege favored institutions over individual citizens and that in order for their new nations to succeed, this incongruity in social preference had to change. Liberals advocated policies that would place individuals at the center of society, while at the same time curbing the special rights traditionally enjoyed by the church, military, and nobility. Liberal laws

throughout the 19th century attempted to abolish corporate *fueros*. Additionally, the nobility had long enjoyed the right to entail the family estate through primogeniture, meaning that the family property could be passed down to only one person (generally the eldest son) rather than being divided among all descendants. That right also came under attack in new liberal laws.

While liberal ideology claimed to safeguard the basic rights of all individuals, liberal leaders often enforced it selectively. Liberal constitutions almost always included a Bill of Rights or some other statement of individual rights and freedoms that laid out basic concepts of freedom and equality. Specifically, liberals pushed for freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Most liberal platforms also included some measure to abolish SLAVERY in areas where it still existed. But even though liberals defended the theory of social equality, in practice, their attitudes toward the larger populace did not always differ significantly from those of conservatives. Women were generally left out of liberal reforms. Furthermore, liberals and conservatives both tended to view the indigenous, mestizo, and black populations as inherently inferior. By the late 19th century, liberal regimes in ARGENTINA, CHILE, and elsewhere had embraced educational reform as a way to lift up the wider, illiterate population (see EDUCATION). Nevertheless, in practice the liberals' emphasis on social equality and individual freedoms applied only to the upper stratum of society.

ECONOMIC LIBERALISM

The economic arm of liberalism also reflected the new emphasis on the role of the individual, but more than this, it advocated a complete transformation of the global economy. As in other areas, liberals in Latin America sought to move the economic system away from the traditions of the colonial past, which, they considered, had two fundamental flaws. First, the colonial economy was tightly controlled by the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns under a mercantilist design. Mercantilism set up a closed system of trade enforced by Crown monopolies and other restrictions. Second, liberals argued that at the local level the mercantilist economy was designed to benefit a privileged elite. Those who had benefited from the hierarchical social structure during the colonial period were often the same people who benefited from the traditional economic system. Liberal leaders sought economic reforms in the 19th century to reverse both aspects of the economic legacy of the colonial period.

To overturn the mercantilist system, postindependence leaders in Latin America generally adopted LAISSEZ-FAIRE economic policies. *Laissez-faire* means "to leave alone," and the term reflects the attitude new governments took toward trade and economic relations with the rest of the world. Economic liberalism was characterized by a near-complete dismantling of the trade restrictions and government regulations that had defined mercantil-

ism. Instead, Latin American governments tended to open their markets to trade with other Latin American nations and western Europe. Under the laissez-faire structure, Latin American countries emphasized production in products in which they held a COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE. This meant that they specialized increasingly in the products of AGRICULTURE, namely FOOD, and MINING. Latin America produced raw materials for export to Great Britain in the early 19th century and to other European nations and the United States later in the century. One exception to this trend was PARAGUAY, where the CAUDILLO and dictator JOSÉ GASPAR RODRÍGUEZ DE FRANCIA (1814–40) attempted to isolate the nation from the rest of the world and succeeded in developing an incipient industrial economy in the first half of the 19th century (see INDUSTRIALIZATION).

Liberals also believed that the economic livelihood of individuals on the local level was directly tied to political participation. Inspired by the notion of Jeffersonian agrarianism proposed by U.S. leader Thomas Jefferson, liberals in Latin America equated land ownership with responsible citizenship. According to Jefferson, private property ownership gave individual citizens a vested interest in making good political decisions. If a citizen owned a small plot of land, he would feel a sense of responsibility to vote for leaders and policies to benefit his economic well-being. Jefferson advocated creating a nation of small farmers who would make up the backbone of the democratic system. Latin American liberals agreed with the spirit of the Jeffersonian philosophy and used those arguments to justify land reform policies that targeted church-held property. Liberals argued that large landholdings owned by the church and other institutions would be put to better use as farmland for a nation of property owners. Landholdings administered communally by indigenous villages (*EJIDOS*) often also fell under liberal reform. Instead of creating nations of small farmers, liberal land reform often allowed the land-owning elite to buy up property, exacerbating the trend of *LATIFUNDIO*.

The emergence of liberal theories did not go unchallenged in Latin America. Throughout the 19th century, deeply entrenched conservative interests contested the intentions and consequences of liberal reform. Countries such as MEXICO, COLOMBIA, and ECUADOR fought numerous civil wars as liberals and conservatives vied for power. Liberal-conservative conflicts resulted in decades of violence and instability in Latin America as new nations struggled to position themselves after centuries of colonial rule. In many countries, formal liberal parties emerged to articulate the political platform. By the end of the 19th century, the liberal cause overcame the conservative challenge, and in many countries rule became consolidated under powerful liberal oligarchies (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY).

See also CONSTITUTION OF 1812 (Vol. II); ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II).

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liberal oligarchy *Liberal oligarchy* is a term that describes the coalitions of powerful liberal leaders that emerged throughout Latin America in the late 19th century and consolidated their influence over national politics. *Oligarchy* literally means “rule by the few” and refers to a political system where power rests with a small elite. The period from 1880 to the early 20th century is often referred to as the era of liberal oligarchy in Latin America.

Liberal oligarchies took shape in different ways throughout the region, depending on the political circumstances, economic base, and social structure of individual nations. Nevertheless, liberal oligarchies shared certain characteristics that contributed to the formation of national identities and a common sense of purpose in the late 19th century. They promoted economic and cultural modernization and supported policies designed to bring this about. Many of those policies created a close and at times precarious connection with foreign interests. Liberal oligarchies generally wanted to make their Latin American nations more like the industrializing and modernizing countries of western Europe.

Liberal oligarchies arose from the liberal political movements that characterized the period from the 1840s to the 1870s. Many liberals had coalesced into formal political parties, providing an institutional framework from which oligarchies could emerge. Political parties often began as instruments of opposition against conservative political movements, but as the political system matured, parties evolved into sophisticated establishments with an internal hierarchy and power structure. As liberal parties defeated conservative movements and consolidated their control over national governments, an elite group of individuals often rose to prominence.

Nineteenth-century LIBERALISM advocated free TRADE and economic specialization according to the theories of LAISSEZ-FAIRE ECONOMICS and COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE. Liberal oligarchies promoted relatively free trade and the production of export commodities as the foundation of national economies. By the end of the century, Latin

American economies lagged behind because of decades of civil war and political instability. Liberal oligarchies therefore welcomed foreign investment as a way to help their struggling national economies recover. British investors became involved throughout Latin America and were particularly active in Southern Cone countries such as ARGENTINA and URUGUAY. The British presence could also be seen CHILE, BRAZIL, and MEXICO. U.S. investors dominated the economies of CENTRAL AMERICA and the Caribbean, and U.S. interests also played a large role in Mexico.

Along with the local liberal elite, foreign business owners invested in the production of the export commodities that dominated Latin American economies in the 19th century. Foreign ownership of land increased significantly in the late decades of the century. Liberal land reform policies required institutions such as the CATHOLIC CHURCH and indigenous communities to relinquish all nonessential property as part of a strategy to encourage private property ownership. Since the church was the largest landowner at the beginning of the 19th century, followed by Amerindian communities, these policies resulted in millions of acres of arable land being made available for purchase. Land reform policies were introduced in areas such as Mexico and COLOMBIA as early as the 1850s, but early attempts at dismantling institutional landholdings created conflict and civil war between liberals and conservatives.

Liberal parties and their oligarchic successors often found themselves at odds with the Catholic Church and other conservative interests. Reforms that targeted the economic power of the church created conflict, as did policies aimed at diminishing the cultural influence of the church. Throughout the colonial period, the Catholic Church had performed numerous social functions, such as overseeing cemeteries, orphanages, and hospitals. The church also kept records of vital statistics such as births, marriages, and deaths through its registry of sacraments. Liberal reformers believed that the church's role as social administrator weakened national governments. Mid-century liberal reforms often included the creation of a civil registry for tracking vital statistics as well as government institutions to manage other social needs.

After consolidating their authority, liberal oligarchies were able to pursue land reform and other social changes in earnest. As the property of church and Amerindian communities was expropriated, the liberal elite and wealthy foreigners were often the ones who rushed in to purchase the large tracts of land (see *EJIDO*). U.S. investors purchased millions of acres throughout Central America and began the large-scale cultivation of fruit. U.S. and British interests also took advantage of land auctions in Mexico, Argentina, and BRAZIL. In those countries, a local elite also benefited from liberal land policies, and HACIENDAS, ESTANCIAS, and plantations owned by wealthy Latin Americans expanded. All of these trends contributed to the system of *LATIFUNDIO*, ownership of large expanses

of land concentrated in the hands of a few. In Brazil, *latifundio* favored the COFFEE oligarchy. The rural elite of SÃO PAULO rose to prominence after the establishment of a republic in 1889. That ruling elite implemented trade policies favorable to their own economic interests, and the São Paulo coffee oligarchy held power until the onset of the Great Depression in 1930. In Mexico, U.S. and foreign interests dominated the agricultural ECONOMY during the administrations of PORFIRIO DÍAZ, himself a product of a liberal oligarchy (see AGRICULTURE). The enormous landholdings of the TERRAZAS FAMILY in Mexico offer one example of how *latifundio* flourished under the policies of the liberal oligarchy.

Liberal oligarchies also welcomed foreign involvement in other areas of the economy. Foreign money poured into the Chilean and Mexican MINING industries in the late 19th century. Countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, and Mexico began to develop incipient manufacturing industries in textiles, FOOD processing, and other basic goods, and foreign investors owned large parts of these industries as well (see INDUSTRIALIZATION). As basic manufacturing and the export of commodity goods increased, governments saw the need to improve basic infrastructure. Financed by foreign interests, railroads and communication lines spread across the region to connect interior regions with new and renovated ports. Liberal oligarchies pointed to the increased economic activity and the improvements in national infrastructure to argue that their model of development was achieving success.

The economic policies of liberal oligarchies reflected a preference for modernity, and that preference applied to society as well. Liberal leaders of the late 19th century were inspired by POSITIVISM and scientific reasoning. In many countries, positivist ideas manifested in social programs aimed at improving society as a whole. Leaders began to view issues like public health and crime from a more clinical and scientific perspective. In Argentina and Mexico, liberal oligarchies imposed new health measures intended to combat the spread of communicable diseases. Liberal campaigns often targeted the poor, including prostitutes and street children, as the immediate cause of public health problems, without accounting for the larger structural inequalities that contributed to widespread poverty.

Many liberal oligarchies promoted EDUCATION as a way to elevate the population and usher in modernity. Chilean liberals actively sought to improve the nation's education system by inviting input from scholars from all over the world on how to create an efficient national education system. MANUEL BULNES, Manuel Montt, and ANDRÉS BELLO founded the UNIVERSITY OF CHILE in 1843 and set up programs to promote modern education. Future Argentine presidents BARTOLOMÉ MITRE and DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO contributed to Chilean education reform in the 1840s. They later ruled during the period of liberal oligarchy in Argentina and applied similar educational models to their own country.

Liberal oligarchies intended to bring modernization and progress to Latin America, and many of the economic policies did succeed in expanding the economy through the exportation of raw materials and other commodity products. The oligarchies also oversaw improvements in infrastructure and education. Despite their successes, however, the policies of liberal oligarchies continued the economic trends of commodity specialization that had started during the colonial period. In some countries, social policies served only to widen the gap between rich and poor. Liberal oligarchies remained influential throughout much of Latin America until the Great Depression revealed the inherent weaknesses in the economic and social models they had put in place.

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Liberal Party, Brazil The Liberal Party in BRAZIL generally refers to the reformist elite who worked throughout the 19th century to move the independent nation of Brazil away from constitutional monarchy and toward a republican form of government. Liberals worked to decentralize the government and break from Brazil's colonial past. They generally sought economic and social modernization, eventually pushing for the abolition of SLAVERY and a transition to open-market LABOR and TRADE.

Liberal inclinations were evident as soon as Brazil officially severed ties with Portugal with the GRITO DE IPIRANGA—or declaration of independence—made by PEDRO I in 1822 (see BRAZIL, EMPIRE OF). Liberal leaders—often referred to as radicals—made up a significant portion of the constituent assembly that gathered to write a new constitution in 1823. Their liberal leanings compelled Pedro I to disband that convention for fear that the new governing system would limit his powers. The CONSTITUTION OF 1824 was eventually promulgated after careful oversight by the monarch. Devoid of any real liberal influence, the document and the governing system it created became the basis for escalating conflict in Brazil over the coming decades. In 1831, Pedro I abdicated the throne in favor of his five-year-old son PEDRO II. For the next 10 years, a series of surrogate rulers ran the government in an era known as the REGENCY. The liberal position coalesced during this time, particularly after Diogo Antônio Feijó was named regent in 1835. Feijó is generally considered to be one of the founders of the Liberal Party, and his politics were representative of the movement's positions. Liberals backed an 1834 amendment to the constitution that effectively weakened

the power of the monarch and strengthened the legislative authority of the provinces.

The Regency ended when Pedro II took the throne as emperor in 1840 at the age of 14. The young ruler appeared to understand the potential for conflict among the political factions that had emerged. Even though they shared some similarities, the two political parties often stood in opposition to each other. The Liberal Party generally supported the interests of the rural elite in areas benefiting from economic expansion, such as the COFFEE-growing region of SÃO PAULO and the cattle-ranching region of Minas Gerais. The CONSERVATIVE PARTY—whose members constantly sought to recentralize power and strengthen the position of the monarch—found support among the formerly powerful SUGAR planters of the northeast.

In the last half of the 19th century, the Liberal and Conservative Parties alternated power in the national legislative body, with much of the power shifting orchestrated by Pedro II himself. The emperor's political maneuverings created a unique environment where Conservatives and Liberals generally complemented each other, even as they criticized each other's policies. For example, Liberals were the strongest advocates of abolition, but it was a Conservative government that passed important antislavery legislation, such as the banning of the transatlantic slave trade, the LAW OF THE FREE WOMB, and eventually complete abolition (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

By the 1870s, the Republican Party had emerged in São Paulo. Its members were influenced by POSITIVISM, and they advocated a complete break from monarchy in favor of a republican form of government. Republicans also took up many of the political positions that had been advocated by Liberals, including modernization, EDUCATION, and general reform. The republican movement gained speed in the final decades of the 19th century. In 1889, the emperor was overthrown, and the Republic of Brazil was founded (see OLD REPUBLIC).

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Liberal Party, Chile CHILE's Liberal Party formed in the 19th century as an opposition group to the traditional ruling elite and backers of the nation's first leader and independence hero, Bernardo O'Higgins. Liberals did not establish a formal political party until the 1850s, and liberal-minded politicians were suppressed by the more powerful conservative movement until the 1860s. Nevertheless, liberal intellectuals and local politicians had a substantial impact on Chilean culture and politics throughout the 19th century.

After O'Higgins resigned from office, his supporters coalesced into a conservative movement; the traditional-minded leaders were dubbed *pelucones*, or “big wigs,” by the up-and-coming liberal *pipiolos*, or “novices.” Liberals managed to secure enough support to push through the CONSTITUTION OF 1828, but conservatives rebelled when the government tried to implement the document. A brief armed conflict between the two groups in 1829 brought conservatives to power, and the powerful *pelucones* remained in power for the next three decades. They created the CONSTITUTION OF 1833, which called for a strong central government and provided the executive with extraordinary powers to stifle political opposition. The conservative system outlined in the constitution provided a foundation for social and political stability, which in turn allowed for economic growth. Such stability often came at the sacrifice of the individual liberties that liberals tried to defend.

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, liberal leaders worked to challenge the central government, and they succeeded in promoting some of the liberal agenda. Under conservative president Manuel Bulnes (1841–51), a rich liberal intellectual culture thrived and seemingly liberal reforms, such as improvements in EDUCATION, were undertaken. Despite the air of LIBERALISM, however, Bulnes resorted to oppression when necessary, for example, shutting down the recently formed liberal Society for Equality in 1850 after members criticized his administration. His successor, Manuel Montt (1851–61), moved even closer to a liberal platform and eventually provoked a rift within the conservative movement.

In the 1850s, *pelucones* fractured into the anti-Montt CONSERVATIVE PARTY and the pro-Montt National Party. Many liberal leaders began forming alliances with the anti-Montt defectors, and a coalition known as the Liberal-Conservative Fusion emerged and quickly won a majority in the national Congress. That alliance, however, also incited a backlash by staunch liberals, who broke off and formed their own Radical Party. Throughout the 1860s, the divided parties jockeyed for control of Congress and debated potential reforms to the 1833 constitution. The Fusion alliance managed to push through legislation calling for constitutional reform, but religious differences in the liberal and conservative platform began to drive the two factions apart. In the early 1870s, the dominant liberals in Congress approved constitutional amendments limiting the power of the president. For the next two decades, liberal leaders managed to manipulate electoral laws to ensure the party remained in power, effectively eliminating the Conservative Party from any meaningful political participation. Meanwhile, the liberal coalition continued to limit executive power, giving Congress greater influence over national policies. In 1891, liberal president JOSÉ MANUEL BALMACEDA defied Congress and set off a war between the legislative and executive branches of government. A congressional victory marked the end of liberal dominance in the 19th

century and ushered in a long era of congressional rule known as the Parliamentary Republic.

See also O'HIGGINS, BERNARDO (Vol. II).

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Liberal Party, Colombia The Liberal Party in COLOMBIA was established in opposition to the CONSERVATIVE PARTY that had formed in the 1840s. The Liberal Party rose to power in 1849, and leaders implemented a number of reforms aimed at moving society away from the traditional tenets that had dominated since the colonial period.

Both parties had antecedents in the 1840 Guerra de los Supremos (War of the Supremes). That conflict began as a small uprising in the isolated southern region of Pasto in opposition to government measures to close some small convents. Devoted Catholics in Pasto initiated a rebellion that was relatively easily put down by the central government administration of President José Ignacio de Márquez (1837–41). General and future president José María Obando (1831–32, 1853–54), a liberal supporter of former president FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER, saw the uprising as an opportunity to defend FEDERALISM against the increasingly centralized administration of Márquez (see CENTRALISM). Following independence, political and MILITARY leaders had bifurcated into two separate camps: one favoring the highly centralized government espoused by independence leader Simón Bolívar and one supporting the federalist system implemented by Santander. Obando joined the Pasto revolt, his participation attracting support from numerous liberal leaders throughout the country. Obando and his allies each took the moniker of “supreme chief” of various causes, thus giving the conflict its name. The uprising in Pasto quickly morphed into a nationwide civil war. Márquez, facing opposition for having invited former Bolívar allies into his administration, had no other choice than to rely on those same Bolivarian generals to support his government and quash Obando's rebellion. By the early months of 1841, Márquez had effectively put down the rebellion, and the alliance system he had created against the *supremos* turned into the foundation for conservative rule for the next decade.

In the 1840s, the Liberals struggled in opposition to the ruling conservative governments of Mariano Pedro Alcántara Herrán (1841–45) and Tomás Mosquera (1845–49). During that time, the movement splintered into three factions. The GÓLGOTAS derived from the upper and middle classes of society and espoused an idealistic vision of social LIBERALISM. Dubbed *gólgotas* because they often referred to the “Martyr of Golgotha” (Jesus Christ) as a predecessor to their brand of social liberal-

ism, these liberals saw the protection of individual liberty as the solution to the nation's problems. An influential group of urban artisans also dominated the Liberal Party. They mobilized through a network of political clubs that developed in urban areas throughout the 1840s. Artisans deviated from the conventional 19th-century liberalism that called for LAISSEZ-FAIRE economic policies. They had been harmed by policies of the Conservative administrations of the 1840s that had opened TRADE and lifted tariffs—measures that traditionally correspond to economic liberalism. Urban artisans saw the Liberal Party as the most effective way of opposing the open economic policies of the Conservative government. A final group, the DRACONIANOS, attracted military leaders who opposed the Conservatives for a variety of reasons.

The Liberal Party rose to power in 1849 with the election of General José Hilario López (1849–53). His presidency marked the beginning of an era of rapid and aggressive liberal reform that continued during the administration of his successor, General Obando. Policies introduced by the Liberals reflected the idealistic bent of the *gólgotas*. They emphasized the notions of equality and individual liberties through measures such as universal male suffrage, direct popular elections, and freedom of the press. In 1851, Liberals achieved the complete abolition of SLAVERY and then set their sights on reforming the system of communally owned property in Amerindian villages. In keeping with the liberal philosophy that favored individual ownership of private property, liberal laws called for indigenous villages to parcel out communal lands to individuals. This measure effectively removed traditional protections on communal landholdings, and many individual plots were eventually consolidated into large private landholdings controlled by the elite, while the indigenous became landless peasants working in a type of peonage on the large estates.

In 1853, Liberal leaders drafted and promulgated a new constitution that solidified their earlier reforms and laid the foundation for additional reforms. New measures extended into issues of church and state. The CONSTITUTION OF 1853 prohibited the mandatory tithes and abolished the long-standing ecclesiastical *FUERO*, which had given members of the clergy extraordinary privileges such as a separate court system. Liberal leaders aimed to outlaw all religious orders and started by expelling the Jesuits. A final set of reforms dealt with economic matters and eventually divided the precarious coalition between *gólgotas* and urban artisans. In accordance with the theoretical underpinnings of doctrinaire liberalism, López reinforced the laissez-faire economic policies that had been a part of the previous Conservative administrations and had upset the urban artisan class. The Liberal president abolished the state TOBACCO monopoly, maintained low tariffs, and oversaw a precipitous increase in foreign trade.

Such drastic and controversial changes served to foment preexisting antagonism among the various fac-

tions of the Liberal Party. In 1854, *draconianos*, who saw many of the liberal reform measures as impractical policies that weakened the government, joined forces with the urban artisans, who had grown increasingly discontent with liberal economic policies. The disaffected Liberal camps rebelled and overthrew the Obando administration. Infighting within the Liberal Party prompted the *gólgota* faction to turn to Conservatives for support, and the new alliance managed to suppress the artisan revolt. In 1857, Conservative leader Mariano Ospina Rodríguez became president and passed a new federalist constitution in 1858. But, Conservative rule came to an end when civil war, led by former Conservative president turned Liberal Tomás Mosquera, broke out in 1860.

Liberal victory in 1863 led to the introduction of yet another constitution, this one even more progressive than the document created in 1853. The Constitution of 1863 included a bill of rights guaranteeing individual liberties but allowed individual states to place restrictions on suffrage in an effort to prevent a Conservative resurgence. The document is most notable for severely weakening the national government by granting extraordinary rights to states. It also officially changed the nation's name from New Granada to the United States of Colombia. The new constitution was in place for 20 years, but in the 1880s, economic decline precipitated the downfall of the Liberal Party. Conservatives rallied behind formal Liberal Party advocate RAFAEL NÚÑEZ to abrogate the Constitution of 1863. Núñez became president in 1885 and began an era of Conservative government in Colombia that lasted until the 1930s.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II).

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Liberal Party, Mexico Mexican liberals took inspiration from the French and American Revolutions of the late 18th century, as well as from the beginnings of Mexico's war of independence. The central tenet of Mexican LIBERALISM was the protection of individual liberties in the interest of challenging long-standing corporate *FUEROS*, or privileges enjoyed by members of the CATHOLIC CHURCH, the MILITARY, and aristocratic nobility of corporations. Mexican liberals did not establish a formal party immediately after independence but often banded together to denounce conservative ideals. Liberal conflict with conservatives provided the pretext for countless revolts and resulted in long periods of instability in the nation throughout the 19th century.

The liberal political movement in Mexico began as a counter to the centralist political designs and conservative ideals of the Scottish Rite Masonic Lodge immediately after independence. Scottish Rite Mason AGUSTÍN

DE ITURBIDE oversaw the imposition of a highly centralized government and became Mexican emperor in 1821. U.S. diplomat Joel Poinsett and liberal-minded leaders in Mexico established the York Rite Masons and used the lodge's activities to counter the Scottish Rite with a democratic and federalist political system. In the 1820s, political factions in Mexico differed primarily over the structure of government and debated FEDERALISM versus CENTRALISM. After the overthrow of Iturbide and writing of the federalist CONSTITUTION OF 1824, centralists allied even more strongly with the Scottish Rite Masons, and federalists, with the *yorquinos*. Armed conflict between the competing groups prompted the government to outlaw all secret societies in 1828, but adherents to the political ideals promoted by the lodges remained heavily involved in Mexican politics.

In the 1830s, centralist conservatives formed an alliance with CAUDILLO ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA. Disagreements between liberals and conservatives continued. Armed revolts were common as each side blamed the other for the nation's problems, such as military defeat in the TEXAS REVOLUTION and the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR. The liberal movement was further challenged by ideological divisions within the Liberal leadership. *Puros*, or staunch Liberals, wanted strict adherence to federalist and liberal social theories and pushed for aggressive and immediate reforms. *Moderados*, or moderates, advocated a more conciliatory approach to changing Mexican society. In 1848, centralist statesman LUCAS ALAMÁN formally established the CONSERVATIVE PARTY. He defined the party's platform as not just a defense of a strong central executive but also the preservation of long-standing traditions such as corporate privilege and the involvement of the Catholic Church in society.

In the chaotic aftermath of the U.S.-Mexican War, Alamán succeeded in winning support for the return of deposed dictator Santa Anna. Liberals joined together in the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA to overthrow the dictator in 1855, beginning an era of Liberal rule and social change known as LA REFORMA (1855–58). Under the leadership of future president BENITO JUÁREZ and MIGUEL LERDO DE TEJADA, Liberals passed numerous reform laws designed to curb the power and influence of the Catholic Church and other corporate groups. They intended to use secularization laws and land reform to encourage Mexican citizens to be active and productive members of society. Liberals promulgated the CONSTITUTION OF 1857, which incorporated the laws of La Reforma, but differing ideas expressed by *puros* and *moderados* on its implementation weakened the Liberal position. Conservatives rebelled in 1858, and the two factions fought the WAR OF REFORM.

After the three-year civil war and the subsequent five-year FRENCH INTERVENTION, Liberals finally regained control of the government in 1867. Juárez assumed the presidency and continued to implement the liberal policies that had been interrupted by war. Liberal politics dominated the Mexican government for the rest of the

century, although the ideals of liberalism gave way to the more scientific and less idealistic theory of POSITIVISM during the era of the PORFIRIATO after 1876.

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Liberal Party, Venezuela The Liberal Party in VENEZUELA was founded in 1840 by journalist and political leader Antonio Leocadio Guzmán (b. 1801–d. 1884). Guzmán rose to prominence in 1825 when he started the newspaper *El Argos*, which he devoted to criticizing the highly centralized government of GRAN COLOMBIA under FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER. His outspoken critique of Santander won him many supporters, among them JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ. When Páez and his CARACAS supporters declared Venezuela's secession from Gran Colombia in 1830, Guzmán supported the movement and later held a cabinet post in Páez's administration, which was known as the conservative oligarchy. Guzmán's initial affiliation with Páez's conservative government illustrates the ambiguities that preclude straightforward explanation of the early party system. Páez's government was considered conservative primarily because the president enjoyed the support of the upper classes. Many of his policies, however, fall under traditional definitions of 19th-century LIBERALISM.

By 1840, Guzmán's loyalties had shifted as he allied himself with disaffected intellectuals, merchants, and other professionals. An economic decline precipitated by a drop in the price of Venezuela's COFFEE exports drove many influential business and political leaders to question the course the conservative oligarchy was taking. Many of them began to voice their discontent with the slow pace of social reform and lack of civil liberties. The group of dissidents formed the Liberal Society of Caracas, and Guzmán began publishing a new antigovernment periodical, *El Venezolano*. That movement provided the basis for the Liberal Party, and in response, Páez's coalition of wealthy and upper-class Venezuelans formed the CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

Although the Liberals did not immediately articulate a clear ideology, Guzmán and his fellow founders generally decried the limited electorate and called for greater rights for the larger populace. In particular, the Liberal Party protested the 1834 law that eliminated maximum caps on interest rates paid by farmers and small merchants to Venezuela's wealthy moneylenders. SLAVERY, which had been abolished in Gran Colombia's constitu-

tion of 1821, continued with the establishment of the Republic of Venezuela in 1830. Liberal Party members saw slavery as an antiquated system holding back the nation's progress but stopped short of demanding immediate abolition.

Interest and participation in the Liberal Party grew quickly. Leaders succeeded in attracting advocates of FEDERALISM in rural provinces and earned the name "Yellow Liberals." In an attempt to neutralize mounting opposition, Páez supported Liberal Party member José Tadeo Monagas (1847–51, 1855–58) as the presidential candidate in the 1847 election. Páez hoped that Monagas's presidency would unite the two political factions, but in 1848, the new president ousted Páez and ushered in an era known as the LIBERAL OLIGARCHY. Monagas and his brother, José Gregorio Monagas (1851–55), monopolized the presidency from 1847 to 1858. The two did institute some liberal reforms, such as the abolition of slavery, but their dictatorial rule induced a brief coalition between Conservatives and Liberals to drive them from power.

Differences between Liberals and Conservatives remained, and each side determined to consolidate power, resulting in a five-year civil war known as the FEDERAL WAR. The federalist faction of the Liberal Party brought the participation of regional CAUDILLOS and accelerated the violence between the political factions between 1858 and 1863. Liberals eventually prevailed, paving the way for the presidency of Liberal caudillo and son of Liberal Party founder ANTONIO GUZMÁN BLANCO. His regime, known as the *guzmanato*, provided the first sustained period of Liberal government.

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Liberal Reformist Party (Partido Liberal Reformista) The Liberal Reformist Party was formed in 1870 by Puerto Rican liberal leaders Román Baldorioty de Castro, Pedro Gerónimo Goico, and José Julián Acosta. The party's agenda included the abolition of SLAVERY, sweeping political reforms at the local level, and a change in PUERTO RICO's colonial status.

Queen Isabella II (b. 1830–d. 1904) was removed from the Spanish throne in 1868, and a liberal government and constitution were created. As a result, the Liberal Reformist Party and the LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE PARTY were formed in 1870 in PUERTO RICO. Each had very different views on the best course of action for the island's future. Liberal Reformists wanted to change the status quo, which allowed privileges for Spanish-born peninsulars in political and MILITARY appointments, social status, and legal rights. However, within the Liberal Reformist Party, there existed a philosophical split between members who believed that Puerto Rico

should completely sever its political ties with Spain and those who wanted greater autonomy for the island's local government while remaining under the rule of the Spanish Crown. Eventually, this disagreement led to its split in 1895 into two new parties. The "autonomists" formed the Fusionist Liberal Party under the leadership of Luis Muñoz Rivera (b. 1859–d. 1916). Those who favored absolute independence from Spain formed the True and Orthodox Liberal Party under José Celso Barbosa (b. 1857–d. 1921).

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Liberal Revolution (1895) Most Ecuadoreans today regard the Liberal Revolution of 1895 as the decisive moment in the creation of the modern state of ECUADOR. Out of power since the late 1850s, the Liberals saw this revolution as an opportunity to undo much of what the conservative GABRIEL GARCÍA MORENO and his PROGRESSIVE PARTY successors had implemented. In addition, liberal-leaning businessmen and CACAO growers from the coast saw it as an opportunity to wrest power from the highland elite.

Liberal CAUDILLO Eloy Alfaro Delgado seized on a scandal in 1894 to justify the revolution. In the midst of a war against China, Japan had sought to upgrade its navy by buying a warship from CHILE, technically violating international law. Ecuador agreed to act as the conduit for the purchase and to sail the vessel under Ecuadorean colors to the transfer point. Liberals howled about corruption and "selling the flag," and Alfaro launched his rebellion. Even Conservatives called for the president to resign. GUAYAQUIL welcomed the exiled Alfaro, and by August 1895, he had defeated the government's forces throughout the country.

Once in power, Alfaro and his followers rewrote the constitution and enacted anticlerical legislation typical of the 19th century. Reforms involved suppressing many of the convents and monasteries, making EDUCATION secular and public, abolishing the nation's concordat with the Vatican, and expelling many foreign-born clergy. These reforms constituted one of the major thrusts of the Liberal Revolution. Coupled with the modernization project, they helped to create Ecuador's national identity.

Alfaro and his fellow Liberals modernized the country by completing the QUITO-GUAYAQUIL RAILROAD. This railroad promised to unite Ecuador's different regions physically, making it easier for people and goods to move between the coast and the sierra. But, Ecuador's abysmal international credit rating (loans from the 1820s remained unpaid) discouraged foreign investment in the project, which finally was completed in 1908.

The revolution of 1895 also meant the coastal elite now dominated the republic politically as well as economically. As a result, the revolution brought progress and modernization to Guayaquil, on its way to becoming the largest city in the country. Under the coastal elite, sanitation projects and new construction were developed, and social problems were tackled. Thus, the Liberal Revolution of 1895 marked a major power shift from highlands to the coast, which would last at least until 1925, when the collapse of the CACAO market caused a fiscal crisis.

See also ALFARO DELGADO, JOSÉ ELOY (Vol. IV).

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Lima Lima is the capital city of PERU. It is a major political and economic center located on the Pacific coast, with a population of more than 7 million. It is the largest city in Peru, and it has been the site of many of the nation's most important historical developments.

Lima was founded in 1535 by Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro as an administrative center close to what eventually became the port of Callao. It was the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru during the colonial period and became an important administrative, religious, and trading center in the Spanish colonies. Within the first century of Spanish settlement in South America, an archdiocese, a judicial seat, and a university were all founded in Lima. The city prospered as a result of MINING income generated in the outlying regions.

Because of the strong Spanish presence in the city, residents of Lima (*limeños*) resisted the push for independence that sprang up in surrounding regions in the early 19th century. Peru had also been the site of a major indigenous uprising in the late 18th century. Many colonial elite feared that challenging Crown authority would create a power vacuum that would allow another such rebellion to occur. Independence leader Simón Bolívar led a lengthy campaign in present-day VENEZUELA and COLOMBIA between 1810 and 1821. After liberating those regions, Bolívar recognized that the sovereignty of any former Spanish colony was not secured until the Spanish were driven out of South America completely. The Argentine and Chilean liberator José de San Martín had expanded the independence movement into Peru. He quickly invaded Lima, but his efforts stalled as conservative creole and peninsular elite resisted from the

surrounding countryside. Bolívar and San Martín met in GUAYAQUIL, ECUADOR, in 1822, and Bolívar thereafter took control of the Peruvian independence movement. Lima became the base of operations for Bolívar's movement as liberation forces fought against the last holdouts of Spanish forces. Victory was finally secured in 1824, and Bolívar remained in Lima to oversee the drafting of a new constitution and to try to ensure administrative stability.

Lima became the capital of the newly formed nation of Peru and the site of much of the violence and chaos that plagued the region throughout the 19th century. Bolívar initially envisioned uniting Peru and BOLIVIA under one confederation, but the once-heralded Liberator was forced to abandon Peru in 1827. Power struggles in Lima produced five different constitutions between 1821 and 1840. Much of the conflict was a result of provincial leaders pushing for more local autonomy and resisting the movement to centralize government authority in Lima. Bolivian dictator ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ attempted to capitalize on a Peruvian civil war by invading and establishing the PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION in 1836. *Limeño* elite mounted a resistance movement and succeeded in breaking apart the confederation in 1839.

Lima benefited from the enormous profits earned from Peru's guano industry, which boomed in the middle decades of the 19th century. In an era known as the GUANO AGE, the Peruvian ECONOMY grew as investors developed the market for dried bird droppings for use in fertilizer. The government began expanding TRANSPORTATION infrastructure and public works. The first rail line between Lima and Callao was built in 1851, and more than 700 more miles (1,127 km) of railroad were built in the 1860s and 1870s. Guano revenue also contributed to an expansion of Peru's MILITARY and its government bureaucracy, both of which were based in Lima, and the city grew as a result.

Despite the lucrative guano trade, Peruvian politics remained unstable, and scholars generally agree that much of the profits earned were misspent. Government leaders used the future profit potential from the guano industry to back loans from European investors and Peruvian elite. Unsound fiscal policies led to rising inflation in Lima, and the standard of living for the city's poor and working class fell throughout the 1850s and 1860s. While working conditions deteriorated and the artisan and laboring classes struggled, Lima's elite flourished.

The abrupt decline of the guano industry set the stage for major crises in Lima and the entire country after 1872. A shift in European markets to artificial fertilizers coincided with the depletion of guano deposits in Peru at a time when the government was deeply in debt. Leaders in Lima attempted to offset the decline in guano revenues by nationalizing the nitrate industry and forming an alliance with neighboring Bolivia. Territorial disputes over nitrate-rich regions of the Atacama Desert culminated in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC in 1879 between

CHILE and the Peru-Bolivia alliance. Decades of increasing military spending in Peru had created a powerful national defense force, but despite those strengths, the Chilean navy quickly dominated the seas. By the early months of 1880, the Chilean army had initiated a ground invasion of Peru, and in January 1881, Chilean forces invaded Lima. They occupied the city for more than three years, and during that time, soldiers looted and pillaged, destroying property and forcing Lima's elite to turn over large sums of money to Chilean military officers. More than 3,000 books and other historic documents plundered from the national library were finally returned to Peru in 2007.

The TREATY OF ANCÓN finally ended the War of the Pacific in 1884, but the withdrawal of Chilean troops did not bring immediate stability to Lima. Local power struggles continued for several years until military leader ANDRÉS AVELINO CÁCERES secured the presidency in 1886. His administration brought some recovery and development after much of the city's and nation's infrastructure had been damaged in the war. Cáceres also oversaw the era of POSITIVISM, when economic and social theories emphasized the need for progress and modernization. Positivist leaders modeled economic structures on European practices, and Lima witnessed the opening of a chamber of commerce and several international banks in the final decades of the 19th century.

The modernization initiatives put in place in Lima in the last decades of the 19th century brought about a period of renewed growth for the city. Urbanization patterns led to population growth, and Lima reexerted itself as the administrative and economic center of Peru. Those trends continued in the 20th century.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); LIMA (Vols. I, II, IV); SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ DE (Vol. II).

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literature Literature in 19th-century Latin America became a way for intellectuals to express their ideas about national identity as the region evolved from the independence era to the onset of modernization. Many of the styles and themes that were prominent in Latin American literature during the colonial period were modeled after European, and particularly Spanish, conventions. After independence, writers in Latin America shed many of their European affiliations and began adopting styles and

themes that reinforced an emerging sense of national identity.

Many Latin American writers in the late colonial period were inspired by Enlightenment theories from France and other parts of Europe. One of those writers was JOSÉ JOAQUÍN FERNÁNDEZ DE LIZARDI (b. 1776–d. 1827). Lizardi founded *El Pensador Mexicano* (The Mexican thinker), which became one of MEXICO's first private newspapers after independence. He was imprisoned on several occasions for criticizing the viceregal government and the colonial social system in his journalistic writings. In 1816, Lizardi began publishing *El Periquillo Sarniento* (*The Itching Parrot* or *The Mangy Parrot*), marking one of the earliest movements toward an American literary style. The work was originally published as serialized installments that criticized the inefficiencies and corruption of the Spanish system. After the first three installments, Spanish censors prevented further publications until 1830–31. *The Mangy Parrot* is considered to be Latin America's first novel and marks an important step in shaping a Latin American literary identity.

After independence, literary figures across Latin America adopted European ROMANTICISM as a way to express their thoughts on the departure of colonialism and the process of nation-state formation. Romanticism abandoned the rigidity and formality that had characterized earlier literary styles. Instead, writers embraced disorder, passion, and heroics. The first romantic poem was “En el teocalli de Cholula” (At the temple of Cholula), written by Cuban poet José María Heredia (b. 1803–d. 1839) in 1820. ANDRÉS BELLO (b. 1781–d. 1865) was a Venezuelan-born intellectual and educator who often wrote in the romantic style. Bello eventually relocated to CHILE and viewed literature and EDUCATION as a way to foster a sense of collective identity and national loyalty. His works demonstrate how Latin American writers used romanticism to reinforce nationalism, as did those of Gregorio Gutiérrez González (b. 1826–d. 1872) from COLOMBIA and José Joaquín de Olmedo (b. 1780–d. 1847) from ECUADOR.

For some 19th-century literary figures in Latin America, romanticism became a way to articulate social or political critiques. Argentine writers were particularly vocal in their invectives against CAUDILLO JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. ESTEBAN ECHEVERRÍA (b. 1805–d. 1851) used the romantic style to denounce what he saw as the primitive nature of the Argentine countryside and the barbaric inclinations of the Rosas regime. Echeverría formed literary salons in BUENOS AIRES, and such intellectual groups became fertile ground for disseminating anti-Rosas propaganda. Along with Argentine intellectuals, Echeverría was eventually forced to flee into exile in Montevideo to escape the censorship and repression of the Rosas regime. Echeverría's story “El Matadero” (The slaughterhouse) was one of his most scathing critiques of the government and has become one of his most famous works.

DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO (b. 1811–d. 1888) became one of the most famous of ARGENTINA'S 19th-century writers. He eventually served as president of the nation after the overthrow of the Rosas dictatorship. Sarmiento opened a periodical called *El Zonda* and founded the literary movement known as the Generation of '37. He used both forums to publish condemnations of the Rosas government. Sarmiento spent many years in exile in Chile, where he published *Facundo: Civilización y barbarie en las pampas argentinas* (*Facundo, or Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants*) as a critique of regional caudillo JUAN FACUNDO QUIROGA in 1845. Sarmiento's writings called attention to the role of the GAUCHO in the Argentine countryside and served as a precursor to MARTÍN FIERRO, protagonist of the epic poem by José Hernández (b. 1834–d. 1886). *El gaucho Martín Fierro* was published in 1872 and was followed seven years later by *La vuelta de Martín Fierro*. Together, the two works celebrated the image of the Argentine cowboy and inserted the gaucho prominently into literary expressions of national identity.

By the late 19th century, MODERNISM had emerged as the dominant literary style in Latin America. Modernism originated in Latin America, specifically in poetry, and allowed literary figures to place their works in a more worldly context. Themes in modernist literature were often visceral, erotic, and distant. Writers used the new style as a way of defying the rigid and fixed standards of society presented in ideologies such as LIBERALISM and POSITIVISM. Although the movement was most common in Latin American poetry, modernist writers produced a wide array of literature in the late decades of the 19th century. Brazilian writer Aluísio Azevedo published *THE SLUM (O cortiço)* in 1890, which uses many of the stylistic tools of the modernist movement. The novel, which is considered his greatest work, describes in vivid detail the “tropical” nature of Brazilian culture as portrayed in a RIO DE JANEIRO slum. Each character is closely tied to nature, and Azevedo uses poetic, modernist descriptions to define each one according to racial, national, and gender stereotypes.

Modernist writers also used their works to separate themselves culturally from the growing influence of the United States. Uruguayan essayist José Enrique Rodó (b. 1871–d. 1917) published “ARIEL” in 1900 to distinguish the character of Latin American nations as separate from that of the United States. He considered U.S. culture to be consumed with materialism, while Latin Americans demonstrated a more profound spiritualism. Rodó called on Latin Americans to unite under a cohesive cultural identity as a way of defying U.S. hegemony.

Latin American writers denounced what they saw as expansionist tendencies of the United States in the late decades of the 19th century. The U.S. role in the WAR OF 1898 and in securing PANAMANIAN INDEPENDENCE WAS characterized by many literary figures as a demonstration of MANIFEST DESTINY. Nicaraguan poet Rubén

Darío (b. 1867–d. 1916) wrote the poem “To Roosevelt” in 1903 as a condemnation of U.S. imperialism in the late 19th century.

See also LITERATURE (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Livingston Codes The Livingston Codes were a set of legal reforms originally intended for use in Louisiana, United States, but implemented in GUATEMALA by President JOSÉ FELIPE MARIANO GALVÉZ.

Named after their author, U.S. lawyer and statesman Edward Livingston (b. 1764–d. 1836), the codes were initially intended to replace the mixture of Roman, French, and Spanish law and tradition in practice since the U.S. acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803. The codes covered four areas: crimes and punishments, procedures, evidence in criminal cases, and prisoner reform and prison discipline. Although completed in 1826, the codes were not printed until 1833, and the state of Louisiana never adopted them. Livingston's *Code of Reform and Prison Discipline* made its way to Europe, where it significantly influenced the legal systems of Britain, France, and Germany.

President Andrew Jackson appointed Livingston secretary of state in 1831, and the latter found a receptive audience for the codes in Guatemalan liberal president Gálvez. The Guatemalan legislature approved the Livingston Codes in December 1835, and they went into effect on January 1, 1837. The codes provided for trial by jury, use of the writ of habeas corpus, and separate jail cells. The codes also granted the power of judicial appointments to state governors. Guatemalan reaction to the codes was immediate and critical. Political conservatives, lawyers, and judges, accustomed to previous practices, opposed trial by jury and evidence requirements,

while the church viewed the codes as further undermining its authority. In rural Guatemala, NATIVE AMERICANS opposed trial by jury, as this meant they would have to judge their neighbors. In 1839, RAFAEL CARRERA abolished the codes.

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Lizardi, José Joaquín Fernández de See FERNÁNDEZ DE LIZARDI, JOSÉ JOAQUÍN.

Long War See FEDERAL WAR.

López, Carlos Antonio (b. 1790–d. 1862) *dictator of Paraguay* Carlos Antonio López was the second dictator of PARAGUAY, following the stable but autocratic rule of JOSÉ GASPAR RODRÍGUEZ DE FRANCIA. He is known for opening Paraguay to the outside world after decades of isolationism under his predecessor. Paraguay experienced numerous advancements under López, but his rule was marred by corruption and tyranny.

López was born in Asunción on November 4, 1790. He initially studied to be a priest but later pursued a career in law. López left Asunción after falling out of favor with the Francia regime. Nevertheless, shortly after the dictator's death, López was chosen by the Paraguayan congress to rule alongside Mariano Roque Alonso. In 1844, López was elected president and ruled with dictatorial powers for the next 18 years. He devoted his regime to modernizing Paraguay, as well as to building his own private fortune. As the national ECONOMY grew, so too did López's landholdings and profits from regulated industries. Despite his personal corruption, López did oversee some notable achievements in Paraguay, such as the construction of roads and the first telegraph lines. He also devoted considerable resources to improving the EDUCATION system and equipping the national MILITARY. He eased the TRADE and diplomatic restrictions that had been in place under Francia, and Paraguay gradually became embroiled in the thorny foreign affairs that had long plagued BRAZIL, ARGENTINA, and URUGUAY.

Like his predecessor, López achieved progress at the expense of personal liberties. He oversaw the drafting of a constitution in 1844 that gave the executive extraordinary powers and allowed him to name his successor. López died in office on September 10, 1862. He was

succeeded by his son FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ, who led the nation into the devastating WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

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López de Santa Anna, Antonio See SANTA ANNA, ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE.

Luperón, Gregorio (b. 1839–d. 1897) *military and political leader in the Dominican Republic* Gregorio Luperón helped to lead the rebellion in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC against annexation by Spain in the 1860s. Luperón formed part of the provisional government after the Spanish were ousted and worked to secure a more democratic political system in the new nation. In later decades, Luperón helped lead the Blue Party resistance against BUENAVENTURA BÁEZ's attempts to annex the Dominican Republic to the United States.

Luperón was born into poverty in Puerto Plata in the northern region of the island known as the CIBAO. In his adult years, he quickly rose to greatness as a MILITARY leader. As an ardent supporter of Dominican independence, Luperón joined the anti-Spanish resistance movement in the WAR OF RESTORATION. He participated in several provisional governments as the Dominicans struggled to reassert local authority over the island. Báez posed the most serious challenge to Luperón's attempts to safeguard Dominican sovereignty. The longtime CAUDDLLO persisted in his attempts to negotiate annexation of the nation by the United States. Báez seized power in 1868, and Luperón spent the next five years trying to unseat the autocratic leader. Luperón and his Blue Party supporters finally ousted Báez in 1878 and consolidated their control over the next several years.

Luperón led the nation briefly in 1879. Historically, he is remembered as an exception to the caudillo who dominated much of 19th-century Latin America. Luperón was steadfastly committed to independence and true DEMOCRACY. Nevertheless, his one-time supporter ULISES HEUREAUX seized power and ruled in an increasingly autocratic and corrupt manner in the 1880s. Luperón eventually fled into exile in PUERTO RICO. He died in 1897.

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Lynch, Eliza Alicia (b. 1835–d. 1886) *mistress to Paraguayan dictator Francisco Solano López* Eliza Alicia Lynch was an Irish courtesan who became the mistress to Paraguayan dictator FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ. Although they never married, Lynch bore Solano López several children and assumed the functions of PARAGUAY's first lady during his rule.

Lynch was born on June 3, 1835, in Ireland. As a young woman, she relocated to Paris, where she met Solano López in 1853. The two fell in love, and Lynch followed Solano López to Paraguay in 1855. Lynch gave birth to their first son that same year and quickly earned a reputation for flouting the cultural and gendered expectations of Paraguayan high society. Much of the country seemed enthralled by her presence, and Lynch took advantage of her visibility to begin “modernizing” Paraguay by introducing French culture to the nation.

Lynch became extraordinarily wealthy during the administration of Solano López as the dictator bestowed numerous gifts to her. After the outbreak of the WAR OF

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE, Solano López began transferring large expanses of land to Lynch, who quickly became the largest single landowner in the nation. As the war turned against Solano López, however, Lynch's landholdings were seized. She fled with the dictator after Asunción fell to the Brazilian MILITARY in 1869 and accompanied him as he continued to wage guerrilla warfare from the countryside.

After Solano López was killed in 1870, Lynch was exiled to Europe. She spent several years unsuccessfully attempting to reacquire the property that had been seized from her in the final years of the war. Lynch died in Paris in 1886.

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M

Maceo, Antonio (b. 1845–d. 1896) *leader of Cuban independence* Antonio Maceo was a mulatto farmer who became one of the most prominent MILITARY leaders of CUBA’s independence movement in the TEN YEARS’ WAR. He was known for his bravery and discipline on the battlefield and earned the nickname the “Titan of Bronze.” Maceo later helped resurrect the separatist movement in the final push for independence that started in 1895.

Maceo was born in Santiago de Cuba on June 14, 1845. In his youth, he worked in his father’s agricultural business but showed an early interest in politics. Maceo learned of the GRITO DE YARA issued by CARLOS MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES in 1868 to ignite the independence movement and immediately joined the rebel army. Starting as a private, he quickly moved up through the ranks and was made a general in 1873. As the Ten Years’ War reached an impasse, Maceo refused to give up the fight. Even after a truce had been reached in the 1878 TREATY OF ZANJÓN, he refused to lay down his arms. Maceo rejected the peace accord because it did not guarantee Cuban independence or the abolition of SLAVERY, two of the insurgents’ main objectives. Maceo was forced to flee into exile. He made a failed attempt to incite a rebellion the following year and abandoned the independence cause for the next 10 years.

In 1892, Maceo joined forces with JOSÉ MARTÍ and the Cuban Revolutionary Party. As part of the new revolutionary movement, Maceo helped incite rebellion in 1895 and led insurrections throughout the island. Maceo was shot and killed by the Spanish military on December 7, 1896. He is celebrated today as one of Cuba’s greatest independence heroes.

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Machado de Assis, Joaquim Maria (b. 1839–d. 1908) *Brazilian writer* Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis was one of BRAZIL’s most celebrated writers of the late 19th century (see LITERATURE). His literary style reflected several 19th-century artistic movements, including ROMANTICISM and realism.

Machado de Assis was born on June 21, 1839, in RIO DE JANEIRO. He was descended from slaves, and poverty allowed him little in the way of formal EDUCATION. Nevertheless, Machado de Assis found work as a typesetter and proofreader and later developed a career in journalism. By the 1860s, he was writing and translating plays and other literary texts, and in 1864, he published his first book of poetry. He married Carolina Augusta Xavier de Novais in 1869, and in the coming decade, his signature literary style began to emerge. He became known for his portrayal of urban society. Many of his novels and short stories are set in the culturally diverse city of Rio de Janeiro, and many of his plots underscore a cynicism toward human nature in general and the Brazilian social fabric in particular. Machado de Assis and other literary figures of the time were general proponents of abolition of SLAVERY and tended to favor a move away from monarchism. Nevertheless, one of Machado de Assis’s most famous novels, *Esau and Jacob*, published in 1904, expresses a humorous skepticism about whether the new experiment in republicanism would work. Earlier works

include *Posthumous Memoirs of Brás Cubas* (1881) and *Dom Casmurro* (1899).

In 1896, Machado de Assis helped found the Brazilian Academy of Letters, which became the nation's preeminent literary society. Machado de Assis died on September 29, 1908, in Rio de Janeiro.

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maize (Indian corn) Maize is a grain native to Mesoamerica. It has long been an important part of the diet and ECONOMY in MEXICO and CENTRAL AMERICA, as well as in parts of South America. Maize was widely consumed by pre-Columbian civilizations in the Americas and was also used in rituals. Throughout the colonial period, maize remained an important staple in the diet of the poor and indigenous, while the European elite often preferred European grains such as WHEAT. NATIVE AMERICANS of Mesoamerica continued to view maize in an almost reverent way, as a source of life and spirituality. For centuries, the indigenous of Mesoamerica had prepared maize by soaking it in limewater, a process that both removed the indigestible kernels and added important nutrients. While the indigenous diet was low in animal protein and calcium, the process ensured



Maize has historically been a main staple of the diet in Mexico and Central America. This photo from circa 1903 shows Mexican peasants shelling corn for daily consumption. (*Library of Congress*)

native peoples a nutritious diet. Spaniards tended to consider maize a commoners' grain that was suitable only for consumption by peasantry and livestock. After independence, Latin American elite used FOOD to set themselves apart from the poor, preferring wheat themselves. Nevertheless, Europeans exported maize from the Americas, and it became an important agricultural product in other areas of the world, such as Africa and Asia.

Maize traditionally had been a subsistence product, grown on small plots of land by individual families, and on larger communally administered *EJIDO* lands, for local consumption. Land reforms introduced in Mexico and elsewhere caused many indigenous families and local villages to lose their lands. Liberal governments intended to make the agrarian sector more productive by replacing subsistence farming with larger family farms and agribusiness. Nineteenth-century land reforms resulted in a further concentration of land in the hands of a few elite. This persisted into the 20th century throughout the region.

By the late decades of the 19th century, the association of maize with the lower classes had become part of government policies inspired by POSITIVISM. In Mexico, for example, positivist intellectuals believed they could prove a scientific association between the consumption of maize and the perceived deviant behavior of the poor. Members of the elite believed that eating maize was a sign of backwardness and barbarity, and some policymakers even tried to impose regulations designed to encourage the indigenous to switch from corn to wheat. They failed to take into account that maize was more suited to AGRICULTURE on small plots of land and that corn met the dietary needs of the poor much more effectively than would wheat. It was not until much later in the 20th century that maize, or corn, became a type of national symbol in Mexico.

See also FOOD (Vol. I); MAIZE (Vols. I, II).

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mambo See MUSIC.

Managua, Treaty of See MOSQUITO COAST.

Manifest Destiny Manifest Destiny was a concept used by U.S. leaders to justify territorial expansion in the 19th century. Territorial acquisitions based on the notion of Manifest Destiny at that time were limited primarily to the western Oregon Territory and Mexican lands that make up present-day southwestern United States. At the end of the 19th century, advocates of Manifest Destiny

used the theory to rationalize the expansion of U.S. political and economic influence through informal imperialism.

According to Manifest Destiny, the United States possessed superior political, religious, economic, and cultural systems. Adherents of the philosophy firmly believed that the United States had not only a right but a type of religious mission to spread its superior systems across the continent. As such, Manifest Destiny suggested that it was God's will for the American system to spread throughout the North American continent. At the heart of Manifest Destiny was the notion of American exceptionalism, an idea based on the early Puritan belief that Americans had a God-given mission to be a model of DEMOCRACY, freedom, ambition, and religious integrity in the world. As the leader in these virtues, the United States should work to expand its systems across North America. Signs of these beliefs began to surface in the early decades of the 19th century as U.S. leaders secured new territories through the Louisiana Purchase and the acquisition of Florida.

The phrase *Manifest Destiny* became popular in the 1840s when journalist and Democratic Party member John O'Sullivan used it in an essay to explain the need for American expansion. O'Sullivan and other commentators originally articulated the idea of Manifest Destiny in relation to whether the United States should annex Texas in the wake of the TEXAS REVOLUTION. The 1844 presidential election campaign between James K. Polk and Henry Clay revolved around territorial expansion and helped draw attention to the notion of Manifest Destiny. Interest in the Oregon Territory and Texas helped to propel Polk to victory, but his expansionist policies led to escalating tensions between the United States and MEXICO. Those tensions culminated in the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR.

The U.S.-Mexican War, which lasted from April 1846 to February 1848, cost tens of thousands of lives on both sides and eventually led to a 10-month occupation of MEXICO CITY by U.S. forces. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that formally ended the conflict required the Mexican government to cede more than 500,000 square miles (1.3 million km²) of national territory—the present-day U.S. states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, and Utah, as well as parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Mexico was also required to recognize the U.S. annexation of Texas. It was the single largest transfer of land from one independent nation to another in the Americas as a result of war. The United States acceded to numerous provisions, such as guaranteeing land ownership and citizenship rights to Mexican nationals living in ceded territory. U.S. leaders also compensated the Mexican government with a \$15 million payment and absorbed more than \$3 million in outstanding claims. Despite those concessions, the war left a legacy of resentment in Mexico.

The U.S. push for territorial expansion showed no sign of abating in the immediate aftermath of the U.S.-Mexican War. In 1853, U.S. foreign minister to Mexico and railroad industrialist James Gadsden nego-

tiated the purchase of additional lands from Mexico in what is today the southern edge of Arizona and New Mexico. The GADSDEN PURCHASE resulted in the sale of some 30,000 square miles (77,700 km²) for a price of \$10 million, with many observers deeming that to be a much fairer exchange than the territorial acquisition that resulted from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

American filibusterers championed the cause of expansion in the 1850s by leading unilateral incursions into regions of northern Mexico, CENTRAL AMERICA, and the Caribbean with the intent of claiming land for the United States. One of the most famous was WILLIAM WALKER, who was tried and eventually acquitted for leading an invasion into the northern Mexican states of Sonora and Baja California. Walker later led an expedition in NICARAGUA, where he took advantage of the instability created by a violent civil war to declare himself president. He initially gained recognition for his Nicaraguan government by U.S. president Franklin Pierce, but subsequent disputes with U.S. business interests destabilized his regime, and Walker was eventually defeated by a small mercenary band financed by Cornelius Vanderbilt. Other signs of Manifest Destiny occurred in 1856 when the U.S. Congress passed legislation granting the United States the right to claim unoccupied islands in the Pacific for the purpose of guano extraction.

By the end of the 19th century, U.S. leaders no longer actively sought territorial expansion as a way to fulfill Manifest Destiny. Since the conclusion of the U.S.-Mexican War, the United States had shifted attention to settling the newly acquired lands out west. Furthermore, a variety of anti-imperialist movements surfaced throughout the United States to protest the government's turn toward expansion. By the turn of the century, the meaning of Manifest Destiny had become more nuanced as many U.S. policies aimed to expand U.S. economic and cultural influence in a form of informal imperialism, rather than acquiring territory outright. U.S. involvement in securing the independence of CUBA and in acquiring the territories of PUERTO RICO and the Philippines in the WAR OF 1898 are considered among the best examples of Manifest Destiny in the context of informal imperialism. U.S. influence, particularly in Central America and the Caribbean, increased in the early decades of the 20th century. The government ensured U.S. ascendancy by negotiating the treaty to build a Panama Canal and by expanding the U.S. military presence throughout the region (see PANAMA; TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). Private economic interests gained a controlling stake in local economies, and U.S. government policies often sought to protect those interests at the expense of Latin American sovereignty.

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maroons See SLAVERY.

Martí, José (b. 1853–d. 1895) *Cuban poet and independence leader* José Martí was one of CUBA's leading literary figures in the late 19th century and was inspired by the incipient quests for independence that sprang up in the 1860s in the Caribbean (see LITERATURE). He became one of the principal organizers of the final movement for Cuban independence that started in 1895 and culminated in the U.S.-led WAR OF 1898.

Martí was born in HAVANA on January 28, 1853. He was only an adolescent when the TEN YEARS' WAR broke out in 1868 but made a name for himself by speaking out in favor of independence. He began his literary career in those early years by publishing a newspaper and other writings against Spanish rule. Martí was imprisoned briefly for his subversive activities, and he fled to Spain upon his release. In Spain, he studied law and philosophy while he continued to publish denunciations of the Cuban political system. Martí attempted to return to Cuba to continue the quest for independence but was forced to flee once again. He spent several years working

as a professor in GUATEMALA and continued to write in opposition of the Spanish colonial system in Cuba. Some of his most famous works include *Ismaelillo* (1882), a book of poetry, and *Versos Sencillos* (*Simple Verses*) (1891).

By 1881, Martí had settled in New York, where he worked as a journalist for several Latin American periodicals. At that time, many of his writings reflected his growing disillusionment with the racial and imperialistic attitudes he encountered in the United States. In particular, Martí grew alarmed at the numerous schemes that called for U.S. annexation of Cuba. He spoke out in defense of the poor and working class and firmly believed a successful revolutionary movement must encompass the needs of the lower classes of society. In 1892, Martí helped establish the Cuban Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Cubano), which was made up of Cuban exiles committed to the independence of their homeland. As a party leader, he argued that Cubans themselves should spearhead the revolutionary movement in order to avoid dominance by the United States. Martí joined forces with MÁXIMO GÓMEZ and ANTONIO MACEO, two leaders of the earlier independence struggle in the Ten Years' War. The three exiles began plotting a final uprising to oust the Spanish from Cuba and finally bring independence to the island.

In January 1895, Martí left New York for the Caribbean. He and Gómez mobilized their forces along the coast of the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC and issued the Manifiesto de Montecristo, declaring Cuban independence. The manifesto called for racial equality and appealed to the Cuban people to fight a "civilized" war. The small revolutionary band then led an invasion of Cuba and worked to incite a widespread insurrection in what became known as the War of 1895. Martí's army joined forces with a small group of rebels already on the island. After less than two months of small skirmishes, Martí was killed in a battle against the Spanish MILITARY on May 19, 1895.

Martí did not live to see his dreams of Cuban independence become reality, but his efforts were not in vain. The insurrection he helped spark in 1895 grew over the next several years and attracted the attention of the U.S. population. U.S. president William McKinley intervened and helped to secure Cuban independence by defeating the Spanish in the War of 1898. Unfortunately, many of Martí's concerns about the imperialist nature of the United States came true, as U.S. leaders intervened regularly in Cuban affairs throughout the 20th century. Today, Martí is a symbol of Cuban nationalism and sovereignty against larger nations. He was used as a rallying icon during Fidel Castro's revolution in the 1950s.

See also CUBAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV).

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This 1896 lithograph shows José Martí with other heroes of Cuban independence, including Máximo Gómez, Antonio Maceo, Salvador Cisneros, and Calixto García. (*Library of Congress*)

José Martí. *Our America: Writings on Latin America and the Struggle for Cuban Independence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977).

Martín Fierro Martín Fierro is the principal character in the epic poem *El gaucho Martín Fierro*, published by José Hernández (b. 1834–d. 1886) in 1872 as a celebration of the culture and image of the Argentine GAUCHO. It was followed in 1879 by *La vuelta de Martín Fierro*, and together, the two poems are considered one of the best representations of the gauchesque genre of poetry in Argentine and Uruguayan LITERATURE.

The two poems chronicle the tragic life of the fictional gaucho, Martín Fierro, who has been displaced by the economic shifts that took place as ARGENTINA began to modernize and develop industry (see INDUSTRIALIZATION). Hernández provided a romanticized description of life on the PAMPAS (the Argentine plains). Nevertheless, Martín Fierro's life quickly turns ruinous when he is illegally drafted into the MILITARY. He later abandons military service and becomes a loner and an outlaw. Throughout both poems, Martín Fierro is portrayed as strong and brave, in line with the popular image of the gaucho. His character also seems honorable, yet misunderstood, as he tries to navigate the untamed and unfair world around him.

El gaucho Martín Fierro was widely popular immediately after its initial publication. The subsequent *La vuelta de Martín Fierro* was equally well received, and both poems quickly became viewed as a literary expression of national identity. By the early 20th century, *El gaucho Martín Fierro* was lauded by critics and fellow literary figures as a classic of Argentine literature. Short story writer and essayist Jorge Luis Borges published a tribute to the work in the 1920s. The Argentine literary giant later published a more muted interpretation of the poem in 1953.

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Martinique See CARIBBEAN, FRENCH.

Matto de Turner, Clorinda (b. 1852–d. 1909) *Peruvian writer and novelist* Clorinda Matto de Turner was a great literary figure in PERU in the late 19th century. Her best-known literary novel, *Aves sin nido* (*Torn from the Nest*), was published in 1889 and is considered one of the earliest expressions of feminism and the need to protect indigenous rights in the country (see WOMEN).

Matto was born on September 11, 1852, in Cuzco, where she lived on her family's HACIENDA and received an early EDUCATION. In 1871, she married Joseph Turner, a British merchant, and the couple relocated to Tinta. Throughout the 1870s, Matto de Turner pursued a literary career, initially under a pen name. She joined several literary societies and was swept up in the intellectual fervor of the time. Her husband passed away in 1881, and several years later, Matto de Turner took over publication of Peru's premier literary journal, *El Perú Ilustrado*. At the same time, she published her controversial work, *Aves sin nido*. The novel denounced religious corruption and exploitation of the country's indigenous population (see NATIVE AMERICANS). It inflamed the ire of the CATHOLIC CHURCH, and Matto de Turner was eventually excommunicated for publishing her criticisms. The novelist was forced to distance herself from *El Perú Ilustrado* and eventually was forced to leave Peru. She remained involved in important literary circles in CHILE and ARGENTINA. She taught LITERATURE in BUENOS AIRES during the last years of her life, and she traveled throughout the Americas and Europe giving public talks on her works and experiences as a literary scholar. These included *Indole* (Character) (1891) and *Herencia* (Heredity) (1895). Matto de Turner died in Buenos Aires on October 25, 1909.

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Maximilian I See FRENCH INTERVENTION.

Mazorca, La La Mazorca was the name of the special police force used by JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS to bring order to ARGENTINA and silence dissent to his regime between the 1830s and the 1850s. The Mazorca force was established in 1833 by pro-Rosas FEDERALES in BUENOS AIRES, while the CAUDILLO led his Indian campaigns in the Argentine countryside. Led by Rosas's wife, Encarnación, the *rosistas* created the Sociedad Popular Restauradora as a support base to bring the caudillo back to power and to put down resistance from the *unitario* opposition (see UNITARIOS). The Mazorca force emerged as the armed wing of the Sociedad and used violence and intimidation to silence opposing intellectuals and politicians. The Sociedad succeeded in restoring Rosas as governor of Buenos Aires Province in 1835, a position he held until 1852. As governor, he became the most powerful leader in Argentina and held dictatorial powers for most of his time in office.

Mazorca in Spanish means "ear of corn," and many *federales* argued that the name symbolized the closeness and unity of Rosas supporters. The name is also a homonym for the Spanish "*más borca*," or "more hangings," a fitting phrase given the techniques used by the security

force. Individuals who did not conform to the wishes of the Rosas regime were often murdered and their bodies left for public display as a message to all. La Mazorca was reputed to have developed an extensive spy network, which allowed it to monitor the country's citizenry more closely. Out of fear, Argentines avoided wearing blue and white—the colors of the *unitario* opposition—and instead donned ribbons and other accessories in the color red to demonstrate their support for Rosas.

La Mazorca allowed Rosas to rule with impunity throughout the 1840s, but the dictator's increasingly repressive tactics earned him many enemies. Anti-Rosas forces in URUGUAY and BRAZIL joined forces with exiled Argentines to overthrow the caudillo in 1852.

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medicine Medicine refers to medical substances produced and consumed with the intent of curing illnesses as well as to the practice of administering medical care. Most early societies used a variety of natural substances for medicinal purposes and passed these traditions down for centuries. Pre-Columbian populations in the Americas had developed a sophisticated understanding of how to use natural medicines such as salves, herbs, and seeds. After the conquest, Spanish and Portuguese settlers imported their own medical practices and also adopted a number of the traditions of NATIVE AMERICANS. Catholic missionaries often served as intermediaries, using their close contact with indigenous peoples to share European traditions and to learn how the Amerindians interacted with the natural environment.

Medicine took a scientific turn around the world in the 19th century. Philosophical movements such as the Enlightenment in the 18th century and POSITIVISM in the 19th century introduced the notion of experimentation and scientific observation. Some intellectuals applied those concepts to the medical field in an attempt to improve existing knowledge of medical substances and curative practices. One major consequence of this shift was the further segregation of Latin American society along class and ethnic lines. Many of the indigenous in MEXICO, the Andean regions of South America, and elsewhere continued to rely on natural remedies, while scientific advancements took hold among the elite. The urban and rural poor also fell victim to faulty assumptions made by scientific medicine, and by the end of the century, supposed medical knowledge led to government policies that limited the mobility of the poor.

The South American coca plant became part of a major medical development that had far-reaching implications around the world. Andean natives had used coca leaves for centuries to cure gastrointestinal ailments. The coca leaves in their natural form also served as a mild

stimulant. Once cultivated, the coca plant had a short shelf life and was difficult to transport, so its medical use was limited primarily to the Americas until scientists began to study the plant in the 1850s. European researchers isolated the active alkaloid in the coca plant and discovered how to chemically alter coca to produce cocaine. In the last half of the 19th century, pharmaceutical entrepreneurs marketed a variety of cocaine-based medicines, including creams, pills, and beverages, in Europe and the United States (see DRUGS).

Other scientific findings in the 19th century changed the medical understanding of communicable diseases. Scientists began to learn how contagions multiplied and how various illnesses could spread. These findings motivated government leaders to devise public health policies in many Latin American countries in the late decades of the century. New laws were passed with the intention of preventing outbreaks of tropical diseases and other illnesses such as tuberculosis that spread easily among people in close contact. While government health programs succeeded in making some improvements, public health officials often discriminated against the poor, blaming them for the spread of disease.

See also DRUGS (Vols. II, IV); ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II); MEDICINE (Vol. I).

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Melgarejo, Mariano (b. 1820–d. 1872) *caudillo and president of Bolivia* Mariano Melgarejo was a CAUDILLO in BOLIVIA during a six-year dictatorial regime known as the *sexenio*. He was infamous for his ruthless and oppressive administration and catastrophic economic and foreign policies.

Melgarejo was born on April 13, 1820, in a remote mountainous village. A *cholo* of illegitimate lineage, he enlisted in the MILITARY at a young age. He participated in armed revolts against the governments of Manuel Isidoro Belzú (1848–55) and José María de Achá (1861–64). His success in the latter allowed him to ascend to the presidency in 1864.

As president, Melgarejo was known as one of Latin America's most brutal and dictatorial caudillos. Inclined to drink to excess, Melgarejo made seemingly arbitrary policy decisions often for no other purpose than to satisfy a fleeting whim. In 1866, he signed the Mejillones Treaty, which ceded control of contested land rich in guano and nitrate deposits to neighboring CHILE. This action contributed to the ongoing border conflict that eventually culminated in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–83). In

1867, the impulsive caudillo handed over 40,000 square miles (103,600 km²) of land to BRAZIL in exchange for title to the Amazonian ACRE PROVINCE. The region was a lucrative rubber-producing region, but the agreement only produced further conflict between the two nations. In arrangements such as these, Melgarejo sacrificed the long-term well-being of the nation in the interest of expanding his personal wealth.

The dictator's economic policies were equally devastating for the nation. He offered lucrative incentives to foreign investors in Bolivia's MINING industry and in the process relinquished important sources of national income. In 1866, he introduced a land reform decree that abolished Amerindians' traditional rights to communally controlled property. The new policy imposed high rents on titles to private property. Most of Bolivia's indigenous population could not pay and eventually lost their land.

In December 1870, military officer and future president Hilarión Daza (1876–79) led a revolt to overthrow Melgarejo. The deposed caudillo was shot and killed by the brother of his mistress in LIMA in 1872.

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Mesilla Valley Treaty See GADSDEN PURCHASE.

Mexico Mexico is located south of the United States and north of the Central American nations. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish in the Americas, present-day Mexico was home to large population centers of NATIVE AMERICANS. The Aztecs and the Maya, as well as numerous smaller ethnic groups, developed advanced cities and sophisticated cultures that endured throughout the next 300 years of Spanish colonial rule. The Mexican colony—or the Viceroyalty of New Spain, as it was officially named—was the main seat of political and religious authority for the Spanish Empire in the Americas. It also evolved as a major center of MINING and commerce, strengthening its economic, political, and cultural ties to Spain. It developed a large and diverse population consisting of Spaniards, indigenous peoples, slaves and free blacks of African heritage, and mestizos of mixed-blood descent.

INDEPENDENCE

Mexico's colonial period came to an end after a war of independence that lasted more than 10 years. In 1810, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a parish priest, and Ignacio Allende, a military officer, were motivated by Napoléon

Bonaparte's 1808 invasion of Spain and the confusion it caused among New Spain's ruling elite. The two conspired to rebel against colonial authorities and push for independence from Spain. Hidalgo issued his famous Grito de Dolores in the town of the same name to call local parishioners to arms. Thus began the independence movement that, under Hidalgo's leadership, grew into a mass uprising of indigenous and mestizos against those of pure Spanish descent. While Hidalgo's movement enjoyed some early success, this came at the cost of alienating much of the creole (American-born Spanish) population. Many reform-minded elite who might otherwise have supported the move for complete independence saw Hidalgo's army as an out-of-control Amerindian mob, and support for the cause waned. Hidalgo, Allende, and other coconspirators were captured by the Spanish royalist forces and executed in 1811.

José María Morelos y Pavón, a mestizo and also a parish priest, then picked up the faltering independence movement. In 1814, he convened a congress at Chilpancingo, where he articulated a clear direction for the independence cause. Advocating a complete break from Spain, the congress issued a formal declaration of independence and laid the basis for a new constitution. Many of the ideals first expressed by leaders of the independence insurgency—such as individual liberties, abolition of SLAVERY, and universal adult male suffrage—were included in future constitutions in 1824 and 1857.

Morelos was captured and executed in 1815, and GUADALUPE VICTORIA and VICENTE GUERRERO took over leadership of the movement. Under their direction, the rebel insurgency strengthened, and when the Riego Revolt of 1820 in Spain reinstated the Spanish liberal Constitution of 1812, conservative royalists in Mexico sought a compromise with independence leaders. That compromise was the Plan de Iguala, or the Treaty of the Three Guarantees, reached between independence leaders and former royalist officer AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE, who celebrated the triumph of independence by marching into MEXICO CITY on September 27, 1821. The plan called for a sovereign Mexico to be ruled under a monarch and guaranteed independence and a vaguely defined notion of equality. The treaty further guaranteed that Catholicism would remain the official RELIGION of the new nation. Eventually, Iturbide was named Emperor Agustín I. His monarchical rule was short lived, as Victoria and other political leaders quickly became dissatisfied with his pompous and extravagant attempts to create a legitimate court. They also decried his increasingly autocratic rule. Antimonarchist leaders conspired to overthrow Iturbide, and in February 1823, a rebellion under the auspices of the PLAN DE CASA MATA forced Iturbide to relinquish the throne and flee into exile.

EARLY YEARS OF THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC

The antimonarchists behind Iturbide's overthrow formed a ruling junta and began working to transform Mexico

into a republic. They organized a congress to write a new constitution, which was promulgated in 1824. Also that year, Victoria was elected as Mexico's first president; he was succeeded by Guerrero in 1829. The CONSTITUTION OF 1824 and the nation's first presidential leaders represented a liberal, federalist political ideology that often competed with more traditional conservative, centralist views (see CENTRALISM; FEDERALISM). In its early years as a republic, Mexico faced numerous challenges from abroad and from rival factions within the nation itself. In 1829, Spanish forces attempted to invade and recolonize Mexico but were repelled by up-and-coming military hero ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA. Numerous local uprisings challenged locally elected officials, and nearly every president in the 19th century faced attempted coups, some of them successful. Between 1824 and 1872, the office of the presidency was held by more than 30 individuals, and until the Restored Republic, Victoria was the only president to complete his term of office. Further exacerbating Mexico's political problems, the ECONOMY was severely strained from more than a decade of war and relative stagnation in the following years.

It was precisely the turmoil of the postindependence decades that opened the door for the strongman CAUDILLO rule of Santa Anna. As a MILITARY man, he fought on the royalist side in the war of independence and, at first, supported Iturbide's government. He later turned on the emperor and provided valuable military support in his overthrow. In the early years of the republic, Santa Anna supported the position of federalist, liberal politicians and in 1833 was elected president on a campaign of implementing liberal reform (see LIBERALISM). After serving only a few months, the caudillo handed over power to his vice president, VALENTÍN GÓMEZ FARIÁS, and retired to his HACIENDA in Veracruz.

Santa Anna's time away from politics, however, was short lived. By 1835, Gómez Farías had initiated a series of aggressive measures aimed at eliminating the power and wealth of the CATHOLIC CHURCH and reducing the size of the military. Those measures provoked an intense backlash, and conservative interests pressured Santa Anna to overthrow the liberal who was once his own vice president and scale back the reforms (see CONSERVATISM). Santa Anna returned to the presidency as a conservative and put in place a highly centralized government. He replaced the Constitution of 1824 with his SIETE LEYES (Seven Laws), which abolished states in favor of more centralized departments and granted extraordinary power and oversight to the president.

Several areas rose in revolt in response to Santa Anna's move to a centralized system, while others, including the henequen-producing state of Yucatán, threatened rebellion. Local militias in Zacatecas rebelled only to be quickly overpowered by Santa Anna's government forces. Santa Anna, however, turned his attention to the province of Texas in the north, which had attracted numerous U.S. settlers in the years since independence. These

Texans had long felt that their rights and needs had been neglected by the national government. The abolition of the Constitution of 1824 only exacerbated these feelings and propelled Texans into open rebellion in 1835.

The political and military leader marched north and fought a brutal war in an attempt to prevent Texas from becoming independent. Following Mexican victories at the Alamo and Goliad, Santa Anna ordered all captured Texans to be executed. The caudillo's callous actions only strengthened Texans' resolve. Eventually, Santa Anna was captured in April 1836 and forced to sign the Treaties of Velasco, which brought the TEXAS REVOLUTION to an end and granted Texas its independence. The disgraced Santa Anna returned to his hacienda in Veracruz, while political infighting in the capital continued as competing factions vied for power.

Only two years later, Santa Anna again entered public life as a military commander to defend the nation against attack by the French in a short-lived conflict over foreign claims known as the PASTRY WAR. During this conflict, Santa Anna was wounded and lost his leg below the knee. His actions in defending the nation and his very real sacrifice in battle earned him the forgiveness of the nation and allowed him to rise to power once again. The caudillo marched triumphantly into Mexico City in 1843 in a celebration that included a military parade and full presidential regalia. In a ceremony befitting his theatrical and ostentatious personality, Santa Anna dedicated a monument to his amputated leg and where his mummified leg was interred. The national pride generated by the military hero's resurgence was short lived, however, as Santa Anna's supporters pushed through a new constitution granting him nearly unrestricted authority. A revolt in 1844, led by General José Joaquín Herrera (1844–45, 1848–51) removed Santa Anna from power.

Herrera assumed the presidency and attempted to bring a sense of order to Mexican politics but faced both internal and external challenges that made stability an elusive goal. In 1845, the U.S. Congress officially annexed Texas, prompting diplomatic protests from the Herrera government. The two countries wrangled over the border between Texas and northern Mexico, which had been set at the Nueces River. In annexing Texas, U.S. president James K. Polk claimed the border extended 150 miles south to the Rio Grande (Río Bravo). As U.S. diplomat John Slidell negotiated the border dispute in Mexico City, it became clear that U.S. interests extended beyond Texas, and Slidell tried to entice Herrera into selling California as well. As negotiations stalled, Polk sent U.S. troops into the border region to secure U.S. claims there. On April 4, 1846, a skirmish broke out between U.S. and Mexican forces in the disputed territory. On April 25, war between the two nations officially began.

The U.S.-MEXICAN WAR started with two U.S. invasions into Mexico's northern and northwestern territory. General Zachary Taylor continued his push south from the Texas border, while a western front led by General

Stephen Kearney fought across New Mexico and Arizona to occupy California. By January 1847, Kearney had subdued most of the northwestern region. The 1848 Treaty of Cahuenga ended hostilities between U.S. forces and the sparse California population and effectively gave the United States control over a large expanse of Mexico's northern territory.

While U.S. forces were advancing across Arizona and California, political infighting in Mexico City divided the nation's leadership and eventually led to Herrera's overthrow. Santa Anna, who had been in exile in CUBA, convinced U.S. political leaders to provide him safe passage back to Mexico, ostensibly so that he could negotiate an end to the conflict favorable to U.S. interests. Instead, the caudillo began raising an army to confront Taylor's forces in the northeast. Having been named president of the nation once again, he marched north to face Taylor at the Battle of Buena Vista in February 1847. Taylor forced a Mexican retreat and proceeded to control much of Mexico's territory surrounding the cities of Monterrey and Buena Vista and northward to Texas.

The final defeat of Mexican forces came with the central invasion by General Winfield Scott through the port city of Veracruz in March 1847. Scott annihilated much of the Mexican army during his advance toward Mexico City. By May, the U.S. military leader had defeated the last of Santa Anna's organized forces on the outskirts of the city. The last Mexican defenses were led by military cadets at the Battle of Chapultepec. The young cadets who sacrificed themselves in that battle became national heroes, and Mexico still celebrates the bravery of its Niños Heroes. The U.S. military occupied the national capital for 10 months while guerrilla fighting continued in the countryside and leaders negotiated an end to the conflict.

The U.S.-Mexican War officially ended on February 2, 1848, with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The agreement stipulated the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Mexican territory but required Mexico to recognize the U.S. annexation of Texas and to cede the land that makes up the present-day states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. The United States paid \$15 million and absorbed more than \$3 million in outstanding claims in exchange for more than 500,000 square miles (1.3 million km²), or more than half, of Mexico's national territory.

Mexico suffered defeat in the war largely because opposing political factions were unable to unite to confront an external threat. Losing the war and such a large chunk of territory enraged nationalists but did little to change the political environment. Political leaders blamed opposing factions for the defeat, and Santa Anna was again forced into exile. In 1848, conservative leaders joined together to present a united front against liberal tendencies that they considered were weakening the nation. Led by LUCAS ALAMÁN, traditionalists formed the

CONSERVATIVE PARTY and articulated a program to stabilize the country. They argued that many of the strongest aspects of Mexican character, such as Catholicism and corporate privilege, had been abandoned as foreign liberal ideas encroached on the national consciousness in the decades after independence. The Conservative Party demanded a return to tradition and a dismantling of liberal policies.

To carry out their plan, these leaders turned one final time to Santa Anna and in 1853 invited the embattled caudillo to lead the nation. In the years following the U.S.-Mexican War, national leadership had been in a state of crisis, with near-constant revolts and civil wars between competing political factions. Conservative leaders believed that circumstances warranted a strong authoritarian leader and bestowed Santa Anna with extraordinary dictatorial powers. During his last tenure as national leader, Santa Anna did little to stabilize the nation. Instead, the former military hero replenished the depleted national treasury by selling yet another section of northern territory to the United States in the GADSDEN PURCHASE. Notable members of the liberal opposition fled Santa Anna's tyrannical regime and sought asylum in the United States. Others stayed behind and immediately began to organize a resistance movement. One such leader, Juan Álvarez (b. 1790–d. 1867), brought liberal opponents together in the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA and overthrew Santa Anna in 1855.

THE ERA OF BENITO JUÁREZ

The ousting of Santa Anna began a period of rule under the LIBERAL PARTY known as LA REFORMA. Liberal leaders countered the Conservative Party with their own theories about the way to build a strong nation. Leaders such as future president BENITO JUÁREZ and legal theorist MIGUEL LERDO DE TEJADA argued that Mexico's outdated traditions were holding the nation back. Liberals privileged the role of the individual in society over the traditional social structure that favored corporate groups, such as the church, the aristocracy, and the military. Juárez, Lerdo, and fellow Liberal José María Iglesias (b. 1823–d. 1891) drafted a series of reform laws between 1855 and 1857 that collectively aimed to break down the long-standing traditions of corporate privilege. The Reform Laws, which were eventually incorporated into the liberal CONSTITUTION OF 1857, prohibited corporations from owning property and abolished the *FUERO*, the colonial system of parallel courts for members of the military and the clergy. The reforms also created a civil registry and attempted to secularize many of the record-keeping functions that had previously been the responsibility of the church.

Liberal policies passed during La Reforma enraged the Conservative Party. Members of the corporations whose privileges were attacked joined in antiliberal tirades. Church leaders excommunicated members of the Liberal leadership as well as civil servants who swore

loyalty to the Constitution of 1857. The Liberal Party itself split over the enactment of reform laws with *puros*, or extremist Liberals, pushing for full implementation of the new legislation and *moderados*, or moderates, advocating for a more gradual and conciliatory approach in the interest of maintaining order and unity in the struggling nation. Rifts within the Liberal Party and mounting Conservative opposition escalated into a violent civil war. The WAR OF REFORM gripped the nation from 1858 to 1861 and further destabilized the country's already fragile political and social structure. Liberals were led by Juárez, who had assumed national leadership according to the presidential succession outlined in the Constitution of 1857. After three years of fighting, he led the Liberals to victory, but that victory cost thousands of lives and immeasurable destruction. Mexico emerged from the War of Reform laden with foreign debt and with its economic sectors in ruins. Furthermore, the war did little to resolve the underlying political conflicts that had plagued the nation throughout the 19th century.

Juárez and his Liberal government scarcely had time to recover from their victory over Conservatives before the next national crisis struck. Late in 1861, Queen Victoria of Great Britain, Queen Isabella II of Spain, and Emperor Napoléon III of France signed the Convention of London as a collaborative effort to collect on the large national debt that Mexico had incurred over the previous decades. The European alliance sent a naval force to blockade the port of Veracruz and seize customs revenues. The Spanish and British monarchs intended the intervention to be a temporary effort to collect the moneys owed. Napoléon III, on the other hand, had more ambitious plans. The French monarch, working in collusion with deposed leaders of the Conservative Party, sent a large military force to invade Mexico and establish a French empire in the Americas. Once again, the Mexican government faced the threat of foreign invasion, and Juárez found himself leading the nation in another war.

French troops quickly occupied Veracruz and began moving inland in the spring of 1862. The Mexican army put up a brave defensive in May at the Battle of Puebla; its unexpected victory in the battle is commemorated every year in the celebration of CINCO DE MAYO. The victory at PUEBLA only stalled the French advance, however, and one year later Napoléon's forces took the city and proceeded toward the capital. Juárez and the Liberal government were forced to flee as the French army occupied Mexico City. Napoléon and Mexican Conservatives invited Austrian archduke Maximilian of Habsburg (b. 1832–d. 1867) to take the throne of Mexico. The European royal and his young wife, Charlotte (Carlota), arrived in Mexico in May 1864 and set up residence in Mexico City's Chapultepec Castle. Though they tried earnestly to assimilate to Mexican culture, the couple found themselves rejected by much of the country as outsiders imposing foreign rule on the nation. Juárez

and the Liberal army continued to resist Maximilian, and the struggling monarch found his government propped up only by the continued support of the French army. By 1865, as Liberal forces continued to challenge the monarchy, many of Maximilian's liberal policies lost him important Conservative support. At the same time, the U.S. Civil War was winding down, and North American leaders gave their support to Juárez. Pressured by the United States to withdraw his army, Napoléon began pulling out his forces, effectively leaving Maximilian's government undefended. Juárez's forces quickly encircled Maximilian's remaining defenses, and on May 15, 1867, the monarch was captured at Querétaro. Maximilian was charged with crimes against the nation and executed by firing squad on June 19.

By the time Juárez defeated Maximilian and the French in 1867, he had served two terms as president but had spent most of those terms fighting major wars. At the end of the FRENCH INTERVENTION, Juárez was elected to his third term as president, but it would be his first full, uninterrupted term in office. Juárez's victory over the French began an era known as the Restored Republic, when the war-weary leader was finally able to implement the liberal reforms and the Constitution of 1857 that had been created a decade earlier. From 1867 until his death in 1872, Juárez worked to strengthen the liberal ideology and stabilize the nation. He attempted to alleviate financial problems by implementing aggressive land reforms and auctioning off properties held by the church and Amerindian *EJIDOS*. Juárez also established the *RURALES*, the nation's rural security force that became instrumental in pacifying the countryside during the Porfiriato. He began devoting government resources to developing TRANSPORTATION and communications infrastructure and inviting foreign investors to participate in the economy. The Juárez administration, in fact, initiated many of the policies that came to define the dictatorship of PORFIRIO DÍAZ.

THE PORFIRIATO

Juárez won a fourth term as president in 1871 but died in office on July 18, 1872. His successor, SEBASTIÁN LERDO DE TEJADA (1872–76), continued his policies and ran for a second term after four years in office. Retired military leader Díaz opposed the decisions of both Juárez and Lerdo to run for reelection, arguing that they violated the liberal political platform of limited executive power. Díaz led a revolt against Juárez in 1871 but was unable to force the popular leader out of office. In 1876, he initiated a successful revolution against Lerdo in the Plan de Tuxtepec. Díaz claimed to be defending liberalism and, in particular, the doctrine of “no reelection.” He succeeded in overthrowing Lerdo, and the former military hero began a four-year term as president.

Díaz remained true to his promise to defend liberalism during his presidential term between 1876 and 1880. He strengthened many of the measures implemented by

Juárez and at the end of four years stepped down in favor of fellow Liberal MANUEL GONZÁLEZ. The González presidency was marred by incompetence and corruption. In 1884, Díaz claimed that the principle of no reelection allowed him to run again after sitting out one term. The popular military leader was elected again in 1884, but by that time, Díaz had determined that Mexico needed a strong hand to guide the nation to modernization and prosperity. After 1884, he remained in office uninterrupted until he was overthrown by revolution in 1911. Díaz allowed controlled elections during his dictatorship but silenced any meaningful political opposition. He assumed a paternalistic attitude, arguing that most of Mexico's population was not ready for DEMOCRACY but that after a period of strong rule, the nation would be prepared for full political participation.

During the Porfiriato, Díaz shifted his political leanings away from the liberalism of the 1870s and instead incorporated the philosophy of POSITIVISM. Surrounded by a close circle of advisers known as CIENTÍFICOS, Díaz believed that Mexico had fallen behind the rest of the world both economically and socially and that the nation needed to develop quickly in order to catch up. He invited foreign businesses to invest in Mexico's economy, seeing their participation as the most efficient and expedient way of modernizing industry and developing infrastructure (see INDUSTRIALIZATION). In order to appeal to foreign interests, Díaz tried to make the nation appear orderly and modern. He ramped up the *rurales* and authorized the use of indiscriminate force to maintain peace in the countryside. Administration officials passed numerous decrees imposing dress codes and other restrictions on the indigenous population in urban areas where foreigners could be found.

Díaz's economic and social policies succeeded in attracting large amounts of foreign investment in the final decades of the 19th century, and the nation appeared to be experiencing astounding economic growth. Foreign companies expanded the railroad, built communications lines, and improved the nation's port system. European and U.S. businessmen acquired controlling shares in mining enterprises and new manufacturing sectors in urban areas. The policies initiated under the liberal reform period also allowed business interests to acquire large landholdings and set up agribusiness ventures throughout the country. Despite these apparent successes, however, policies of the Porfiriato also created a system of exploitation and inequality. Members of indigenous communities who had been forced off their land became peon workers for large haciendas. Furthermore, a large urban population of exploited laborers developed as new industries were set up and foreign-owned factories opened. By the beginning of the 20th century, problems within the system were beginning to surface as numerous protests and local revolts erupted across the country. Díaz generally reacted with policies that favored foreign interests at the expense of Mexico's peasants and working class.

The exploitative and despotic nature of the Porfiriato created a volatile climate in Mexico in the final years of the 19th century. In the early years of the 20th century, Mexico experienced an economic downturn that further exacerbated its problems. As the general populace continued to challenge the Díaz administration, a middle sector of intellectuals and professionals pushed for a more democratic and open political system. Those pressures eventually culminated in the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910.

See also HIDALGO Y COSTILLA, MIGUEL (Vol. II); MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV); MEXICO (Vols. I, IV); MORELOS Y PAVÓN, JOSÉ MARÍA (Vol. II); NEW SPAIN, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II).

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Mexico City (Distrito Federal, Federal District)

Mexico City is the capital of Mexico and is surrounded by mountains in the country's central valley. It is both a city and an administrative unit. With a population of approximately 20 million, present-day Mexico City is considered a megacity and is one of the largest cities in the world. Mexico City has long been the political, economic, cultural, and historic center of the country. Much of the nation's political conflict and cultural development during the 19th century took place there. Mexico City's historic evolution often mirrors that of the nation as a whole.

Mexico City was first settled as the Aztec city of Tenochtitlán in 1325. Spanish conquistadores arriving in 1519 found a sprawling city impressively situated on an island in Lake Texcoco. As the seat of the Aztec Empire, Tenochtitlán became a primary target of Spanish conquerors, and the city suffered a devastating defeat at their hands in 1521. Spanish settlers built a new urban

center on top of the ruins of Tenochtitlán, and within a few years, all of Spain's administrative duties in the Americas had shifted to what had been renamed Mexico City (Ciudad de México). As the Spanish Crown established administrative units to oversee the exploration, settlement, and governing of the Americas, Mexico City became the seat of religious and political power for the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The viceroy, who represented the Spanish monarch in New Spain, governed from Mexico City. During the colonial period, Mexico City became home to the first university and the first printing press in the Americas. It was also the site of the CATHOLIC CHURCH's first mainland archdiocese.

Mexico City was a long-standing and important seat of Crown authority, thus, many of its residents approached the idea of independence cautiously in the early 19th century. When Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla issued his call to arms in 1810, many of New Spain's creole elite feared that a massive Amerindian revolt would ensue. Insurgent attacks on the city of Guanajuato and other outlying areas seemed to validate those concerns. Hidalgo's army also marched on Mexico City but stopped short of attacking the viceregal capital. As a result, the city remained a stronghold of royalist presence until Spanish army officer AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE brokered a deal with insurgent leader VICENTE GUERRERO. On September 27, 1821, Iturbide's Army of the Three Guarantees marched into Mexico City, signifying the beginning of the independent nation.

After serving for three centuries as the seat of colonial power, Mexico City became the capital of the independent nation of Mexico. Iturbide's Treaty of the Three Guarantees stipulated that Mexico would be ruled by a monarch. Unable to attract a European king to rule the new nation, Iturbide's supporters urged him to accept the title of Emperor Agustín I, and the new sovereign was crowned in the Mexico City cathedral. Iturbide attempted to set up an ostentatious royal court in Mexico City but was forced to abdicate the throne in 1823. The following year, a liberal constitution established Mexico as a republic, and the nation's first president, GUADALUPE VICTORIA, made Mexico City a federal district. Victoria's actions were intended to reinforce the federalist structure of the new government and maintain a delineation between national and state power (see FEDERALISM).

As the national capital and federal district, Mexico City was the site of much of the conflict and instability that characterized 19th-century Mexico. For decades, national leaders clashed over the type of government system that should be imposed, and Mexico City residents witnessed numerous changes in government through uprisings and *pronunciamientos*, or coup d'états. Confrontations between Liberal and Conservative political groups occurred with frequency in the decades following independence. Those conflicts regularly took place on the streets of the capital city and involved riotous crowds of local residents. During one of those uprisings, the property of a French

baker was damaged, and his monetary claims against the Mexican government eventually led the French to attempt an invasion in what became known as the PASTRY WAR of 1838. CAUDILLO and MILITARY leader ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA lost his leg in that war, but his sacrifice and reputation as a military hero allowed him to resuscitate his political career. He took the presidency and in 1842 orchestrated a bizarre ceremony to inter his amputated limb in a shrine in Mexico City. Later that year, Santa Anna was forced from office, and a rebellious mob fed his leg to dogs.

In addition to local unrest, Mexico City was the site of a number of foreign invasions. In 1847, the U.S. military invaded Mexico City during the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR. The military occupation of the city eventually compelled the Mexican government to negotiate the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ceded a large portion of the country's northern territories to the United States. The French military invaded in 1862 as part of the expansionist policies of Napoléon III. The French monarch and Mexican Conservatives invited Austrian archduke Maximilian and his wife, Charlotte (Carlota), to rule Mexico as monarchs (see FRENCH INTERVENTION). The royal couple set up residence at Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City in 1864, but the republican army, led by BENITO JUÁREZ, drove Maximilian and his supporters from the capital in 1867. That year began the era known as the Restored Republic; it was only then that violence and conflict began to abate in Mexico City.

Mexico City was transformed in the late decades of the 19th century. PORFIRIO DÍAZ became president in 1876 and held on to power for more than three decades. This era of dictatorship, known as the PORFIRIATO, brought seeming political stability and economic progress to Mexico City and to the entire country. At the beginning of Díaz's regime, Mexico City suffered a number of problems that reflected trends throughout the country. Roads and communication lines were in desperate need of improvement and expansion. Poor public sanitation, disease, and long-lasting violence had kept mortality rates high and life expectancy low. Throughout the 19th century, Mexico City's sewage and drainage systems were inadequate, and frequent flooding brought noxious waters that exacerbated public health problems. Political and economic instability had made it impossible for city leaders to confront those challenges in earlier decades.

The Porfirian dictatorship brought political stability and facilitated a period of economic recovery. Evidence of growth and change could be seen throughout the capital as the Díaz administration set about modernizing and beautifying the city. Díaz devoted considerable resources to improving the city's infrastructure by introducing electric power, telephone and telegraph communications, and public TRANSPORTATION. A modern drainage and sanitation project was undertaken in the 1880s, and by the turn of the century, Díaz had succeeded in cleaning up many areas of the capital. Mexico City also became

home to numerous monuments and other new public buildings that were intended to portray the opulence and modernity of the Porfiriato. Díaz sponsored the creation of parks, and his administration inaugurated several statues to national heroes along Mexico City's main thoroughfare, Paseo de la Reforma. A monument to Aztec leader Cuauhtémoc was inaugurated along the boulevard in 1887. Construction of the famous Angel de la Independencia (monument to independence) began in 1902, and the statue was inaugurated as part of the centennial independence celebration in 1910. The Díaz administration oversaw the planting of trees and flowers along the boulevard to showcase the main, wide avenue. These beautifying projects were modeled in the image of European cities, and Díaz hoped to promote a new image for the city and nation to attract foreign investors in the economy. City and national government leaders favored French culture in particular, and the upscale areas of Mexico City often showcased the latest in Parisian cuisine, fashion, theater, and even ARCHITECTURE. Strict municipal decrees even restricted the access of rural peasants and urban poor to certain areas of the city. As a result, upscale and business-centered neighborhoods in Mexico City exuded all the trappings of modernity. In many of the poor neighborhoods, however, residents

sank further in poverty and even saw their standard of living decline during the Porfiriato.

The image of modernity being portrayed in Mexico City and other large urban areas did attract the attention of foreign businesspeople. Investments in Mexico's economy increased exponentially in the late decades of the 19th century as foreign financiers backed MINING renovations, railroad construction, and basic manufacturing. Incipient INDUSTRIALIZATION in construction supplies, such as cement and steel, and consumer goods, such as textiles and processed FOODS, began in many of the country's urban areas. Mexico City saw a marked increase in manufacturing during the Porfiriato, setting the stage for the capital city to become one of the country's leading industrial centers in the 20th century.

The Porfiriato came to an end with the onset of the Mexican Revolution in 1910. The decade-long civil war brought renewed violence and unrest to Mexico City. The city continues to be the seat of political and economic power in Mexico today. As the largest city in Mexico, it is also one of the nation's cultural centers. Mexico City is home to numerous universities, foreign embassies, museums, and historic sites.

See also MEXICO CITY (Vols. I, II, IV); NEW SPAIN, VICEROYALTY OF (Vols. I, II); TENOCHTITLÁN (Vol. I).



The Alameda is the oldest park in Mexico City. This 1848 drawing shows the park as a popular spot to spend a Sunday afternoon in 19th-century Mexico. (*Library of Congress*)

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migration Migration is defined as the voluntary or involuntary movement of people. Historically, mass migrations have occurred as people looked for new economic opportunities or as a response to ecological changes. Migrations have also been caused by outbreaks of instability and violence or as people relocate in response to shifting national borders. Migration was common throughout Latin America for most of the 19th century for all of these reasons.

The travels and experiences of some Latin American intellectuals had an important impact on the emergence of independence movements in the early 19th century. Future independence leaders such as Simón Bolívar were educated in Europe and were exposed to Enlightenment ideas there. New ways of thinking introduced by European philosophers influenced many of the Latin American elite who eventually pushed for a complete break from Spain. Many of the political and MILITARY leaders who emerged in the decades immediately following independence had traveled to Europe and the United States. Those experiences helped shape their attitudes toward national development in Latin America. ANDRÉS BELLO traveled throughout South America with Bolívar during the independence era and took a post as a diplomatic representative for VENEZUELA and CHILE in London. In Europe, Bello was exposed to views on EDUCATION and politics that he eventually took back to Chile and incorporated into government planning in the 1840s.

The independence era created internal migratory trends in many areas of Latin America that had been under Spanish control. Demographic shifts occurred as militaries recruited followers. Mass migrations resulted as civilians sought to escape the destruction of wartime. After the wars of independence, those who had supported royalist forces either fled or were expelled by the new national governments. In MEXICO, the postindependence government of GUADALUPE VICTORIA issued particularly aggressive decrees calling for the expulsion of all Iberian-born Spaniards (peninsulars) from the new nation.

BRAZIL, CUBA, PUERTO RICO, and other areas that did not achieve independence in the early 19th century had a different experience with migration. Some Spaniards who had fled the mainland settled in the Spanish Caribbean after 1820. Brazil's move toward independence was less violent than that of its Spanish neighbors. A wave of Portuguese immigrants arrived in Brazil in 1808 to escape Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. It included thousands of Portuguese elite as well as the Portuguese monarchs, who ruled from RIO DE JANEIRO until 1821. Even after Brazil formally declared its independence in 1822, immigration from Portugal continued throughout the 19th century.

New Latin American governments confronted enormous challenges in the first decades after independence. Administrative and geographic divisions were often ill defined in the colonial period, and as the former colonies began to split off into separate, sovereign nations, a number of border disputes emerged. Through wars, treaties, and other negotiations, borders shifted, and frontier populations often found themselves living under a new jurisdiction. The largest and most well-known border alteration took place following the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR, when Mexico was forced to cede nearly half its national territory to the United States. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which formalized the agreement, included provisions that allowed Mexican settlers living in the ceded territory to retain their land and eventually become U.S. citizens. Approximately 50,000 Mexicans chose to stay, but many lost legal title to their land in the coming years. Others migrated south to remain within Mexican borders.

Forced migration accounted for a significant portion of the movement of people in Latin America in the 19th century. African SLAVERY had been introduced across the region at the beginning of the colonial period. While newly independent nations generally abolished slavery, those that remained under Spanish rule—namely Cuba and Puerto Rico—maintained and even strengthened the institution. The Spanish Caribbean colonies developed thriving plantation economies in the 19th century and relied on slaves to cultivate SUGAR, TOBACCO, and other commodity agricultural products (see AGRICULTURE). Slavery also continued in Brazil even after the nation broke away from Portugal. Despite British efforts to curtail the transatlantic slave TRADE after 1807, the importation of slaves into Brazil, Cuba, and Puerto Rico continued throughout most of the century: The British called for a gradual ban to end slave imports by the 1830s, but smuggling rings continued to move slaves well into the 1860s. An estimated 600,000 African slaves were imported to Cuba in the 19th century, while Brazil received more than 1.5 million. Internal slave migration also occurred, particularly as pressures increased to end the external slave trade. After the abolition of slavery, some slave LABOR on Brazilian plantations was replaced by the labor of recently arrived European immigrants (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

As slavery was gradually phased out in Latin America, other forms of servile labor replaced it, including debt peonage, which most often affected rural NATIVE AMERICANS. Chinese indentured servants, or “coolies,” also became an important supply of labor in 19th-century Latin America. Chinese laborers worked on plantations that formerly relied on African slaves. They could also be found in the MINING and guano regions of the Andes. At the turn of the century, Chinese laborers made up the bulk of the workforce in the construction of the Panama Canal. Although many Chinese workers migrated to Latin America voluntarily, there was often abuse, exploi-

tation, and deceit, resulting in a situation that was little better than slavery.

African slaves were not the only group subject to forced migration in the 19th century. The rural indigenous in Mexico, PERU, and elsewhere fell victim to liberal land reform policies in the 19th century. Under those policies, governments often confiscated ancestral communal lands (*EJIDOS*) and sold them to private entrepreneurs, forcing the relocation of rural peasants. In Mexico, indigenous policies became particularly oppressive under the dictatorship of PORFIRIO DÍAZ. In an attempt to pacify indigenous insurrections, which had plagued the nation throughout the 19th century, Díaz implemented deportation and resettlement programs to disperse unruly indigenous groups in various regions of the country. Many rebellious Yaqui Indians from the northern state of Sonora were relocated to the Yucatán Peninsula and put to work on henequen plantations. Many defiant Maya from southern Mexico ended up on sugar plantations in Cuba toward the end of the 19th century.

Voluntary migration to Latin America was relatively insignificant in the first half of the 19th century. Most Latin American nations experienced several decades of

economic and political instability after independence. Their volatile circumstances offered few incentives to potential immigrants. That situation changed considerably in the last half of the 19th century as relative political stability and economic growth made some areas of Latin America an attractive option for migrants looking for better opportunities. Population growth in Europe during the 19th century and structural changes within the agricultural sector were other factors that compelled people to consider moving across the Atlantic. European migration to Brazil, URUGUAY, Chile, and ARGENTINA gradually increased in the 1860s and 1870s. By the end of the 19th century, newly arrived immigrants from Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain had created a population explosion in Argentina and Brazil. French and British immigrants also arrived in South American nations but in smaller numbers.

The majority of European immigrants settled in Argentina. In the 1870s, the Argentine government implemented policies to attract immigrants as a way to fill the demand for labor, especially in the agricultural sector. Government leaders sought to settle large tracts of uninhabited lands in the countryside. Agricultural colonies popped up throughout the interior and facilitated



Immigrants being transported in a horse-drawn cart in Buenos Aires, Argentina—one of the primary destinations for Europeans migrating to Latin America in the late 19th century (*Library of Congress*)

the development of commercial agriculture in Argentina. Between 1869 and the turn of the century, the population in the Argentine countryside more than doubled. At first, the majority of those immigrants were young men, many of whom migrated seasonally when demand for rural labor was high and returned to their home countries in the off-season. By the end of the century, however, migration patterns had shifted as more European immigrants settled permanently in Argentina, along with members of their families (see **FAMILY**). Some migrant families managed to acquire landholdings of their own, but many worked for years as hired labor on the large estates of the rural elite.

Uruguay and Brazil both attracted large numbers of European immigrants at the end of the 19th century, and migration patterns there were similar to those in Argentina. The exception was the state of São PAULO, where the abolition of slavery forced plantation owners to look for new labor supplies. Entire families were lured to São Paulo to work on **COFFEE** plantations. Cuba, which continued to be a Spanish colony, attracted large numbers of Spanish migrants throughout the 19th century, and Spanish immigration to the island intensified in the 1880s. Unlike in other Latin American countries where European immigrants worked almost exclusively in unskilled, underpaid menial labor, Spanish migrants to Cuba engaged in all sectors of the **ECONOMY**. This distinction was likely a result of the continuation of the Spanish colonial social system in Cuba.

By the beginning of the 20th century, government policies promoting industrial development had created a demand for urban laborers as well, and immigrant communities emerged in industrial areas of large cities (see **INDUSTRIALIZATION**). Working and living conditions for immigrants in rural and in urban settings were generally quite poor. In the cities, migrants often settled into communities of common origin, which allowed them to be surrounded by familiar language, **FOOD**, and other cultural comforts. They formed both formal and informal support organizations within those communities and often maintained strong ties to their native lands. Immigrant communities in urban areas were often responsible for introducing such new ideas as anarchism and socialism, which became the foundations of Latin American labor movements in the 20th century.

See also **MIGRATION** (Vols. I, II, IV).

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military The military played an important role in the development of Latin American nations throughout the 19th century. Formal and informal military groups participated in the wars for independence in the early decades of the century and set the stage for continuing conflict in future years. Armed conflict helped shape geographic boundaries of new nations and contributed to the emergence of formal nation-states. Latin American militaries underwent a process of professionalization during the 19th century, making the transition from small and informal local militias to larger national armies.

Throughout most of the colonial period the military presence in Spanish and Portuguese America was quite small, and participation was generally limited to Europeans. Those trends changed somewhat during the 18th century as a response to security concerns and as a result of the Bourbon and Pombaline Reforms. The Spanish monarchs sought to expand and professionalize the military in the Americas and enacted reforms to attract greater participation by creoles and mestizos. New laws extended military **FUEROS**, or legally defined privileges, to colonists born in the Americas. The most important military *fuero* was the parallel court system for members of the military, who thus came under a separate criminal jurisdiction. Creole elite sponsored private militias and provided an important line of local defense. As a result of these reforms, colonists in the Americas had gained valuable military experience by the time the wars for independence began in the 1810s.

Local militia-style forces loyal to specific individuals led the independence insurgencies against the Spanish army. Those local militias then became the military support for the governments of the newly formed nations. These trends gave rise to the emergence of local strongmen throughout Latin America known as **CAUDILLOS**. Caudillos were often large landowners who had participated in the wars for independence. They relied on their personal charm and their reputations as strong and brave military leaders to ensure loyalty within their own private armies. Caudillos came to dominate the political scene in most Latin American countries in the decades immediately following independence, and rivalry among competing caudillos often produced a great deal of instability and conflict. Caudillos often rose to power and maintained their regimes through violence and repression. Some of the most notable examples were ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA in MEXICO, JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS in ARGENTINA, JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ in VENEZUELA, and ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ in BOLIVIA. Competing loyalties within the private armies prevented the successful establishment of professional national militaries in most countries until the last half of the 19th century.

Many Latin Americans found caudillos appealing precisely because they controlled their own private militias and could call on those forces to protect the fledgling nations from foreign threats. New nations across the region fought wars with neighboring countries to estab-

lish national borders throughout the 1820s and 1830s. In some cases, conflict emerged from attempts to unify large regions under political confederations. That was the case in the civil wars that resulted in the breakup of GRAN COLOMBIA and the PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION. Many boundary disputes were resolved in the first half of the 19th century, but some conflicts extended into later decades. The WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE pitted PARAGUAY against URUGUAY, Argentina, and BRAZIL in 1864. Paraguay suffered a devastating defeat after six years of warfare, ceding large expanses of land to the Alliance forces and losing approximately one-half of its population, according to some estimates.

Latin American nations also faced the threat of imperialist invasion from European powers and the United States. Spanish forces attempted to retake Mexico in 1828, and forces led by the caudillo Santa Anna were instrumental in repelling that invasion. U.S. expansionist interests played a part in the buildup to the TEXAS REVOLUTION in 1836 and culminated in the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR in 1846. Filibusterers such as WILLIAM WALKER attempted to claim territory in northern Mexico and in CENTRAL AMERICA for the United States.

The need to fight external enemies helped create a sense of national identity and common purpose among members of Latin American militaries. Nevertheless, internal strife in most countries ran deep throughout the 19th century. For decades, civil war between liberal and conservative political factions tore nations apart and hindered the development of cohesive national armies (see CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM). Those decades of violence set the stage for persistent military involvement in the political system and left a legacy that carried over into the 20th century. The debates between liberals and conservatives also affected the status of members of the military, as liberal leaders pushed for an abolition of the traditional *fueros* that had carried over from the colonial period. By the 1870s, liberal oligarchies had consolidated control in most Latin American countries, and the *fueros* had been abolished (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY).

Ending the military *fueros* coincided with other attempts by liberal oligarchic regimes to modernize Latin American society and to professionalize national militaries in the final decades of the 19th century. Particularly in regions that had resolved border disputes in earlier decades, the late 19th century marked a time of development and supposed progress modeled largely on European models. In Mexico, PORFIRIO DÍAZ consolidated his regime by coopting local caudillos into his inner circle and winning the support of regional militias. Governments in Mexico, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, and elsewhere invited military missions made up of European officers to introduce structural and strategic reforms intended to modernize national militaries in the 1860s and 1870s. Regimes throughout Latin America purchased uniforms, weapons, and other equipment from France, Germany, and Spain as part of modernizing

efforts. At the same time, national policies encouraging foreign investment and the expansion of communications and TRANSPORTATION infrastructure aided militaries. The Brazilian military seized upon notions of modernity and became an instrumental force in ending the nation's long-standing system of monarchy.

Militaries in the Southern Cone underwent a similar process of professionalization, and the armies of CHILE, PERU, Argentina, and Bolivia had an opportunity to test their military readiness with the onset of the WAR OF THE PACIFIC in 1879. The war started largely as a boundary dispute but quickly turned into a statement of nationalism and a quest to demonstrate military superiority. The Chilean forces were outnumbered but managed to gain the upper hand in both land and naval battles. The Chilean population swelled with national pride and urged the army to invade Peru and occupy LIMA. Chile's eventual victory left Bolivia landlocked and resulted in a transfer of territory from Peru as well.

Military professionalization efforts continued in the early decades of the 20th century. But, modernizing efforts failed to remove the military from politics as many liberal leaders had hoped. Instead, Latin American militaries became even more drawn in to the political system throughout the 20th century.

See also MILITARY (Vols. II, IV).

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mining Mining has long been a mainstay of many Latin American economies. The Spanish Crown initially pursued the conquest of the Americas hoping to profit from the mining of precious metals. Early settlers in the Caribbean were disappointed to find GOLD and SILVER only in small amounts and of poor quality, but mainland conquistadores in the 16th century found the vast Aztec Empire in present-day MEXICO to have a ready supply of precious metals, and the promise of great mining riches served as a primary motivator for those participating in the conquest that followed. The conquest of Mexico and the lure of precious metals served as a model for conquistadores in South America in later decades.

The economic infrastructure of the Spanish colonies was established to allow the Crown to extract mining wealth from rich silver and gold deposits found in Central Mexico and the Andean regions of South America. The

Spanish Crown held a monopoly over all mining in the colonies and collected a large percentage of the profits. Silver mining generated large amounts of bullion for the Crown. Gold, COPPER, and mercury mining were also important economic activities in many regions of the Spanish colonies. The colonial mining industry required large numbers of indigenous workers, and a dangerous and exploitative LABOR system eventually emerged. The *mita* system used in present-day BOLIVIA and PERU was particularly oppressive and brought disruptions and strife to indigenous communities. Portuguese explorers failed to discover a promising source of precious metals in the early years of the colonial period in BRAZIL. Nonetheless, by the 18th century, large gold deposits had been discovered in Minas Gerais and precipitated a gold rush to that region. Brazilian gold mining caused a major shift in Brazil's ECONOMY and in the colony's population centers, but gold output peaked in the 1750s and then began to decline.

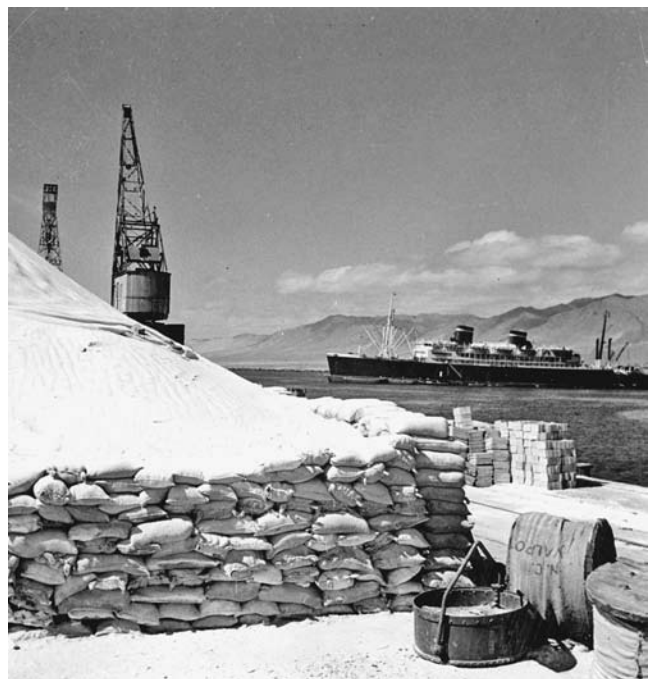
A decade of war and instability eventually brought independence to the Spanish mainland in the early 19th century. But, the independence movement that had started after Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of Spain in 1808 disrupted the vital mining industries in Mexico and South America. The wars for independence in Latin America combined with the Napoleonic Wars under way in Europe interrupted the TRADE networks that had been an important foundation of the mining industry. Furthermore, local fighting between insurgent and royalist forces often compelled mine owners to abandon their operations. By the early 1820s, independence movements had succeeded across mainland Spanish America. New governments in Mexico, GRAN COLOMBIA, and Peru hoped to build a healthy national treasury from mining income, but by now, many mines had flooded and had otherwise fallen into disrepair.

Despite hopes that mining revenues would help stimulate the economies of newly independent nations, mining activities failed to recover in most Latin American countries. Governments throughout the region suffered decades of political turmoil in the first half of the 19th century. Internal strife between conservative and liberal political movements brought violent overthrows of national leaders. Poorly defined national boundaries resulted in numerous border disputes among neighboring nations. Many of those disputes centered on regions that were rich in mineral resources. Mexico suffered a series of civil wars and faced the threat of foreign invasion throughout much of the century. As a result, most Latin American countries were unable to stimulate a recovery in the mining industry until the last half of the 19th century. One notable exception was CHILE, where new technologies and British investments fueled an impressive surge in copper mining starting as early as the 1830s.

Foreign interests came to control a large share of the mining sector, as many nations saw a recovery in that

industry in the late decades of the 19th century. British businessmen invested large sums of money in Mexico and Chile, and the Mexican mining industry attracted the interest of U.S. investors as well. Both Latin American countries achieved a degree of political stability toward the end of the century, and the national governments worked to create a favorable investment climate to attract foreign funds. In Mexico, the era of dictatorship under PORFIRIO DÍAZ known as the PORFIRIATO brought economic growth fueled by foreign investors' participation in vital sectors of the economy. Silver and copper mines were taken over by foreign owners, and mining output increased substantially as a result of modern technologies. But, at the same time, government policies overlooked the exploitation of workers in Mexico's mines. LABOR unrest in mining and other industries contributed to the discontent that eventually culminated in the 1910 Mexican Revolution. One notable example was the confrontation between mine workers and foreign owners at the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company in 1906. In Chile, the government had also invited foreign participation in the copper industry, and even though Chileans maintained ownership of the vital industry throughout the 19th century, the large degree of foreign (especially British) participation in mining opened the door for outright foreign control of copper and other industries in the 20th century.

Bolivia and Peru experienced a more modest recovery of the mining industry largely because those countries continued to experience political unrest throughout the



Nitrate mining had bolstered Chile's economy by the end of the 19th century, and nitrate continued to be an important export for the nation well into the 20th century. This photo shows a mountain of nitrates waiting to be loaded onto ships at Antofagasta, Chile. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

19th century. Bolivia had been the heart of silver production for the Spanish Crown during the colonial period, but silver output never reached those levels in the century following independence. Bolivia suffered through the rule of one ineffective CAUDILLO after another, and foreign investors approached the Bolivian economy only cautiously. Bolivia and Peru joined forces against Chile in the 1879 WAR OF THE PACIFIC. The five-year regional conflict originated as a territorial dispute over control of the nitrate-rich Antofagasta region of the Atacama Desert in present-day northern Chile. Chile eventually won that war and forced both neighboring countries to cede coastal territory. Nitrate mining helped to fuel the Chilean economy in the late 19th century.

Other mining activities surged during the 19th century in Latin America. The Bolivian economy benefited from a late boom in the tin industry, and tin became the nation's primary export by the turn of the century. Other mining products include zinc, nickel, and coal. Mining products made up a large portion of Latin American exports in the era of LAISSEZ-FAIRE economics. Foreign involvement in the mining industry in the 19th century laid a foundation for U.S. and European control of those sectors into the 20th century.

See also MINING (Vols. I, II, IV); MITA (Vol. II).

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Mitre, Bartolomé (b. 1821–d. 1906) *writer, intellectual, and president of Argentina* Bartolomé Mitre was an Argentine liberal intellectual and political activist during the dictatorship of JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. From exile he challenged the CAUDILLO leader and contributed to his eventual overthrow. Mitre's presidency brought a sense of unity and a period of prosperity to ARGENTINA, which had been beleaguered by tyranny, war, and instability in the earlier decades of the 19th century.

Mitre was born on June 26, 1821, in BUENOS AIRES. At a young age, he devoted himself to his studies and demonstrated a particular affinity for LITERATURE and the arts. At the age of 14, he worked for a brief period on the ranch of the Rosas FAMILY but found more pleasure in reading and writing poetry than in manual labor. Even in his youth, Mitre attracted the enmity of the Rosas dictatorship by criticizing the caudillo's government in his political writings. Eventually, he and his family were forced to seek exile in Montevideo, URUGUAY, to escape the repression of the Rosas regime. In Montevideo, Mitre eventually began a MILITARY career but continued

to write for local periodicals. He also became acquainted with other Argentine intellectuals in exile there, such as José Marmol and ESTEBAN ECHEVERRÍA. The young writers collaborated on a variety of anti-Rosas projects before Mitre left Uruguay for BOLIVIA in 1846.

Over the next five years, Mitre spent time in Bolivia, PERU, and CHILE. He resettled in Montevideo in 1851 and participated in the anti-Rosas revolt led by JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA. Almost immediately after Rosas's downfall in 1852, Mitre and Urquiza split over issues related to provincial rights versus the dominance of the capital city (see CENTRALISM; FEDERALISM). A native of Buenos Aires, Mitre resisted the federalist agenda being pursued by Urquiza. The militarily trained intellectual led a movement to separate Buenos Aires from the rest of the Argentine provinces. Mitre held important posts in the Buenos Aires government over the next six years as the rebellious province tried to operate autonomously from the rest of the country. Urquiza promulgated the CONSTITUTION OF 1853, but Mitre and the other leaders of Buenos Aires rejected the document, which had been ratified immediately by the interior provinces.

Urquiza relentlessly attacked Buenos Aires until the provinces came to an agreement to make the port city the national capital once again and amend the constitution to reflect Mitre's demands. Buenos Aires ratified the constitution in 1860 and rejoined the other provinces. Two years later, Mitre was elected president of the republic. He immediately began to implement measures to promote economic development and national progress. He expanded the EDUCATION system and devoted resources to improving government services such as the post office and telegraph lines. The attempts to attract European immigration that defined much of the late 19th century in Argentina began under Mitre (see MIGRATION). The president also introduced measures that increased foreign TRADE and augmented the national treasury.

In 1865, Argentina found itself allied with BRAZIL and Uruguay against PARAGUAY in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE. The war resulted from decades of conflict over the economic and political sovereignty of the nations surrounding the Río de la Plata. Paraguayan caudillo FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ had amassed an enormous army—far outnumbering the military forces of any of his neighbors. Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina formed an army of alliance and named Mitre to lead it. The Triple Alliance eventually defeated the Paraguayan dictator, but the costly and violent war was unpopular in Argentina and renewed many of the antagonisms between the interior and the capital city.

When his presidential term came to an end in 1868, Mitre was elected to the Senate. He also served as a diplomatic representative for his presidential successor, DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO. In 1870, Mitre started the national newspaper *La Nación*, which remains one of Argentina's leading dailies. In 1874, he ran for president once again but was defeated by Nicolás Avellaneda. Mitre

declared the elections fraudulent and attempted a minor rebellion. He was subsequently captured and imprisoned for four months. In 1890, he helped form the Unión Cívica (Civic Union) political party, which was the predecessor to the 20th-century Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union).

Mitre remained active in politics and journalism in the final years of his life. He died at the age of 84 on January 19, 1906, in Buenos Aires.

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modernism Modernism is a literary and artistic movement that originated in Latin America and grew to prominence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The movement was most notable in poetry, although it appeared to varying degrees in other ART forms. Modernism earned Latin American LITERATURE prominence on the world stage. Much of the poetry written in the modernist tradition in the late 19th century abandoned the nationalistic orientation that had defined the era of ROMANTICISM in earlier decades. Rather, modernism celebrated themes that were often distant and exotic through a style that was almost rhythmic in nature.

The emergence of modernism in Latin America coincided with the push for economic and cultural modernization in the late decades of the 19th century. Ironically, in many ways the modernist literary movement was a reaction against the emphasis on modernization. In particular, it was a mechanism for resisting the formulaic and stratified structure of ideologies such as LIBERALISM and POSITIVISM. Poets writing in the modernist style believed that modern life had devolved into an ugly and fragmented system that was out of touch with nature. But, unlike the romantics, who portrayed scenes of natural beauty, modernists privileged exotic or imaginary beauty. Poets wrote about faraway places and ancient times instead of the unpleasant realities of their own present.

Modernism also delineated a clear separation between Latin American and U.S. culture. Many modernist writers used their literature to criticize the United States. These denunciations targeted a perceived lack of spirituality in U.S. culture, as well as specific U.S. government policies in Latin America. Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío (b. 1867–d. 1916) is generally considered to be one of the fathers of modernism. He and other writers condemned the U.S. role in the WAR OF 1898 as an imperialist pursuit by a nation consumed with MANIFEST DESTINY. Darío remained suspicious of American expansionist intentions after the United States supported PANAMANIAN INDEPENDENCE in exchange for the right to build a canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans in 1903. His poem

“To Roosevelt” is one of the first literary statements in opposition to U.S. imperialism in Latin America.

Uruguayan writer José Enrique Rodó (b. 1871–d. 1917) is also considered one of the great modernist writers of the late 19th century. In 1900, he published “ARIEL,” an essay that stressed the common culture of spirituality and refinement among Latin American nations. He saw U.S. culture as shallow and materialistic and urged Latin Americans to embrace their common identity and resist the cultural hegemony of the United States.

Modernist Latin American writers of the late 19th century inspired later literary movements. They also helped frame a sense of alternative character as Latin American nations grappled with modernity.

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Monroe Doctrine The Monroe Doctrine was a statement issued by U.S. president James Monroe in 1823 outlining U.S. policy toward Latin America. The doctrine stated that as a central tenet, the United States would actively protect the sovereignty of the newly independent nations of Latin America and would work to prevent any European power from reestablishing a colonial empire in the region.

The policy was originally proposed by British foreign minister George Canning, who sought to ensure British access to Latin American TRADE markets. Throughout the colonial period, the British had aggressively pushed to break into the tightly controlled mercantilist economies of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Merchants and government leaders wanted to ensure that Latin American markets remained open and feared that these European powers would attempt to recolonize Latin America in the 19th century. Canning recommended a bilateral policy whereby the United States and Britain would protect Latin America from the threat of other European incursions. U.S. leaders endorsed the spirit of the policy, but some remained suspicious of British motives. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams speculated that the British had their own imperial aims and argued that a unilateral policy would better serve U.S. interests. Under Adams’s counsel, Monroe articulated the unilateral policy in a congressional address on December 2, 1823.

The Monroe Doctrine became the basis for U.S. policy on Latin America for the rest of the 19th century, and its influence in U.S.–Latin American relations continued into the 20th century. The policy’s three main concepts defined the role the United States would play in Latin America. First, it was suggested that the Americas and Europe resided in “separate spheres.” The political and cultural systems of the “New World” and the “Old

World” were fundamentally different, and the common American heritage made the United States uniquely qualified to safeguard the well-being of the rest of the region. Second, the notion of noncolonization posited that the Americas were no longer open to colonization by Europe. The doctrine stated that the United States would consider any European attempt to interfere in Latin America as an attack on the United States itself. Third, according to the concept of nonintervention, the United States pledged not to become involved in internal European affairs. The doctrine also stated that the United States would not interfere in the few remaining European colonies in the Americas.

The Monroe Doctrine met with a mixed reception in Latin America. While some interpreted it as a progressive statement of anticolonialism, others viewed it with suspicion, especially as it became clear that the United States lacked the ability to enforce its provisions. U.S. leaders protested an attempted Spanish invasion of MEXICO in 1829, French incursions into Mexico in 1838 and the 1860s, and the reestablishment of Spanish colonial rule in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC in the 1860s (see FRENCH INTERVENTION; WAR OF RESTORATION). But, in the early decades of the 19th century, the U.S. MILITARY was neither large enough nor powerful enough to offer any real protection to Latin America, and the U.S. Civil War prevented full implementation of the Monroe Doctrine in the 1860s (see U.S. CIVIL WAR AND CENTRAL AMERICA).

Other detractors of the doctrine insisted that it was merely a guise under which the United States could expand its influence in Latin America in the spirit of MANIFEST DESTINY. Indeed, the United States did expand its territorial, economic, and cultural control in many areas of Latin America in the 19th century (see U.S.-MEXICAN WAR; WAR OF 1898). At the turn of the century, U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt offered a “corollary” to the Monroe Doctrine to justify the expansion of U.S. influence, drawing further criticism in Latin America.

See also U.S. CARIBBEAN INTERVENTIONS, 1900–1934 (Vol. IV); U.S.-MEXICAN RELATIONS (Vol. IV).

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Montalvo, Juan (b. 1832–d. 1889) *Ecuadorean essayist and liberal polemicist* Juan Montalvo, an erudite writer from Ambato, ECUADOR, spent his adult life critiquing his country’s governments. Consequently, he spent much time in exile in COLOMBIA and Paris. His writings incited enthusiasm for Liberal Party leaders such as Eloy Alfaro Delgado (1897–1901, 1907–11).

In the 1870s, Montalvo made his mark by critiquing GABRIEL GARCÍA MORENO’s Conservative government, which he defined as a tyranny. His impassioned essay “The Perpetual Dictatorship” caused liberal youths in QUITO to plan García Moreno’s assassination, after which Montalvo noted, “It is not Rayo’s sword, but my pen that has killed him.”

Unable to make peace with either the moderate Liberals or the dictator who ruled from 1877 to 1883, Montalvo penned two more popular, sarcastic, and critical essays, “The Catalinas” and “Seven Treatises.” Montalvo’s writing criticized the shortcomings of leaders who failed to share his belief in 19th-century anticlerical LIBERALISM.

Drawing on the traditions of French essayists such as Montaigne and the 19th-century thinker Félicité Lamennais, who espoused ideas of Christian socialism, Montalvo characterized himself as a liberal Catholic, retaining his belief in the faith to the end of his life. Although today readers tend to find Montalvo’s work bombastic and overblown, he is still considered one of the foremost figures of 19th-century Ecuadorean LITERATURE.

See also ALFARO DELGADO, JOSÉ ELOY (Vol. IV).

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Montt, Jorge (b. 1845–d. 1922) *president of Chile* Jorge Montt was a Chilean naval officer who helped lead the revolt of the congressional army in the CHILEAN CIVIL WAR against President JOSÉ MANUEL BALMACEDA. He served as president after the overthrow of Balmaceda (1891–96) and is generally credited with easing political animosities and bringing a sense of calm back to the Chilean presidency.

Montt was born in Casablanca, CHILE, on April 26, 1845. From an early age, he devoted himself to a MILITARY career. Montt participated in defending VALPARAISO from an attempted Spanish invasion in 1865. In the following years, he advanced within the naval hierarchy, working up to the rank of captain by 1879. Montt also played an important role in commanding Chile’s naval fleet in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–84).

By 1890, Montt had risen to the position of maritime governor at Valparaiso. When Congress rebelled against President Balmaceda in 1891, Montt and his fellow naval officers joined forces with the legislators. Balmaceda had the support of the army, and the two branches of government, each backed by separate branches of the military, engaged in a violent civil war throughout 1891. By September, Montt’s naval forces and the Congress had overthrown Balmaceda. A governing junta named Montt provisional president, and several months later, the war hero was chosen as constitutional president in

an official election. Because he was not formally aligned with any political party, Montt was able to pacify many of the political hostilities that had been brewing for decades. He offered amnesty to numerous army commanders who had supported Balmaceda. Generally, the president deferred to the authority of Congress, thus avoiding further political confrontations.

After serving one term as president, in 1896, Montt stepped down and continued his military career. He died in SANTIAGO DE CHILE in 1922.

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Morais, Prudente de (Prudente José de Morais e Barros) (b. 1841–d. 1902) *president of Brazil* Prudente de Morais was the third president of BRAZIL and first civilian to hold the office of president since the establishment of the republic in 1889. He represented the COFFEE interests of the state of SÃO PAULO and was in charge during the violent repression of separatists in the community of CANUDOS.

Morais was born on October 4, 1841. As a young man, he entered local politics and was eventually elected to the national legislature as a member of the LIBERAL PARTY. As a *paulista* politician, Morais supported the Brazilian abolitionist movement and aligned himself with republican and positivist leaders who led the REVOLUTION OF 1889, which overthrew the Brazilian monarchy. With the establishment of the Republic of Brazil, Morais continued to represent the interests of São Paulo, first as state governor and later as a national senator. He unsuccessfully ran for president in 1891 against the provisional president and MILITARY leader MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA. After Deodoro was forced to resign, Morais became the first civilian president of the new republic (1894–98) and the first executive elected by direct popular vote.

Morais faced a number of insurrections during his presidency, particularly as old imperial interests looked for ways to reestablish a monarchy. The president ordered military forces to bring the separatist rural community of Canudos back under government control. A violent confrontation took place between the Brazilian military and inhabitants of Canudos, resulting in tens of thousands of casualties.

Morais died in Piracicaba, São Paulo, on December 3, 1902.

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Morant Bay Rebellion See CARIBBEAN, BRITISH.

Morazán, Francisco (b. 1792–d. 1842) *statesman and president of the United Provinces of Central America* Of West Indian descent, Francisco Morazán was born in Tegucigalpa, HONDURAS, where he rose to the leadership of the liberal cause at the time of CENTRAL AMERICA'S independence in 1821. He held several government positions in the newly independent Honduras and represented the country at the regional congress that formed the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA in 1823.

As a champion of the liberal cause, between 1827 and 1829, Morazán commanded the army that drove the conservatives from power in Honduras, EL SALVADOR, and GUATEMALA. As head of state in Honduras in 1829, he expelled Archbishop Ramón Casaus and Franciscan and Dominican priests for opposing the Liberal Party and directed Congress to close down the male monastic orders and approve the state's confiscation of their property. In 1830, he became the first president of the United Provinces of Central America, but owing to independence-minded states, a weak constitution, and regional jealousies and rivalries, Morazán accomplished little in this role. Honduran scholar and statesman José Cecilio del Valle (b. 1780–d. 1834) was selected to succeed Morazán as the federation's president in 1834 but died en route to his inauguration in Guatemala City. Morazán completed Valle's term.

Morazán presided over the collapse of the federation and the temporary end to the era of liberal politics in Central America. The civil, judicial, and penal code reforms introduced to Guatemala by its president, JOSÉ FELIPE MARIANO GÁLVEZ, brought stiff conservative reaction that was exacerbated by a cholera outbreak in 1837 and used by RAFAEL CARRERA to organize disgruntled Amerindian groups into an insurgent army. The Carrera and Morazán armies battled each other for the next three years. Recognizing the futility of Morazán's cause, the provincial congress voted in 1838 to release the states from the federation, if they wished to separate. COSTA RICA, Honduras and NICARAGUA quickly withdrew. No authorized body existed in February 1839 to choose Morazán's successor.

In June 1839, Morazán became president of El Salvador and immediately fended off troops from conservative Honduras and Nicaragua sent to depose him. With visions of bringing the fragmented Central American federation back together, Morazán led an army into Guatemala to oust Carrera. Instead, the tables were reversed in the battle for Guatemala City on March 19, 1840. Morazán escaped to PERU and two years later arrived in Costa Rica with plans to restore the federation. He ousted President Braulio Carrillo but, as a foreigner, quickly fell victim to various opposition groups. He was captured and then executed on September 15, 1842, the 21st anniversary of Central America's independence from Spain.

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Moret Law (1870) Named for then minister of colonial affairs Segismundo Moret y Prendergast (b. 1838–d. 1913), the Moret Law was issued by the Spanish government on July 4, 1870, in regards to all its remaining colonies. The law stated that all government-owned slaves, all slaves over the age of 60, all slaves born after September 17, 1868, and all slaves who served in the Spanish army during the recent unrest in CUBA were free. The law effectively freed elderly and very young slaves in PUERTO RICO and Cuba.

The man largely responsible for the creation of the law, Moret y Prendergast, was not only a minister in the Spanish government but also the president of the Spanish Abolitionist Society. For several years, he had called for an end to SLAVERY throughout the Spanish Empire, and following the removal of Queen Isabella II (b. 1830–d. 1904) from the throne in 1868, the new liberal Spanish government saw fit to agree with his views. An estimated 10,000 slaves were freed as a result of the Moret Law; these freedmen and -women became known as *libertos*.

The law, however, angered many Puerto Rican plantation owners and was difficult for the Spanish authorities to enforce. The primary disagreement between slave owners and the Spanish government concerned the amount of compensation paid for the infant slaves freed by the law. The law stipulated an amount of 125 pesetas to be paid to slave owners for each infant slave, an unreasonably low sum in the opinion of many slave owners. The conflict eventually came to an end when Spain abolished slavery altogether in 1873, freeing some 30,000 additional slaves in Puerto Rico.

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Mosquito Coast The Mosquito Coast is a lowland, swampy, bug-infested strip of land about 40 miles (64 km) wide and approximately 225 miles (362 km) long running from the San Juan River on the Nicaraguan–Costa Rican border north to Cape Gracias a Dios, HONDURAS, just above the Coco River. Named after the Miskito Indians who inhabit the region, it has long been isolated from CENTRAL AMERICA’s historical development.

In the early Spanish colonial period, the British and Dutch used the coast as a haven from which to attack Spanish shipping (see CARIBBEAN, BRITISH; CARIBBEAN, DUTCH). British loggers also operated in the region. In

1678, the British established a township at Bluefields, proclaimed a protectorate over the Miskito, and brought slaves from Jamaica to boost the LABOR force. Despite protests, first from the Spanish and later the Central American republics after their independence in 1821, it was not until the 1840s that the challenge became significant. At that time, U.S. interests in the region resulted in a confrontation with the British.

The U.S.-British controversy began on June 1, 1848, when the British raised the Miskito flag at the mouth of the San Juan River and renamed the enclave there Greytown. The United States viewed this as an attempt to thwart its interests in a transisthmian canal utilizing the San Juan River and dispatched ELIJAH HISE (1848) and EPHRAIM GEORGE SQUIER (1849) to Central America to counter the British (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). While the treaties the diplomats negotiated were never ratified, they played a significant role in the development of the 1850 CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY, which temporarily curtailed Britain’s territorial expansion and limited U.S. options in building a transisthmian canal. The diplomatic maneuverings, however, prevented neither Cornelius Vanderbilt from constructing a transit route across NICARAGUA using the San Juan River, nor the leveling of Greytown by a U.S. naval ship in 1854 (see GREYTOWN AFFAIR).

Beset by problems in Europe and rising U.S. interest in Central America, the British government backed away from the region in the latter part of the 1850s. Desirous of easing tensions, in 1859, the British dispatched Charles Wycke to GUATEMALA, Honduras, and Nicaragua. In a series of treaties Wycke temporarily defused regional tensions. In return for abandoning its claims to BELIZE, he committed the British to constructing a railroad from Guatemala’s interior to the Caribbean port at Belize City. The railroad was never built, and the Guatemalan-Belize boundary dispute continues to this day. In Tegucigalpa, Wycke recognized the Honduran claim to the Bay Islands in return for a Honduran promise not to transfer the islands to a third party or to interfere with British property or RELIGION. This agreement was upheld. According to the 1860 Treaty of Managua, Great Britain relinquished its protectorate over the Mosquito Territory and turned Greytown into a free port under Nicaraguan sovereignty. Within Nicaragua, the Miskito enjoyed self-government until 1864, when Britain canceled its annual 1,000-pound subsidy and the Nicaraguan government withdrew its recognition of Miskito sovereignty over the kingdom.

The Miskito kingdom remained a backwater until the 1880s, when U.S. expatriates began to arrive, first in Bluefields, the kingdom’s capital and main port. Bluefields quickly came to resemble a small U.S. town, with horses, a blacksmith, tavern, and the like, as well as its own newspaper. The surrounding region supported banana growing and, by 1893, U.S. plantations had appeared along the Escondido River. Bluefields, along with Puerto Limón, COSTA RICA, were the main suppliers of bananas to the world.

Bluefield's lush life changed in 1894 when Nicaraguan president José Santos Zelaya imposed martial law on the city and an export tax on bananas and refused to recognize any concessions made by the Miskito government. His actions also violated the 1860 Treaty of Managua. The United States hesitated to act, but Britain did not. British troops were dispatched to Bluefields, where they received a warm reception from the North Americans on March 2, 1894. The United States faced a dilemma: It could either let Britain defend its interests in the Miskito kingdom or charge Britain with violations of the MONROE DOCTRINE and the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The U.S. government reluctantly supported the Nicaraguan position, which contributed to the British softening their position. Finally, in November 1894, the Miskito Indians and the Nicaraguan government reached an agreement that effectively put the 1860 Treaty of Managua into effect. The Miskito kingdom was absorbed by Nicaragua, but its residents were exempted from national taxes and MILITARY service and the Miskitos were able to govern their local townships and communities. The British quietly withdrew from the area, while the North Americans remained at the mercy of President Zelaya.

See also ZELAYA, JOSÉ SANTOS (Vol. IV).

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music Music has long been a medium of cultural expression, and regional music often reflects political, demographic, ecological, and economic trends over time. The development of music in Latin America in the 19th century incorporated these and other factors, with each region producing its own unique musical style. A distinction can also be made between popular music, which was the everyday music created and enjoyed by a large majority of people, and artistic music, which refers to the high-culture styles intended for elite audiences.

Local traits were evident in popular music dating back to the colonial period in the various regions of Latin America. The presence of African slaves in the Spanish Caribbean resulted in the emergence of distinct musical styles that merged tropical sounds with African rhythms (see SLAVERY). Popular Caribbean music was generally accompanied by a dance style, and forms such as the mambo and the *contradanza* emerged in the 19th century and became predecessors to the salsa genre of the 20th century. A similar evolution in popular music occurred along the Caribbean coast of northern South America, which was a main point of entry for African slaves into the Spanish mainland. *Cumbia* music and dance developed first in present-day COLOMBIA as a fusion of African sounds and native instruments. Because of its African and indigenous roots, *cumbia* was long considered the music

of the poor and lower classes. Versions of *cumbia* spread to other South American countries.

BRAZIL also witnessed an amalgamation of African, indigenous, and European musical and dance styles throughout the colonial period and during the 19th century. Brazilian plantation owners imported African slaves whose musical traditions merged with local styles. Hybrid musical forms and accompanying dances were incorporated into religious practices in those communities, despite elite attempts to curtail their popularity. By the 19th century, the predecessor to samba had emerged as both a musical style and a seductive dance. By the end of the century, many urban elite had embraced the distinctly Brazilian music, and samba eventually became part of carnival celebrations in RIO DE JANEIRO and elsewhere.

Various new forms of music emerged in 19th-century MEXICO, during which time much of the regional variation of musical styles that still exists today took root. The *son*, which was a combination of indigenous, European, and some African styles, had developed as the main form of popular music in Mexico during the colonial period. It became the foundation for *ranchera* music first in the Jalisco region, and that style spread throughout the country. The Jalisco *ranchera* also gave rise to the distinctly Mexican mariachi style, characterized by the musical instruments and the *charro* attire of the musicians. Mexico's northern regions became home to *norteño* music. The *norteño* style evolved as *ranchera* musicians borrowed musical styles from polka and other immigrant music. By the end of the 19th century, *norteño* music included a distinctive and unique accordion sound that was not found in other parts of the country. Mexican *corridos*, or narrative ballads, became important throughout the 19th century as a way for local villages to disseminate news, history, and other important information.

Artistic music followed the trends of other ART forms in the 19th century. Much of the opera, classical music, and musical theater that were popular among Latin American elites were heavily influenced by European styles. By the 1870s, modernization efforts by a number of Latin American governments included the construction of national theaters and the opening of music conservatories. The European influence in artistic music was evident throughout most of Latin America until well into the 20th century.

See also MUSIC (Vols. I, II, IV).

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N

Nabuco, Joaquim (b. 1849–d. 1910) *Brazilian writer and abolitionist* Joaquim Nabuco was a politician, abolitionist, and writer in late 19th-century BRAZIL. He was also the founder of one of the nation's leading antislavery societies.

Nabuco was born in Recife in the northeastern SUGAR-producing state of Pernambuco on August 19, 1849. He came from a wealthy landowning family, and his father was an influential politician in the EMPIRE OF BRAZIL. The young Nabuco initially pursued a career in law. Eventually he served in the national legislature where he became a member of the LIBERAL PARTY and an advocate of more progressive economic and political structures. Despite the FAMILY's strong ties to the slave-based ECONOMY of the northeast, both father and son opposed SLAVERY largely because they believed it was an antiquated LABOR system that would slow the nation's pace of economic modernization. Nabuco spoke out against the 1871 LAW OF THE FREE WOMB on the grounds that it provided for only gradual abolition, arguing that under its provisions, slavery could effectively continue into the 20th century. In 1880, Nabuco helped establish the BRAZILIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and served as president of the visible emancipationist organization. In 1884, he published one of his most famous antislavery works, *O Abolicionismo* (Abolitionism), in which he argued that slavery was damaging BRAZIL's national character (see LITERATURE). Gradually, individual states began passing emancipation laws, effectively creating havens for escaped slaves. Finally, a national abolition law was passed in 1888, making Brazil the last nation in the Americas to end slavery (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

Nabuco was an advocate of monarchy, and he ended his legislative career after the establishment of the OLD

REPUBLIC in 1889. He continued to write on political issues and eventually served as a diplomat on behalf of the Brazilian government in Washington D.C. He died on January 17, 1910.

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Native Americans Large populations of Native Americans and people of indigenous ancestry have played a central role in Latin American history. The American continents and the islands of the Caribbean were populated by millions of native peoples living in diverse settlements. Those groups ranged in size from very small clanlike settlements to enormous empires spanning large swaths of the continent. The estimated millions who resided within the Aztec Empire in the Valley of Mexico were subdued by Spanish conquistadores in the 1520s. The once-impressive Maya civilization was already in decline when European settlers arrived in the Americas, but a significant population remained in southern MEXICO and CENTRAL AMERICA. The vast Inca Empire stretched for approximately 2,500 miles (4,023 km) along the Pacific coast of Andean South America. Those large empires are the most well known of Latin America's Native American groups because of their impressive cultural advancements and the extraordinary way in which they confronted Spanish conquistadores.

Nevertheless, they made up only a portion of the indigenous population on the eve of the European conquest. Millions of Amerindians lived in small, relatively isolated communities, and the sparsely populated regions of the Americas proved to be some of the most difficult for the Spanish and Portuguese to subjugate.

THE COLONIAL ERA

During the colonial period, the Spanish devised a number of policies to deal with the native population. Crown officials wanted to bring the indigenous under Spanish administrative control and felt a strong obligation to convert the native population to Christianity. Spanish settlers also saw Native Americans as a potential source of LABOR. An early mechanism for accomplishing all of these ends was the *encomienda*, a royal grant that gave Spanish lords control over all Amerindians living on a specified plot of land. Spanish conquistadores received *encomienda* grants as a reward for MILITARY service in the conquest. They often imposed harsh labor requirements and exacted tribute payments from the indigenous living on their *encomiendas*. While the *encomienda* system was eventually eliminated in all but the most peripheral regions of the colonies, the tribute system remained. Indigenous villages made regular contributions—usually in the form of agricultural products—to Crown officials throughout the colonial period. Although Spanish laws forbade the enslavement of Amerindians, other exploitative labor systems emerged that forced Native Americans to work in mines, on HACIENDAS, and elsewhere (see MINING). The *mita* established native labor obligations in Peruvian mines, while the *repartimiento* performed a similar function in mines, on haciendas, or on public works projects in Mexico.

Portuguese settlers found even smaller indigenous groups in colonial BRAZIL. In that country, the development of SUGAR plantations in the 16th century led to attempts to enslave the native people. But, small, scattered tribes could easily seek refuge in the large, unsettled Brazilian interior, thus Portuguese planters quickly looked to African SLAVERY to supply plantation labor. Official policies eventually outlawed the enslavement of Native Americans, but illicit slave raids into Amerindian settlements continued throughout most of the colonial period.

Racial miscegenation occurred in both Spanish and Portuguese regions of the Americas. Mestizo offspring of combined indigenous and European heritage fell within a social hierarchy that privileged pure-blooded Europeans. Mestizos were considered socially inferior to the Spanish and Portuguese, and their political and economic opportunities were limited. The indigenous, however, were considered to be in a separate ethnic category, removed from the rest of society. Religious distinctions were also evident throughout the colonial period. Despite church leaders' attempts to Christianize the Amerindians and eradicate their native religious practices, many indig-

enous rituals survived the colonial period and were integrated—often secretly—into indigenous notions of Catholicism. Several hybrid RELIGIONS incorporating indigenous, European, and African religious practices emerged during the colonial period and survived into the 19th century. They include CANDOMBLÉ in Brazil, SANTERIA in CUBA, and VODOU in HAITI.

NATIVE AMERICANS UNDER LIBERALISM

The colonial practices set up to administer Native Americans set a foundation that continued into the 19th century. During the independence era, liberal leaders spoke of abandoning the social and legal restrictions that had long discriminated against indigenous people. Inspired by the European Enlightenment, independence leaders in the former Spanish colonies initially abolished the tribute system and began discussing Native American issues in terms of equality and freedom. Those discussions proved to be short lived, however. In the political and economic chaos that followed independence, new governments reinstated indigenous tribute as a way to fill the national treasury. New constitutions that purported to foster democratic political structures excluded Native Americans from the political process. Indigenous issues had little priority in the decades following independence as elite leaders vied for power and considered new political and social systems that offered few improvements for Amerindians.

The early decades of the 19th century in many regions of Latin America were defined by conflict between liberal and conservative political factions (see CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM). Disputes arose over how to implement new political, economic, and social systems in the newly independent nations. Landownership emerged as a particularly contentious issue as liberal leaders promoted a system of private property ownership over the collective, institutional control of land that had dominated in the colonial period. Liberal attitudes toward land control can be understood as part of a larger strategy to weaken the long-standing influence and power of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. As a result of special endowments and payments of indulgences, the Catholic Church had emerged from the colonial era as the largest single landowner in Latin America. But, in heavily populated indigenous areas such as Mexico and the Andean regions of South America, indigenous communities also controlled large landholdings (see EJIDO). Liberal leaders believed that only individuals should own land and passed laws calling for the dismantling of church and indigenous communal lands for sale to private individuals.

The impact of 19th-century land reform laws was devastating to indigenous communities. Many groups had lived on and worked ancestral lands collectively since pre-Columbian times and had developed a deeply rooted sense of identity that was closely tied to those lands. Dispossessed Native Americans were not only deprived of their traditional lands but were forced to become

manual laborers on those same lands. Rural elite gained control over much of the land that had belonged to the church and to indigenous communities. Large haciendas emerged as land became concentrated into the hands of a few in a system known as *LATIFUNDIO*. Those patterns of land concentration became particularly pronounced in the last half of the 19th century as government economic policies increasingly favored *LAISSE-FAIRE TRADE* to develop an export market for raw materials (see *AGRICULTURE*).

Latin American elite and foreign investors developed a commercial agricultural sector to produce grains, fruits, and other agricultural goods for export. Large-scale agricultural production required a ready supply of cheap rural labor, and landless indigenous peasants often had no choice but to fill that role. In many areas of Latin America, an exploitative system of debt peonage developed under which poor and generally illiterate indigenous peasants entered into labor contracts on large agricultural estates. Under those contracts, the landlord often made an initial “loan” to workers to provide necessary capital to begin production. In return, rural workers owed the landlord a set share of the harvest. Contract terms generally made it impossible for workers to escape the debt they carried from that initial loan. Liberal land reforms that were envisioned to create nations of small independent farmers in the end created a large and exploited rural servile class among Latin American indigenous. Disputes over indigenous land and labor exploitation continued into the 20th century and became the basis of a number of later conflicts.

NATIVE AMERICANS UNDER POSITIVISM

By the final decades of the 19th century, many liberal leaders in Latin America were incorporating positivist theories of progress and development into their social policies. *POSITIVISM* is a theory of human knowledge and social development originally proffered by French philosopher Auguste Comte. Under positivism, government leaders pursued economic and social policies that would bring modernization and progress. In areas with a large native population, like Mexico, leaders turned to positivism to explain the disparities between elite and indigenous cultures. Advisers to Mexican dictator PORFIRIO DÍAZ who subscribed to the positivist philosophy were known as *CIENTÍFICOS*. DÍAZ attempted to attract foreign investors by showcasing the cultural and economic progress the nation had supposedly made in the last half of the 19th century. Mexican elite defined progress as an imitation of all things European, and they especially favored French fashion, cuisine, and entertainment. DÍAZ and the *científicos* aimed to make Mexico look modern often by disguising the indigenous through sumptuary laws and other regulations intended to control their appearance and behavior.

Leaders in other Latin American nations adopted positivist attitudes toward the indigenous to varying

degrees. In ARGENTINA, DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO and BARTOLOMÉ MITRE expanded EDUCATION in Argentina as a way to “civilize” rural peasants. Elite leaders in many countries adopted the theory of SOCIAL DARWINISM to explain the apparent lack of progress among indigenous and other poor populations. Social Darwinism took on racist undertones in Latin America and became a justification for exploitation of the indigenous and urban working classes. Despite government leaders’ attempts to force modernity and progress on to their nations, the gap between indigenous and urban elite widened in the last decades of the 19th century.

NATIVE AMERICANS IN FRONTIER REGIONS

Areas of Latin America that had been on the periphery of the Spanish Empire during the colonial period were often home to indigenous groups that were never fully brought under European control. For much of the 19th century, frontier Native Americans in CHILE, Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil resisted national government authority. Those frontier regions were beset by rebellions in the late 19th century, particularly as white settlers attempted to move in. Government leaders passed policies to encourage MIGRATION and settlement of the previously indigenous regions, and the military was often brought in to subdue rebellious native groups.



Many indigenous Latin Americans lived in extreme poverty throughout the 19th century. Here, a native Brazilian family poses in front of their humble dwelling. (Library of Congress)

In Chile, the Mapuches (Araucanians), native inhabitants of the southern Araucania territory, had resisted Spanish control throughout the colonial period. In the early decades following independence, the Chilean government had largely ignored the continuing recalcitrance in the region, preferring instead to devote national resources to ensuring political stability in SANTIAGO DE CHILE. In the 1850s, the Chilean military began efforts to pacify the region and to bring the Mapuche under government control. A new administrative province of Arauco was created, which placed the Amerindian territory of Araucania under national jurisdiction. President José Joaquín Pérez (1861–71) introduced policies intended to populate the Arauco in the 1860s. Government planners, backed by the Chilean military, moved in to build cities and extend TRANSPORTATION lines into the region. Conflict erupted between Mapuche natives and Chilean military forces almost immediately. Relative peace was finally secured in the region in the 1880s, although the last remaining groups of Mapuche resisted government authority until 1890. By the turn of the century, the Chilean government had largely succeeded in encouraging migration into Arauco Province.

The Argentine government undertook a similar enterprise when JULIO ARGENTINO ROCA initiated what is known as the CONQUEST OF THE DESERT in the PAMPAS and Patagonia from 1878 to 1879. Roca's campaign was in many ways a reaction to Chile's actions in the OCCUPATION OF THE ARAUCANIA. Argentine leaders feared that new Chilean settlements along the Argentine border would encroach into their national territory. Just as the Chilean Mapuche tribes had withstood Spanish and then Chilean authority, Native American inhabitants of the Argentine countryside had a long history of resisting government attempts to subordinate the region. An early campaign to force the Pampas Indians into submission had been led by BUENOS AIRES GOVERNOR and CAUDILLO JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS in the early 1830s. While Rosas achieved some success, the indigenous inhabitants of the interior continued to reject government authority. As government leaders sought to settle the Pampas and develop commercial agriculture there, the defiant Native Americans again attracted attention as they attacked white settlers in an attempt to defend their lands. Roca's new campaign in 1878 involved the systematic removal of Amerindians from the Pampas. Thousands of native peoples who resisted the campaign were killed. Many more were captured and relocated. By 1880, the "Conquest of the Desert" was complete but at an enormous human cost. In later decades, European and Argentine settlers populated the formerly indigenous territory, and commercial agriculture emerged as a vital part of the national ECONOMY.

Mexico experienced its own episodes of indigenous insurrection in the 19th century. Tribes in the northern regions were never fully brought under Spanish control during the colonial period, and they remained outside Mexican government control throughout the first half

of the century. Mexico lost some of that territory in the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR, but rebellious Yaqui tribes remained primarily in the northern state of Sonora. The Díaz government relocated a number of Yaqui Indians to the henequen plantations in the Yucatán Peninsula as a way of quelling the continued northern rebellions. The Maya of the Yucatán also posed challenges to the Mexican government in the 19th century. A rebellion erupted in 1847 and eventually culminated in the full-scale CASTE WAR OF THE YUCATÁN, which lasted throughout most of the last half of the 19th century. Parts of the peninsula effectively seceded from Mexico, and the national government was unable to regain control until the turn of the century.

Native Americans in the interior of Brazil defied Portuguese rule throughout the colonial period. Brazil's vast jungles and dense foliage made full control of the interior elusive. Small and relatively isolated indigenous communities survived into the 19th century, but government initiatives to develop the nation's export markets brought a number of changes to the interior. The Amazon region became home to large-scale rubber cultivation in the 1840s and 1850s. Along with the rubber industry came new transportation and communication lines. The relative isolation that many Amazonian indigenous groups had enjoyed began to disappear.

Despite the challenges faced by many of Latin America's native groups during the 19th century, a sense of indigenous identity persisted and even thrived. That sense of identity provided an important foundation for Native American movements that gained ground in the 20th century. By the 1930s, *indigenismo*, or the movement celebrating indigenous heritage, had emerged. It became particularly strong in areas with large Native American populations, such as Mexico and Peru. But, Latin American indigenous continued to battle government policies that targeted their land and drove many further into poverty. By the late 20th century, many Native American groups were pushing for their rights in areas where they still felt legal and social discrimination.

See also ARAUCANIANS (Vol. II); AZTECS (Vol. I); DEBT PEONAGE (Vol. II); ENCOMIENDA (Vols. I, II); ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II); HACIENDA (Vol. II); INCAS (Vol. I); MAYA (Vol. I); MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO (Vols. I, II); MITA (Vols. I, II); NATIVE AMERICANS (Vols. I, II, IV); REPARTIMIENTO (Vol. II); TRIBUTE (Vol. II).

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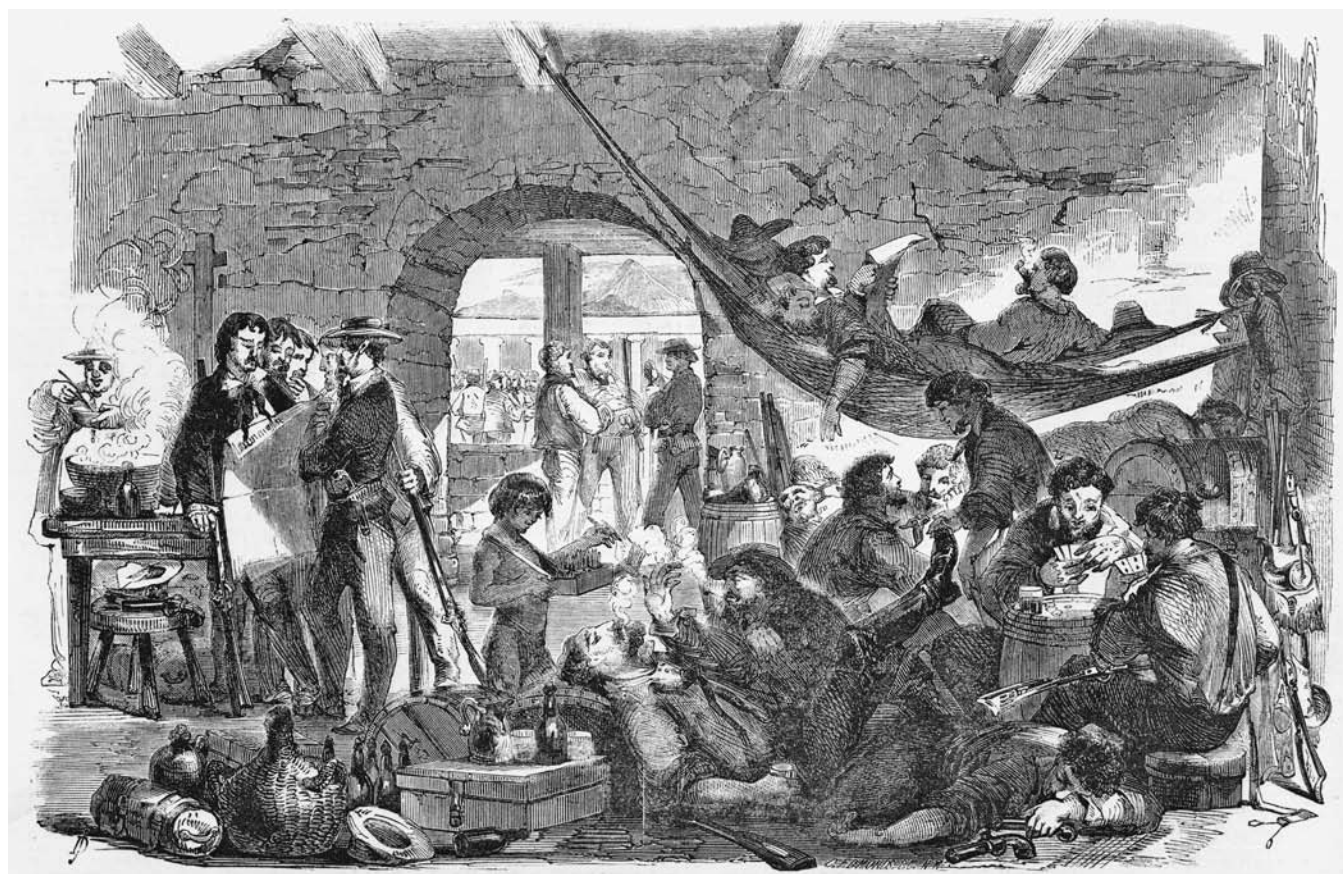
New Granada See COLOMBIA.

Nicaragua The Republic of Nicaragua is CENTRAL AMERICA's largest nation at 49,579 square miles (128,409 km²). It sits on the Pacific Ocean side of the isthmus and is bounded by HONDURAS to the north, COSTA RICA to the south, and the Caribbean Sea to the east. Founded by Christopher Columbus in 1502, its two most important cities, Granada in the south and León in the north, developed into centers of conservative and liberal thought, respectively, on the eve of independence (see CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM).

This political division flared up in 1821. The conservative Granadian elite favored the establishment of an independent nation, while the liberals in León successfully lobbied for joining the Mexican Empire. When the latter collapsed in 1823, Nicaragua joined

the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA, and after its demise in 1838, Nicaraguan liberals sought but failed to revive the union in the 1840s. A constituent assembly declared Nicaragua a sovereign nation in 1838, and intermittent warfare between Liberals and Conservatives continued until 1854, when Conservative general Fruto Chamorro (b. 1804–d. 1855) gained control and declared Nicaragua a republic. Not to be denied political power, the Liberals turned to WILLIAM WALKER, a U.S. citizen who dabbled in law and journalism before leading an unsuccessful filibustering expedition into MEXICO in 1853.

Walker arrived in Nicaragua in June 1855 with a band of 56 men ostensibly to fight on behalf of the Liberal cause but in reality to establish himself as president of Nicaragua and then of all Central America. But his vision of "Americanizing" the region included the legalization of SLAVERY, an institution that brought on him the wrath of Central American conservatives. Led by Conservative Costa Rican president Juan Rafael Mora and aided by U.S. entrepreneur Cornelius Vanderbilt, whose cross-isthmian transit route was threatened by Walker, the Central Americans gathered their forces and ousted Walker on May 1, 1857. The undeterred Walker returned twice more, on the last occasion falling victim to



Much of Nicaragua's 19th-century history is dominated by the activities of North American filibusterers. In this 1856 newspaper illustration, William Walker and his men celebrate their entrance into Granada, Nicaragua. (Library of Congress)

a Honduran firing squad in the Caribbean coastal town of Trujillo on September 12, 1860.

The Walker affair resulted in a political peace between the Conservatives and Liberals that lasted 30 years, from 1863 to 1893, during which Nicaragua was governed by a series of conservative presidents. The 1857 constitution affirmed the principle of centralized government and the privileges enjoyed by the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Contrary to traditional conservative thought, Nicaragua increasingly encouraged agro-exports, with COFFEE becoming the most important product by 1890. Government laws also insured cheap LABOR for coffee growers. The Nicaraguan government also welcomed foreign capital into the country for the completion of a railroad that connected the western part of the country to the port city of Corinto and the construction of port facilities there. Foreign investment also went into the coffee, TOBACCO, timber, and GOLD MINING industries. Telegraph lines were expanded and infrastructure improved.

The Conservative period came to an end in 1893. The Liberals, led by General José Santos Zeleya, capitalized on a split in the Conservative Party to seize power. They quickly convened a constituent assembly that confirmed Zelaya as president and wrote a more liberal constitution. It included anticlerical provisions, abolished the death penalty, and placed restrictions on foreigners' claims to diplomatic protection. During his presidency, Zelaya opened Nicaragua to further foreign investments, particularly from U.S. firms, and expanded coffee and banana production. Zelaya also directed vast improvements in roads, ports, and railroads. Schools were constructed, and government buildings became modern facilities. Despite his successes, however, Zelaya soon emerged as a dictator. He ruled until 1909, when he was ousted in a U.S.- and British-assisted revolt.

Beyond Nicaragua's liberal-conservative political and economic issues in the 19th century, the country became a focal point of international interest because of its geographic location, which made it a potential base for a transisthmian canal (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). In 1834, Charles Biddle surveyed several potential canal sites along the isthmus, including PANAMA, but serious U.S. interest did not come until the mid-1840s with its recognition of British influence in the region and particularly along Nicaragua's MOSQUITO COAST, where it had hoisted its flag at Greytown at the terminus of the San Juan River on the Caribbean Sea. To challenge the British, President James K. Polk dispatched ELIJAH HISE in 1848, and a year later, President Zachary Taylor sent EPHRAIM GEORGE SQUIER to negotiate treaties with Nicaragua. Neither was submitted to Congress for consideration, the Hise Treaty because it committed the United States to protect Nicaraguan sovereignty and the Squier Treaty because it came after discussions between the United States and Great Britain that led to the 1850 CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY, which provided that neither country would undertake by itself a transisthmian canal.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty did not prevent other private ventures, such as that of Vanderbilt, whose ACCESSORY TRANSIT COMPANY connected the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans via boats on the San Juan River and across Lake Nicaragua and carriages that used "macadam" roads to reach the port at Realejo. At Puntarenas on the northern reaches of Greytown harbor, Vanderbilt constructed a village to serve his ships, but the presence of those ships threatened the British. Tensions increased, until a U.S. naval ship leveled Greytown in 1854 (see GREYTOWN AFFAIR). The British, engrossed in the Crimean War, soon lost interest in Central America and under the terms of the 1860 Treaty of Managua relinquished control of the Mosquito Coast to Nicaragua, although they did not abandon the coast until 1893. In the meantime, the Accessory Transit Company had closed its doors soon after the Panama Railroad opened for business in 1855.

Although French canal engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps failed in his attempt to construct a transisthmian waterway at Panama between 1879 and 1881, his effort contributed to the United States's desire to construct, operate, and defend its own canal, to the exclusion of others, across the Central American isthmus. Nothing materialized from the 1884 FRELINGHUYSEN-ZAVALA TREATY, which promised a canal in return for a U.S. guarantee of Nicaraguan neutrality. Between 1887 and 1891, U.S. naval engineer A. G. Menocal supervised an unsuccessful canal project starting at Greytown. The failures, however, did not quiet U.S. public opinion throughout the 1890s, which increasingly called for the construction of a U.S.-owned canal. But, disputes within Nicaragua over the canal project eventually contributed to the decision to consider an alternate canal site in Panama.

See also NICARAGUA (Vols. I, II, IV); ZELAYA, JOSÉ SANTOS (Vol. IV).

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Núñez, Rafael (b. 1825–d. 1894) *president of Colombia* Rafael Núñez, as president of COLOMBIA, transformed the nation's politics in the late 19th century. He spearheaded the writing of the CONSTITUTION OF 1886, which imposed a conservative political system that lasted well into the 20th century. He was a writer and poet and is responsible for penning the lyrics of Colombia's national anthem.

Núñez was born in Cartagena on September 28, 1825, on the heels of Colombian independence. He studied law

and, like many of his generation, initially supported the platform of the LIBERAL PARTY. Núñez eventually helped to author Colombia's liberal CONSTITUTION OF 1853 and held several political appointments in Liberal administrations. Disenchanted by the often extreme policies of the GÓLGOTAS, or radical Liberals, Núñez attempted to form a faction within the Liberal Party and ran for president in 1876 with the support of other disaffected party members. The official vote count showed Núñez with a majority of the popular vote, but the election was not decided by calculating individual votes. His opponent, Aquileo Parra (1876–78), won more states and claimed victory.

By the 1880s, liberal economic and religious policies had provoked increasing discontent. Núñez was elected president in 1882 and during his first two-year term faced numerous challenges. The government's confiscation and auctioning of CATHOLIC CHURCH property, which began in the 1860s, disturbed many citizens. Furthermore, a decline in exports destabilized the ECONOMY, which had grown reliant on a strong export base in the LAISSEZ-FAIRE TRADE environment of the 19th century. A final challenge to the Liberal government had been manifesting for some time in the disjointed federalist system. Local leaders often used the large degree of regional autonomy granted in the Constitution of 1863 to conspire against the national government. One such conspiracy erupted into a rebellion against the national government at the onset of Núñez's second presidential term in 1884. The leader had come to doubt the prudence of many radi-

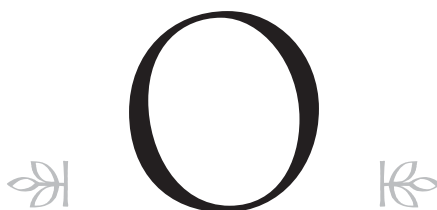
cal liberal policies, which he considered to be based on overly zealous idealism. Núñez used the rebellion to justify dissolving the Constitution of 1863 and began organizing a movement to write a new one.

Núñez's disillusionment with doctrinaire LIBERALISM is visible in the changes he pushed forward in the Constitution of 1886. His political philosophy seemed to shift from the liberal platform he had once espoused to the more rational and positivist ideology favored by many leaders in the late 19th century (see POSITIVISM). As Núñez and his allies began drafting the new constitution, the president began an era of conservative reform known as the Regeneration (see CONSERVATIVE PARTY, COLOMBIA). The constitution, along with a series of Regeneration laws, rolled back many of the liberal measures that had been implemented in the 1860s and 1870s. Núñez established a close alliance between church and state and pushed through policies to limit local authority. He extended the presidential term from two to six years and imposed literacy requirements for voting rights.

Núñez's reforms defined Colombian politics until Liberals regained power in 1930. The constitution he helped to draft remained in effect until 1991. Núñez died in office on September 12, 1894.

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occupation of the Araucania (pacification of the Araucania)

The occupation of the Araucania refers to the efforts by the Chilean MILITARY to bring the indigenous inhabitants, the Mapuche, of the southern Araucania territory under government control. Throughout the colonial period, the Mapuche had successfully resisted Spanish authority and had led the War of Arauco against European attempts at colonization. After independence, early presidents of CHILE had allowed the southern region to remain outside of the national government's control for fear of destabilizing the country. By the 1850s, Chilean leaders were confident that the nation's powerful military could pacify and control the area. President Manuel Montt (1851–61) created the new administrative province of Arauco, which encompassed the Amerindian territory.

In 1860, President José Joaquín Pérez (1861–71) announced a strategy to colonize the region by building cities and TRANSPORTATION lines. Chilean military units began moving into the region to set up a government presence, and a revolt quickly ensued. The Chilean army managed to pacify much of the region and began building public roads and telegraph lines. Peace in the region was tenuous at best and was maintained largely by the presence of thousands of Chilean soldiers. Mapuche uprisings destabilized the region once again when large numbers of government troops were pulled out in 1879 to fight in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC. A final military campaign spearheaded by President Domingo Santa María (1881–86) made incursions deep into the Araucania territory and brought the last groups of Mapuche under government control by 1890. Once the region had stabilized, the Chilean government initiated policies to encourage MIGRATION to the region.

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Old Republic (First Republic) The Old Republic of BRAZIL was the period from 1889, when the EMPIRE OF BRAZIL was overthrown, to 1930, when Getúlio Vargas rose to power. During the Old Republic, the nation underwent enormous changes as it made the transition from a monarchy to a republic. It was also a time of INDUSTRIALIZATION, urbanization, and economic modernization.

The Old Republic began when MILITARY forces led by MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA led a coup to overthrow the Brazilian emperor PEDRO II. Deodoro's actions resulted from an alliance between positivist intellectuals in Brazil's military elite and a small but influential group of republican politicians. Deodoro issued a decree that created the republic on November 16, 1889. He became provisional president and called for a special commission to draft a new constitution. The CONSTITUTION OF 1891 was modeled largely on the U.S. Constitution and created the governing structure under which the Old Republic operated for the next four decades. Despite the ostensibly smooth transition to a constitutional DEMOCRACY, the new republican government faced a number of immediate challenges. Monarchist supporters threatened to destabilize the nation's incipient experiment with republicanism, and government leaders often suppressed democratic freedoms in the interest of maintaining order. In 1897, government forces destroyed the religious community of CANUDOS, partly out of fear that its inhabitants were plotting a monarchist rebellion. A financial

crisis that resulted from poorly conceived fiscal policies known as the ENCILHAMENTO in the 1890s spurred a major rebellion in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in 1893. Government leaders were forced to tap COFFEE planters in São PAULO for monetary and militia aid to put down the rebellion. In exchange, the *paulista* elite gained greater influence in national politics. Brazil's first civilian president, PRUDENTE DE MORAIS, was a former governor of São Paulo. Elected in 1893, he was the first in a long line of *paulista* presidents who ran Brazil during the Old Republic. The São Paulo elite alternated power with the elite of Minas Gerais during this time, in a political alliance known as *café com leite*.

During the Old Republic, government and economic leaders also promoted industrialization in an attempt to modernize the nation's ECONOMY. TRANSPORTATION networks expanded, and foreign and domestic industrialists set up operations in major cities, including RIO DE JANEIRO and São Paulo. Government policies to attract European immigrants resulted in a sudden expansion of the population, and rapid urbanization created a number of problems in major cities. The influx of foreign immigrants and the general expansion of the working class in urban areas helped instill a sense of nationalism and provided for an emerging LABOR movement. Those developments helped propel Brazilian populist trends in the early 20th century.

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Oribe, Manuel (b. 1792–d. 1857) *president of Uruguay*
Manuel Oribe was a political leader in URUGUAY in

the years immediately following independence. He served as the nation's second president and founded the BLANCO PARTY, the predecessor to today's National Party.

Oribe was born in Montevideo on August 27, 1792. He enlisted in the MILITARY at a young age and fought with the forces of José Gervasio Artigas in the movement for independence. In the 1820s, he was a member of the THIRTY-THREE IMMORTALS who rebelled against BRAZIL'S occupation of the BANDA ORIENTAL, leading to the CISPLATINE WAR. Led by JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA, Oribe fought alongside JOSÉ FRUCTUOSO RIVERA, who became Uruguay's first president after the conclusion of the war resulted in the nation's complete independence. Oribe and Rivera initially worked together amicably, but when Oribe became president in 1835, the former allies split and formed opposing political factions. Oribe's supporters, made up largely of rural agricultural and ranching interests, became known as the *blancos* and later formed an official political party. Rivera's supporters, made up of urban interests in Montevideo and other larger cities, formed the COLORADO PARTY.

The conflict between *blancos* and *colorados* dominated Uruguayan politics for the next several decades. The two political factions fought the bloody GUERRA GRANDE between 1838 and 1851. Oribe's *blancos* formed an alliance with Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, and when Rosas was overthrown by JOSÉ JUSTO DE URQUIZA in 1852, Oribe fled into exile in Spain. Oribe returned to Uruguay in 1855. He died two years later, on November 12, 1857.

See also ARTIGAS, JOSÉ GERVASIO (Vol. II).

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P

Páez, José Antonio (b. 1790–d. 1873) *caudillo and president of Venezuela* José Antonio Páez was a MILITARY leader who joined forces with Simón Bolívar in the war of independence in VENEZUELA. He also led the rebellion that ultimately separated Venezuela from GRAN COLOMBIA and became the first president of the Republic of Venezuela. He held the office of the presidency on three occasions. He became Venezuela’s most renowned 19th-century CAUDILLO.

Páez was born on June 13, 1790, near Acarigua in the province of Barinas in New Granada (present-day Venezuela). A mestizo, Páez began working as a ranch hand in his youth and quickly acquired the skills necessary to become a *llanero*—cowboy or horseman—of the Venezuelan Llanos (plains). When the war of independence broke out in 1810, Páez joined the liberation forces and eventually commanded a band of *llaneros*, who were known for their skill as horsemen, intimate knowledge of the interior plains, and ruthless fighting techniques. His military reputation earned him the nickname the “León de Payara” (Lion of Payara). In 1817, he formed an alliance with Bolívar, and together, they developed a two-pronged strategy against Spanish forces in Venezuela. Páez won major battles in the northern regions, including a crucial victory over Spanish general Pablo Morillo along the Arauca River in 1819. That victory helped Bolívar consolidate control over the Orinoco River region so that in the coming months, the Liberator was able to convene the CONGRESS OF ANGOSTURA and declare the Republic of Colombia (Gran Colombia).

After the creation of Gran Colombia, Páez continued to lead forces against the Spanish army. As chief commander of Bolívar’s armed forces, Páez was in command in the vital victories at Carabobo in 1821 and

Puerto Cabello in 1823. Those two battles precipitated the complete withdrawal of Spanish troops from Gran Colombia. When Bolívar went off to continue fighting in PERU in 1822, Páez stayed behind as the highest military commander in CARACAS.

During the next several years, regional disputes began to emerge as discontent with the central government in BOGOTÁ grew among the elite in Venezuela and ECUADOR. Venezuelans, in particular, remonstrated over the sense of isolation they felt at being separated from the republic’s capital by more than 600 miles (966 km) of rugged mountain terrain. Páez helped maintain order in the region until the government of Gran Colombia, under acting president FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER, called him to Bogotá to be investigated for charges of abuse of power. Páez disregarded the order and began a revolt against Santander’s government. Bolívar was able to pacify the rebellion for a time, but when the Liberator tried to give himself even more centralized power, Páez and other local leaders rose in revolt once again. In 1830, the Republic of Colombia dissolved into the republics of New Granada, Ecuador, and Venezuela. Páez became provisional president of Venezuela in 1830, and later that year, a new constitution was enacted. Páez was elected according to procedures set out in the constitution the following year.

As president, Páez inherited a country rife with acrimony and instability. Regional and national leaders harbored resentment toward Bolívar and the political organization of Gran Colombia, which had left them feeling like a neglected appendage of Bogotá. Although Venezuela was made up of various autonomous regional identities, common ill feelings toward Gran Colombia allowed a nationalist movement to flourish. As a military

hero from the wars of independence and a strong and capable horseman, Páez fit the mold of the 19th-century Latin American caudillo, and his supporters firmly believed that his strong-handed leadership was necessary to separate from Gran Colombia and foster a sense of national unity.

The period from 1830 to 1848 is known as the era of conservative oligarchy in Venezuela under the leadership of Páez. During that time, he served either as president or as the strongman behind the scenes in Venezuelan politics. Between 1835 and 1839, three different Conservative leaders held the office of the presidency, and Conservative politician Carlos Soublette won the presidency in 1842, giving the period its name. In his first years in office, Páez confronted numerous regional insurrections as local caudillos attempted to undermine his highly centralized administration. Local leaders' attempts to force a more federalist system of regional autonomy culminated in the brief *Revolución de las Reformas* (Revolution of the Reforms) in 1835–36. Páez's national government managed to put down the rebellions, but discontent and a desire for local autonomy continued to simmer.

Under Páez's guidance, Venezuela achieved some degree of stability as the caudillo worked to modernize the economy, normalize foreign relations, and secularize society. Like most caudillos, Páez employed questionable methods combining repression, coercion, persuasion, and compromise to achieve a sense of stability and control over the general populace. He attracted foreign and domestic investors in the nation's economy. With expanding revenues in the 1830s, he was able to improve the nation's infrastructure.

Order and stability under Páez's strong rule eventually gave way to political infighting. In 1840, opponents of the caudillo formed the LIBERAL PARTY under the leadership of Antonio Leocadio Guzmán (b. 1801–d. 1884). Guzmán challenged Páez and his CONSERVATIVE PARTY through his newspaper, and in 1848, newly elected president José Tadeo Monagas (b. 1784–d. 1868) dismissed all Conservative government officials and sent Páez into exile. For the next 10 years, Monagas and his brother José Gregorio Monagas (b. 1795–d. 1858) monopolized the presidency and led an era known as the LIBERAL OLIGARCHY. The liberal oligarchy ended in 1858 with the beginning of a civil war known as the FEDERAL WAR. For 14 years, Liberals and Conservatives engaged in a bloody and destructive confrontation over FEDERALISM VERSUS CENTRALISM. In 1861, Páez supporters managed to overthrow the Liberal government, and the exiled caudillo returned to power. He ruled as a dictator until 1863 and during his two years in office attempted to reach conciliation between the two warring factions.

Conservatives eventually succumbed to their opponents, and Páez was forced from office with the signing of the Treaty of Coche in 1863. The independence



Portrait of José Antonio Páez, president of Venezuela on various occasions between 1830 and 1863 (*Library of Congress*)

hero-turned-caudillo withdrew into exile once again. He died in New York on May 6, 1873.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); LLANEROS (Vol. II).

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Pampas *Pampas* literally means “plains” and refers to a large region of ARGENTINA and URUGUAY. The Pampas are characterized by flat, lowland, fertile terrain that is well suited to a variety of agricultural activities. The Pampas encompass the Argentine provinces of BUENOS AIRES, La Pampa, Santa Fe, and Córdoba. Nearby Entre Ríos and Corrientes are often associated with the plains region and share similar economic activities. The Pampas also include portions of Uruguay and BRAZIL, although the term is most closely associated with Argentina. During the late colonial era and the 19th century, the Pampas were home to the South American GAUCHO, or cowboy, who was romanticized as leading a carefree and rugged lifestyle. The region supported large cattle-ranching and sheep-grazing operations.

In the early decades following independence, the agricultural interests of the Pampas were heavily favored by Buenos Aires governor and CAUDILLO JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. The province of Buenos Aires and parts of Santa Fe, in particular, benefited from his policies. Ranchers and SALADEROS, or salted meat processors, emerged as leaders in the new national ECONOMY. Other areas of the Pampas remained largely unsettled in the first half of the 19th century and were populated primarily by NATIVE AMERICANS who did not submit to the authority of the Argentine government. Numerous campaigns were undertaken to subdue the Amerindians of the Pampas—one of these was led by the caudillo Rosas (see CONQUEST OF THE DESERT).

In later decades, the Pampas became even more integrated into the national economy. The national government attracted immigrants from Spain and Ireland to the fertile plains of the region in the last half of the 19th century. Many newly arrived immigrants became involved in sheep grazing and aided national economic growth through the export of wool. By the 1870s, sheep outnumbered cattle on the Pampas, and the new agricultural activity encouraged more FAMILY settlements than ranching had in earlier decades. As a result, the population of the Pampas boomed. In later years, WHEAT cultivation also became an important activity in the Pampas (see AGRICULTURE).

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Panama Two events 12 years apart in the mid-18th century turned Panama into a quiet and geographically isolated appendage of New Granada. In 1739, British admiral Edward Vernon's capture of Portobelo on Panama's Caribbean coast marked the end of the Spanish fleet system and brought to an end the importance of Panama as a land bridge in the colonial TRADE system. As a result, Spain made Panama part of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, which effectively suppressed any movement toward autonomy on the part of its inhabitants. Twelve years later, in 1751, Spain canceled the Panama *audiencia* (court). Thereafter, the department was scarcely self-supporting, even in terms of FOOD production, and offered little of value for trade. In its poverty, the region attracted mediocre administrative officials and was too weak to suppress indigenous rebellions. A decade before independence, in 1793, the first recorded census counted 71,888 inhabitants, 7,857 of whom lived in the city

of Panama. Populations ranging from 2,000 to 5,000 resided in other towns throughout the department.

Owing to its fringe location and lack of communication, Panama was not involved in the early 19th-century Spanish American independence movements. With the end of Napoleonic rule over Spain, the restoration of King Ferdinand VII on December 11, 1813, and a more liberal constitution in 1812, Panama, like the other the colonial states, was permitted to send delegates to the Spanish legislature convening in Madrid. There, the Panamanian delegate unsuccessfully pleaded for the liberalization of trade and immigration, the reestablishment of the old colonial trade fairs, and government support for EDUCATION. The merchants of Cádiz persuaded King Ferdinand VII not to expand Panama's trading opportunities, however, which awakened Panama's separatist sentiment. During the struggle for independence, the eastern port city of Portobelo became a focal point in the fighting between Colombian insurgents and Spanish forces. The Spanish viceroy fled to Panama following Colombian independence in 1819, where he ruled harshly until departing for ECUADOR in 1821, leaving native Panamanian colonel José de Fábrega behind as acting governor.

At the time of Panama's official declaration of independence on November 28, 1821, there was considerable discussion regarding its possible affiliation with COLOMBIA, PERU, or MEXICO. Panamanian authorities rejected linkage to Peru as it was still under Spanish control and spurned the Mexican offer because of Mexico's distance and different colonial history. According to the 1821 Constitution of Cúcuta, Panama was incorporated into Colombia as a department, with the provinces of Panama and Veragua. With the addition of ECUADOR and VENEZUELA, the new country became known as GRAN COLOMBIA. Subsequently, Panama sent 700 men to fight with Simón Bolívar's troops against the Spanish in Peru.

Interstate tensions and self-interests brought the Gran Colombian confederation to an end in 1830, which further contributed to Panama's wish to separate from Colombia. The next 11 years saw three unsuccessful separatist movements in Panama, revealing the depth of its inhabitants' nationalism. Panama's reintegration into Colombia was decreed on December 31, 1841. European liberal ideas swept across Latin America, including Colombia, throughout the 1840s. A succession of Liberal presidents and national legislatures led to a new Colombian constitution in 1853, which established Panama as a federal state. Accordingly, Panama controlled its own internal affairs, save for foreign policy and the levy of federal taxes. The Colombian Liberals produced another constitution in 1858. It created the Grenadine Confederation, which dramatically increased state power at the expense of the national government and was the source of armed conflicts between the BOGOTÁ government and the states. Political turmoil characterized the

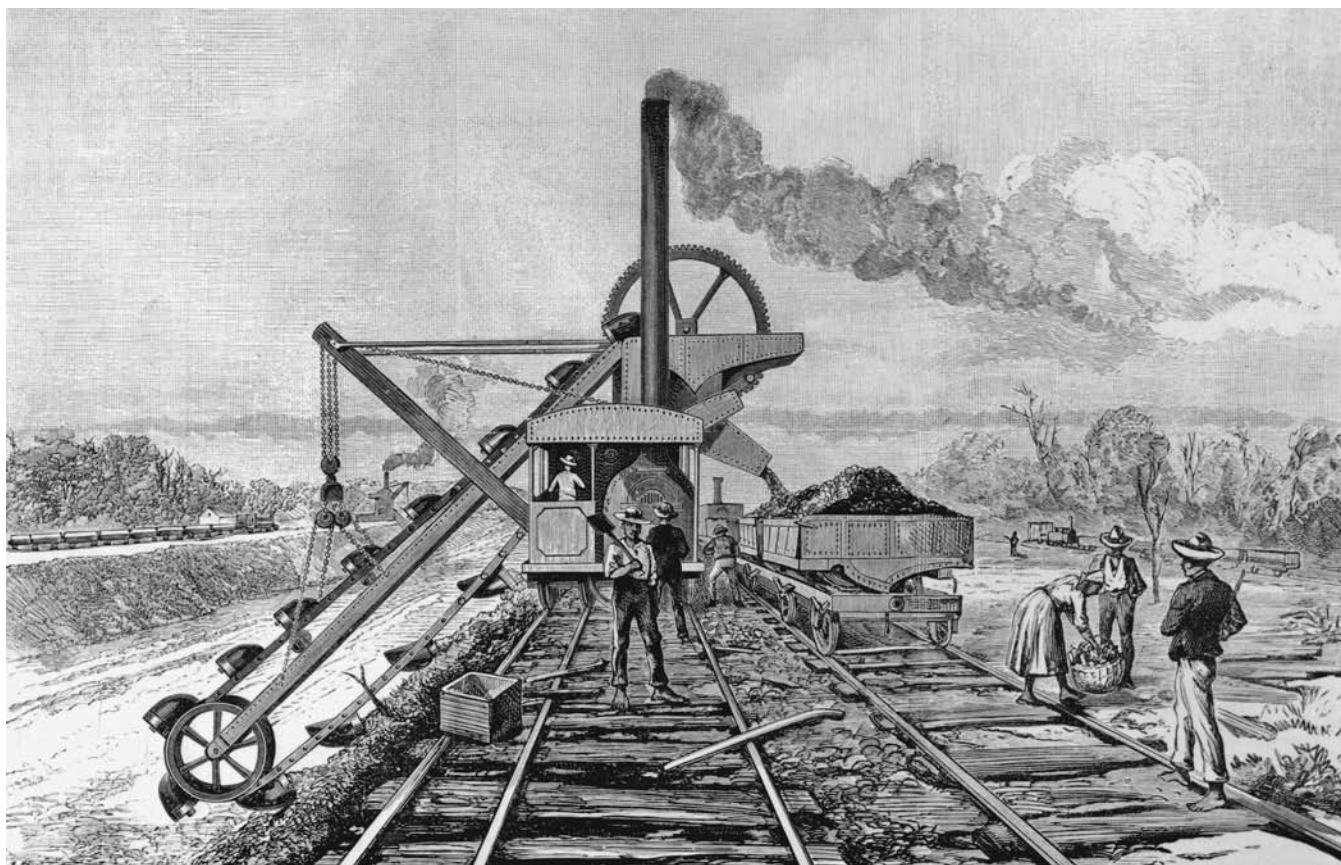
national government as it struggled for control of state governments.

Panama did not escape the liberal-conservative struggles seen across the region between 1859 and 1886: It had 28 presidents during that period. Constant coup d'états, rebellions, and violence pitted Liberals against Conservatives, those out of power against those in power, and rural areas against the central government. The chaotic conditions continued until the 1884 election of RAFAEL NÚÑEZ as president of Colombia by a coalition of moderate Liberals and Conservatives. Núñez's call for a new constituent assembly was met with armed rebellion on the part of radical Liberals. The conflict spilled over to the Panamanian cities of Colón and Panama City. The conflict resulted in the near destruction of Colón and the landing of U.S. troops at the request of the Colombian government. The U.S. government also stationed naval ships off the coast of Colón and Panama City, which along with U.S. troops in Panama, ensured that the PANAMA RAILROAD continued to operate.

With tranquillity restored in 1885, a new Colombian constitution went into effect a year later (see CONSTITUTION OF 1886). It established Colombia as a unitary state, with the departments (formerly states) subject to the central government's rigid authority. Panama was singled

out for special mention and became subject to the direct authority of the central government. Resentment at this became so high in Panama that the U.S. consul in Panama City reported that approximately 75 percent of inhabitants wanted independence from Colombia. The consul also reported that Panamanians would fight to secure independence if they could get arms and be assured that the United States would not intervene. At this point, PANAMANIAN INDEPENDENCE sentiment and U.S. TRANS-ISTHMIAN INTERESTS in a canal began to converge.

Between 1893 and 1898, Panamanians undertook serious efforts to develop a strong industrial base founded on AGRICULTURE and specialized artisanry, such as textiles. While educational opportunities in Panama City increased, the city's water system was not modernized because of a lack of funds. Subsequently, Panama was drawn into the War of a Thousand Days (1899–1902), which pitted Liberals against Conservatives and cost an estimated 100,000 lives. By 1900, the war had largely degenerated into a guerrilla conflict fought in Panama. It led to the collapse of the local ECONOMY, and many small towns and villages were destroyed. The conflict was brought to an end in 1902 when the Colombian government asked the United States to broker a peace settlement, which it did in November 1902 on board



A French company began construction of a canal project in Panama in 1881. The French efforts ultimately failed, and the project was taken over by the United States after Panamanian independence. This 1888 drawing depicts early excavation on the canal project. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

the USS *Wisconsin*, which was anchored in Panama Bay. The Panamanian elite, tired of centralized control from Bogotá, hoped the war would serve as a catalyst to independence, but Colombia refused to grant it. For the United States, the war heightened interest in a transisthmian canal in Panama, particularly if that state were free of Colombian domination. A year later, in November 1903, the United States backed a Panamanian separatist movement and helped to secure independence in exchange for amicable negotiations over canal construction. Panama and the United States achieved their individual objectives, and those objectives dominated their relationship throughout the 20th century.

See also *NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF* (Vol. II); *PANAMA* (Vols. I, II, IV); *PORTOBELLO* (Vol. II).

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Panama Canal

See *TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS*.

Panama Congress (1826) Concerned that Europe's Holy Alliance (Austria, Prussia, and Russia) would militarily restore the fledgling independent Latin American states to Spanish authority, in 1818, Latin American liberator Simón Bolívar enunciated his vision of a league of independent Spanish American states for the purpose of mutual defense. Six years later, on December 7, 1824, Bolívar sent a circular to the "American republics, formerly to convene in Panama to establish principles for the preservation of peace and to the defense of their common cause." Only four states—*PERU*, *COLOMBIA*, the *UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA*, and *MEXICO*—sent delegates to *PANAMA* for the meeting that lasted from June 22 to July 15, 1826. Because of tense relations with the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, *BRAZIL* appointed but did not send its delegate. The United Provinces of the Río de la Plata and *PARAGUAY* refused to take part. *BOLIVIA* and *CHILE* appointed delegates, but they arrived too late to participate in the conference.

Bolívar also extended invitations to the British and belatedly to the United States. Bolívar believed that an association with Great Britain was essential to the survival of the newly independent Latin American countries and to help check anticipated U.S. advances southward. The British shared the Latin American desire to prevent any U.S. encroachments into the Caribbean, particularly in *CUBA*. Edward J. Dawkins, the British delegate to the

conference, was also instructed to prevent U.S. leadership of the conference and any association of states that might result from the meeting. The U.S. invitation was issued by Mexico, Central America, and Colombia.

In the end, the U.S. government's decision-making process negated Bolívar's, Dawkins's, and others' concern with U.S. presence at Panama. Secretary of State Henry Clay, a passionate supporter of inter-American cooperation, persuaded President John Quincy Adams to appoint conference delegates. Adams took the unusual step of asking Congress to approve the appointment of Richard Anderson and John Sergeant as delegates and to make a special financial appropriation to support the trip.

The delayed invitation to the United States and its four-month congressional delay in approving its delegates demonstrated the different perceptions that North America and South America had of each other. Bolívar saw the United States as an obstacle to free discussion about the abolition of the African slave *TRADE* (see *SLAVERY*). Others feared that the United States would control the congress itself. Latin Americans were of two opinions regarding Britain and the United States: Some believed that the United States would implement its recently declared *MONROE DOCTRINE* to resist British advances in Latin America, while others thought the United States would cooperate with Great Britain to jointly exploit the region economically. Neither was an optimistic outcome for Latin America. Those few who believed that the United States would use the Panama Congress to forge a defensive coalition with its southern neighbors based on the *Monroe Doctrine* were, at the time, visionary idealists.

President Adams instructed Anderson and Sergeant not to enter into any contractual arrangements nor to partake in any discussions of a belligerent nature. Clearly, Adams wanted the United States to pursue a unilateral policy. Congress also used its confirmation proceedings to raise policy questions and as a cover for partisan politics. Participation in the Panama Congress contradicted the noninvolvement in the affairs of other nations as laid down by Presidents George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Southern delegates opposed participation because abolition of the slave trade was on the agenda. Both issues potentially threatened U.S. policy independence. Additionally, by 1826, the North Americans began to learn that the governments of South America were not republican or democratic in form but more centralized, authoritarian, and grounded in a singular religious belief, which led them to mistrust those same. While the debates set the tone for the future, they mattered little at the time. Congress approved the Anderson and Sergeant appointments. Sergeant died en route to Panama, and Anderson arrived after the Panama Congress concluded.

The Panama Congress concluded three conventions: a treaty of perpetual union, two conventions establishing a *MILITARY* force and its funding, and an agreement for future meetings. Because Colombia was the only state to ratify the agreements, they became nonoperable, and the

anticipated meeting at Tacubaya, Mexico, never materialized. Historians, however, look back on the Panama Congress as the beginning of the hemisphere's Pan American movement.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); PAN-AMERICANISM (Vol. IV); UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II).

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Panamanian independence Panamanian independence refers to the secession of the Panamanian state from the Republic of COLOMBIA in 1903. During the colonial period, PANAMA had been a part of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, and after the Spanish colonies had achieved independence from Spain, Panama was absorbed into the newly formed republic of GRAN COLOMBIA. Gran Colombia disbanded in 1830, and Panama remained part of, first, New Granada, then eventually the Republic of Colombia.

Panamanian independence is intricately tied to its strategic location and topography, which allowed for ease of transport between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Throughout the 19th century, the United States and other foreign nations turned their sights to Panama and NICARAGUA for interoceanic transit routes. Revenues from land transit brought a steady supply of cash to Panama, but much of that income ended up in the national treasury in BOGOTÁ. The potential for financial self-sufficiency produced a sense of autonomy, and turning over large caches of transit taxes to the national government began to breed resentment. Local leaders in Panama began to talk of secession from an early date, and the Colombian government thwarted several early attempts at separation. The federalist political system put in place in Colombia's Constitution of 1858 and the Constitution of 1863 provided a large degree of self-rule and served to encourage secessionist ideas. Many local leaders began to feel that Panama's status as an appendage of Colombia prevented the region from enjoying the full benefits of transisthmian TRADE.

In the last half of the century, foreign investors began investigating the viability of building a canal to allow ocean vessels to cross the isthmus (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). A French company began construction of a canal in the 1880s, but the project stalled and the company went bankrupt. By 1899, French investors were trying to sell off their interests in the failing project and looked to the United States to step in. U.S. leaders debated the viability of the Panama location for a canal,

compared to a stretch of land in NICARAGUA. Convinced by the campaigning of French investors, U.S. Congress approved Panama as the site for a U.S.-backed canal project in 1902.

Secretary of State John Hay began negotiating with Colombian foreign minister Tomás Herrán to grant the U.S. concessions to build the canal. In January 1903, the two diplomats signed the Hay-Herrán Treaty, and the accord went to Colombia's Senate for ratification. Colombian leaders, finding common ground after the recent WAR OF THE THOUSAND DAYS (1899–1902), rejected the treaty, arguing that the agreement gave the United States too much control over the proposed canal zone. Local Panamanian leaders, encouraged by U.S. representatives, declared independence in October 1903. U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt dispatched naval ships to the Panamanian coast to provide support to the movement and to block the Colombian national army from putting down the insurrection. After just two weeks, Panama had effectively achieved its independence from Colombia and received official recognition from the United States on November 6. On November 18, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty gave the United States the right to build the Panama Canal and included provision for U.S. sovereignty in the Panama Canal Zone. Construction began in May 1904, and the canal was completed in August 1914.

See also PANAMA (Vols. I, II, IV); PANAMA CANAL, CONSTRUCTION OF (Vol. IV).

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Panama Railroad Completed in 1855, this 47-mile railroad connects the Caribbean Sea with the Pacific Ocean at the Panamanian port cities of Colón and Panama City. Construction began in May 1850, and the final rail track was laid on January 27, 1855. Construction costs were estimated at \$8 million, and the project cost an estimated 5,000–10,000 lives.

Spanish American liberator and president of GRAN COLOMBIA Simón Bolívar ordered a feasibility study in 1827, just as railroads came into vogue for TRANSPORTATION. The two-year study reached a positive conclusion, but nothing came of it. U.S. president Andrew Jackson's plan for an interoceanic railroad fell victim to his nation's 1837 financial panic. An 1838 French plan also fell victim to inadequate funding. Following the U.S. acquisition of the California and Oregon territories in 1846, Congress authorized subsidies for two steamship lines to carry mail and passengers from the mainland to Colón and from

Panama City to California and Oregon on the continent's Pacific northwest. Businessman William H. Aspinwall (b. 1807–d. 1895) and his partners then raised \$1 million in stock sales to finance a railroad across PANAMA'S isthmus connecting the two port cities. Once in operation in 1855, the Panama Railroad provided quicker and safer passage across the isthmus than did Cornelius Vanderbilt's (b. 1794–d. 1877) ACCESSORY TRANSIT COMPANY, which used the San Juan River bordering COSTA RICA and NICARAGUA.

The Panama Railroad remained highly profitable even after the U.S. transcontinental railroad opened in 1868. Ferdinand de Lesseps's (b. 1793–d. 1879) French Canal Company purchased a controlling interest in the Panama Railroad in 1881. In 1904, the French sold their investment to the United States. By then, the track, equipment, and buildings were in disrepair, prompting the U.S. government to spend an estimated \$9 million on repairing and modernizing the route. The reconstruction project was completed in 1912. The Panama Railroad played a significant role in the construction and maintenance of the Panama Canal and in supplying the U.S.-owned and operated commissary supply operation in the zone (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS).

The railroad, however, never generated significant monies for Panama. Even at the height of the California gold rush from 1855 to 1858, only one-tenth of the ordinary commercial freight was destined for, or originated in, California. The balance concerned TRADE of the North Americans with Europe and Asia. The railroad company, because of its exceptionally high rates on a capitalization that never exceeded \$7 million, paid a total of nearly \$38 million in dividends between 1853 and 1904. Panama received \$25,000 out of COLOMBIA'S annual annuity and benefited from the transient trade and some capital inflow.

By the terms of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties, the Republic of Panama began a gradual process of taking over administration of the canal and its surrounding infrastructure two years later. On June 19, 1998, Panama turned control of the Panama Canal Railway Company to a joint venture group consisting of the Kansas City Southern Railroad and the Lanigan Holdings, LLC, largely for the purpose of carrying container freight too large to transit through the Panama Canal.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); PANAMA CANAL, CONSTRUCTION OF (Vol. IV); PANAMA CANAL TREATIES (Vol. IV).

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Paraguay Paraguay is located in the southeastern portion of South America. It encompasses approximately

155,000 square miles (401,448 km²) and is roughly the size of the state of California. A landlocked country, Paraguay boasts many navigable rivers, including the Paraguay, Paraná, and Pilcomayo. The country is surrounded by BOLIVIA to the north and west, BRAZIL to the east, and ARGENTINA to the south and west. Paraguay's landscape is a combination of fertile grasslands and dense jungle, and it has historically had an agricultural ECONOMY (see AGRICULTURE).

THE COLONIAL PERIOD AND INDEPENDENCE

During the colonial period, Paraguay was a frontier outpost of the Río de la Plata Province in the Spanish viceroyalty of PERU. It was primarily a buffer colony between Portuguese settlements in Brazil and the rest of the Spanish Empire in South America. With few mineral resources and a native population that resisted European control, Paraguay failed to attract the attention of colonial officials in its early years as a colony. The small European population there struck a delicate balance with the Guaraní and Chaco peoples who dominated the region. Settlers concentrated around the town of Asunción, which served as a depot for TRADE to and from Peru. For more than 200 years, residents of Asunción governed themselves with relative autonomy and attracted little attention from the Spanish Crown. Settlers selected their own governors, which helped protect local interests.

Eventually the CATHOLIC CHURCH brought Paraguayan Indian groups more firmly under Spanish control. The Jesuits established missions, or *reducciones*, throughout the region starting in the early 17th century. The Jesuits protected the NATIVE AMERICANS from both slave traders from Brazil and colonists looking to exploit their LABOR. Despite nearly constant opposition from the local elite, the missionaries helped develop profitable agricultural production. Nevertheless, concerns about the Jesuits' loyalties prompted the Spanish Crown to bow to pressure from white settlers and expel the order in 1767. The missions were abandoned, and the once-thriving indigenous communities fell apart.

A short time after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Spanish Crown reorganized the administrative divisions of its South American colonies as part of the Bourbon Reforms. Paraguay became part of the newly formed Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, with its capital in BUENOS AIRES. The viceregal capital quickly surpassed Asunción in river transport and trade. Paraguay seemed forgotten on the outskirts of the Spanish Empire. Many residents of the colony sank into financial ruin, while the *porteños* in Buenos Aires profited from the administrative reorganization. Indeed, the divergent paths taken by Buenos Aires and Asunción greatly affected the way their residents reacted to the movements for independence in the early 19th century.

Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808 set off a series of reactions in the

Spanish colonies that eventually culminated in widespread rebellion and independence. The ruling elite in Buenos Aires reacted by convening a local *cabildo* or town council and ousting the Spanish viceroy. While *porteños* initially claimed self-rule in the name of the deposed Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, the residents of Asunción were hesitant to join the viceregal capital. Deep-seated resentment toward Buenos Aires surfaced almost immediately, and Paraguayans rebelled against *porteño* officials. Local Paraguayan militias first defeated a *porteño* army and several months later overthrew the last Spanish officials in the country. A group of local elite in Asunción declared independence on May 17, 1811.

THE ERA OF DICTATORS

A ruling junta formed immediately, and among its members was Enlightenment thinker and future dictator JOSÉ GASPAR RODRÍGUEZ DE FRANCIA. Francia helped secure Paraguay's independence both from Spain and from the creole elite in Buenos Aires. In October 1811, he spearheaded negotiations with *porteño* representatives, which resulted in a treaty that guaranteed Paraguayan independence. Although the lawyer and theologian seemed poised to rule Paraguay from the start, Francia grew disillusioned with the power grab that began to unfold among Asunción elite. He resigned his post on the junta in protest, and for several years, the Paraguayan independence movement seemed precariously close to collapsing. Asunción leaders faced constant threats from Brazil and the newly formed United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. In 1813, delegates from Buenos Aires attempted to renegotiate the 1811 treaty, and Asunción leaders invited Francia to corule with Fulgencio Yegros (b. 1780–d. 1821) in an attempt to protect the nation's independence. Francia once again succeeded in strengthening Paraguay's autonomy, and the Paraguayan congress elected him dictator for life in 1816.

In its first decades as an independent nation, Paraguay defied the norms of instability and violence set by neighboring Brazil and Argentina. Instead, Doctor Francia, as he was known, forced a sense of order on to the new nation through his autocratic rule. In the process, he also created a thriving and self-sufficient nation that was largely protected from the turmoil afflicting its neighbors. He implemented numerous liberal reform measures, such as curbing the power and influence of the Catholic Church and confiscating large landholdings. Francia's land redistribution policies, combined with his efforts to encourage agricultural diversification, helped make Paraguay self-sufficient in numerous foodstuffs by 1830. By the end of his rule in 1840, Paraguay had a few basic industries and boasted a healthy, albeit isolated, economy.

As dictator, Francia consolidated his authority after discovering a conspiracy to overthrow his regime led by the old ruling elite. He had hundreds of the most prominent Paraguayans arrested on suspicion of treason. The

majority of those detained were later executed or forced into exile. In the years that followed, Francia suppressed individual freedoms and censored the press in the interest of preserving political order. As the "Supremo Dictador" (supreme dictator), Francia sought to isolate Paraguay from influences from Europe, Brazil, and Argentina. He intensely distrusted foreigners and anyone of pure European descent. Francia even prohibited Europeans from marrying other Europeans in an attempt to dismantle the elite's traditional power structures.

While Francia did bring stability and progress to Paraguay during the tumultuous postindependence years, his harsh, tight control left the nation in a state of virtual political infancy at his death in 1840. Francia left no instructions for a successor and chaos erupted for several months after he died. A governing junta formed but was quickly overthrown. In March 1841, confusion subsided long enough for Congress to select CARLOS ANTONIO LÓPEZ as Francia's successor. In 1844, López was given the title of president and began to rule in the same dictatorial fashion as his predecessor.

López ruled from 1841 until his death in 1862. During that time, he continued policies aimed at developing Paraguay's fledgling economy. The López administration oversaw the construction of roads and the development of a telegraph system. López was less concerned with foreign powers than Francia and opened up the nation to trade with neighboring Brazil and Argentina. In 1844, he led efforts to write a new constitution that strengthened his authority and gave him the ability to select his own successor. To that end, López began grooming his eldest son, FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ, to be the nation's next leader. During his father's presidency, Solano López took over leadership of the MILITARY and carried out several diplomatic missions in Europe. He secured investors for the construction of arms factories and other military infrastructure. Under the dictatorship of López and the subsequent administration of Solano López (1862–70), Paraguay's military expanded as the nation became increasingly involved in conflicts with its powerful neighbors. On his father's death in 1862, Solano López immediately seized power. Within two years, Paraguay was caught up in disputes with Brazil and URUGUAY that eventually culminated in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

In 1864, Paraguay went to war against the Triple Alliance forces of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay in what eventually became the single most destructive war in 19th-century Latin America. The war brought Paraguay firmly out of its isolationism and devastated the nation for years afterward. The causes of the war were complex and varied, with issues dating back to regional rivalries along the Río de la Plata in the decades after independence. Brazil and Argentina had a long history of competing for hegemony in the region, often at the expense of the sovereignty of

smaller nations such as Uruguay. While Francia's earlier isolationist policies had shielded Paraguay from much of the regional rivalry, Solano López formed an alliance with Uruguay's conservative party, the BLANCO PARTY, and attempted to alter the delicate balance of power in the region.

In 1864, Brazilian forces backed Uruguay's COLORADO PARTY in an internal dispute and helped overthrow the *blanco* president. Solano López reacted by declaring war against Brazil and sending an invasion force into that country. The Paraguayan dictator also sent troops into Argentina in order to attack locations in southern Brazil. That action prompted Argentine president BARTOLOMÉ MITRE to formalize an alliance with Brazil and the ruling Colorado Party in Uruguay. The three nations established the Triple Alliance and prepared to wage war against Paraguay.

Thanks to his and his father's policies of military expansion, Solano López's armed forces numbered more than 30,000 when the war began. The combined forces of the Alliance nations totaled only a fraction of Paraguay's army, and Solano López enjoyed several early victories. Nevertheless, as the Triple Alliance mobilized, Solano López's apparent advantage began to disappear. The Paraguayan dictator lost more than half his original fighting force in the war's first year. Furthermore, the Brazilian navy won several crucial victories along the Río de la Plata and effectively cut Paraguay off from outside aid. Unable to resupply his military, Solano López suffered a series of devastating defeats. Casualties mounted on and off the battlefield as both militaries were afflicted by outbreaks of cholera and other diseases. Facing a shortage of able soldiers, Solano López resorted to recruiting children—some as young as 10 years old—into his army.

By 1867, nearly all Paraguayan citizens were contributing to the war by either fighting on the battlefield or working to produce necessary supplies. Nonetheless, Solano López now found himself easily outnumbered and outgunned by the Triple Alliance. As Paraguay suffered increasing losses, the dictator became increasingly delusional, imagining himself surrounded by traitors and conspiracies. He reacted by purging his inner circle as he called for the execution of hundreds of suspected conspirators, including several members of his own family. Solano López transferred ownership of large landholdings to his mistress, ELIZA ALICIA LYNCH, in a desperate attempt to preserve his personal wealth. In later years, he cast his net of suspicion even wider and may have been responsible for thousands of executions within his own military.

In 1869, Brazilian forces captured Asunción, and Solano López fled into the jungle with his mistress and their children. He and his supporters continued to fight for more than a year before he was captured and killed on February 14, 1870. In the peace agreement that brought an end to the conflict, Brazil and Argentina confiscated

large swaths of territory from the defeated nation. The two larger countries installed a provisional government that was friendly to foreign interests and continued to occupy Paraguay for another six years. The foreign occupation set the stage for a new political conflict to develop in the late decades of the 19th century. Political parties emerged, and a power struggle developed between Paraguay's Liberal Party and its own COLORADO PARTY.

POLITICAL PARTY CONFLICT

The new Paraguayan government was made up of young, liberal-minded anti-López exiles who had sought refuge in Buenos Aires during the war. Under the watchful eye of Brazil and Argentina, a Paraguayan assembly wrote a new constitution in 1870 and selected Cirilo Antonio Rivarola (b. 1836–d. 1878) as the nation's first postwar president. Rivarola had been a firm *lopizta*, or supporter of Solano López, and aligned himself with conservative leaders. Factionalism began to emerge among the postwar ruling class. Rivarola was forced to step down just one year into his administration, and the liberal Salvador Jovellanos (b. 1833–d. 1881) was chosen to replace him. Jovellanos and his close adviser Benigno Ferreira (b. 1846–d. 1920) began taking steps to distance Paraguay from the constant interference of Argentina and Brazil. Conservative leaders seized the opportunity to strengthen their position. Rivarola along with fellow *lopiztas*—Cándido Bareiro (b. 1833–1880), Patricio Escobar (b. 1843–d. 1912), Bernardino Caballero (b. 1839–d. 1912), and Juan Bautista Gill (b. 1840–d. 1877) received assistance from both Brazil and Argentina and overthrew Jovellanos's liberal government in 1874.

In 1880, Bernardino Caballero took the presidency and began implementing policies that enraged the deposed liberal leadership. The president's rule became known as *caballerismo*, under which individual rights were violated and political freedoms were infringed upon. Caballero and his supporters were also known for rampant corruption. In 1887, their opponents formally established the Liberal Party as a political mechanism for challenging the ruling elite. Caballero and his supporters responded by formalizing their alliance in the Colorado Party. The remainder of the 19th century was characterized by a constant power struggle between the two parties.

While the Colorado and Liberal Parties challenged each other internally, Paraguay continued to face interference by foreign powers as well. Throughout the 1890s, Brazil's rulers worked to influence Paraguay's commercial policies to favor their country. When Brazilian interests seemed threatened, leaders did not hesitate to intervene in Paraguayan affairs. In 1894, Brazil sponsored a coup that brought Colorado politician Juan Bautista Egusquiza (b. 1845–d. 1910) to the presidency. Egusquiza's leadership provoked changes in both political parties as he promoted policies of conciliation with the Liberal Party. Egusquiza represented a more idealistic generation in the Colorado Party, and many of the old guard rejected the

new president's attempts to promote interparty cooperation. Calling themselves the *caballeristas*, the faction split from the *egusquistas*, weakening the Colorado Party considerably. The Liberal Party also split between the *cívicos*, who sought to work with Egusquiza, and the radicals, who rejected any notion of interparty cooperation.

The rift in the Colorado Party proved to be more damaging than the split between the Liberals. In 1904, Liberal leaders took advantage of the Colorado Party's weakness and incited a revolution to take control of the government. Led by former liberal adviser Ferreira, the Liberal Revolution of 1904 removed the Colorados from power. Paraguay's experiences with dictatorship and foreign intervention in the 19th century left the nation unprepared for the economic and political transformations that would arise in the 20th century. The Liberals continued to be beset by factionalism and instability throughout the first half of the next century but held on to power until the rise of Alfredo Stroessner in 1954.

See also BOURBON REFORMS (Vol. II); GUARANÍ (Vols. I, II); PARAGUAY (Vols. I, II, IV); PERU, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); REDUCCIÓN (Vol. II); RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II).

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Pardo, Manuel (b. 1835–d. 1878) *president of Peru* Manuel Pardo was a Peruvian businessman who rejected decades of MILITARY CONTROL of the government by founding the CIVILISTA PARTY in 1872. He was subsequently elected PERU's first civilian president and took the first steps in securing control over the national government for the merchant oligarchs.

Pardo was born in LIMA on August 9, 1834. He was educated in SANTIAGO DE CHILE and Europe in the fields of law and economics. At a young age, he began a career in the fiscal and statistical administration of the Peruvian government. He earned a reputation for honest economic practices and for recommending sound policies. He became involved in local politics, and his integrity earned him enough support to win the 1872 presidential election. Before he could take office, Tomás Gutiérrez, the minister of war under the outgoing administration, led a coup and declared himself dictator. After a brief but violent interlude, Gutiérrez was killed by a mob in Lima, and Pardo assumed the presidency.

The beginning of Pardo's presidency marked the end of Peru's profitable GUANO AGE, during which the national

treasury had overflowed with revenues from cultivation of the fertilizer ingredient. The decline of guano production caused a series of financial crises, which subsequent administrations attempted to curb by borrowing large sums of money from foreign interests. During his administration, Pardo negotiated an alliance with BOLIVIA that distressed Chilean leaders and eventually pulled Peru into the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–84).

Pardo's presidency ended peacefully in 1876 with the election of Mariano Prado (1865–68, 1876–79). After stepping down from the presidency, Pardo was elected to the national senate. He was assassinated, most likely by members of the military elite, on November 16, 1878.

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Pastry War (1838–1839) The Pastry War was a brief armed conflict between MEXICO and France in 1838 over debts and unpaid claims owed to the French government and private citizens.

In the chaos of the early years following independence, wars and regional fighting often caused damage to property and businesses owned by both foreigners and Mexicans. By 1838, numerous foreign nationals had issued claims against the Mexican government for restitution for property losses. The French government supported the efforts of a number of its nationals to seek reparations. Among them was a French baker who accused Mexican soldiers of having looted his pastry shop in 1828. Citing this and other claims, the French government of King Louis-Philippe demanded that Mexico pay 600,000 pesos in compensation, and when the sum was not forthcoming, the French initiated a blockade of the port of Veracruz with more than two dozen ships. Creative French journalists, focused on the lunacy of going to war over baked goods, designated the conflict the "Pastry War."

The blockade of Veracruz began in April 1838. After months of stalled negotiations, French forces attacked the port city on November 27. As the situation became urgent, former president and MILITARY leader ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA rushed to the city to ward off the impending invasion. French forces entered the city on December 5, and Santa Anna led Mexican troops in defending it. In the fighting that ensued, the former president was wounded and lost his left leg below the knee.

The French withdrew from Veracruz in March 1839 after the British helped arbitrate a peaceful end to the conflict. In the end, Mexico paid the 600,000 pesos originally demanded by Louis-Philippe.

The real significance of the Pastry War for Mexico was that it paved the way for Santa Anna's return to power. Seeing him make real and symbolic sacrifices for the nation by losing a limb while defending his country from foreign invasion restored his legitimacy and heroism in the eyes of many of his supporters. Santa Anna used that momentum to garner support and restore himself as dictator in 1841.

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Pedro I (Dom Pedro) (b. 1798–d. 1834) *emperor of Brazil* Pedro I was the first emperor of independent BRAZIL and is credited with spearheading the nation's separation from Portugal.

Dom Pedro was born in Lisbon on October 12, 1798, to Prince John of the royal Braganças family and his wife, Carlota Joaquina, of the Spanish Bourbon royal line. One year after Pedro's birth, John became regent and officially ruled in place of his mentally ill mother. In 1807, the royal family fled Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, relocating the Portuguese Court to Brazil. The family ruled from RIO DE JANEIRO even after Napoléon's defeat in 1814. John declared Brazil a kingdom in 1815 and one year later was crowned King JOHN VI following the death of his mother. After five years of mounting pressure from Portuguese elite and facing a liberal movement for democratic reform in Lisbon, John returned to Portugal in 1821, leaving Pedro as regent in Brazil.

Both Pedro and his father were confronted with a rising tide of political LIBERALISM in the early 19th century. After the king's departure, Pedro found himself surrounded by advisers who increasingly advocated a formal separation from Portugal. On September 7, 1822, Pedro issued the GRITO DE IPIRANGA, declaring Brazil's independence. He was crowned Emperor Pedro I on December 1, making him the first leader of the sovereign nation of Brazil. Despite his dramatic declaration, only a few principal states recognized Pedro's rule in 1822. He spent the next two years consolidating his authority and driving Portuguese MILITARY forces out of the country.

In 1823, a constituent assembly began drafting a constitution with the intention of establishing a parliamentary monarchy and limiting the emperor's powers. Pedro disbanded the assembly and promulgated his own governing document, the CONSTITUTION OF 1824. Pedro's document established a centralized political system and granted him extraordinary oversight into virtually all aspects of the government. The emperor's despotic actions stirred discontent in several provinces, which rose in revolt. Led by liberal elite in Pernambuco, those provinces attempted to form the Republic of

the Confederation of the Equator, only to be violently put down by the emperor's forces. In 1825, JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA led an insurrection in the problematic Cisplatine Province. The resulting CISPLATINE WAR led to the creation of the nation of URUGUAY in 1828.

Pedro faced dissent throughout the 1820s and generally responded by becoming increasingly repressive. Scattered uprisings continued in the provinces until he bowed to pressure in 1831 and abdicated the throne in favor of his five-year-old son, PEDRO II. Pedro II took the throne directly in 1840 after the nine-year REGENCY period. The deposed monarch, meanwhile, departed for Portugal to claim the Portuguese throne in a civil war against his brother, Miguel. He was successful in placing his daughter on the throne as Queen Maria II. Pedro died on September 24, 1834.

See also JOHN VI (Vol. II).

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Pedro II (b. 1825–d. 1891) *emperor of Brazil* Pedro II was the second and last emperor of BRAZIL, who ruled throughout much of the 19th century, from 1831 to 1889. He is generally credited with bringing unity to the struggling nation and with paving the way for economic and political modernization.

Pedro II was born in RIO DE JANEIRO on December 2, 1825, to Brazilian emperor PEDRO I (r. 1822–31) and his wife, Maria Leopoldina. His mother died the year after his birth. In 1831, when Pedro was just five years old, his father abdicated the throne and returned to his native Portugal. An elected three-man regency took power until Pedro II came of age. As a young boy, Pedro received the best EDUCATION Brazil had to offer, much of it from members of the clergy and other tutors. He acquired a love of learning and appeared to develop an early understanding of the complexities of governing. He had an isolated childhood, surrounded by the trappings of royalty but having little contact with his immediate FAMILY.

The REGENCY period of Brazilian history lasted from 1831 until 1840. During that time, political interests in Rio de Janeiro and the provinces competed to influence Pedro's upbringing and to alter Brazil's governing systems. Pedro's father had pushed through a constitution that established a constitutional monarchy with power centralized in an authoritarian emperor. More moderate political forces passed an amendment in 1834 that decentralized power and effectively weakened the monarch. Rival political ideologies challenged each other throughout the Regency, as advocates of CENTRALISM fought to maintain traditional power structures while supporters



Pedro II and his daughter Isabel, who served as regent during the emperor's absence. Portraits, circa 1889 (Library of Congress)

of FEDERALISM promoted provincial autonomy. Regents found themselves in near-constant conflict with the provinces as well. Regional revolts were common, and many were put down with force. In Rio Grande do Sul, the WAR OF THE FARRAPOS resulted in rural rebels declaring an independent republic.

Conflict in the provinces and internal infighting in Rio de Janeiro ultimately hastened efforts to transfer power from the regency to the young emperor. In 1840, at the age of 14, Pedro II took control of the Brazilian government. He was officially crowned in a regal ceremony the following year. Pedro II's accession to the throne marked the beginning of an era known as the Second Empire. One of Pedro's first actions as emperor was to appease members of Brazil's CONSERVATIVE PARTY by reversing the structural changes made in the 1834 constitutional amendment. The Brazilian royal also brought provincial revolts under control, and the 1840s became a decade of emerging stability and national unity. Pedro managed to balance the rivalries between the LIBERAL PARTY and the more traditional Conservatives. The emperor reinstated the Cabinet of State, an advisory group that had been abolished as a part of 1834 reforms. He filled cabinet positions with members of both parties and alternated support between parties in the legislature. Indeed, Pedro's ability to strike a diplomatic equilibrium between the two parties helped ensure that they could work together.

Brazil went through drastic transformations in the second half of the 19th century. After 1850, COFFEE began replacing SUGAR as the mainstay of Brazilian agricultural production (see AGRICULTURE). As a result, regional power began to shift from the traditional plantation economies of the northeastern provinces of Bahia and Pernambuco to the southern states of SÃO PAULO and Rio Grande do Sul. The emergence of the coffee ECONOMY precipitated enormous changes in the country's economic and LABOR systems. Sugar plantations had relied heavily on slave labor and had not attempted to incorporate more modern equipment or production techniques. Coffee production expanded just as restrictions on the trans-

atlantic slave TRADE were increasingly being enforced. Furthermore, coffee planters tended to be more open to liberal economic principles and were willing to adopt alternate labor and production systems. Coffee planters were more likely to employ immigrant labor, and they pressured Pedro II to adopt favorable immigration policies in the late decades of the century (see MIGRATION).

The final years of Pedro's reign coincided with a growing abolitionist movement and the eventual ending of SLAVERY. The emperor himself seemed to oppose slavery from an early date but bowed to pressure from the planter aristocracy until the economic shifts of the late 19th century made abolition more acceptable. In 1871, Pedro II signed the LAW OF THE FREE WOMB, which granted freedom to all children born to slave mothers after it came into effect. The law was intended to bring about gradual emancipation, but by 1880, the emperor faced new pressures from liberal politicians and intellectuals. Individual states began passing emancipation decrees by 1884, making it clear that slavery was no longer a viable institution in Brazil. In 1888, Pedro II's daughter Isabel, acting as regent during his travels abroad, signed the Golden Law to bring about a complete abolition of slavery (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

The triumph of liberal interests on the issue of abolition encouraged a growing reform movement that pushed for an end to the empire in favor of republicanism. Those forces incited a coup, which deposed Pedro II in 1889 and initiated the OLD REPUBLIC. Pedro II and his family fled into exile in France, where he died in 1891.

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Peru During the colonial period, the area that makes up present-day Peru formed the bulk of the Viceroyalty of Peru. With its capital at LIMA, this administrative arm of the Spanish Crown oversaw government and economic matters for all of Spanish South America for most of the colonial era. Not until the 18th century did the Spanish Crown create two new separate viceroyalties in South America: New Granada (COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA, and ECUADOR) in 1717 and Río de la Plata (the Southern Cone) in 1776.

INDEPENDENCE

Serving as a seat of administrative authority for nearly 300 years made Peruvians slow to support a movement for independence, even as bordering regions rebelled in

the early 19th century. The close presence of viceregal power and recent memories of the violent Túpac Amaru indigenous revolt caused many Peruvian creole elite to reject the notion of breaking from Spain. In response to Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of Spain in 1808, uprisings erupted in neighboring CHILE and New Granada, while the Peruvian reaction was much more subdued. Peruvian viceroy José Fernando de Abascal (1806–16) maintained law and order for the creole elite, who constantly feared a resurgence of Amerindian violence. These fears were almost realized during a short-lived Andean rebellion in 1814, led by Inca descendant Mateo Pumacahua (b. 1760–d. 1815). Abascal and his supporters remained loyal to Ferdinand VII and the Spanish Crown and even sent contingents of royalist forces into neighboring regions to suppress independence revolts there. Peru remained the last stronghold of royalist support in South America, as Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín (b. 1778–d. 1850) secured independence in New Granada and Río de la Plata, respectively.

In 1820, San Martín expanded his efforts into Peru, leading an invasion force in an attempt to liberate the stubborn colony from Spanish rule. Aided by former British admiral Thomas, Lord Cochrane, San Martín landed along the southern coast and began attracting local support to his cause. Peruvian viceroy José de la

Serna (1821–24) was forced to flee Lima in July 1821, and San Martín easily took the capital. The Southern Cone liberator declared Peruvian independence on July 28 but struggled to bring the countryside in line with his vision for the new nation. A year later, San Martín and Bolívar met in GUAYAQUIL to hammer out a strategy for the final liberation of Peru. San Martín handed power to Bolívar, and Congress named Bolívar president shortly thereafter. Bolívar led San Martín's army to its final victory over one of the last holdouts of royalist supporters at the Battle of Junín in August 1824. By the end of the year, Bolívar's trusted comrade ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE had defeated the last remnants of the royalist army at the Battle of Ayacucho, bringing an end to the Peruvian war for independence.

From 1824 to 1826, Bolívar ruled from Lima, attempting to stabilize nearly constant discontent among the Peruvian creole elite. At the same time, he had been named president of BOLIVIA (Upper Peru) and had drafted the BOLIVARIAN CONSTITUTION of 1826, in which he articulated his political vision. The Liberator intended to unify Peru and Bolivia as one independent nation, but local leaders in La Paz voted to separate from (Lower) Peru in 1825. Bolívar hoped that in short order the whole of South America would unite as one large and powerful nation under the auspices of his new constitution.



The Plaza de Armas and national cathedral in Lima, Peru, 1867 (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)



This statue of independence hero Simón Bolívar was erected in Lima, Peru, in 1858. (*Library of Congress*)

The document called for four branches of government led by a lifetime president and a limited electorate. The independence leader-turned-president, however, was soon called back to GRAN COLOMBIA to put down a revolt against the new government of FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER. Bolívar's departure created a power void in Peru, and for years, local elite jockeyed for power in one revolt after another.

THE PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION

After Bolívar left the presidency in 1827, leadership of Peru changed hands numerous times. Local politicians vied for power, and Bolivian leaders also turned their attention to Peru, as border conflicts ignited hostilities between the two nations. In 1833, internal animosities over TRADE policies between northern and southern regions further divided Peruvian politicians. Three years later, Bolivian dictator ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ reacted to infighting among Peruvian leaders by invading and declaring the region the unified PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION. Santa Cruz claimed that the common cultural and ethnic heritage of the two nations provided a logical basis for combining them into one powerful confederation. The Bolivian CAUDILLO convened a congress,

which organized the confederation into three autonomous states. Local Peruvian political leaders opposed to the confederation fled to neighboring Chile, while Santa Cruz worked to formalize his political project. The tenuous support for the confederation that did exist within Peru and Bolivia began to break down quickly as Chile and ARGENTINA both declared war in an attempt to dismantle the perceived threat along their borders. The Chilean army succeeded in forcing the dissolution of the confederation in 1839. Ousting the Bolivian dictator, however, did not bring political order to the new nation. Regional caudillos competed for power, and Peru had five different constitutions in the first two decades after independence.

THE GUANO AGE

Relative stability and prosperity came to Peru only after the installment of strongman RAMÓN CASTILLA and the development of the lucrative guano industry in the 1840s. In a period known as the GUANO AGE (1843–79), Peru's ECONOMY flourished as foreign investors processed guano on the nation's coastal islands for use in agricultural fertilizers. The development of the guano industry brought considerable economic prosperity to the country in the middle decades of the 19th century. The government used the revenue to develop the nation's infrastructure and expand public works. New schools were built, and railroads connecting major cities were completed. President Castilla built on his popularity as the economy flourished and the national treasury swelled.

In 1854, Castilla used his influence and popularity to push through legislation abolishing SLAVERY in Peru. He was able to win support from slave owners by using guano revenues to compensate them for their lost "assets" after freeing slaves. The president also canceled the indigenous tribute tax, replacing that revenue with guano profits. In 1860, the powerful politician promulgated a new constitution that expanded political participation and consolidated governmental control under a strong central executive.

While the guano age brought economic growth and some social reform to Peru, it also created a variety of problems. Many of Castilla's and subsequent leaders' spending projects were mismanaged and failed to create mechanisms that would allow the country to earn income outside of the guano industry. Much of the guano industry came under the control of foreign investors from the United States and Europe. Government economic policies also caused discontent as urban merchants and skilled craftspeople in the interior felt that the coast and island economies were the sole beneficiaries of free trade and foreign investment. Furthermore, while Castilla formally abolished Peruvian slavery, the government simultaneously encouraged the immigration of Chinese workers to fill the demand for labor in guano processing. Those immigration and LABOR policies created an entirely new class of exploited workers in Peru (see MIGRATION).

By the 1870s, Peru's guano boom was already showing signs of distress. Output from the once guano-rich coastal islands began to decline, and foreign guano companies had depleted those deposits. Exacerbating the problem, European companies had started to develop synthetic ingredients that replaced guano in fertilizer production. The guano trade also created a potential for foreign conflict. In 1866, Peru fought a brief war with Spain over control of a vital guano-rich island. Peru won the war and finally obtained Spain's recognition of its independence, but the conflict was costly. As guano extraction continued to decline, the Peruvian government began taking out foreign loans to sustain established levels of government spending. As the national debt soared, financial collapse seemed imminent. In 1869, Finance Minister and future president NICOLÁS DE PIÉROLA negotiated a controversial contract granting French investor Auguste Dreyfus virtually unlimited access to the nation's guano deposits in exchange for restructuring the national debt.

Much of the precariousness of Peru's economy could be tied directly to government corruption and misspending. In 1872, influential Peruvian businessmen joined forces with landed oligarchs and liberal intellectuals to challenge the traditional MILITARY dominance of the political system. Led by railroad magnate MANUEL PARDO, they formed the CIVILISTA PARTY and elected Pardo to the presidency. Pardo inherited a struggling economy and a corrupt political system. Nevertheless, he ruled for four years and set the stage for future oligarchic rule. One of Pardo's most notable acts was reaching a defense agreement with neighboring Bolivia. His administration did, however, face constant revolts from regional caudillos and supporters of political rival Piérola.

WAR OF THE PACIFIC

Pardo's alliance with Bolivia had dragged the nation into a devastating war by the end of the decade. In 1879, hostilities erupted between Bolivia and Chile over the disputed border region in the Atacama Desert. When Chilean leaders learned of Peru's defense pact with Bolivia, they declared war on both countries. Peru was pulled into the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–84) and faced an internal political collapse as the Chilean army invaded and advanced toward Lima. Peruvian president Piérola fled, leaving the defense of the country in the hands of military commander and future president ANDRÉS AVELINO CÁCERES. Cáceres led a last-ditch guerrilla war to defend against the invading army, but in 1883, Peruvian leaders signed the TREATY OF ANCÓN. The peace agreement required Peru to cede its southern province of Tarapacá. Control of the Tacna and Arica regions was to be determined 10 years later by a local plebiscite. Several months passed before Cáceres agreed to recognize the legitimacy of the treaty, while the Chilean army continued to occupy the country. Cáceres finally acceded, and the Chilean military withdrew in August 1884.

For two years after the conclusion of the War of the Pacific, Peruvian leaders battled among themselves for power. Military leader Cáceres colluded with the Civilista Party, and in 1886, he was elected president. The War of the Pacific had devastated the nation. The economy, already in a slump after the decline of the guano industry, continued to deteriorate. Railroads, ports, and other infrastructure systems had been severely damaged. As president, Cáceres spent several years negotiating the Grace Contract to restructure the nation's external debt. The agreement created the PERUVIAN CORPORATION, made up of British investors who held the majority of the nation's debt. Members of the corporation forgave the bulk of the debt in exchange for almost unrestricted use of railroads, waterways, and other resources. The contract was extremely controversial in Peru, but in the end, the Peruvian Corporation made needed repairs and improved important TRANSPORTATION networks.

THE ERA OF MODERNIZATION

In the last decade of the 19th century, Peruvians experienced a crisis of national identity similar to that seen in many other Latin American nations. Many leaders argued that the previous century of chaos and instability had caused the nation to fall behind the rest of the world. They contended that development of Peru's economic and social systems had stalled and that the nation needed to modernize rapidly in order to compete with more developed nations. Beginning with the first Cáceres presidency, Peruvian leaders prioritized modernization and the positivist philosophy. Intellectual and political elite formed the Sociedad Geográfica de Lima (Geographical Society of Lima) and used that organization as a forum for debating economic policy, resource development, and population issues. One of the main issues taken up by the positivists of the Sociedad was the plight of the nation's large indigenous population. Numerous Amerindian uprisings throughout the 19th century had convinced many leaders that Peru's NATIVE AMERICANS were a backward and uncivilized race. They encouraged a national policy to attract European immigration, thinking that this would promote mixing between the races and thus "dilute" the indigenous population. This policy was firmly in line with the theories of POSITIVISM and SOCIAL DARWINISM that prevailed in the late 19th century.

Peru had achieved some economic stability by the close of the century. Cáceres experimented with reinstating controversial measures to bolster the national treasury, such as the poll tax, but later administrations relied more on taxing popular consumer productions such as TOBACCO and salt. The government worked to diversify the nation's exports and moved the economy away from its reliance on guano. The export economy, however, remained firmly entrenched in the agricultural and MINING sectors (see AGRICULTURE). The expansion of agricultural production also meant a consolidation of land in the hands of wealthy oligarchs. Often that land

came from the struggling indigenous population, many of whom were now forced to work as wage laborers in an increasingly exploitative system of *LATIFUNDIO* for the landed elite.

Piérola served a final term as president in the late 1890s, this time in alliance with the Civilista Party. Piérola oversaw the opening of a number of banks and moved the nation toward sound monetary policy. He implemented trade policies to favor big business and the landed elite, and his government did bring continued economic stability. Nevertheless, his policies also enabled the continuation of the *latifundio* system. Foreign involvement in the economy was also renewed. Piérola saw foreign investment as a way for the country to modernize quickly. In the first decades of the 20th century, much of the nation's plantation land and its mining industry fell into the hands of foreigners, usually to the detriment of Peruvian workers.

The policies initiated during the last decade of the 19th century set the stage for major transformations in Peru in the 20th century. The development of the agricultural and mining industries provided the basis for what would become Peru's export-oriented economy early in the next century. The dominance of the Civilista Party ensured that government policies continued to favor large commercial interests. Relative stability in the 1890s also ushered in a period of population growth and the gradual urbanization of the country, and these new developments ultimately posed new challenges to Peru.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); PERU (Vols. I, IV); PERU, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ DE (Vol. II); TÚPAC AMARU II (Vol. II).

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Peru-Bolivia Confederation (1836–1839) Peru-Bolivia Confederation was a short-lived confederation of present-day PERU and BOLIVIA between 1836 and 1839. The attempt at creating a union between the two regions was a remnant of independence leader Simón Bolívar's vision of uniting the newly independent nations of South America into one strong and powerful confederation. Bolivian CAUDILLO and dictator ANDRÉS DE SANTA

CRUZ attempted to unite the two struggling nations in the interest of restoring a sense of common indigenous cultural identity and strengthening economic and commercial activities in the region.

Throughout most of the colonial period, Upper Peru (Bolivia) and Lower Peru (Peru) were important regions within the South American Viceroyalty of Peru. The creation of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata in 1776, with its seat in BUENOS AIRES, however, divided the two regions, as administratively, Upper Peru became a part of Río de la Plata. Culturally, Upper Peru had more in common with Lower Peru than it did with the new viceroyalty. Upper Peru, also known as Charcas, and Lower Peru had been the heart of the pre-Columbian Inca civilization, and many descendants of the Inca still lived in both regions. Furthermore, after Bolívar secured independence for both Upper and Lower Peru in 1825, he intended to unite the two under one sovereign nation. Only after congressional delegates in La Paz voted for autonomy was the Liberator forced to abandon those visions. He hoped to convince leaders in Bolivia and Peru to reunite and eventually become part of a larger confederation of South American states.

Bolívar served as president of both Peru and Bolivia until 1826. After his departure, both nations experienced a period of political turmoil. Santa Cruz was elected president of Bolivia in 1829 to replace Bolívar supporter ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE, who had resigned in 1828. Santa Cruz had served as provisional president of Peru in 1826 and dreamed of one day of fulfilling Bolívar's vision by bringing the two nations together. Furthermore, he was a *cholo*, or a mestizo, from La Paz, who closely guarded his Quechua indigenous roots. He envisioned reuniting the regions that had been the heart of the Inca Empire in one powerful and cohesive nation. Santa Cruz capitalized on a destabilizing Peruvian civil war in 1834 to invade that nation. He ordered his army across the border in June 1835, and by October 1836, he occupied and controlled most of Peru and proclaimed the Peru-Bolivia Confederation.

A congress convened the following year and formalized Santa Cruz's proclamation. It organized the confederation into three autonomous states—North Peru, South Peru, and Bolivia—each ruled by a president. Santa Cruz held the title of supreme protector of the confederation and ruled with absolute authority. By most accounts, the confederation brought a period of stability and progress to Peru and Bolivia after the unrest in those nations following independence. Nevertheless, Santa Cruz alienated influential citizens on both sides, who resented his authoritarian style. Furthermore, the confederation alarmed the governments in neighboring ARGENTINA and CHILE, who saw the alliance between their Andean neighbors as a threat to the delicate balance of power among the new nations in South America. Already in 1836, Chilean forces had engaged in skirmishes with Santa Cruz's confederation army over TRADE

disputes. In 1837, Argentine caudillo JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS attempted an invasion, but Santa Cruz repelled his army. He was not so fortunate when facing Chile, whose government aimed to settle a feud that had begun years earlier over tariffs and trade.

Chilean president José Joaquín Prieto (1831–41) declared war against the confederation and sent an invading naval expedition to Peru's coast in 1837. Santa Cruz's forces initially gained the upper hand and forced Chilean commander Manuel Blanco Encalada (b. 1790–d. 1876) to sign the Treaty of Paucarpata in November 1837. The treaty effectively stated that the Chilean government recognized the legitimacy and sovereignty of the confederation, but the Chilean leader immediately renounced the agreement.

War continued for more than a year as a new Chilean force under the command of General Manuel Bulnes (b. 1799–d. 1866) arrived in southern Peru. This time, Bulnes found that Santa Cruz had lost much of his internal support, as the president of North Peru had declared independence from the confederation. The Chilean army finally defeated Santa Cruz's forces in the Battle of Yungay in January 1839. What was left of the confederation disbanded, and Santa Cruz escaped into exile.

The Peru-Bolivia Confederation marked the first and only attempt to unite those two nations. The demise of the confederation ushered in an era of Chilean commercial and territorial dominance in the region.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); CHARCAS (Vol. II); INCAS (Vol. I); PERU, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II).

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Peruvian Corporation The Peruvian Corporation was a privately held group of British investors who gained control over much of PERU'S TRANSPORTATION and communications infrastructure and various natural resources in the late 19th century. The establishment of the corporation was unpopular among many Peruvians but ultimately helped the nation recover and rebuild after its defeat in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–84).

The Peruvian Corporation was formed as a result of the Grace Contract, which came out of negotiations between Peruvian president ANDRÉS AVELINO CÁCERES and representatives of British investors. The investors had loaned large sums of money to the Peruvian government, and the government had used that money to develop transportation and industrial infrastructure to support the guano and nitrate industries. Peru's defeat in the War of the Pacific left much of that infrastructure in ruins, and the government struggled to meet its debt obligations. To settle outstanding debts and create

a strategy to repair the nation's damaged infrastructure, the government of President Cáceres negotiated the Grace Contract with the British. The contract created the Peruvian Corporation, made up of the British investors, who held the majority of Peru's debt. The corporation agreed to cancel most of the nation's debt, and in exchange, members of the group were granted virtually unlimited access to Peru's resources and infrastructure.

Cáceres faced strong resistance within Peru as he negotiated the Grace Contract. He dissolved Congress to stifle opposition, and in 1889, the agreement became official. The Peruvian Corporation controlled Peru's railroads for more than six decades and took over a sizable portion of land in the Amazonian region. The agreement ran contrary to Peruvian national pride and identity, but most analyses of its results show that the Peruvian Corporation succeeded in rebuilding damaged sectors after the War of the Pacific and stabilizing the economy.

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Pétion, Alexandre (Alexandre Sabès) (b. 1770–d. 1818) *president of Haiti* Alexandre Pétion was born in Port-au-Prince on April 2, 1770, to a French colonel, Pascal Sabès, and a mulatto mother known as "la dame Ursaline." He was sent to the MILITARY academy in France and returned to HAITI to assist in the expulsion of the British in 1798. He was a mulatto belonging to the class of *affranchis*, or freedmen, and remained partial to European and elitist political factions. Desiring to lose his racist white father's name, he adopted *Pétion* in honor of Frenchman Pétion de Villeneuve, a notable member of the Société des Amis Noirs, a society of abolitionists, in the National Assembly in Paris in 1789.

In the early days of the Haitian Revolution, Pétion first fought against Toussaint Louverture (1801–03). When Toussaint's victory became imminent, he went into exile. He returned to Haiti with French general Charles-Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc's troops in 1802 in an attempt to reestablish colonial rule. After the treacherous treatment of Toussaint was made known and Leclerc attempted to disarm the blacks, Pétion defected and joined JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES'S rebel forces. Pétion also feared that Napoléon Bonaparte would reinstate SLAVERY, as he had done in nearby Guadeloupe. As a united force, blacks and mulattoes successfully defeated the French, declaring the independence of Haiti in 1804, with Dessalines as the nation's first leader, from 1804 to 1806.

Following Dessalines's assassination in 1806, HENRI CHRISTOPHE, a popular black general of the northern territories, clashed with Pétion over leadership. As a result,

the country became divided. Christophe established a kingdom in the north and reigned from 1807 to 1820. Pétion took charge of the republic in the south until 1818.

Pétion is known for his land distribution policies, whereby he distributed large plots of state-owned land to individuals in smaller tracts and then lowered the selling price to make it affordable. This practice is believed to have caused irreparable damage to the Haitian economy, however, as it promoted subsistence farming over large-scale agricultural production (see AGRICULTURE).

Pétion supported Simón Bolívar in his liberation wars throughout the Caribbean and allowed him sanctuary in 1815. Pétion died later that year of yellow fever and was succeeded by his mulatto secretary and commander of the presidential guard, General JEAN-PIERRE BOYER.

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Piérola, Nicolás de (b. 1839–d. 1913) *finance minister and president of Peru* Nicolás de Piérola was a prominent politician who rose to the rank of finance minister of PERU under the presidency of José Balta (1868–72). In the 1870s, he opposed the new CIVILISTA PARTY but later formed an alliance with it and supported *civilista* policies during his presidency in the 1890s.

Piérola was born in Arequipa on January 5, 1839. He rose through the ranks of the MILITARY and embarked on a political career. As minister of finance, Piérola negotiated an unpopular contract with French businessman Auguste Dreyfus, granting the investor a virtual monopoly over Peru's struggling guano industry. Piérola organized an opposition to the newly formed Civilista Party in 1872. Several years later, he attempted to overthrow the government and was briefly forced into exile. He entered the Peruvian political scene once again in 1879 to lead a Peruvian force in the WAR OF THE PACIFIC. He proclaimed himself president and attempted to defend the nation and the capital from the Chilean invasion. Piérola was eventually forced to flee and to surrender his claim as president.

Piérola returned to politics for a final time when he forged an alliance with his one-time nemesis, the Civilista Party, against the leadership of ANDRÉS AVELINO CÁCERES. The *civilista-pierolista* alliance overthrew Cáceres in 1895, and Piérola assumed national leadership once again. In the final years of the 19th century, Piérola protected the interests of the big-business oligarchy and imposed policies to stabilize the nation's monetary supply. Piérola

remained involved in local politics after stepping down from the presidency in 1899. He died in LIMA in 1913.

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Pilgrimage of Bayoán, The (*La peregrinación de Bayoán*) Published in 1863, *The Pilgrimage of Bayoán* was the first of many works by Eugenio María de Hostos (b. 1839–d. 1903) on Latin American social and political philosophy. The political work masquerading as a fictional novel was deemed too controversial for popular circulation and was banned by Spanish authorities for its critical portrayal of the Spanish colonial regime in PUERTO RICO.

Composed during a time of intense revolutionary fervor in Puerto Rico, Hostos wrote the book as a direct attack on the restrictions and injustices perpetrated by the Spanish Crown against his island home. After receiving his law degree from the Central University of Madrid, Hostos became interested in politics, joining other university students in the call for the independence of CUBA and Puerto Rico, as well as the abolition of SLAVERY. It was at this time that Hostos, only 24 years old, wrote *The Pilgrimage of Bayoán*, considered by many to be his finest work.

The novel follows the protagonist, Bayoán, on his journey back to Puerto Rico from Europe, rediscovering his beautiful homeland and its people besieged by the social and political evils of the Spanish colonial system. The plot is relayed through Bayoán's diary entries, and the novel contains strong elements of romantic LITERATURE (see ROMANTICISM). Bayoán frequently laments the disturbance of the natural beauty and order the island had before the arrival of the Spanish. Eventually, Bayoán determines that the only way to save Puerto Rico is to return to Spain to convince the government to grant Puerto Rican independence.

When Spain formally denied Puerto Rican independence in the formation of its Constitution of 1869, Hostos traveled to the United States, COLOMBIA, PERU, CHILE, BRAZIL, and ARGENTINA. Finally returning to Puerto Rico in 1898 following its acquisition by the United States, he strongly but unsuccessfully advocated for Puerto Rican independence to then U.S. president William McKinley.

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Plácido (Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés) (b. 1809–d. 1844) *Cuban poet, political activist, and abolitionist* Plácido was a Cuban poet and journalist who used his literary skills to challenge Spanish authority in CUBA and to push for the abolition of SLAVERY (see LITERATURE). He is best known as one of the great martyrs in the LADDER CONSPIRACY (*Conspiración de la Escalera*) of 1844.

Plácido was born Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés on March 18, 1809, to a Spanish father and a mixed-race Cuban mother. Abandoned by his parents, he spent much of his youth in a HAVANA orphanage. As a young man, he relocated to Matanzas and began earning a living as a comb maker. Plácido earned a reputation for his ability to compose short, impromptu rhymes. In 1837, he began writing poems for a local newspaper on a regular basis and over the next few years published collections of his work. Much of Plácido's poetry featured cleverly worded criticisms of the Spanish colonial system in Cuba. He also frequently commented on the oppressive nature of slavery in Cuba and became an icon of the growing abolitionist movement.

In 1844, Spanish authorities uncovered an abolitionist conspiracy in Matanzas to incite a slave uprising. The plot became known as the Ladder Conspiracy after the Spanish torture technique of tying suspects to a ladder to be flogged. Plácido immediately fell under suspicion for his activist writings and was arrested and detained for several months. He was executed by Spanish authorities on June 28, 1844, along with other free black abolition leaders. Already well known for his poetry, Plácido was exalted in death as a martyr of the anti-Spanish movement.

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Plan de Casa Mata (1823) The Plan de Casa Mata was the declaration of rebellion against AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE in Mexico in 1823. The proclamation and subsequent rebellion ended his reign as emperor (1821–24) and made MEXICO a republic.

Mexico achieved its independence from Spain after Iturbide, a Spanish army officer, ended the decade-long war of independence by reaching a compromise with VICENTE GUERRERO. Under their Plan de Iguala, Mexico became an independent nation but was to be ruled by a monarch. When Iturbide failed to recruit a European monarch to accept the position, his supporters declared him Emperor Agustín I. He ruled with all the pomposity befitting a royal leader, and his tactics became increasingly autocratic. As liberal opposition to his monarchy mounted, Iturbide censored the press, jailed dissidents, and dissolved Congress.

Several former independence leaders, including ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA, Nicolás Bravo (b. 1786–d. 1854), Guerrero, and GUADALUPE VICTORIA, rose in opposition almost immediately. Iturbide sent José Antonio Echáverri to put down the insurrection, but Echáverri instead joined the agitators, who declared the Plan de Casa Mata on February 1, 1823. The rebellion incorporated the earlier Plan de Veracruz promulgated by Santa Anna on December 1, 1822. The Plan de Casa Mata called for a new congress to be convened and for a republican form of government to be established. Iturbide briefly attempted to reinstate Congress, hoping to negotiate a peaceful end to the rebellion, but organizers of the Plan de Casa Mata were beyond compromise. Instead of fighting a protracted war, Iturbide abdicated on March 19, 1823, and fled into exile in Europe.

Organizers of the Plan de Casa Mata installed Bravo, Victoria, and Pedro Celestino Negrete (b. 1777–d. 1846) as an interim ruling triumvirate and called for delegates to write a new constitution. The Plan de Casa Mata paved the way for the drafting of the CONSTITUTION OF 1824, which established the federal republic of Mexico.

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Plan de Tacubaya See JUÁREZ, BENITO; REFORMA, LA.

Porfiriato (1876–1911) The Porfiriato was the period from 1876 to 1911 when MEXICO was ruled by PORFIRIO DÍAZ. During that time, Díaz ruled under the dictum of order and progress, and the nation experienced advancements in industry, security, and culture. Not all Mexicans benefited, however, from the prosperity that accompanied those advancements. The Porfiriato ended when Díaz was forced from power with the onset of the Mexican Revolution.

The Porfiriato began with Díaz's overthrow of SEBASTIÁN LERDO DE TEJADA in 1876 under the Plan de Tuxtepec. Lerdo had been elected to a second presidential term in possibly fraudulent elections. Díaz had led a similar revolt under the Plan de Noria after losing the 1871 election to BENITO JUÁREZ, but that rebellion had failed. In both campaigns, Díaz called for "effective suffrage, no reelection" as proscribed in the CONSTITUTION OF 1857. In 1880, after serving as president for four years, he stepped down in keeping with his no reelection principles but continued to exert influence behind the scenes during the MANUEL GONZÁLEZ interregnum (1880–84). González's presidency was marred by economic instability and corruption, and after four years, Díaz was able to justify running for another presidential term despite his earlier claims. He ruled from 1884 to 1911 without inter-

ruption, although he held elections at regular intervals, giving at least the illusion of an open political process.

During the Porfiriato, Mexico experienced unprecedented stability and prosperity, with the pursuit of modernity often cited by Díaz as justification for his despotic rule. Since gaining independence in 1821, the nation had been plagued by wars and economic instability as it struggled with political rivalries, attempted foreign invasions, and regional unrest. As a result, Mexico had gained a reputation as a nation of lawlessness and financial uncertainty so that foreign businesses, which it desperately needed to attract, hesitated to invest in it. Díaz reversed those misgivings by augmenting security and cracking down on banditry and other crimes. He relied increasingly on the *RURALES*, or rural mounted police, originally established by Juárez. Díaz increased their numbers and continually expanded their jurisdiction and duties. Through repressive tactics, including the *ley fuga*, a law under which prisoners could be shot in the back while supposedly trying to escape, the *rurales* helped create an illusion of stability.

The Porfiriato saw the rise of a new type of bureaucrat as Díaz surrounded himself with advisers known as the *CIENTÍFICOS*. Generally ascribing to the philosophy of POSITIVISM, this group of intellectuals and technocrats believed that only scientific endeavors could pave the way for progress in Mexico. Many *científicos* firmly believed that traditional sectors of the Mexican population, such as the “backward” NATIVE AMERICANS, were hindering the advancement of the entire nation. They promoted social and economic policies that became the basis for pursuing order and progress during the Porfiriato.

In 1884, the Díaz administration settled the nation's outstanding debt with Great Britain, which encouraged even more foreign involvement in the ECONOMY. Throughout the Porfiriato, the government passed laws favoring INDUSTRIALIZATION and creating an economic climate favorable to foreign interests. MINING laws were changed to allow foreign control of subsoil rights, and agricultural laws allowed the government to confiscate and sell any lands not being put to productive use (see AGRICULTURE). Facilitated by foreign money and technology, Mexico's railroad industry expanded, with 15,000 miles (24,140 km) of track connecting the country for the first time. Mining output in SILVER and COPPER increased substantially. New industrial endeavors in coal, oil, steel, and textiles sprang up. With economic development came the growth of urban areas as many who had been displaced in the countryside relocated to the cities to work as laborers in emerging industries.

Foreign businesses saw the greatest benefit of the economic policies of the Porfiriato, but an elite class of wealthy Mexican businessmen also profited. The Porfiriato facilitated the growth of a small middle class whose professional services were needed in urban areas. As the middle and upper classes enjoyed greater prosperity, they increasingly embraced foreign trends as

the model of culture and sophistication. They adopted French cuisine and fashion and many foreign recreational pastimes in an attempt to exude cultural modernity (see FOOD; SPORTS AND RECREATION). Government policies complemented these attitudes; numerous laws attempted to regulate the appearance and behavior of traditional sectors of Mexican society. For example, the poor were prohibited from entering certain urban areas, and the indigenous were forced to abide by CLOTHING laws prohibiting wide-brimmed sombreros, huaraches (sandals), and other typically indigenous garb in many cities. Foreigners often ridiculed Mexican socialites' attempts to emulate foreign trends.

Although Mexico seemed to be modernizing and advancing in many economic and social areas during the Porfiriato, the benefits of that progress were not evenly distributed. The indigenous and urban poor fell even further behind as their standard of living and working conditions declined in the interest of attracting industrialists. Díaz also severely constrained political freedoms by censoring political opposition and preventing open and fair elections. By the beginning of the 20th century, many Mexicans had grown dissatisfied with the direction in which Porfirian progress had taken the nation. When economic recession struck in 1906, discontent became even more pronounced. Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón, publishers of the anti-Díaz periodical *Regeneración*, created a resistance movement under the Mexican Liberal Party (Partido Liberal Mexicano). Their efforts succeeded in inciting several workers' riots.

In 1908, Díaz gave his famous interview to U.S. journalist James Creelman in which he boasted of the accomplishments that Mexico had achieved under his watch and declared the nation ready for him to step down. Díaz's assertion that he would not seek reelection in the 1910 election raised the hopes and expectations of many would-be contenders, including future revolutionary leader Francisco Madero, who began laying plans to run for president. Those hopes were dashed when Díaz rescinded his promise not to enter the campaign and assured his own victory by having Madero arrested. This final repression of political freedoms proved to be the undoing of the Porfiriato. Madero escaped from jail and issued the Plan de San Luis Potosí, calling Mexicans to arms against the Díaz regime. On November 20, 1910, armed rebellion began throughout the country, and on May 11, 1911, the Porfiriato officially came to an end when Díaz fled into exile in Europe.

See also FLORES MAGÓN BROTHERS (Vol. IV); MADERO, FRANCISCO (Vol. IV); MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV).

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Portales, Diego (b. 1793–d. 1837) *Chilean businessman and political leader* Diego Portales was a businessman who led an influential group of entrepreneurs known as the *estancieros* in the decades after independence in CHILE. He became one of the most influential leaders in government and politics, holding several cabinet positions and helping draft the CONSTITUTION OF 1833 during the era of conservative rule in the 1830s.

Portales was born on June 26, 1793 to an influential family in SANTIAGO DE CHILE. Immediately after Chile achieved independence, Portales began to build a successful business as a merchant, taking advantage of opportunities for commerce in the newly independent colonies. In 1824, his company entered into an *estanco* contract with the Chilean government, whereby the company assumed responsibility for the nation's large foreign debt in exchange for monopoly control of TOBACCO commerce. The contract provoked a backlash among liberals, who pressured the government to dissolve it. Portales's company went bankrupt, and he became convinced that a strong central government must be put in place to maintain a firm rule of law and allow the nation's ECONOMY to thrive.

In 1829, Portales and his *estancero* allies joined forces with conservatives to oust the liberal government and back the presidency of General Joaquín Prieto (1831–41). In 1833, Portales helped craft a new conservative constitution, which helped stabilize Chile's economy and political system. Portales was serving as minister of war when Chile declared war on the PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION in 1837. As the result of a short-lived mutiny within the Chilean army, he was arrested and executed on June 6, 1837.

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positivism Positivism is a social theory that was originally articulated by French philosopher Auguste

Comte (b. 1798–d. 1857). It formed the ideological foundation of many Latin American governments in the final decades of the 19th century. At its most basic level, positivism argued that all fact-based knowledge must be tied to observation and experience. Proponents in Latin America used the theory to promote policies aimed at achieving order and progress.

Positivism developed from the ideas of the European Enlightenment, according to which knowledge must be based on rational thought. Comte ventured beyond the concept of rationalism by privileging the role of scientific experiment. He favored reason and logic over “metaphysic knowledge” that could not be proved. Comte's theories inspired other European philosophers such as John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Positivism was slow to take root in Latin America, largely because most nations were mired in political and economic instability throughout the first half of the 19th century. But, in later decades, relatively stable governments led primarily by liberal oligarchies embraced positivist philosophies as a way to understand their nations' histories and as a model for economic and social policies (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY).

Comte's positivist theories presented the notion of deterministic progress to explain the evolution of human societies. Comte insisted that all societies would naturally pass through three phases of development. The first phase was the prehistoric, or theological, stage, which was characterized by small social units organized around the FAMILY. During this phase of development, economies were small and simplistic. More important, knowledge centered on religious beliefs that often led to what Comte referred to as “fictitious knowledge.” The earliest civilizations in the theological stage organized themselves around polytheistic religious systems, but those systems eventually evolved into widespread monotheism.

The second phase of development was the metaphysical stage, in which societies started to make the transition from religious to scientific knowledge. According to Comte, societies in this stage could still base their knowledge on the philosophical or metaphysical, even while believing they were engaging in empirical thought. Monotheistic RELIGIONS still dominated the way people approached knowledge, but societies organized themselves around the nation-state. The economic foundation of the metaphysical stage had developed by this phase but was still a relatively simple system and often tied to what Comte considered backward religious traditions.

The final phase of social evolution was the positive, or scientific, phase. Societies in this phase of development had developed industrial economies and had rejected the religious influence in acquiring knowledge. Comte envisioned positivistic “religions” worshipping human knowledge rather than a metaphysical being whose existence could not be proved. Societies in the positive phase broadened their organizing principles to include all of humankind rather than smaller nation-state structures.

Comte's notion of deterministic progress became an influential model for Latin American leaders. Positivism proposed that all societies would inevitably move through the three stages of progress but would do so at different rates. Latin American positivists saw industrial and secular trends emerging in the United States and Europe throughout the 19th century, while many new nations in Latin America clung to traditional "metaphysical" beliefs. They were convinced that Latin America was falling behind the rest of the world. They often measured positivistic progress in terms of tangible advances in technology and the acquisition of material goods. Latin American leaders vowed to implement policies that would allow the region to catch up. They rushed to introduce new technologies such as railroad transport, electricity, and communications systems in their countries in an effort to force progress. Many Latin American elite began to revere European material culture as a manifestation of positivist progress. French clothing,

sophisticated cuisines, and European art and theater were highly regarded as measures of progress.

Although many intellectuals and political leaders embraced the scientific doctrine, positivism faced several obstacles in 19th-century Latin America. The CATHOLIC CHURCH continued to hold considerable influence over much of the population, and Comte's principles required people to eschew their reliance on religious superstitions. Furthermore, many intellectuals and politicians saw a disconnect between the educated elite and the rural and urban poor, made up of the indigenous and colored population. They believed that while many among the elite in Latin America were ready to move to stage three of deterministic progress, the wider population was lagging behind. Because of this, positivism took on a tone of racism and ethnic discrimination in some areas of Latin America.

Positivism was most prominent in MEXICO and BRAZIL, while in countries such as CHILE, ARGENTINA, and CUBA the philosophy played a lesser role. Positivism



Positivist regimes in the late 19th century aimed to portray their nations to the rest of the world as advanced and modern. This photo shows the Argentine and Brazilian pavilions from the 1889 Paris Exposition. Many Latin American nations used the exposition as an opportunity to showcase their versions of modernity in the late 19th century. (*Library of Congress*)

was first promoted in Mexico by philosopher and intellectual GABINO BARREDA, who had studied in Europe and become a close colleague of Comte. Barreda wrote a number of essays promoting positivist thought and eventually accepted a position under liberal president BENITO JUÁREZ to reform the Mexican educational system according to positivist tenets (see EDUCATION). Barreda founded Mexico's National Preparatory School, which trained an entire generation of positivist intellectuals known as *CIENTÍFICOS*. Many *científicos* later became advisers to dictator PORFIRIO DÍAZ, convincing the leader to embrace positivism as a governing principle.

Mexican positivists, in particular, believed that rural NATIVE AMERICANS lagged behind the rest of the country and were preventing Mexico from fully entering the final stage of deterministic progress. Many of the social policies implemented during the PORFIRIATO were intended to force the indigenous to catch up to the rest of the country. In the meantime, Díaz and the *científicos* attempted to disguise the indigenous to make the rest of the country look "modern." The Díaz administration passed sumptuary laws and vagrancy regulations to try to control the behavior and appearance of the nation's poor (see CLOTHING; FOOD). These laws were also intended to make the nation more appealing to foreigners. Mexico's positivists believed that one of the most effective ways to bring rapid progress to the nation was to invite foreign investment into the ECONOMY. Díaz passed laws granting exceptional concessions to business interests from the United States and Europe, and foreign involvement in the economy intensified.

In Brazil, positivist ideology was particularly important in ending the monarchy and ushering in the republic. Unlike Mexico, where positivism resonated primarily in intellectual circles, in Brazil, the ideology was embraced by the emerging middle class as a way to exert more influence over national development. BENJAMIN CONSTANT, the head of the RIO DE JANEIRO military academy, is generally credited with promoting the philosophy in Brazil. As the rest of mainland Latin America ushered in republican governments in the early decades of the 19th century, Brazil remained closely tied to Portugal. Even as leaders of an independent Brazil severed formal ties with Europe, the persistence of the colonial system could be seen in the establishment of a Portuguese-descended monarchy. Positivism flourished as many came to understand the nation's past in the context of Comte's deterministic progress. Brazilian positivists argued that the nation had progressed from the first stage of theological thought with the end of colonialism, but that the continuation of monarchy caused the nation to lag in the second stage. Positivists argued for the establishment of a republic as the only way to move Brazil into the final phase of progress.

Brazilian intellectuals also posed abolitionist arguments within the context of positivism, marking another difference between the Mexican and Brazilian movements. Brazilian positivists argued in favor of a more egalitarian racial system and promoted miscegenation as the nation

moved toward the abolition of SLAVERY in the 1880s. Both Brazilian and Mexican national leaders emphasized European technological and cultural progress and favored foreign investment as a mechanism for speeding the pace of modernization and progress in their own countries.

In all areas of Latin America, positivists continued some of the ideological trends initiated by liberals in earlier decades. In particular, positivists pushed for the strict separation of church and state. Positivist influence is evident in educational policies in countries such as Chile and Argentina. The philosophy was also used by independence leaders in Cuba in the late decades of the 19th century to argue for a break from Spain.

See also ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II).

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Progressive Party From 1883 to 1895 in ECUADOR, the political faction called the Progressives, which included moderates from both the Liberal and Conservative Parties, sought to outline a third way for Ecuadorean politics. After assisting in the overthrow of a MILITARY dictator, businessman and landowner José María Plácido Caamaño, the country's first Progressive president, enacted a moderate program that continued many of GABRIEL GARCÍA MORENO's policies while embracing other moderate liberal reforms.

Caamaño (1883–88) and his successor, Antonio Flores (1888–92), a diplomat and son of JUAN JOSÉ FLORES, continued to employ foreign monks and nuns to expand EDUCATION. Caamaño rededicated Ecuador to the cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, a Catholic devotion that originated in Europe in the 17th century and was intended to appeal to the popular masses. This had been one of García Moreno's most proclerical actions, and he began construction of the National Basilica in QUITO to house the cult. At the same time, the Progressives abolished the tithe as Liberals demanded, making the clergy dependent on government subsidies.

The Progressives also continued their predecessors' modernization project, adding to the railroad and road networks, and constructing a national telegraph system. Flores

tried valiantly to arbitrate the ongoing border conflict with PERU but failed. The Progressives furthered Ecuador's quest for a national identity by creating a national currency, the sucre, named for the nation's independence hero.

The final Progressive president, Luis Cordero Crespo (1892–95), became embroiled in foreign policy controversies in 1895. Although he resolved a debt issue with Great Britain that dated back to the 1820s, Ecuador fell into default again when CACAO export revenues declined in 1894. The president then became involved in a scheme to sell a vessel to Japan, which led directly to the LIBERAL REVOLUTION of 1895. By then, extreme elements in both the Conservative and Liberal Parties made compromise unworkable, and the Progressive Party died.

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Puebla Puebla is a city and state located in Central MEXICO. The city of Puebla was founded in 1531 as the Spanish consolidated control over its new colonies in the Americas. It grew quickly as an important stop along the land route between MEXICO CITY and the port of Veracruz. Puebla boasted a strong Spanish presence throughout the colonial period. The city was a mainstay of Crown and church authority, the latter evidenced by the large number of churches, monasteries, and convents in the region. The nun, scholar, and poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz lived in Puebla in the late 17th century.

The residents of Puebla generally remained loyal to royalist forces during the wars for independence. The city was one of the last holdouts against insurgent forces in 1821. Puebla's strong religious traditions made the city a natural base for Mexico's conservative political movement, which emerged in the decades following independence. Conservatives advocated preserving the power structures that had defined colonial Mexico and defended the long-standing social and legal privileges held by members of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. As a result of the city's conservative heritage, elite leaders in Puebla often challenged liberal national leaders in Mexico City. The WAR OF REFORM was a violent civil war between Liberals and Conservatives fought between 1858 and 1861. Puebla was one of the first conservative areas to rise up against the Liberal government, and the city became an important seat of Conservative resistance during the war. Church leaders in Puebla and in other regions of the country backed the conservative movement by contributing financial resources to its army and excommunicating citizens who supported and enforced liberal policies. Liberal forces under BENITO JUÁREZ eventually triumphed in the civil war, but divisions between the two sides remained.

Puebla continued to play an important role in the conservative-liberal struggle when French emperor

Napoléon III sent an invasion force to Mexico in 1862 on the pretext of collecting outstanding debt. Napoléon intended to establish an empire in the Americas, and French troops occupied Mexico in an era known as the FRENCH INTERVENTION. As it became clear that Napoléon's army was preparing to invade, Mexican leaders scrambled to organize a defense strategy. The French army began its attack by blockading the port of Veracruz in January 1862. Throughout the spring, an invasion force of 6,000 seized major cities along the coast and began the march toward MEXICO CITY.

French leaders expected the traditionally conservative city of Puebla not to pose any significant resistance, but Juárez dispatched a large defensive force under General Ignacio Zaragoza to halt the French advance. French leaders—familiar with the city's recent role in the War of Reform—hoped that it would rise up against the Juárez government and join the Conservatives in backing an imperial and monarchical political shift. The two armies faced off on May 5 at Fort Guadalupe and Fort Loreto on the outskirts of the city. Fierce fighting by Mexican forces was aided by poor strategy decisions on the part of French MILITARY leaders. Defenders of the Mexican forts held off the French, and future Mexican president PORFIRIO DÍAZ led the cavalry forces to victory. The French suffered hundreds of casualties and retreated to Veracruz. Victory in the Battle of Puebla allowed the Mexican military to delay the French invasion of Central Mexico and the occupation of Mexico City for more than a year. It was an even greater symbolic victory, as word of Zaragoza's success spread throughout Mexico, creating a sense of national pride. Juárez declared May 5 a national holiday to commemorate the military triumph, hence the origin of today's CINCO DE MAYO celebration.

Puebla reaped the benefits of government policies aimed at encouraging economic growth and foreign investment during the PORFIRIATO of the late decades of the 19th century. TRANSPORTATION networks sprang up throughout the country, connecting Mexico City and other interior urban areas with the coast. Puebla's location en route between the capital city and Veracruz on the Gulf coast allowed it to experience unprecedented growth as TRADE and transportation networks developed. Puebla became home to a number of foreign immigrants toward the end of the century. The city also profited from a new interest in SPORTS AND RECREATION among the nation's elite and foreign travelers. Outdoor enthusiasts embarked on weekend climbing expeditions to Puebla State's famous volcano, Popocatepetl.

Puebla continued to play a prominent role in Mexican history throughout the 20th century. Strains within the industrial and agrarian sectors of Mexican society that propelled the 1910 revolution were particularly visible in the city. Puebla continued to be a center of conservative politics throughout the 20th century.

See also PUEBLA (Vol. II).

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Puerto Rican Revolutionary Committee See COMITÉ REVOLUCIONARIO DE PUERTO RICO.

Puerto Rico Traditionally a location of great MILITARY importance for protection of the Caribbean Sea and the Americas and later as a source of SUGAR, COFFEE, and TOBACCO, Puerto Rico was a highly valuable possession of the Spanish Crown throughout the 19th century. As the wars of independence raged throughout the rest of Latin America, Puerto Rico remained under Spanish control until it was lost to the United States, following the WAR OF 1898.

A TASTE OF POWER

During Napoléon Bonaparte's occupation of Spain, from 1807 until 1813, the royal family and most members of the Spanish Court were placed under house arrest. The remaining members of the Spanish government met at Cádiz in opposition to French rule. The national legislative body, the Cortes, met on September 24, 1810, inviting representatives from the Spanish colonies to join the meeting for the first time. Ramón Power y Giralt (b. 1775–d. 1813) was selected by the Puerto Rican government to represent its interests at the Cortes of Cádiz, namely to advocate for colonial reforms granting Puerto Rico more control over its internal affairs. Power successfully convinced the other legislative members to allow Puerto Rico more autonomy, which resulted in what became known as the Power Law, or Ley Poder. These governmental reforms decentralized Spanish control over Puerto Rican commerce and formally gave Puerto Rican-born Spanish (creole) citizens the same legal and personal rights as the elite Iberian-born (peninsular) Spaniards.

However, this taste of new freedom would not last, as the constitutional government formed during the absence of Spanish king Ferdinand VII was abolished on his return to power in May 1814. The Spanish government and its colonies returned to an absolute monarchy, but many of Spain's colonies in the New World grew resentful of the loss of freedom that they had enjoyed in the king's absence. Over the next few decades as the wars of independence raged throughout Latin America, Puerto Rico remained loyal to the Spanish Crown only because of a series of political reforms enacted by King Ferdinand himself.

GROWTH AND IMMIGRATION

To discourage the growing separatist movements across Latin America from taking root in PUERTO RICO and to stimulate new economic growth on the island, on August 10, 1815, King Ferdinand proclaimed the Cédula de

Gracia, or ROYAL DECREE OF GRACE. Under the decree's provisions, Puerto Rico was granted a number of economic freedoms to encourage its TRADE with other Latin American nations and the United States. The royal decree also for the first time allowed colonists of non-Spanish origin to immigrate to the island and to earn Spanish citizenship if they remained there for a set period of time. These non-Spanish settlers were offered six acres of land for each FAMILY member and three acres for each slave brought to Puerto Rico as a further incentive to help increase the island's small, stagnant population level.

The decree greatly stimulated Puerto Rico's economic growth and helped extinguish much of the separatist fervor on the island. The Puerto Rican sugar TRADE, primarily with the United States, greatly increased in the years after its passage. Trade with the United States had been previously stifled by disturbances in shipping during the War of 1812 but afterward grew to surpass the record trade revenues set in the years before its onset. Overall, Puerto Rican foreign trade revenues surged as a result of the royal decree, growing 800 percent from 1813 to 1818. Thanks to the record influx of foreign trade revenues, Puerto Rico's primarily agrarian society could now import modern farming equipment, as well as link areas of sugar, coffee, and tobacco production to major ports such as Ponce, Mayagüez, Fajardo, Cabo Rojo, Humacao, and San Juan through the construction of new roads and railroad lines. The decree also quickly turned the island into a cultural and racial melting pot. Throughout the 19th century, colonists from across Europe, Latin America, Africa, and even Asia made their way to the tiny island in search of fortune and adventure.

Not only was Puerto Rico's population and economic strength growing as a result of the royal decree, but it acquired new territory during this period. In 1811, Puerto Rican governor Salvador Meléndez initiated a series of military actions against the neighboring VIEQUES ISLAND as part of a formal attempt by Spanish authorities to impose the rule of law on the pirates and thieves who had taken up residence there. Following the military cleanup of the island by Spanish troops, Vieques was officially annexed to Puerto Rico. Large-scale sugar plantations were established once Vieques was permanently settled, increasing the island's population through the importation of thousands of African slaves. Many of these slaves were brought from the neighboring British island colonies of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Kitts, and their work on the plantations helped to rapidly turn both Vieques and Puerto Rico into highly profitable, but largely single-crop, agricultural economies (see CARIBBEAN, BRITISH).

RESENTMENT AND REVOLUTION

Following the death of King Ferdinand VII in 1833, the Queen Mother Maria Christina of Bourbon (b. 1806–d. 1878) allowed for the re-creation of the Cortes to curb growing liberal dissatisfaction with Spanish royal rule.

The Cortes began work on a new constitution and completed it by 1837, but the representatives of CUBA, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines were excluded from the process. Denied a voice in the Spanish government yet again, it was not until the 1860s that Spain once more invited colonial representatives to plead their case for greater local autonomy. When the Cortes convened on the subject of possible new colonial reforms in 1867, the matter of Puerto Rican autonomy was once more denied for the time being, to be reviewed again at a later date. This dismissal of the Puerto Rican representatives' demands led many to believe that revolution was now the only real means of achieving the freedoms they desired.

This belief led to the most famous uprising in Puerto Rican history the following year. Organized by revolutionary Puerto Rican nationalists, the revolt known as the GRITO DE LARES was an armed rebellion against Spanish control of Puerto Rico launched on the night of September 23, 1868. Its chief planner was RAMÓN EMETERIO BETANCES, a Puerto Rican physician in political exile but in communication with fellow revolutionaries on the mainland.

On the night of the 23rd, around 400 poorly armed men gathered outside the town of Lares, and at midnight, they arrested the local Spanish leaders, declared the establishment of the Republic of Puerto Rico, and created a new provisional government. The rebellion did not, however, gain the support it needed from the local populace or from abroad in order to defeat the Spanish troops on the island. On the outskirts of the town of San Sebastián de Pepino, the Spanish army killed or captured the majority of the rebel army less than 24 hours after the uprising had begun. This would be the first and last major uprising against the Spanish Crown in Puerto Rico. Liberal reformers resigned themselves to using political means to gain freedoms for their homeland.

REMOVAL AND REFORMS

Hampered by the inflexible and corrupt court of Spanish queen Isabella II (b. 1830–d. 1904), the Spanish military removed her from the throne in 1868 and installed a new liberal Spanish government and constitution. This event had direct repercussions for Puerto Rico: It allowed for the formation of new political parties on the island. Both the LIBERAL REFORMIST PARTY and the LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE PARTY were formed in 1870, but with very different views on the best course of action for the future of Puerto Rico. Liberal Reformists wanted to change the status quo, which allowed privileges for Spanish-born peninsulars in respect to political and military appointments, social status, and legal rights. Conversely, Liberal Conservatives wanted to maintain the status quo and retain all the privileges that came with it. Both parties worked against each other for the next 30 years, collaborating with Spanish political parties within the Cortes to push their agendas.

More liberal reforms were passed in an attempt to further curb the tide of growing anti-Spanish sentiment in Puerto Rico. The MORET LAW, named for the minister of colonial affairs, Segismundo Moret y Prendergast (b. 1838–d. 1913), was issued by the Spanish government on July 4, 1870, in regards to all its remaining colonies. The law stated that all government-owned slaves, all slaves over the age of 60, all slaves born after September 17, 1868, and all slaves who served in the Spanish army during the recent unrest in Cuba were now set free. Spain eventually went as far as to abolish SLAVERY altogether in 1873, freeing some 40,000 slaves from Puerto Rico. Following the death of conservative Spanish prime minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (b. 1828–d. 1897) at the hands of Spanish terrorists in August 1897, the new liberal prime minister, Práxedes Mateo Sagasta (b. 1825–d. 1903), granted autonomy to Puerto Rico via a royal decree on November 25, 1897. The freedom that Puerto Ricans had sought for nearly a century would be short lived, however, as events between larger nations intervened in less than a year.

U.S. ACQUISITION

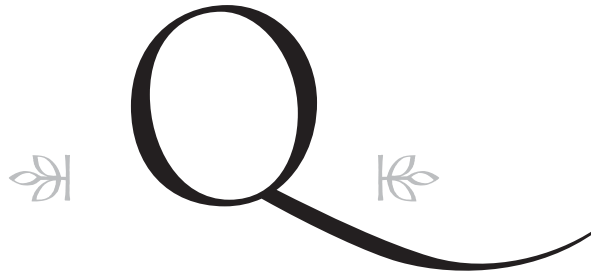
With the outbreak of war between the United States and Spain on April 19, 1898, Puerto Rico endured a brief and uneventful bombardment by U.S. naval forces followed by formal occupation beginning on July 25. When the Treaty of Paris between Spain and the United States was signed on December 10, 1898, Puerto Rico came under the military control of the United States. Spain renounced all claims to the island, leaving independence or assimilation into the United States as possibilities.

Pro-independence advocates such as Eugenio María de Hostos (b. 1839–d. 1903) and Betances beseeched U.S. president William McKinley to grant Puerto Rico independence. Nevertheless, many Puerto Ricans viewed acquisition by the United States as a chance for further liberal reforms and for fusion with a wealthy country they otherwise knew little about. The new autonomous government had had little chance to prove itself during the previous year, and the stability afforded by U.S. governance appealed to those who feared economic and social chaos once U.S. military occupation ended. From the United States's point of view, Puerto Rico was both racially and economically less than desirable, but its strategic location in the Caribbean made it potentially useful for the protection of U.S. interests in Latin America.

See also PUERTO RICO (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Quanta Cura See SYLLABUS OF ERRORS.

Quiroga, Juan Facundo (b. 1788–d. 1835) *Argentine caudillo and regional leader* Juan Facundo Quiroga was the CAUDILLO of La Rioja Province in ARGENTINA in the early years after independence. He was a member of the alliance of *FEDERALES* who supported JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS and earned a reputation for his ruthless and tyrannical tendencies. Quiroga was immortalized through the literature of future president DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO in his 1845 opus *Facundo, or Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants* (*Facundo: Civilización y barbarie en las pampas argentinas*).

Quiroga was born into a rural family in La Rioja Province. He served in local militias and fought against the Spanish in Argentina's independence movement. He developed a reputation as a ruthless local caudillo, with the strength and physical prowess to match. According to local stories, Quiroga fought and killed a cougar barehanded, earning him the nickname the "Tigre de los Llanos" (Tiger of the Plains). In the aftermath of independence, Quiroga emerged as a defender of the rights of the provinces and frequently found himself at odds with the *unitario* leadership in Buenos Aires (see *UNITARIOS*). When BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA became president in 1826 and began initiating highly centralized policies, Quiroga joined the *federales* opposition. Between 1827 and 1829, battles raged between the *unitarios* and *federales*. Eventually, the federalist alliance put down most of its opposition and brought Rosas to power as governor of BUENOS AIRES.

During Rosas's first administration, Quiroga led national MILITARY forces on several campaigns to subdue

remaining *unitario* strongholds. The caudillo from La Rioja became one of Rosas's most important allies. Quiroga eventually relocated to Buenos Aires, where he became further involved in politics after Rosas left office in 1832 to pursue a series of military campaigns to secure the Argentine countryside. Quiroga began to speak publicly about the need to establish a constitutional government and compromise with political opponents. By 1833, many influential federalist leaders considered Quiroga a strong candidate to lead the nation into constitutional DEMOCRACY.

In December 1834, Quiroga traveled to the northern province of Córdoba to mediate a dispute between local leaders. While on that trip, he was detained by a group of gunmen. The caudillo was shot and killed on February 16, 1835. Rosas used Quiroga's death as a pretext for returning to power and ruling in an even more autocratic fashion. Some speculated that Rosas orchestrated Quiroga's assassination because he opposed the local caudillo's plans to move the nation toward constitutional government.

A decade after Quiroga's death, Argentine writer and intellectual Sarmiento chronicled Quiroga's life in his literary masterpiece *Facundo* while in exile in CHILE. As a precursor to the Latin American novel, *Facundo* was a collection of essays that provided a critical biography of the "Tiger of the Plains." Sarmiento pointed to Quiroga's tyranny to argue that Argentina's caudillos ruled as barbarians. The narrative of Quiroga's life also served as a broad denunciation of caudillo rule in general and of the Rosas dictatorship in particular. It is considered one of the greatest works of Latin American LITERATURE.

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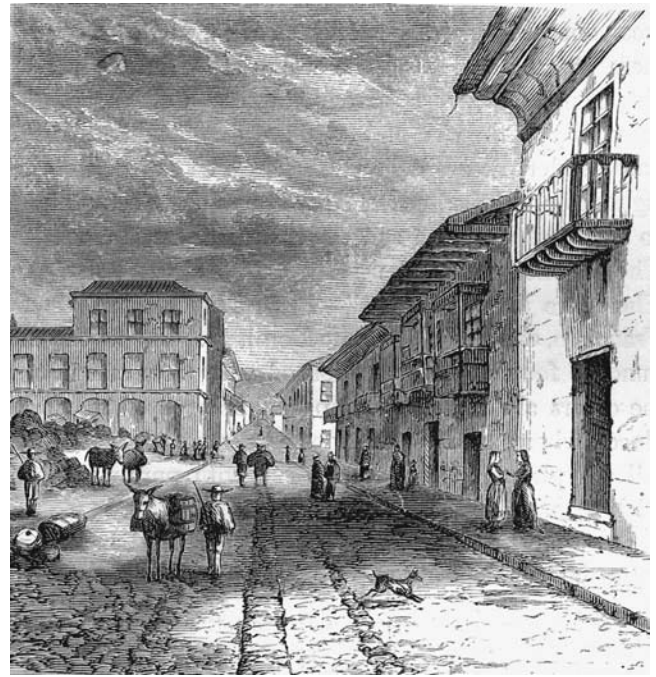
Quito Founded in 1533 on the ruins of the capital of the northern half of the Inca Empire, Quito became an administrative center during the colonial period. Francisco de Orellana left from Quito in 1541 to explore the Amazonian Basin, giving ECUADOR a claim to that region until the final border settlement with PERU was reached in 1998. Lacking a dynamic ECONOMY in the colonial era, Quito evolved into a regional capital and a very religious community divided into neighborhoods dominated by churches such as San Francisco, Santo Domingo, and La Compañía in what today is the Historic Center.

Quito achieved some renown early in 1809 as the first city in the Spanish Empire to declare its autonomy from the Crown. This rebellion and the one that followed a year later were brutally suppressed. As a result, Quito lost much of its elite leadership and was quiet through the wars of independence. Ultimately, a Venezuelan, General ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE, liberated Quito and what would become the nation of Ecuador at a battle fought on the slopes of Mt. Pichincha on the outskirts of Quito on May 24, 1822.

Quito changed little until the administrations of GABRIEL GARCÍA MORENO (1861–65, 1869–75). García Moreno paved some of the central streets, flattened some hills, filled gullies, and brought electric lighting and potable water to parts of the city. He began construction of two well-known public buildings, the main prison and the astronomical observatory at the northern edge of the city, the latter completed during the Progressive era (1883–95).

Quito changed rapidly after the LIBERAL REVOLUTION of 1895. One of José Eloy Alfaro Delgado's modernization projects was to construct a railroad that connected Quito to GUAYAQUIL. Completion of the QUITO–GUAYAQUIL RAILROAD in 1908 allowed the capital to develop as a commercial center and to expand to both the north and south. (Mountains hemmed in the city to the east and west.)

New prosperity in the early 20th century caused Quito to evolve in dramatic ways. A series of cottage industries grew up around the train station on the south side of the city. Attracting migrants from nearby rural areas, the southern part of the city housed these new arrivals and became a working-class district (see MIGRATION). Those who profited from the new industries and commercial traffic going through Quito abandoned their traditional homes in the center for new opulent mansions, wide boulevards, and green parks to the north of the Alameda where the observatory stood. Shops and businesses also soon migrated to “New Town.”



Drawing of a street scene in Quito, Ecuador, circa 1870 (From *The Andes and the Amazon or Across the Continent of South America*, by James Orton. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1870, p. 63)

See also ALFARO DELGADO, JOSÉ ELOY (Vol. IV); INCAS (Vol. I); QUITO (Vol. II).

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Quito–Guayaquil Railroad The Quito–Guayaquil Railroad, begun in the 1870s and completed in 1908, was one of the few development projects that coastal and highland elites in ECUADOR found mutually beneficial. Coastal elites hoped that the railroad would transport LABOR from the highlands to work on their increasingly bountiful CACAO plantations, while highland elites believed that the line would distribute their agricultural products to coastal markets (see TRADE; TRANSPORTATION).

Two problems slowed the railroad project until the 20th century. First, Ecuador's mountainous topography and devastating rainy seasons hampered construction. Second, the country's shaky finances, coupled with a large foreign debt that made Ecuador uncreditworthy, hamstringing the costly project. Finally, in 1897, U.S. railroad entrepreneur Archer Harmon contracted to build the railroad and persuaded British investors to underwrite the construction by pledging significant portions of cacao tax revenues to guarantee the project.

Beginning on the relatively flat coastal plain, the railroad reached to the sierra via double switchbacks up the “Devil’s Nose” to Alausí, a route that has been described as one of the greatest railroad engineering feats ever. Construction challenges to the Quito-Guayaquil Railroad included also labor problems, because indigenous workers were reluctant to work far from their homes, forcing the government to rely on coercion and to bring in Jamaican

workers. Nevertheless, the Quito-Guayaquil Railroad helped Ecuador achieve a national identity by providing a measure of physical unity in the country.

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R

Reforma, La (1855–1858) La Reforma refers to the period between 1855 and 1858 in MEXICO when Liberals took power and introduced a series of hardline liberal reforms. Those measures, which were incorporated into the CONSTITUTION OF 1857, triggered a reaction among Conservatives that eventually culminated in a three-year civil war known as the WAR OF REFORM.

When ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA returned to power as a Conservative dictator in 1853, many prominent Liberal intellectuals escaped into exile in New Orleans. Led by BENITO JUÁREZ and Juan Álvarez, the group launched the Plan de Ayutla to remove Santa Anna from power and replace the nation's conservative political and social structures. The REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA drove Santa Anna from power in 1855, and the new Liberal government under the presidency of Álvarez immediately began drafting legislation to dismantle the conservative system.

The foundation of La Reforma was the Reform Laws, a series of liberal measures put in place in 1855. Three main laws, the Juárez Law, the Lerdo Law, and the Iglesias Law provided the basis for a period of aggressive liberal reform that often threatened the privileges, resources, and wealth of the conservative elite.

JUÁREZ LAW

The Juárez Law was introduced by Juárez, who held the post of minister of justice. Enacted in 1855, the Juárez Law reined in the clergy and members of the MILITARY by eliminating ecclesiastical and military *FUEROS* that had allowed them to stand trial under a separate court system. The Juárez Law limited the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical and military courts to church and military law. Clergy and military personnel accused of civil or criminal viola-

tions now had to go through the same judicial process as all other citizens.

LERDO LAW

The Lerdo Law was conceived by the minister of the treasury, MIGUEL LERDO DE TEJADA, in 1856 as a way to bring the CATHOLIC CHURCH further under government control and raise money for the government at the same time. The law limited the ability of corporations, or legally defined groups, to own and administer property. Lerdo was inspired by the agricultural ideal of the yeoman farmer promoted in the United States by Thomas Jefferson, which argued that individuals who own private property will be responsible citizens and will put the land to its most productive use. Most of Mexico's arable land in the 1850s was owned by the Catholic Church or other corporate groups that rented it out to agricultural interests. Lerdo and many in the Liberal administration saw this as a hindrance to economic development.

Under the Lerdo Law, the church and other corporations that possessed landholdings beyond their immediate needs for day-to-day operations were forced to sell the excess property. The Catholic Church had to divest itself of all real estate aside from church buildings, monasteries, convents, and clerical residences. Municipal and state governments also had to sell off all nonessential properties, keeping only government buildings, city halls, jails, and the like.

The Lerdo Law produced two important consequences. First, it further alienated the already agitated conservative and church elite. Second, it aggrieved traditional indigenous communities by dispossessing them of lands, or *EJIDOS*, they had held communally for centuries. After the church, indigenous communities owned the

most property in the 1850s, and the Lerdo Law eliminated the legal protection they had enjoyed since early in the colonial period. Since the surplus land was sold at public auctions, most poor Amerindian peasants who had worked the *ejidos* were not able to purchase land and become private property owners.

IGLESIAS LAW

The Iglesias Law was formulated by Minister of Justice José María Iglesias (b. 1823–d. 1891) in 1857. It aimed to wrest control and influence over the population from the church and give it to the state. To do this, the Iglesias Law created a civil registry for births, marriages, and deaths to be administered by the government. The church had traditionally overseen and recorded important events through its administration of the sacraments. This function gave the church both knowledge and control over the vital statistics of the population and enriched church coffers through the fees the clergy generally charged for such sacraments. Iglesias and other leaders believed that the national government should have ultimate authority and should control record-keeping functions related to the population. They also saw registry fees as a way for the government to raise desperately needed funds. The Iglesias Law limited the church's ability to charge fees for the administration of sacraments and also placed cemeteries under government control. Elite families, in particular, who had made large cash payments to the church for burial plots on holy ground now worried that being relegated to a public cemetery would threaten their spiritual well-being.

REFORM LAWS AND CONSTITUTION OF 1857

The Reform Laws were intended to promote individual liberties and equality, two tenets that were foundations of the liberal ideology of the 19th century. As they took shape, the debate over their merits revealed fissures among the Liberal leadership. Indeed, that debate marked one of the clearest articulations of the liberal political agenda. Until the era of La Reforma, the church had been more powerful and more visible than the national government, and nearly all Liberal leaders agreed that in order for the nation to prosper, the state must be the strongest and most powerful institution in people's lives. Ardent liberal *purros* wanted to reverse that trend immediately with radical reform. The more cautious and restrained *moderados*, however, urged a more gradual and conciliatory approach. The debates between the two sides resulted in such antagonism that shortly after the promulgation of the Juárez Law in 1856, President Álvarez and several members of his cabinet resigned in frustration. IGNACIO COMONFORT, a steadfast *moderado*, assumed the presidency to oversee the rest of the era of La Reforma.

The Reform Laws paved the way for the staunchly liberal Constitution of 1857 that rounded out the era of La Reforma. Leaders convened a constitutional convention in 1856, and delegates fashioned the document in

the spirit of the constitutions of Spain and the United States. Generally, the Reform Laws and the constitution are seen as a victory for the *puro* faction of the Liberal leadership. All three major Reform Laws were incorporated into the Constitution of 1857, which also included additional measures to safeguard individual freedoms and curtail the authority of the Catholic Church. Unlike the liberal CONSTITUTION OF 1824, the new document did not uphold the status of the Catholic Church as the official RELIGION of the nation. It addressed many of the concerns of social liberals in more than 30 articles outlining individual liberties such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

Weaknesses within the Liberal leadership that surfaced during the promulgation of the Reform Laws and the drafting of the constitution became even more pronounced once the document was signed, with *moderados* urging that its implementation be delayed. Elites on both sides of the political divide attempted to win the support of the general populace. Church leaders preached against the document and threatened to excommunicate parishioners who abided by it. Liberal leaders, on the other hand, dismissed any public employees who did not swear loyalty to it.

Tensions erupted further in December 1857 when *moderado* Liberal president Comonfort negotiated a truce with Conservative general Félix María Zuloaga in the Plan de Tacubaya. The compromise declared that the constitution would not be implemented, and in exchange, religious leaders would withdraw the threat of religious censuring against liberal supporters. Comonfort arrested several members of his own cabinet and allied with Conservative leaders to rework the constitution. After only a few months, the embattled president resigned and retreated into exile.

The departure of Comonfort complicated the political landscape even more as Conservatives recognized General Zuloaga as president, while Liberals claimed that presidential succession as defined in the constitution passed to Juárez as the chief justice of the Supreme Court. With the political extremes recognizing a different leader as president, civil war was virtually inevitable.

The era of La Reforma came to an abrupt halt with the outbreak of a protracted and bloody civil war. During the War of the Reform, the ideological differences that had pitted Liberals and Conservatives against each other gave way to violence and destruction. The three-year war left the nation financially devastated. Juárez and the Liberals eventually were able to claim victory in the conflict, but shortly after reinstating the Liberal government, the nation faced yet another threat in the FRENCH INTERVENTION OF 1862–67. The era of La Reforma and the civil war that resulted ultimately weakened the nation and left it open to foreign invasion. While La Reforma refers to reform measures passed between 1855 and 1857, Juárez and his coalition of Liberal allies were not able to implement those reforms for more than a decade.

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Regency (1831–1840) The Regency in BRAZIL refers to the period from 1831 to 1840 when a series of regents officially ruled Brazil until heir apparent PEDRO II (r. 1831–89) came of age. During the Regency, Brazil endured a number of regional uprisings that threatened to destabilize the recently independent nation. The central government was also tested as those in the inner circle jockeyed for power. The Regency ended when Pedro II was crowned at the age of 15; the young emperor brought a semblance of unity and stability to the nation.

PEDRO I (r. 1822–31)—the first emperor of the independent nation—had grown increasingly unpopular as a result of his autocratic interference in the writing of the CONSTITUTION OF 1824. He was forced to abdicate in 1831, when his son and heir apparent was only five years old. Brazil then entered the era of the Regency. Political conflicts quickly surfaced as those who wanted to see the return of Pedro I and a reaffirmation of monarchical power lined up against those who wanted fundamental reform and an expansion of provincial autonomy. An elected three-man regency ruled in the place of Pedro II until 1834, when new legislation restructured government power. A constitutional amendment stipulated a one-man regent and abolished the traditional advisory body known as the Council of State. The amendment also strengthened the authority of provincial politicians.

The disputes over centralized power and provincial autonomy plagued the Brazilian government throughout the 1830s. The ideological crisis came to life in a series of provincial revolts including the War of the Cabanos in Pernambuco and the WAR OF THE FARRAPOS in Rio Grande do Sul. Infighting during the Regency reached a new level of urgency when the *farrapos* rebels declared independence and formed the Piritini Republic. Hoping to end the provincial crisis, legislators introduced new laws declaring that Pedro II was of age. The teenager took power on July 23, 1840, and was formally crowned the following year. Pedro II's assumption to the throne ended the Regency, and many of the governing elite hoped it would bring an end to the unrest that was dividing the EMPIRE OF BRAZIL.

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religion Religion in Latin America has historically been dominated by the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Spanish and Portuguese conquistadors in the 15th and 16th centuries justified the conquest and settlement of Latin America in the name of bringing Christianity to the NATIVE AMERICANS. Church leaders accompanied conquerors and settlers, and missions, chapels, and cathedrals proliferated. Priests worked to diminish the role of deeply rooted native religions and replace them with Christianity. To carry out those tasks, church leaders were granted extraordinary rights and privileges in Latin American society. As a result of church privilege, religious and political authority in Latin America remained intricately intertwined throughout the colonial era. In the 19th century, many new governments took steps to reduce the influence of the Catholic Church.

After independence, liberal leaders sought to discard many of the traditional power structures that had defined the Spanish colonies. Inspired by the ideas of the European Enlightenment, Latin American liberals believed that the long-standing influence and power of the Catholic Church was preventing progress in the new nations. Governments in MEXICO, ARGENTINA, PERU, and elsewhere attempted to introduce liberal reforms that would erase the legal and social privileges (*FUEROS*) traditionally enjoyed by members of the church. Liberal reforms also aimed to promote economic growth by dismantling church landholdings and using them to create nations of independent farmers. Church leaders and the conservative elite opposed these measures, and confrontations between liberal and conservative factions often turned violent. Civil wars and political instability plagued many Latin American nations in the first half of the 19th century as the conflict between liberal and conservative ideologies played out (see CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM).

By the end of the 19th century, liberal leaders had consolidated control over most Latin American nations. The rise of liberal oligarchies in Latin American governments coincided with a weakening of the Catholic Church's position in politics and society (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY). Civil institutions began to replace religious ones as the foundation for recording vital statistics—such as marriages, births, and deaths—and as the administrators of social welfare services—such as hospitals, schools, and orphanages. Even though the institutional influence of the church diminished in the last half of the 19th century, Latin America remained a predominantly Roman Catholic region. Protestant faiths did not start gaining ground in the region until well into the 20th century.

Despite the historically dominant position of the Catholic Church, remnants of native religious practices survived throughout the 19th century. During the

colonial period, local indigenous groups often retained their native religious heritage by blending their ancestral practices with those of Catholicism. In areas with large slave populations, African religious rituals also made their way into local practices. Church leaders attempted to suppress these syncretic practices in the colonial period, and the indigenous often found clever ways of hiding their native traditions. Nevertheless, many local religions representing a fusion of indigenous, African, and Catholic beliefs emerged and survived into the 19th century. As religious freedom became more widespread, many of those hybrid religions thrived. Some examples include SANTERIA in CUBA, VODOU in HAITI, and CANDOMBLÉ in BRAZIL.

See also ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II); RELIGION (Vols. I, II, IV); SYNCRETISM (Vol. I).

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Republican Party, Brazil See REVOLUTION OF 1889.

Rerum Novarum Rerum Novarum was a papal encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII on May 15, 1891. The document was titled “Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor” and offered the first official statement of the CATHOLIC CHURCH’s position on working-class conditions after the onset of rapid INDUSTRIALIZATION. In Latin America, the Rerum Novarum was seen as part of the church’s attempt to combat the social and economic trends of LIBERALISM that had taken root in the last half of the 19th century. It followed the more overt criticism of liberal policies published in the 1864 SYLLABUS OF ERRORS issued by Pope Pius IX.

Throughout much of the 19th century, liberal intellectuals in Latin America had challenged traditional-minded conservatives over the direction that the newly independent nations should take. Liberals advocated a complete break from the colonial past, which included rejecting the long-standing influence of the Catholic Church in Latin American society and diminishing the church’s economic power. Liberals also welcomed free and open TRADE and general modernization of the economic system. Liberal reforms in MEXICO, COLOMBIA, and elsewhere broke up large church-owned landholdings and introduced civil jurisdiction over social services that had long been controlled by the church. Liberal governments also insisted on establishing a civil registry of vital statistics such as births, marriages, and deaths to replace that of the church.

The Rerum Novarum argued that liberal policies had created a vast system of injustices and social inequali-

ties. By promoting modernization, liberal governments in Latin America and around the world had spawned massive industrialization and urbanization. The encyclical went on to argue that those forces were negatively affecting the lives of the working poor and that the Catholic Church must step in to defend those being hurt by the changing economic and social structure. It advocated state intervention to ensure fair wages, safe working conditions, and social morality. Pope Leo XIII’s pronouncement was also an attempt to challenge the secular movement of socialism, which also promised to defend the rights of the working poor against the forces of industrial expansion.

The Rerum Novarum marked a major transformation in the role of the Catholic Church in society. It opened the door for local religious movements to incorporate Christianity and social justice into a common cause. Many of the ideas expounded in the papal encyclical were later embraced by Christian democracy and liberation theology. Both of those ideas grew to considerable influence in Latin America in the 20th century by emphasizing the connection between the church’s morality mission and the need for social justice, particularly among the poor.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH (Vol. IV).

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Revolution of 1889 (Bourgeoisie Revolution) The Revolution of 1889 refers to the relatively peaceful movement that brought about the downfall of the EMPIRE OF BRAZIL in favor of the Republic of BRAZIL. The revolution came about when intellectuals, MILITARY officers, and politicians inspired by POSITIVISM and republicanism formed a coalition and forced the overthrow of PEDRO II (r. 1831–89). It ushered in the first experiment in DEMOCRACY in Brazil during an era known as the OLD REPUBLIC.

Brazil’s political history during the 19th century was very different from that of its Spanish-speaking neighbors. As prince regent of Portugal, PEDRO I (r. 1822–31) declared Brazil’s independence from the empire controlled by his father, King John VI (r. 1816–26) in 1822. Brazil became a constitutional monarchy with the promulgation of the CONSTITUTION OF 1824, under which the emperor continued to wield enormous power. The Empire of Brazil survived the abdication of Pedro I in 1831 and the tumultuous period known as the REGENCY, during which an inner circle of advisers ruled in place of the former emperor’s young son, heir-apparent Pedro II. When the 15-year-old monarch was declared of age in 1840, he began a reign of more than four decades in the “Second Empire.” During the rule of Pedro II,

Brazil underwent sweeping changes as the country's economic base shifted from SUGAR to COFFEE production and European immigrants began to arrive in large numbers (see MIGRATION). Politics began to transform as well, as many leaders—particularly those representing the interests of the increasingly influential coffee planter class—incorporated republican ideals into their platform. In the 1870s, a formal Republican Party was founded in the coffee-producing region of SÃO PAULO. The party grew to become a powerful force in national politics. Members advocated the abolition of SLAVERY—which came about in 1888—and the end of Brazil's system of monarchy in favor of a republic.

In the 1880s, republicanism began to fuse with the positivist theories of Auguste Comte that were being debated in earnest among the cadets of the Brazilian military academy. Spearheaded by military officer and intellectual BENJAMIN CONSTANT, Brazilian POSITIVISM privileged the notions of “order and progress.” Its adherents were a young and forward-looking generation who had witnessed the emergence and strengthening of liberal institutions in much of the rest of the world. They wanted to pave the way for economic and social modernization and believed that Brazil was falling behind countries such as the United States and France. Positivists spoke out against slavery and supported policies that would advance the development of industry. Politically, they began to see republicanism as the path to progress and believed the monarchy represented the antiquated and backward institutions of the past. Tensions began to mount as positivist leaders in the military voiced their opposition to a number of Crown policies in the 1880s, and military leaders found support for their concerns among republican politicians. Constant and MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA founded the Clube Militar in 1887 as a forum for challenging government policies, and in the coming years, the positivist and republican-inspired military became increasingly involved in politics. On November 15, 1889, Deodoro and a group of loyal officers staged a military coup. With relatively little violence, the rebel force occupied the Royal Palace and deposed Pedro II.

The Revolution of 1889 created a sense of uncertainty among many Brazilians who had enjoyed the general stability of the imperial period. Their concerns are illustrated in the late 19th-century writings of JOAQUIM MARIA MACHADO DE ASSIS. But, leaders of the revolution went ahead with the founding of a republican government. Deodoro da Fonseca took control as “generalissimo,” and the government was quickly recognized by important foreign powers. Military officers and positivist intellectuals held the first ministry positions, including Constant, who served as minister of war and later as minister of public education. Government leaders pursued notable and immediate reforms such as the separation of church and state and the abolition of titles of nobility. In December 1889, Deodoro appointed a commission

to write a new constitution for the republic. Modeled largely on the U.S. Constitution, the new governing document was written and promulgated in 1891. Brazil's CONSTITUTION OF 1891 established a federal republic, and as expected, Deodoro was elected the nation's first president.

Brazil faced a number of challenges during its first decade after the fall of the empire. Political infighting erupted and destabilized the government throughout the 1890s. Government leaders feared a resurgence of monarchism, and the military often violently put down any perceived threat to the republic. One of the most infamous took place in the Bahian community of CANUDOS in 1897. Despite those difficulties, the Old Republic, which was created by the Revolution of 1889, remained in place until 1930.

See also JOHN VI (Vol. II).

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Revolution of Ayutla (1855) Revolution of Ayutla was the armed insurrection in MEXICO led by Liberals that drove ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA from power for the final time in 1855. The Revolution of Ayutla resulted in a new constitution and ushered in the era of liberal change known as LA REFORMA.

When the Conservative-backed Santa Anna led a MILITARY coup to return to power in 1852, his rule turned increasingly despotic. He dictated that he be addressed as “His Most Serene Highness” and spent large sums from the national treasury to secure the accoutrements of a royal court. He further enraged his Liberal opposition by attempting once again to centralize Mexico's political system by abolishing regional elections and other forms of local autonomy.

Santa Anna faced resistance almost immediately as numerous local CAUDILLOS began organizing militias in defense of local rights promised under the federalist liberal agenda. In the early months of 1854, Colonel Florencio Villarreal declared the Plan of Ayutla in the town of Ayutla, in the state of Guerrero. The plan called for the overthrow of Santa Anna, and Juan Álvarez (b. 1790–d. 1867), a local strongman, immediately joined the movement backed by his local militias. IGNACIO COMONFORT, then serving as a government official in Acapulco, also joined the rebellion in its early days and secured much-needed assistance from the United States.

The Revolution of Ayutla quickly gained momentum in Mexico as leaders throughout the nation's southern states joined the rebellion. It also attracted the attention of Liberal leaders who had fled into exile when Santa Anna returned to power. BENITO JUÁREZ and other intellectuals supported the movement from New Orleans,

Louisiana. When Álvarez took MEXICO CITY late in 1855 after more than a year of guerrilla warfare, a Liberal coalition was poised to take power.

Liberal leaders devoted the next two years to promulgating legislation aimed at dismantling the conservative system by attacking the power and wealth of the CATHOLIC CHURCH, the military, nobility, and other traditional corporate groups. New laws and a new constitution in 1857 defined the era of La Reforma and provoked a conservative backlash that climaxed in civil war (see WAR OF REFORM).

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Walter V. Scholes. "A Revolution Falsters: Mexico, 1856–1857." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 32, no. 1 (February 1952): 1–21.

Rio Branco Law See LAW OF THE FREE WOMB.

Rio de Janeiro Rio de Janeiro is a principal city in BRAZIL. It was a viceregal capital during the colonial period, and it served as the seat of the Portuguese Empire from 1808 to 1821. Rio de Janeiro was also the capital of the independent nation of Brazil throughout the 19th and much of the 20th century, until replaced by Brasília in 1960. The city of Rio de Janeiro is located along the Atlantic coast in the southern part of the state of the same name. Historically, the city has played an important role as an economic, political, and cultural center.

The city of Rio de Janeiro was founded in 1565 by the Portuguese governor Mem de Sá on the mouth of the "January River," or Rio de Janeiro, in Guanabara Bay. The settlement was initially established as a base from which to fight against French incursions in the region, but the city quickly grew as an important port for colonial shipping. The tropical climate made the region suitable for SUGAR cultivation, and Rio de Janeiro became a main destination for the African slaves who were brought to work on the plantations throughout the 17th century. Eventually, sugar production shifted to the northeastern states, but Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the Portuguese colony in 1763.

In 1807, Napoléon Bonaparte invaded the Iberian Peninsula, prompting the long-discussed relocation of the Portuguese Crown to the Americas. Prince Regent John set up the new seat of power in Rio de Janeiro. In 1815, he declared Brazil to be a kingdom of equal status with Portugal and continued to rule from Rio, despite demands from Portuguese elite that he return to Europe. John VI was eventually forced to return to Portugal in 1821, leaving his son Prince Pedro in Brazil. Urged by elite *cariocas* (residents of Rio de Janeiro) and other powerful Brazilians, Pedro declared the nation's independence on September 7, 1822. His coronation as Emperor PEDRO I took place in the Cathedral of Rio de Janeiro

later that year. The capital of the new EMPIRE OF BRAZIL was Rio de Janeiro. The Praça XV, or central plaza, became the site of much of the nation's political history over the coming decades. It housed the Paço Imperial, or royal palace, where Pedro I resided until he was forced to abdicate the throne in 1831 in favor of his five-year-old son PEDRO II (r. 1831–89). A series of regents ruled in lieu of Pedro II until the child was deemed to be of age, in 1840. As Brazil's second emperor, Pedro II continued to reside in and rule from Rio de Janeiro.

Brazil underwent a process of modernization starting in the middle decades of the 19th century, and Rio de Janeiro was one of the best representations of those efforts. It continued to be a principal port as the nation's export and import TRADE expanded and grew substantially as a main center of economic activity. Pedro II devoted considerable attention and resources to modernizing the city from the 1850s. As the population grew and government income increased, Rio de Janeiro benefited with new streets, improved sanitation systems, and an incipient network of public TRANSPORTATION. The city expanded beyond the historic center that had defined its outer boundaries in earlier decades. In 1854, the first rail line opened between Rio de Janeiro and Petrópolis, 10 miles (16 km) away. The state of Rio de Janeiro also saw numerous changes in the 19th century. The nation's economic base began to shift away from sugar as COFFEE production expanded in the south. Coffee plantations saw an initial period of growth in the lowland regions of the state, but neighboring states such as SÃO PAULO also saw a surge in coffee production. *Paulista* planters depended less on African SLAVERY, while *fazendeiros* in Rio de Janeiro continued to rely on the forced LABOR system (see FAZENDA/FAZENDEIRO). As slavery was gradually phased out, Rio lost ground to São Paulo as the main coffee producer.

By the 1880s, a republican movement was growing in Brazil, with many calling into question the validity of the old system of monarchy. Rio de Janeiro became the site of many political debates, as republican politicians formed alliances with positivist intellectuals among the nation's MILITARY leadership (see POSITIVISM). BENJAMIN CONSTANT helped engender an entire generation of positivist thinkers as a professor of mathematics at the nation's military academy in Rio. Constant founded his Clube Militar there to provide a forum for debate among fellow military officers. These meetings eventually led to the REVOLUTION OF 1889, led by Constant and MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA, which dethroned Pedro II in favor of a republic.

Rio de Janeiro remained the capital of Brazil after the overthrow of the emperor and the establishment of the OLD REPUBLIC in 1889. In the late decades of the 19th century, positivist leaders and intellectuals advocated even more aggressive modernization strategies, including INDUSTRIALIZATION and attracting foreign investments. The national government actively recruited European immigrants; many of these new arrivals passed through



Rio de Janeiro became a site of Brazilian modernity and wealth in the late 19th century. This photo shows the home of a wealthy resident. (*Library of Congress*)

the capital city and others settled there (see *MIGRATION*). Brazil's major cities, including Rio de Janeiro, experienced rapid urbanization in the 1880s and 1890s. City infrastructure and public services were unable to keep up with the population growth, and poverty, crime, and other problems surfaced. Oftentimes, poor neighborhoods were sites of conflict between immigrants, Afro-Brazilians, and other ethnic groups. Rio de Janeiro became famous for its *favelas*, or urban slums, in the late 19th century. The 1890 novel *THE SLUM (O Cortiço)* by Aluísio Azevedo chronicles the lives of a sundry assortment of *favela* inhabitants in vivid detail. The novel is famous for illustrating the daily life in Rio de Janeiro slums and for highlighting the social problems that coincided with rapid urbanization.

Rio de Janeiro was eventually surpassed by São Paulo as the nation's main economic center in the early 20th century. Rio de Janeiro remains Brazil's second-largest city today.

See also JOHN VI (Vols. II); RIO DE JANEIRO (Vols. II, IV); SÁ, MEM DE (Vol. II).

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Thomas H. Holloway. *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press).

Teresa A. Meade. "Civilizing" Rio: *Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889–1930* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

Rivadavia, Bernardino (b. 1780–d. 1845) *president of Argentina* Bernardino Rivadavia was an intellectual who became an important leader in the Argentine move-

ment for independence. He eventually served as the first president of the new republic. Rivadavia played an important leadership role among the *UNITARIOS*, the emerging political party that favored a centralized government and privileged the interests of BUENOS AIRES.

Rivadavia was born on May 20, 1780. He was raised in Buenos Aires and studied at the Colegio de San Carlos. Rivadavia was influenced by the local free *TRADE* cabals that had formed in the 1790s pushing for more autonomy from the Spanish Crown. He participated in the resistance movements against the British invasions in Buenos Aires in 1806 and 1807. In later years, he helped lead the independence junta in Buenos Aires and in 1811 was chosen as one of the leaders of ARGENTINA'S first ruling triumvirate. In this initial foray into national leadership, Rivadavia immediately began working to implement liberal social policies, such as lifting censorship of the press and ending the slave trade. Rivadavia and his cohorts also aggressively pursued more open trade policies that would benefit Buenos Aires at the expense of the interior. By October 1812, Rivadavia's triumvirate had been overthrown by dissenters in the provinces. The new leadership established a formal government, and Rivadavia went to Europe to secure support for the fledgling nation. He also attempted to find a suitable candidate to accept the post of constitutional monarch in an independent Argentina.

After six years in Europe, Rivadavia returned to Argentina and served in the administration of Buenos Aires governor Martín Rodríguez. He found the nation deeply divided between the *unitarios*—liberal leaders who wanted a centralized government in Buenos Aires—and *FEDERALES*—more conservative provincial leaders who resented national policies that favored the capital city. As a leader of the *unitarios*, Rivadavia spearheaded initiatives to reform the Buenos Aires social, political, and economic systems along more liberal lines. He continued to promote more open trade, contributed to the end of *SLAVERY*, and oversaw the creation of the UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES.

Many of Rivadavia's policies deepened the divide between Buenos Aires and the provinces, and between 1820 and 1829, regional tensions mounted. In 1823, he approved an antivagrancy law that required rural laborers to attach themselves to large landowners. Rivadavia also sponsored the Law of Emphyteusis in 1826, which attempted to raise revenue by creating a system of rents for public lands. Instead, the system created a small but influential landholding elite in the interior and accelerated the pace of *LATIFUNDIO* in the newly independent nation.

In 1826, Congress passed a new constitution, and Rivadavia became the first president of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. The constitution represented the interests of the *unitarios* and privileged Buenos Aires over the interior. As a result, Rivadavia continually faced opposition from provincial *CAUDILLOS*, in addition to external challenges. Shortly after he took office, Argentine forces were easily defeated in an attempted invasion

into Brazilian-occupied Montevideo. The military debacle, combined with internal turmoil, compelled the leader to resign in 1827. He immediately went into exile in Europe.

Rivadavia returned to Argentina in 1834 to face charges by the federalist government. He was immediately sent back into exile. Rivadavia returned to Spain, where he died in 1845.

See also UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II).

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Rivera, José Fructuoso (b. 1784–d. 1854) *president of Uruguay* José Fructuoso Rivera was a MILITARY hero and political leader in early 19th-century URUGUAY. He served as the first president of the new nation and founded the COLORADO PARTY.

Rivera was born on October 17, 1784, on the outskirts of Montevideo. He was raised in the countryside and learned ranching and other agricultural skills. When the independence movement started in the BANDA ORIENTAL, Rivera joined forces with José Gervasio Artigas. He also supported JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA'S THIRTY-THREE IMMORTALS in the CISPLATINE WAR in the 1820s. During that time, he formed an alliance with MANUEL ORIBE, and in 1830, Rivera was chosen as Uruguay's first president. In 1836, the two independence heroes had a falling out, and two years later, Rivera overthrew Oribe's presidency (1835–38). The former allies split into rival factions as Rivera's urban-based intellectual supporters took the name *colorados* and Oribe's rural supporters formed the BLANCO PARTY.

The rivalry between the *colorados* and the *blancos* escalated into a protracted civil war known as the GUERRA GRANDE between 1838 and 1851. As the war dragged on, Rivera served another term as president, from 1839 to 1843. Oribe formed an alliance with Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, and the two served Rivera a major defeat in 1842. As Oribe laid siege to Montevideo, Rivera escaped to BRAZIL in exile. When the war finally drew to a close in 1852, Rivera was named to form part of a ruling triumvirate, and the exiled former president made plans to return to Montevideo. Rivera died in transit on January 13, 1854.

See also ARTIGAS, JOSÉ GERVASIO (Vol. II).

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Rivière-Hérard, Charles (b. 1784–d. 1850) *president of Haiti* Charles Rivière-Hérard was born in Port-

au-Prince in 1789. He was a career MILITARY officer in the Haitian army and came into the political arena during the overthrow of the JEAN-PIERRE BOYER (1818–43). Rivière-Hérard's cousin, Hérard Dumesle, a mulatto poet and political activist, formed an organization called the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and began openly attacking Boyer's policies. In an attempt to silence his opposition, Boyer immediately purged politicians connected to Dumesle from the legislature.

Rivière-Hérard took up his cousin's popular political cause. In January 1843, he began marching toward the capital, intending to overthrow Boyer by military coup. In response, Boyer fled into exile in Jamaica, and Rivière-Hérard became military leader. A constituent assembly partial to Rivière-Hérard's liberal political views drew up a constitution, legally appointing him as president in December 1843.

As president, Rivière-Hérard's power was quickly weakened with the loss of SANTO DOMINGO in the Dominican revolt of 1844 (see HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO). This event inspired discontent in HAITI's countryside between the rural black *piquets* (a term derived from the tool they used as cultivators) and the *cacos*, former *piquets* organized under the black ex-military officer Louis Jean-Jacques Accau. These southern groups rioted and demonstrated, demanding the election of a black president and an end to mulatto rule.

The demands of the *piquets* and *cacos* were finally met when Rivière-Hérard was overthrown by another rebel group and Philippe Guerrier, an aged black officer, became president from 1844 to 1845.

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Roca, Julio Argentino (b. 1843–d. 1914) *military leader and president of Argentina* Julio Argentino Roca is best known for his leadership in the so-called CONQUEST OF THE DESERT, in which he led a series of MILITARY campaigns against the Amerindians of the PAMPAS and Patagonia from 1878 to 1879. He later became president of ARGENTINA and effectively ended the dominance of BUENOS AIRES in national politics.

Roca was born on July 17, 1843, in Tucumán. He was educated and joined the military at a young age. During his military career, he participated in a series of campaigns between Buenos Aires and the provinces. He fought in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE and rose through the ranks by defending the governments of DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO (1868–74) and Nicolás Avellaneda (1874–80) against regional rebellions. In 1877, Roca became minister of war under President Avellaneda. In that post, he began devoting his attention to subduing indigenous groups in the nation's frontier regions. Earlier attempts to bring the NATIVE AMERICANS under government control had focused

on negotiating with indigenous leaders and encouraging settlers into the region. Roca's strategy was to force the Amerindians to submit to government control, with violence if necessary. His Conquest of the Desert began in 1878 and has been described as a virtual genocide. By 1879, it had resulted in the deaths of thousands of Amerindians and the imprisonment of even more.

Argentines largely approved of Roca's frontier campaign, which opened large expanses of land to settlement. In 1880, he was elected president of Argentina. Roca's opponent, Buenos Aires governor Carlos Tejedor, led a brief, unsuccessful rebellion in an attempt to prevent the military leader from taking office. One of Roca's first actions as president was to federalize Buenos Aires in an effort to end the city's dominance over national politics. His first term, which lasted until 1886, also saw the rise of the "Generation of '80" and the onset of the influence of POSITIVISM in Argentine social and economic policy.

Roca served a second term as president from 1898 to 1904. In his later years, he traveled to Europe and served as an Argentine diplomat to BRAZIL. He died on October 19, 1914.

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Rocafuerte, Vicente (b. 1783–d. 1847) *diplomat and president of Ecuador* This GUAYAQUIL-born Ecuadorean served the Mexican government as a diplomat for five years and then returned to ECUADOR to become its first native-born president. Because of this distinction and his general avowal of liberal principles, Rocafuerte remains one of Ecuador's most highly regarded historical figures.

From an extremely wealthy family, Rocafuerte spent much of his youth in Europe, where he steeped himself in liberal Enlightenment ideas and befriended intellectuals such as Alexander von Humboldt. Elected as a deputy to the Spanish parliament in 1814, Rocafuerte became one of the leading Spanish-Americanists. He and other moderate intellectuals recognized the common heritage of Spaniards and creoles (Spaniards born in the New World) and sought for Latin America an autonomous position within the Spanish Empire.

When this proposal failed, Rocafuerte believed that as a Spanish American he could serve any of the newly independent nations, and in 1824, he accepted a post as the secretary of MEXICO's legation to Great Britain. He worked to secure diplomatic recognition from the British government to protect Mexico from any attempted reconquest and to secure a loan to rekindle Mexico's ECONOMY. Returning to Mexico in 1829, Rocafuerte found he had little in common with the country's new conservative government, and perceiving the abandonment of Spanish Americanism, he left for Ecuador in 1833.

Back in his homeland, Rocafuerte entered politics. He and other liberals protested President JUAN JOSÉ FLORES's alleged implication in the assassination of a member of liberal literary society, which began the conflict known as the War of the Chihuahuas. Despite being captured by Flores, Rocafuerte was able to convince his rival to enter an agreement whereby they would alternate presidential terms. As a result, Rocafuerte became Ecuador's first civilian president, serving from 1834 to 1839.

As president, Rocafuerte embarked on some modest reforms and fruitlessly sought to create a national identity. He tried to upgrade roads, establish a more professional MILITARY, draft new legal codes, and provide more EDUCATION. He also attempted unsuccessfully to decree religious toleration. Despite his intentions, Ecuador's treasury was so threadbare that the government could not undertake much after paying military and bureaucratic salaries. Rocafuerte also believed in using a firm hand to maintain order, reportedly executing more dissidents than any other 19th-century president.

After returning the presidency to Flores in 1839, Rocafuerte became governor of Guayas Province (in the Guayaquil area) with every expectation of returning to the presidency in 1843. Flores betrayed their agreement, writing a new constitution that became known as the CHARTER OF SLAVERY and attempting to continue in office. Liberals and moderates such as Rocafuerte protested, leading to a civil war, which the Liberals won in 1845. After serving as the president of the constitutional assembly in 1845, Rocafuerte accepted a diplomatic appointment to PERU, where he died in 1847.

See also ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II).

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Rodó, José Enrique See "ARIEL."

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romanticism Romanticism was a literary and artistic movement that originated in western Europe in the late 18th century and became popular in Latin America in the early 19th century. Romanticism is seen as a reaction to the intellectualism and scientific rationalism of the European Enlightenment. It is also seen as a departure from the calm and peaceful artistic themes that dominated earlier classicist styles. Moving away from the formality, order, and exclusivity of earlier artistic

trends, it embraced passion, imagination, and irrationality. LITERATURE, ART, and MUSIC created in the tradition of romanticism aimed to elicit strong emotions by portraying a variety of subjects such as folk culture, natural scenes, and heroic episodes. In the decades immediately following independence in Latin America, many artists and intellectuals embraced the style as a way to articulate their feelings about the shift away from colonialism toward a new national identity.

Themes of nationalism, native life, and individualism pervaded the romantic style of Latin American artists and writers in the 19th century. Mexican journalist José JOAQUÍN FERNÁNDEZ DE LIZARDI (b. 1776–d. 1827) wrote *El periquillo Sarniento* (*The Mangy Parrot*) in 1816. One of Latin America's first novels, Lizardi's work emphasizes many of the themes prominent in romantic literature by mocking the Spanish viceregal court and depicting Mexican society. Even though the Caribbean remained under Spanish imperial rule, Cuban poet José María Heredia (b. 1803–d. 1839) is credited with publishing the region's first romantic poem, "En el teocalli de Cholula" (*At the temple of Cholula*), in 1820. Other early figures writing in the style of romanticism include Venezuelan ANDRÉS BELLO (b. 1781–d. 1865), Ecuadorean José Joaquín de Olmedo (b. 1780–d. 1847), and Colombian Gregorio Gutiérrez González (b. 1826–d. 1872).

ARGENTINA's long experience with CAUDILLO rule under JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS also proved to be fertile ground for the emergence of literature in the romantic tradition. ESTEBÁN ECHEVERRÍA (b. 1805–d. 1851) was influenced by romanticism and often compared what he called the primitive nature of the Argentine countryside to the more cultured settings of Europe. DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO (b. 1811–d. 1888) was one of the most notable Argentine literary figures to emerge at this time. He became a vocal critic of the Rosas regime and eventually fled into exile, where he wrote *Facundo: Civilización y barbarie en las pampas argentinas* (*Facundo, or Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants*) as a denunciation of tyranny and caudillo rule in Argentina. Sarmiento also stressed the inherent uncivilized character he saw in the rural culture of Argentina, and his vivid descriptions of that barbarism were centerpieces of his writings. Sarmiento also highlighted the role of the rural GAUCHO in postindependence Argentina, as did writer José Hernández (b. 1834–d. 1886) in the epic poem *El gaucho Martín Fierro* in 1872 (see MARTÍN FIERRO).

Argentine writers also offered an example of the way intellectuals used the style of romanticism to promote a liberal political platform (see LIBERALISM). Many of the most prominent romantic artists and literary figures were politically active in advancing liberal policies during an era when conflict among liberals and conservatives dominated the national landscape. By the final decades of the 19th century, writers and artists in Latin America had largely abandoned romanticism in favor of realism and MODERNISM.

See also ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II).

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Rosario Mining Company Rosario Mining Company was a U.S.-based company that became involved in the MINING industry in HONDURAS in the late 19th century. The company's principal holding was the Rosario Mine, which extracted large amounts of GOLD and SILVER in the central mountainous region, near present-day Tegucigalpa. The company worked closely with the Honduran national government. Its mining activities left substantial environmental damage in the surrounding area in the first half of the 20th century.

Like other Central American liberal political leaders in the 1880s and 1890s, Honduran president MARCO AURELIO SOTO (1876–83) sought to diversify the nation's agriculturally based ECONOMY. Silver mining dated back to Spanish times, and in the 1880s, the Honduran government issued 129 mining concessions to foreign companies, including the Rosario Mining Company, headed by the American Washington S. Valentine (b. 1859–d. 1920). But the millions of dollars worth of silver extracted in Honduras in the mid-1890s provided little benefit to the country. The concessions granted to Rosario and other mining companies gave them the right to bring into Honduras, duty free, whatever they needed to conduct their operations, including machinery, equipment, and other materials. The last came to include fine Scotch whiskey and European dinnerware and clothing. The mining companies were also exempted from paying export taxes. The Rosario operation, in addition, received rights to water and timber on and adjacent to its property. As a result, thousands of acres around the company's operations became vast wastelands. Soto's successor, Luis Bográn (1883–91), instituted press gangs to ensure an adequate supply of workers. Rosario became so influential in 20th-century Honduran politics that Valentine earned the nickname "King of Honduras."

The owners of the Rosario Mining Company used their wealth and political influence to ensure that infrastructure projects were completed to benefit the mine and the surrounding area. Central Honduras benefited from a modern network of electrical plants and communications networks. But, at the same time, extensive mining activity in the region caused damage to the surrounding countryside. A general LABOR strike forced the Rosario Mine to close in 1954.

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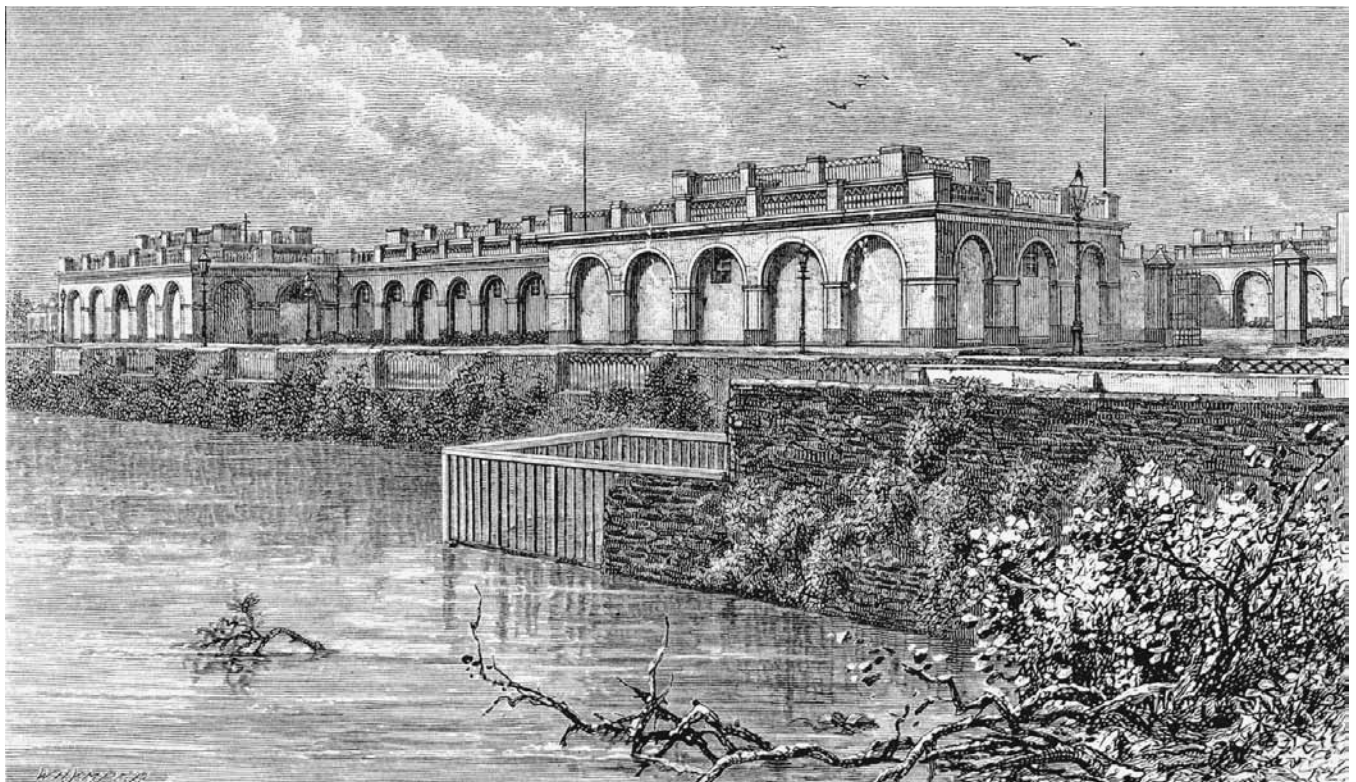
Rosas, Juan Manuel de (b. 1793–d. 1877) *Argentine caudillo and dictatorial governor of Buenos Aires* Juan Manuel de Rosas was a CAUDILLO who became the most powerful ruler in ARGENTINA as governor of BUENOS AIRES. Rosas rose to power by forming an alliance with the FEDERALES and persecuted dissenters during his long rule. He ruled as a tyrant but did manage to bring some stability and a sense of national unity to Argentina in the early decades of its independence.

Rosas was born on March 30, 1793, to a wealthy FAMILY that owned large landholdings in the province of Buenos Aires. He was raised in the countryside and learned the skills of the GAUCHOS, or rural-dwelling cowboys. Rosas accumulated extensive landholdings and grew wealthy through cattle ranching and meatpacking activities. He participated in the defense of Buenos Aires against the British invasion in 1806 but did not become involved in the MILITARY and political maneuvering taking place during the era of independence. During that time, he married and had three children. His youngest daughter, Manuelita, eventually became one of his closest political allies and in later years served as a kind of first lady during his gubernatorial administration.

In 1820, Rosas supported Martín Rodríguez as governor of Buenos Aires, although Rosas grew disillusioned with the centralizing political policies of *unitario* leader BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA, who wielded enormous influence behind the scenes. Rosas grew to believe that divi-

sive *unitario* policies were destabilizing the country. He wanted to unite and secure the newly independent nation and claimed that preserving provincial authority was the best way to accomplish this. In 1828, he formed an alliance with other regional caudillos who resented policies of the *UNITARIOS* that favored the interests of Buenos Aires over those of the provinces. As the protector of regional interests, the *federales* overthrew the *unitario* governor of Buenos Aires, Juan Lavalle. Rosas was elected governor of the province in 1829 and with his federalist allies formed the Confederación del Río de la Plata, or River Plate Confederation.

As governor of Buenos Aires, Rosas ruled in an autocratic manner in an attempt to bring order to the nation. He became known for his persecution of political rivals, and many *unitario* political leaders were detained and executed in an attempt to silence dissent. Other individuals who opposed his regime fled into exile. Neighboring Montevideo, in URUGUAY, became a haven for Argentine intellectuals and political leaders, and an anti-Rosas movement began to develop there. As a quintessential caudillo, Rosas was also known to be strong, capable, and charismatic. He presented himself as a man of the people and won the confidence of large numbers of Argentines. Those who were not swayed by his personal charm generally fell in line with his wishes out of fear of reprisal. In the early years of his governorship, Rosas secured control over Buenos Aires as well as the interior provinces with



Sketch of an estate formerly belonging to Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas near Palermo Park in Buenos Aires, circa 1880 (From *The Great Silver River: Notes of a Residence in Buenos Ayres in 1880 and 1881*, by Sir Horace Rumbold. London: John Murray, 1890, p. 28)

the help of federalist allies JUAN FACUNDO QUIROGA and Estanislao López (b. 1786–d. 1838).

After serving three years as governor in 1832, Rosas stepped down and spent the next several years pursuing an aggressive campaign against NATIVE AMERICANS in the nation's southern regions. During those campaigns, Rosas cultivated his reputation as a typical caudillo and a strong military leader, capable of achieving the impossible. His absence from Buenos Aires, however, brought renewed political conflict as members of the *unitario* opposition who had been silenced during his governorship revived their antifederalist challenges. In 1833, Rosas's wife and other supporters in Buenos Aires formed the Sociedad Popular Restauradora, an organization whose objective was to bring Rosas back to power and extend his dictatorial authority. The group's armed wing, known as LA MAZORCA, accelerated the pace of repression against Rosas's political adversaries. *Mazorca* literally translates from Spanish to "ear of corn" but is also a play on words with the Spanish "*más borca*," or "more hangings."

Backed by the Mazorca force, Rosas returned to office in 1835 and stayed there until 1852, using more far-reaching powers and even more repressive tactics. The dictator censored the press and educational material and required that his portrait be displayed in public spaces throughout the country. Individuals who did not conform to Rosas's expectations immediately fell under suspicion as potential opponents. An act as simple as wearing the colors white and blue could be considered support for the centrist *unitarios*. Citizens of Argentina resorted to wearing ribbons and other adornments in the color red to demonstrate their affiliation with Rosas and the *federales*. This practice was ridiculed by the anti-Rosas intellectuals who had sought refuge abroad. Among those, intellectual and future Argentine president DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO used his writings to publicize the tyrannical nature of the Rosas government and to destabilize his regime (see LITERATURE).

Although Rosas rose to power as a self-proclaimed federalist, the policies of his administration reflected a much more centralist preference. He quickly abandoned the interests of the interior and imposed measures that favored Buenos Aires. He levied tariffs on goods moving in and out of the interior provinces and used national revenue predominantly to the benefit of Buenos Aires. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, opposition to Rosas mounted among centralist dissenters as well as disgruntled federalists. Rosas also developed foreign enemies through policy decisions that pushed the nation into war with the PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION in 1837. Throughout the 1840s, the dictator was at odds with neighboring Uruguay. He sent several invading forces and controlled the area off and on throughout much of the decade.

By 1851, anti-Rosas forces in Uruguay joined forces with exiled Argentines to form an opposition force and

bring down the dictator for good. Under the leadership of JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA, the coalition defeated the Rosas army at the Battle of Monte Caseros in 1852. Rosas went into exile in Europe. He died in England on March 14, 1877.

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Royal Decree of Grace (1815) To combat any separatist sentiments on the islands and stimulate new economic growth in CUBA and PUERTO RICO, King Ferdinand VII of Spain (b. 1784–d. 1833) proclaimed the Cédula de Gracia, or Royal Decree of Grace, on August 10, 1815. Cuba and Puerto Rico were granted free TRADE rights with Spain, low trade duties with other friendly nations, a 15-year amnesty from various royal taxes, and permission to allow colonists of non-Spanish origin to immigrate to the two island colonies (see MIGRATION). To attract non-Spanish settlers from Europe and elsewhere in the Americas, new arrivals to the islands were offered six acres of land for each FAMILY member and three acres for each slave brought to Cuba or Puerto Rico. After five years of residence, new settlers were offered full Spanish citizenship contingent upon their swearing of unwavering loyalty to the Spanish Crown and the CATHOLIC CHURCH.

This royal decree greatly stimulated the economic growth of Cuba and Puerto Rico and helped extinguish the separatist fervor previously prevalent on the islands. The volume of foreign trade, especially with the United States, greatly increased for both Cuba and Puerto Rico in the years following its passage. Puerto Rican foreign trade revenues alone rose from \$269,008 in 1813 to \$1.08 million by 1816 and \$2.1 million by 1818. The primarily agrarian societies of Cuba and Puerto Rico could now legally import modern machinery and link areas of SUGAR, COFFEE, and TOBACCO production to major ports such as San Juan and HAVANA via the construction of new railroad lines. The decree also quickly turned both islands into true cultural and racial melting pots. As the 19th century progressed, Dominican, Venezuelan, Haitian, French, German, Italian, Irish, and eventually Chinese immigrants integrated into the mix of Spanish, Amerindian, and African cultures already present on both islands.

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Rural Code See CODE RURALE.

rurales (Guardia Rural) The *rurales* were the rural mounted police force, officially the Guardia Rural, established in MEXICO by BENITO JUÁREZ in 1861 and used extensively by PORFIRIO DÍAZ to impose a sense of order and stability in what had become a lawless countryside. The *rurales* were known for their ruthless tactics and often operated outside of legally prescribed norms.

In the 1860s, the *rurales* were poorly trained and underfunded but participated in resisting the invasion forces of the FRENCH INTERVENTION. They became more active in stabilizing the countryside in the late 1860s and early 1870s under Juárez and then SEBASTIÁN LERDO DE TEJADA, but it was not until Díaz's dictatorship, known as the PORFIRIATO, that they gained an international reputation for bringing peace and stability to the Mexican countryside. Contingents of *rurales* were organized in state capitals with smaller detachments in more localized areas, giving them a wide geographic reach. But, their stabilizing effect was superficial. *Rurales* incited terror by using repression and

the *ley fuga*, a law under which suspects and prisoners could be shot while supposedly trying to escape. The *rurales* are one example of Díaz's attempts to bring order at all costs so that Mexico could progress and modernize.

Further undermining the *rurales'* effectiveness, many units were beset by corruption and ineptitude. Officers often embezzled money from official coffers, while lower-ranking *rurales* resorted to extortion and bribes from their would-be victims. Rates of alcoholism, desertion, and petty crimes were high among the rank and file of this supposedly elite law enforcement group. Their abuses were widely known and provided one more catalyst for the Díaz opposition to push for change. After the onset of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, Francisco Madero failed in his attempt to reform the *rurales*, and the group was disbanded in 1914.

See also MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV).

Further reading:

Paul J. Vanderwood. *Disorder and Progress: Bandits, Police, and Mexican Development* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1992).



Saco, José Antonio (b. 1797–d. 1879) *Cuban writer and abolitionist* José Antonio Saco was a Cuban journalist and essayist who rose to prominence in the 1830s and 1840s. He used his writings to decry the institution of SLAVERY and to promote a sense of Cuban nationalism. Saco became one of the leading proponents of Cuban independence from Spain and opposed annexation to the United States.

Saco was born in 1797 in Bayamo and was educated in HAVANA. He traveled extensively throughout Europe and the United States and worked as a professor, a translator, and a writer (see LITERATURE). By the 1830s, Saco was already publishing denunciations of the slave TRADE and criticisms of the Spanish colonial system. Because of his polemical writings, Saco was forced to leave CUBA; he spent most of the rest of his life in Paris. There, he published numerous works challenging both colonialism and slavery. Despite his reputation as an ardent abolitionist, his stance on race and slavery is somewhat controversial. Saco believed that Cuba's black slave population was a negative foreign influence, corrupting the island's white population. He envisioned a free and independent Cuba made up of white, middle-class citizens. To that end, he encouraged white immigration to Cuba, and his writings reflected a strong disdain for the influence of African culture on Cuban society.

Saco was never able to return to his native Cuba. He began writing a general history of slavery, which was to be his masterpiece. He published several volumes but never finished the project. Saco died in Europe in 1879.

Further reading:

Duvon C. Corbitt. "Saco's History of Negro Slavery." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 24, no. 3 (August 1944): 452–457.

Saget, Nissage (b. ca. 1810–d. 1880) *president of Haiti* The elderly Nissage Saget was elected president of HAITI in 1870. He succeeded Sylvain Salnave (1867–69). Despite his age, he is remembered as a wise executive head of state who was respectful of the provisions of the constitution.

Under Saget's regime, the German government extorted money from Haiti on the grounds that two of its nationals had complained to their government that they were subject to "crimes of victimization" while in Haiti. On June 11, 1872, two German warships arrived in the country. An immediate payment of 3,000 British sterling was demanded as "damages" for the alleged crimes.

Indignant but powerless, the Haitian government paid the sum. At the end of his term, in 1874, President Saget placed power with the Conseil des Ministres (Advisory Council) and retired voluntarily. He died August 7, 1880, in Saint-Marc.

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Saint Domingue See HAITI.

saladeros The *saladeros* were a powerful new economic class tied to the cattle ranching industry that emerged in 19th-century ARGENTINA. *Saladeros* were those who processed and marketed salted meat and other by-products. The meat they produced was a kind of beef jerky, which grew in popularity in the era prior to refrig-

eration. It could be transported and stored more easily and at a lower cost than fresh meat. The salted and dried meat, also known as *tasajo*, became a staple food in the diets of Brazilian slaves. It was also used to feed neighboring armies, which were often on the move throughout the volatile 19th century.

South American cattlemen had been drying and salting beef for centuries, but the first *saladero* factory was established in the early 19th century. The term *saladero* refers both to the people involved in the industry and to the factories where salted meat was produced. By the mid-19th century, the production facilities were quite large—slaughtering 200 to 400 cattle per day. *Saladeros* processed nearly every part of the cattle. They boned the meat and dried it in thin strips. The factories extracted the tallow and fat for use in the production of candles, soap, and lubricants. The hides also were processed.

Most *saladeros* were established in the province of Buenos Aires. CAUDILLO and future dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS built his personal fortune operating a *saladero* in Buenos Aires Province in the early decades of the 19th century. During his administration as governor of Buenos Aires, Rosas favored the *saladeros* by exempting them from taxes and granting favorable export conditions through the capital city. He argued that the factories were a fundamental source of national wealth, and *saladeros* provided Rosas with much-needed support throughout his dictatorship. In the mid-19th century, the *saladeros* formed the largest industry in Argentina. Their influence diminished only after the advent of refrigeration in the late decades of that century.

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Peter H. Smith. *Politics and Beef in Argentina: Patterns of Conflict and Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

Salcedo, José Antonio (Pepillo Salcedo) (b. 1816–d. 1864) *Dominican military leader* José Antonio “Pepillo” Salcedo led the anti-Spanish insurrection in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC during the WAR OF RESTORATION. He spearheaded a declaration of independence and organized the scattered rebel movement into one organized and powerful revolt that eventually led to the ousting of the Spanish occupation army.

Salcedo was born in Madrid in the year 1816. His family moved to a northern village in Santo Domingo when he was a small child. He was educated in the city of Santo Domingo and joined the military in the independence struggle against neighboring Haiti in the 1840s.

Former president and CAUDILLO PEDRO SANTANA had invited Spanish occupation in an attempt to prevent Haiti from invading the newly independent nation. Salcedo participated in the guerrilla campaigns that sprang up against the Spanish as early as 1861. Santana violently suppressed these uprisings, and the resistance movement

descended into chaos. Indeed, disorganization almost destroyed the incipient movement until Salcedo rallied the forces. The movement quickly gained momentum as Santana was captured and many in the Spanish MILITARY succumbed to tropical disease. Salcedo issued a declaration of independence on September 14, 1863, and led a provisional government.

Even as the resistance movement had strengthened, divisions in the leadership began to surface. Salcedo advocated inviting former Santana rival, BUENAVENTURA BÁEZ, to rule again. Other restoration leaders opposed Báez’s long-standing support of annexation by the United States and feared that the deposed caudillo would turn the Dominican Republic over to yet another foreign power (see SECOND REPUBLIC). Salcedo was eventually overthrown and killed in October 1864.

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Salomon, Lysius (b. 1815–d. 1888) *president of Haiti* Lysius Salomon was born in Castel Pèrè near Aux Cayes, HAITI, in 1815, to a well-known and influential southern FAMILY. He and his family had some severe clashes with the mulatto elite and were forced into exile during the regime of CHARLES RIVIÈRE-HÉRARD (1843–44). Salomon returned to Haiti and served as minister of finance under FAUSTIN SOULOUQUE’s (1847–59) regime. After Soulouque’s decline, Salomon again went into exile in Europe.

After 28 years abroad, Salomon returned to Haiti in August 1879 and ran for president as the representative of the National Party (Parti National). He had a huge following and was subsequently elected. During his two terms in office (1879–88), he revived AGRICULTURE, improved EDUCATION, attracted foreign investment, organized the army, established a national bank, and connected Haiti to the rest of the world through the telegraph.

Salomon is best known for his contributions to Haitian finances. In addition to establishing the National Bank, he resumed overdue loan payments to France from both President MICHEL DOMINGUE’s (1874–76) loan scandal of 1876 and the treaty of 1824 under which Haiti, in essence, paid France for its independence. By 1888, the Domingue loan had been paid off and a better payment plan for the 1824 indemnity developed. Haiti maintained a remarkable payment history for this debt, not defaulting until the United States’s occupation of the country in 1915.

Salomon withstood years of conflict with the Liberal Party (Parti Liberal) and other elitist forces. After learning of a hostile Liberal Party demonstration against him in the streets, he resigned and then left for France on

the afternoon of August 10, 1888. He died in Paris on October 19, 1888.

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Gary Saint. "World Paper Money Picture Catalog: Haitian Currency." Numismundo.com. Available online (<http://www.numismundo.com/index.html>). Accessed January 1, 2008.

samba See MUSIC.

Santa Anna, Antonio López de (b. 1794–d. 1876) *military leader and 11-time president of Mexico* Antonio López de Santa Anna was a popular MILITARY leader, CAUDILLO, and 11-time president of MEXICO in the decades following independence. During his long and convoluted career, he was lauded for numerous successes in repelling attempted invasions by foreign powers and simultane-



Portrait of Antonio López de Santa Anna, president of Mexico numerous times between 1833 and 1855 (*Library of Congress*)

ously vilified for his erratic political views, dictatorial tactics, and harsh treatment of enemies. He ultimately fell from favor after losing large expanses of Mexican territory to the United States.

Santa Anna was born into a creole family in Veracruz on February 21, 1794. He joined the Spanish army at a young age and between 1810 and 1821 fought on behalf of the royalist forces against the independence movement in Mexico. Like many military officers, Santa Anna abandoned the Spanish army and pledged loyalty to AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE'S Plan de Iguala in 1821, helping secure Mexican independence. He joined the Army of the Three Guarantees and supported Iturbide as he became Emperor Agustín I.

Santa Anna's support for Iturbide was short lived, as personality conflicts between the two began to show. As Santa Anna's thirst for power became evident, Iturbide attempted to rein him in; however, Santa Anna declared open rebellion against the emperor in his 1822 Plan de Veracruz. Santa Anna joined forces with other military leaders and liberal politicians who opposed Iturbide, merging his own revolt with the larger PLAN DE CASA MATA that helped drive Iturbide from Mexico the following year.

For nearly a decade, Santa Anna served as a loyal military commander, supporting liberal political leaders in their attempts to sustain a federalist system, with strong states and a relatively weak executive under the CONSTITUTION OF 1824. He had charisma and political savvy—characteristics common among 19th-century Latin American CAUDILLOS—which won him many political allies. In 1827, he helped thwart an attempted coup against President GUADALUPE VICTORIA. In 1828, he supported a revolt by liberal leaders who accused their conservative foes of duplicity in securing the presidential election for their candidate Manuel Gómez Pedraza. Santa Anna's personal connections and military efforts were instrumental in securing a liberal victory.

In 1829, the fledgling national government tapped Santa Anna's military expertise and appointed him to fight an attempted invasion by Spain. After pinning down the Spanish forces for several months in the tropical climate of Tampico, Santa Anna once again emerged victorious and was hailed as a hero.

After the Spanish invasion was repelled, conservative vice president Anastasio Bustamante overthrew liberal president VICENTE GUERRERO, and Santa Anna acted once again. In 1832, he ousted the dictator, and new elections gave Santa Anna the presidency. Contrary to his previously incessant quest for power, Santa Anna almost immediately handed power to his liberal vice president VALENTÍN GÓMEZ FARÍAS (1833–34) and retired to his estate in Veracruz.

Santa Anna remained silent as Gómez Farías set about instituting a liberal reform agenda. Within months, his administration had attempted to curtail the influence of the military and the CATHOLIC CHURCH, abolishing

many of the *FUEROS*, or privileges, held by those institutions. Santa Anna defied his earlier liberal politics and joined forces with the conservative opposition in 1834. He overthrew Gómez Farías and once again assumed the presidency, operating under the slogan “*religión y fueros*” (religion and privileges). Santa Anna and his conservative allies abrogated the Constitution of 1824 and replaced it with a series of conservative laws. The *SIETE LEYES* (Seven Laws), which became the basis for the Constitution of 1836, restored a centralist political system in Mexico by strengthening the power of the executive, dissolving states, and subverting local authority.

Santa Anna’s move toward **CENTRALISM** and **CONSERVATISM** had serious repercussions for the nation’s security and stability. In response to the abolition of states and local authority, several provinces rose in revolt and threatened secession. One of those regions was the northern province containing Texas. In attempting to take a strong stand against the large numbers of U.S. settlers in Texas, Santa Anna led the Mexican army into a bloody war. After six months of fighting, Santa Anna was forced to sign the Treaties of Velasco to bring hostilities to an end and recognize the independence of Texas (see **TEXAS REVOLUTION**).

For a time, the disgraced Santa Anna sank into seclusion at his Veracruz **HACIENDA**, but another attempted foreign invasion gave him an opportunity to redeem himself. In 1838, French ships stationed off the coast of Veracruz in a conflict known as the **PASTRY WAR**. While defending the port from French forces, Santa Anna was wounded and lost his leg below the knee. Emphasizing the real and symbolic sacrifices he had made for his nation, he used his injury to regain political power. He assumed the presidency in 1841 and, in an ostentatious display, built a shrine in Mexico City devoted to his amputated leg. He buried the limb at the shrine in an extravagant ceremony. Not long after, a widespread revolt drove him from power and into exile in **CUBA**.

In 1845, Santa Anna was brought out of exile to lead Mexico as it headed toward war with the United States. Santa Anna managed to raise and equip an army and mounted an impressive offensive against the U.S. invasion in the **U.S.-MEXICAN WAR**. Nevertheless, U.S. forces succeeded in taking **MEXICO CITY** and forcing Santa Anna’s surrender in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in February 1848. In defeat, Santa Anna was also forced to cede northern lands amounting to nearly half of Mexico’s national territory to the United States.

Disgraced once again, Santa Anna retreated into exile. He made one more comeback in 1853 at the behest of Conservative leaders in another attempt to centralize the Mexican political system. He assumed the role of dictator and the title “most serene highness.” This was Santa Anna’s last tenure as leader of Mexico, and his leadership style was even more aristocratic and ostentatious than before, with the luxuries in which he indulged straining an already depleted treasury. To replenish national funds,

Santa Anna sold yet another portion of Mexico’s northern territory to the United States in the 1853 **GADSDEN PURCHASE**.

In 1855, the nation’s Liberal leaders united in the **REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA** to force Santa Anna from power once and for all. In the 1860s, he made two more failed attempts to return to power. Santa Anna was finally allowed to return to Mexico in 1874. He died in Mexico City on June 21, 1876.

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Antonio López de Santa Anna. *The Eagle: the Autobiography of Santa Anna* (Austin, Tex.: Pemberton Press, 1967).

Santa Cruz, Andrés de (b. 1792–d. 1865) *independence leader and president of Bolivia* Andrés de Santa Cruz was a Spanish **MILITARY** officer–turned–independence leader in Andean South America. He served briefly as president of **PERU** and as president of **BOLIVIA** after independence. He also created the short-lived **PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION** (1836–39) and held the executive title of protector over the federation.

Santa Cruz was born in La Paz on December 5, 1792, to a Spanish father and a Quechua mother. He joined the Spanish army at the outbreak of the wars of independence and fought against insurgents until 1821, when he switched sides and joined the army of Argentine general José de San Martín and independence leader Simón Bolívar. He rose in the ranks of the independence movement and eventually became president of Peru in 1826 after Bolívar was recalled to **GRAN COLOMBIA**. He held that position for one year.

In 1829, the struggling new government of Bolivia offered the presidency to Santa Cruz after a series of coups and failed administrations. Leaders hoped the La Paz native would stabilize Bolivian politics. Santa Cruz introduced a number of fiscal and economic reforms and created a civil code modeled after the Napoleonic Code of 1804. But, even as Santa Cruz addressed the internal needs of the new nation, he had his sights set on Peru. Citing his mother’s Quechua heritage, he claimed a direct lineage to the Sapa Inca. He envisioned reuniting the territory of the former Inca Empire—Peru and Bolivia—under one united federation.

In 1836, civil war in Peru created an opportunity for Santa Cruz to realize his vision. He led an occupation force and declared the Peru-Bolivia Confederation. Naming himself protector of the new federation, Santa Cruz extended the social, economic, and political reforms that he had earlier introduced in Bolivia. In 1837, neighboring **CHILE** declared war against the confederation, seeing the unification of the two nations as a threat to its own security. By 1839, a protracted war with the Chilean army forced the dissolution of the confederation.

After the failed Peru-Bolivia Confederation, Santa Cruz was forced into exile in ECUADOR. He died on September 25, 1865.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); INCAS (Vol. I); SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ DE (Vol. II).

Further reading:

Lane Carter Kendall. "Andrés Santa Cruz and the Peru-Bolivian Confederation." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 16, no. 1 (February 1936): 29–48.

Santana, Pedro (b. 1801–d. 1864) *caudillo and president of the Dominican Republic* Pedro Santana was an autocratic leader who came to power in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC just months after the nation broke away from HAITI and declared its independence. For a period of 20 years, Santana alternated power with fellow CAUDILLO and political rival BUENAVENTURA BÁEZ. Santana is noted for his dictatorial rule and for turning his nation back over to Spanish control in 1861.

Santana was born along the Haitian border region to an HACIENDA-OWNING FAMILY of SANTO DOMINGO. He led a relatively quiet life in the early decades of the 19th century and during the HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO. But, when Dominicans rose in revolt against Haitian leader CHARLES RIVIÈRE-HÉRARD in 1843, Santana joined the movement and demonstrated adept MILITARY leadership skills. He challenged the democratic inclinations of LA TRINITARIA leaders and forcibly took power in 1844. Later, he was elected president under the provisions laid out in the CONSTITUTION OF 1844. Santana was convinced that the Dominican Republic needed an authoritarian leader in order to repel the constant threat of reinvasion by Haitian leader FAUSTIN SOULOUQUE (1847–59). Throughout his tenure in office, Santana attempted to place the nation under the protection of a foreign power.

In 1861, Santana negotiated an arrangement whereby Spain reclaimed control of the Dominican Republic. An anti-Spanish revolt broke out almost immediately, and it quickly escalated into the WAR OF RESTORATION. Santana was captured by rebel forces and died while in custody on June 14, 1864.

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Santander, Francisco de Paula (b. 1792–d. 1840) *independence leader and president of New Granada* Francisco de Paula Santander was an independence leader who

fought with Simón Bolívar in liberating New Granada and VENEZUELA from Spanish rule. He was vice president of GRAN COLOMBIA from 1821 to 1828 and president of the Republic of New Granada (present-day COLOMBIA) from 1832 to 1837.

Santander was born on April 2, 1792, in Rosario, in the Viceroyalty of New Granada, to a wealthy land-owning FAMILY. His father was a local politician, and Santander followed a similar path by enrolling in law school in 1810. His studies were cut short when the wars of independence broke out, and Santander joined the liberation movement in New Granada. In 1819, he joined Bolívar's army and helped secure the independence of New Granada by his leadership on the battlefield at Boyocá. In 1821, he was elected vice president of the newly formed Republic of Colombia (Gran Colombia). When Bolívar, who had been elected president, departed to continue fighting the wars of independence in BOLIVIA and PERU, Santander served as acting president of Gran Colombia. It fell upon him to implement the new government structure and enact the social reform dictated in the Constitution of 1821.

Between 1822 and 1826, Santander oversaw modest degrees of economic recovery in Gran Colombia. He secured foreign loans and worked to attract foreign investors into the struggling republic's ECONOMY. He also began implementing social reforms, the most notable of which was secularizing EDUCATION at the expense of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Despite his efforts, the economy of Gran Colombia remained weak, and political adversaries stood poised to challenge the national government. Resentment began to surface among regional factions in Venezuela and ECUADOR over the political organization and geographic layout of the republic. In 1826, a rebellion led by JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ in Venezuela precipitated the return of Bolívar, who had been orchestrating the creation of the BOLIVARIAN CONSTITUTION.

Bolívar negotiated a peaceful end to the rebellion but then attempted to change the Constitution of 1821 to follow the more centralized system as defined in the Bolivarian Constitution. Santander and other political leaders opposed Bolívar's plans to further consolidate centralized executive authority. In 1828, Bolívar discovered a conspiracy to assassinate him. He suspected Santander's involvement and ordered his execution. With no evidence tying Santander to the conspiracy, Bolívar commuted his sentence but expelled him from Gran Colombia.

In 1831, Gran Colombia broke apart into Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador. In 1832, Santander returned to New Granada to serve as president. During his presidency, he earned a reputation for upholding the constitution and stabilizing the young nation's economy. He continued the liberal approach to education that had defined his tenure in the administration of Gran Colombia and provided access to education to a growing number of young people. His education policies, in

particular, evoked some opposition from former Bolívar supporters, but he did not face a major revolt against his presidency.

In 1837, Santander stepped down as president of New Granada and served briefly as a senator. Santander fell ill and died in Bogotá on May 6, 1840.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II).

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David Bushnell. *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970).

Santería Santería is an Afro-Cuban RELIGION that combines aspects of Christianity with the Yoruba religion of West Africa, specifically Nigeria. It originated during the colonial period when Europeans imported African slaves into the American colonies to work on plantations (see SLAVERY). As the Spanish attempted to enforce Catholicism, many slaves incorporated similar practices from the Yoruba religion, and the hybrid belief system of Santería emerged.

Practitioners of Santería believe in one supreme being who is accessible through intermediaries known as Orishas. These beliefs, derived from the Yoruba religion, fused with the Christian concept of one true god and the Catholic veneration of the saints. Each practitioner of Santería has a patron saint/Orisha and pays special homage to that saint through various rituals. Religious meetings are run by priests and priestesses and consist of a combination of incantations and the ceremonial lighting of candles. Some ceremonies include ritualistic animal sacrifice, with the meat of the sacrificed sheep and/or chickens often being served as part of elaborate meals. The highest-ranking priests and priestesses, known as *babalawos* and *lyanifas*, respectively, are believed to be clairvoyant and regularly perform divination.

During the colonial period, the CATHOLIC CHURCH made nominal attempts to prevent the type of syncretism that produced Santería. In practice, however, most plantation owners in CUBA tolerated the incorporation of African religious beliefs into Christianity, and the religion was deeply rooted in Cuban culture by the 19th century. Furthermore, the continuation of the slave TRADE in Cuba until the late 19th century ensured that the Yoruba influence on local religious practices continued. In the 1880s, government officials attempted to eradicate the influence of African culture by requiring local communities to adopt the name of a Catholic saint. By that time, many Catholic saints had become synonymous with Santería's Orishas. The attempts to extinguish African culture, therefore, had the opposite effect of strengthening the association between Orishas and saints.

Today, it is estimated that approximately 75 percent of Catholics in Cuba actually practice some form

of Santería. The religion also migrated to the United States with exiles who relocated after the 1959 Cuban Revolution.

See also RELIGION (Vols. I, II, IV); SYNCRETISM (Vol. I).

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Santiago de Chile Santiago de Chile is the capital of CHILE, located in the country's central valley of the Andes mountain range. The city sits at an altitude of approximately 1,800 feet (549 m) above sea level and is surrounded by mountains and volcanoes reaching up to 20,000 feet (6,096 m) high. Santiago was founded in 1541 by Spanish conquistador Pedro de Valdivia. The city remained a small and relatively isolated outpost on the periphery of the Spanish Empire throughout most of the colonial period. In the last half of the 18th century, the Bourbon monarchs of Spain began devoting more resources to developing public works and other infrastructure in Santiago as part of larger reform efforts. Those reforms led to the construction of government buildings to house the local cabildo, or town council, the colonial audiencia, or judicial district, a royal mint, and a local hospital. Even with renewed attention from the Spanish Crown, Santiago remained small and underdeveloped, with a population of no more than 35,000 until after independence.

Chile's independence movement began in 1810 with the formation of a cabildo abierto, a town hall type meeting, in Santiago as the city's elite debated how to respond to Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of Spain. Because Chile was administratively a part of the Viceroyalty of Peru during the colonial period, royalist forces in LIMA immediately stepped in to thwart the attempts at self-government in Santiago. Chilean leaders fled to neighboring ARGENTINA and regrouped to challenge royal authority in Santiago. By 1818, the city had been liberated, and it was named the capital of the newly independent nation. For the next 10 years, Chile experienced a period of instability as political leaders vied for power. But, by the 1830s, the country had entered an era of relative stability as leaders in the capital city, who were nominally conservative, consolidated power.

In the first half of the 19th century Santiago experienced unprecedented growth as the population increased, and the entire nation benefited from economic expansion. The revival of the nation's MINING industry and the discovery of nitrate deposits in northern Chile led to a surge of infrastructure development. TRANSPORTATION and communication lines were built between Santiago

and VALPARAISO, which was quickly becoming the nation's primary coastal port. Overland roads also expanded, connecting Santiago to the rest of the country and to important outposts in Argentina.

Economic and political stability allowed for a greater degree of cultural development in Santiago than in other Latin American cities. In 1843, President Manuel Bulnes (1841–51), future president Manuel Montt (1851–61), and ANDRÉS BELLO collaborated to create the UNIVERSITY OF CHILE, based in Santiago. The opening of the new university marked an important shift in the secularization of EDUCATION, with the university replacing the church-run Royal University of San Felipe that had dominated higher education in the colonial period. The educational and cultural environment in Santiago attracted intellectuals from all over the world who traveled to Chile to join the faculty of the university. Political leaders from other Latin American countries who were seeking refuge from repressive CAUDILLO regimes also found a welcoming intellectual environment in Santiago. Argentine presidents BARTOLOMÉ MITRE (1862–68) and DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO (1868–74) both spent time in exile in Santiago in the 1840s. The University of Chile quickly became one of the most distinguished institutions of higher education in the Americas. It represented the efforts of Chilean government leaders to use the educational system to reinforce a sense of national identity in the country's population.

Throughout the last half of the 19th century, Santiago's cultural development was accompanied by a general economic boom. Many of the nation's former rural elite relocated to the capital city and pursued new economic opportunities there. Santiago's financial and administrative infrastructure allowed HACIENDA and mine owners to diversify their landholdings and to invest in new city-based opportunities. Santiago's development allowed Chile's rural sector to make significant leaps toward more integrated commercial AGRICULTURE. Santiago kept the agricultural and mining sectors connected to the world market in important ways. The capital city also became a main setting for government attempts at economic modernization in the late 19th century. Transportation and communications networks came together in Santiago and made it a natural site for industrial development. Santiago became home to basic consumer goods industries such as textiles and foodstuffs and also to some heavy industry (see INDUSTRIALIZATION). As the city's industrial sector expanded, so, too, did its working-class population. The ranks of the laboring class were filled by some immigration from abroad and by rural Chileans relocating from the countryside (see MIGRATION). By the turn of the century, laborers in some sectors had started organizing to protect members' workplace interests. Those organizations provided an important foundation for the emergence of LABOR unions and other syndicates in the early decades of the 20th century.

Economic expansion in Santiago propelled an era of unprecedented cultural development in the late 19th

century. The Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes opened in 1880 originally as a center to showcase painting and sculpture. By the end of the century, the museum had expanded after receiving additional government funding. Beautification projects resulted in the construction of numerous parks and historic monuments. By the end of the century, Santiago residents enjoyed a variety of entertainment, including the finest in dining and theater (see SPORTS AND RECREATION). The Teatro Municipal de Santiago opened in 1857. In the final decades of the 19th century, the Chilean government renovated a number of colonial structures and converted them into government buildings. Many of those structures officially became national monuments in the 20th century.

In 1891, Santiago became part of the intense fighting between President JOSÉ MANUEL BALMACEDA and the Chilean Congress in a conflict known as the CHILEAN CIVIL WAR. The confrontation lasted only nine months but cost the nation more than 6,000 in casualties and required the government to spend valuable resources. Most of the fighting took place outside the capital city, but the outcome of the war left a new form of government in Santiago, and administration of the country remained under congressional control for several decades.

See also CHILE (Vols. I, II, IV); PERU, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); SANTIAGO DE CHILE (Vols. II, IV); VALDIVIA, PEDRO DE (Vol. I).

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Santo Domingo Santo Domingo is the capital city of the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. It was also the name of the Spanish-controlled portion of the island of Hispaniola during the colonial period, which eventually became the independent nation of the Dominican Republic. Santo Domingo was the first permanent Spanish settlement in the Caribbean and is the oldest city in the Americas. It is located along the southern coast at the mouth of the Ozama River. The city's strategic location made it an early base of exploratory expeditions for the Spanish in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. In later centuries, Santo Domingo became an important TRADE outpost.

Santo Domingo was founded in 1496 during one of Christopher Columbus's expeditions. It is home to the first monastery, the oldest cathedral, and the first university in the Americas. As Spanish administrative power shifted to the mainland in the 16th century, Santo Domingo continued to be the seat of an *audiencia* judicial district, and the city supported the plantation ECONOMY that emerged on the island. But, Spanish interest in the island declined, and when the French-controlled western portion of Hispaniola (Saint Domingue) rose in revolt

in 1791, the violence quickly spread to Santo Domingo. Spain ceded the colony of Santo Domingo to the French from 1795, only to regain control in 1809. But, leaders in the recently liberated nation of HAITI invaded in 1822 and occupied Santo Domingo for more than two decades. During the HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO, SLAVERY was abolished, and outward manifestations of traditional Spanish culture were suppressed. Santo Domingo native Juan Pablo Duarte (b. 1813–d. 1876) formed LA TRINITARIA as an opposition movement against Haitian rule in the 1830s. The movement succeeded in ousting the French in 1844, and its leaders formally established the eastern portion of Hispaniola as the Dominican Republic. The CONSTITUTION OF 1844 formalized that decree, and Santo Domingo became the capital of the new nation.

Dominican independence did not bring long-term stability to Santo Domingo. The city was the site of a number of political conflicts in the coming decades as opposing factions struggled for control of the newly formed government. Political volatility in Santo Domingo allowed the Spanish to regain control over their former colony from 1861 to 1865. The WAR OF RESTORATION began with sporadic rebellions in the countryside and culminated with nationalists driving the Spanish from Santo Domingo and establishing the SECOND REPUBLIC. Nevertheless, the nation and the capital city continued to languish in the final decades of the 19th century as political infighting continued, and Dominicans endured several corrupt and ineffective leaders. ULISES HEUREAUX (1882–84, 1887–99) virtually drove the nation into financial ruin in the 1890s. By the turn of the century, U.S. investors had developed a strong economic stake in the island; U.S. influence in Santo Domingo became increasingly evident throughout the 20th century.

See also DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (Vol. IV); HISPANIOLA (Vols. I, II); SANTO DOMINGO (Vols. II, IV).

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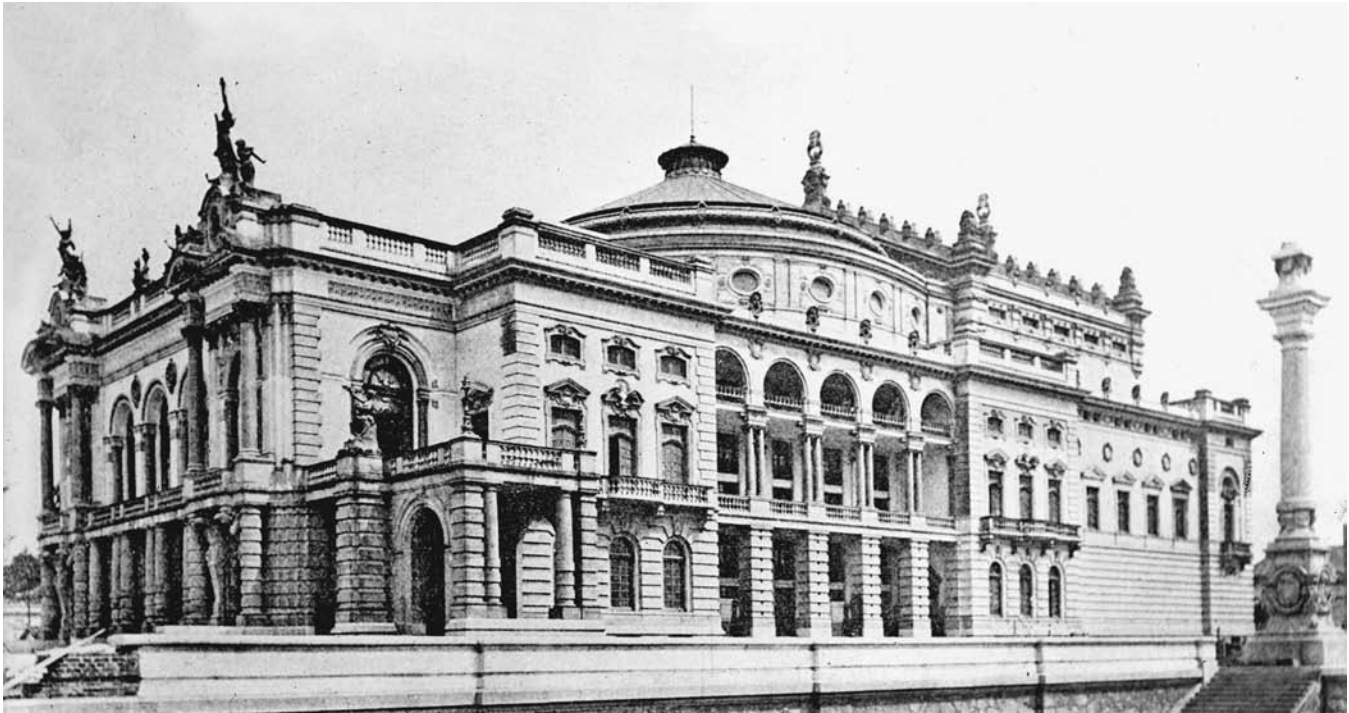
São Paulo São Paulo is the largest city in BRAZIL and is the capital of the state of the same name. The city is located approximately 40 miles (64 km) inland in the highlands of southern Brazil. São Paulo began as a small outpost for *bandeiras*, or colonial exploratory expeditions, but grew in importance as the most productive center of COFFEE production in the 19th century. São Paulo's increasing economic importance also gave *paulistas*, or residents of São Paulo, enormous political influence in the late 19th century.

São Paulo was founded as a Jesuit missionary site in the 16th century and became a colonial city after the establishment of the captaincy of São Paulo in 1710. By the beginning of the 19th century, plantation AGRICUL-

TURE had emerged throughout the province, and for a time, the southern region lagged behind the northeastern provinces that were the leading producers of SUGAR. But throughout the first half of the 19th century, agriculturalists in São Paulo experimented with new crops and new cultivation techniques and found coffee to be a much more suitable crop for the region's climate and economic infrastructure. São Paulo's transition to coffee production coincided with growing demand for the product on the world market. By mid-century, coffee had replaced sugar as Brazil's most important agricultural product, and the planters of São Paulo saw the political balance of power begin to shift in their favor.

Brazil had achieved independence from Portugal in 1822, but the newly sovereign nation remained under a constitutional monarch, PEDRO I, of the Portuguese royal FAMILY. Pedro I abdicated in favor of his son PEDRO II in 1831, and the EMPIRE OF BRAZIL continued under a monarchical political system. Pedro II was forced to strike a political balance between the traditional sugar planter elite of the northeast and the emerging coffee planter elite of São Paulo. The emperor was open to modernization strategies, but the *paulistas'* eagerness for progress was often stifled by resistance from the traditional *fazendeiros* of Bahia and elsewhere (see FAZENDA/FAZENDEIRO). In particular, *paulistas* embraced the free market forces that dominated 19th-century global economic networks. Some *fazendeiros* in São Paulo perceived the continued use of African SLAVERY to be a hindrance to the free market, while others resisted talk of abolition. Generally, coffee planters in São Paulo were quick to adopt new production technologies and LABOR-saving devices, and many of them sought immigrant wage laborers in anticipation of emancipation policies that were sure to come (see MIGRATION). Liberal politicians pressured the national government to abolish slavery, and abolitionist-friendly policies began to materialize in the last half of the 19th century. In 1850, the Brazilian government officially banned the external slave TRADE, and in 1871, Pedro II signed the LAW OF THE FREE WOMB, which granted freedom to all children of slave mothers born after the date it went into effect. The Golden Law finally decreed nationwide abolition in 1888, and São Paulo and other regions adjusted to the postslavery social system (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF). Some scholars have argued that planters' willingness to incorporate free market techniques in São Paulo in earlier decades made that transition easier. As slavery came to an end, immigration into São Paulo intensified and was aided by government policies that actively recruited European workers. The state became home to agricultural colonies, and many itinerant wage laborers found work on the coffee plantations. The influence of those immigrant groups is still visible today.

The desire for modernization and free market reform also led to the emergence of a republican movement in São Paulo in the late 19th century. A Republican Party formed in the 1870s, and the movement attracted



Construction of the Municipal Theater in São Paulo, Brazil, began in 1903 to showcase the city's wealth and its importance in the national economy. (*Library of Congress*)

planters, politicians, and intellectuals who were anxious to end—or at the very least reform—the system of monarchy that had defined Brazil's political system. Republican leaders from São Paulo won seats in the national congress, and pressure mounted to open up the political process. São Paulo Republicans found allies in the national MILITARY, where positivist thinker BENJAMIN CONSTANT was pushing for reform (see POSITIVISM). In 1889, a small coup led by MANUEL DEODORO DA FONSECA overthrew Pedro II and established the OLD REPUBLIC.

An economic crisis provoked by the unsound fiscal policies known as the ENCILHAMENTO challenged the new Republican government in the 1890s. A revolt erupted in Rio Grande do Sul in 1893, and leaders in the struggling government looked to the economically powerful planters of São Paulo for support. São Paulo's planters offered money and militia support in exchange for a political alliance that would last for decades. São Paulo's influence in national politics became evident when former *paulista* governor PRUDENTE DE MORAIS was elected Brazil's first civilian president in 1893 on the first ever popular ballot. From that point until 1930, a series of *paulista* presidents alternated power with leaders from Minas Gerais as part of a political coalition known as *café com leite*.

By the turn of the century, São Paulo had become the nation's main economic center. The coffee industry expanded as government leaders devoted resources to the expansion of railroads and other infrastructure in the

region. The city of São Paulo became the beneficiary of INDUSTRIALIZATION strategies pursued by the Brazilian government well into the 20th century.

See also *BANDEIRAS* (Vol. II); *BRAZIL* (Vols. I, II, IV); *JESUITS* (Vol. II); *SÃO PAULO* (Vols. II, IV).

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Sarmiento, Domingo F. (b. 1811–d. 1888) *writer, educator, and president of Argentina* Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was one of ARGENTINA's leading Liberal intellectuals in the 19th century. He is best known for his 1845 literary masterpiece *Facundo, or Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants* (*Facundo: Civilización y barbarie en las pampas argentinas*), which offered a scathing critique of CAUDILLO rule in Argentina. Through his writings, Sarmiento contributed to the intellectual propaganda campaign that helped to bring down the dictatorship of JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS (1829–32, 1835–52). Sarmiento eventually became president of the nation and worked to implement liberal ideals.

Sarmiento was born on February 15, 1811, in a poor neighborhood in San Juan, Argentina. From an early age, his parents emphasized the need for an EDUCATION. Sarmiento helped found a rural schoolhouse and started to become involved in local politics. He led a relatively quiet life as the independence movement gave way to attempts to establish a coherent national identity. In 1827, Sarmiento witnessed the invasion of his hometown by the caudillo JUAN FACUNDO QUIROGA. The young intellectual joined the forces of the UNITARIOS to oppose Quiroga and the FEDERALES. But, the caudillo's forces proved too powerful, and in 1831, Sarmiento was forced to flee into exile, for the first time, to neighboring CHILE. Sarmiento managed to return to San Juan a few years later and began publishing his first periodical, *El Zonda*. He became an important leader in the intellectual and literary movement known as the Generation of '37. The writer's outspoken criticisms of Rosas and the *federales* provoked a backlash by the autocratic government. Sarmiento's periodical was shut down, and he left for Chile once again in 1840.

From Chile, Sarmiento pursued an aggressive anti-Rosas campaign through his writing. He started two periodicals while in exile and in 1845 published *Facundo*. The work is seen as a precursor to the Latin American novel, a genre that was in its infancy in the 19th century. It chronicles the life of Quiroga, the caudillo who had invaded Sarmiento's home province in earlier years. Sarmiento portrayed Quiroga—and by extension all caudillos—as a barbarian who was impeding the development of the nation. By decrying the barbarism and tyrannical rule of Argentina's caudillos, Sarmiento was also assailing the dictatorship of Rosas. The alternative to despotism, Sarmiento argued, was a stable society based on education and cultural growth. His portrayals of Argentine caudillos and enlightened intellectuals is often summed up in the phrase “civilization versus barbarism.” *Facundo* is widely considered one of the most important works of Latin American LITERATURE.

While in Chile, Sarmiento also devoted himself to studying various programs for national education. He toured Europe, the United States, and other parts of Latin America to observe educational programs. He eventually returned to Chile and made important contributions to the government's efforts at educational reform. He also continued to write in opposition to the Rosas dictatorship in Argentina. In 1852, Sarmiento returned to his native country and aided JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA in overthrowing the despot.

Sarmiento continued his writings and immediately became involved in Argentine politics. He eventually joined forces with BARTOLOMÉ MITRE and other political leaders to oppose the federalist system imposed by Urquiza. Mitre became president in 1862, and Sarmiento became governor of San Juan. Although their tactics differed, the two intellectuals both worked to unify the country under the notion of “civilization” that had

defined much of Sarmiento's literary works. As governor, Sarmiento transformed San Juan's educational system. He also revived his periodical *El Zonda* and continued to write.

In 1868, Sarmiento was elected president of Argentina. He inherited a nation at war with PARAGUAY and in the process of major internal transformations. Sarmiento ended the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE and began implementing the liberal philosophies he had initiated in San Juan on a national scale. He overhauled the national education system, building new schools and increasing enrollment exponentially. He also devoted national resources to improving TRANSPORTATION and communications infrastructure. Largely with the aid of British investors, Argentina laid thousands of miles of telegraph cables and rail lines during Sarmiento's presidency. With a growing infrastructure, Sarmiento was also able to promote INDUSTRIALIZATION and economic development. He initiated an immigration campaign in an effort to attract a skilled LABOR force (see MIGRATION). However, instead of attracting large numbers of immigrants from northern and western Europe, as Sarmiento had hoped, his program primarily attracted migrants from southern and eastern Europe. Sarmiento did bring economic growth and progress to Argentina, but many of his policies were unpopular with large segments of the population. His emphasis on modernization and industry was seen by many as an attack on the traditional economic role of the GAUCHO. In 1872, José Hernández (b. 1834–d. 1886) wrote his epic poem about MARTÍN FIERRO as a denunciation of Sarmiento's policies and a celebration of the Argentine gaucho.

Sarmiento served as Argentina's president until 1874. After he left office, he remained active in education and literature. He died on September 11, 1888, in Paraguay.

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Second Republic The Second Republic in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC refers to the period of time following the Spanish reannexation of the country and subsequent reestablishment of Dominican independence in 1865. At the beginning of the Second Republic, local leaders attempted to institute a resolutely democratic tradition, but political infighting resulted in tyranny and dictatorship in the final decades of the century.

Throughout the first half of the 19th century, Santo Domingo struggled to secure independence and stabilize

the island's political and economic systems. After more than two decades of occupation by neighboring HAITI, the former Spanish colony finally became independent in 1844 (see HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO). Leaders wrote a constitution and formally established the nation of the Dominican Republic, but the threat of invasion by Haiti continued. Dominican leader PEDRO SANTANA believed that he could best safeguard national security by inviting the Spanish to reannex the island. In 1861, Spanish forces occupied the nation, making it a protectorate and part of the Spanish Empire once again.

Resistance to the Spanish began almost immediately, and Dominicans fought the WAR OF RESTORATION until occupation forces withdrew in 1865. The removal of the Spanish marked the beginning of the Second Republic. Dominicans wrote a new constitution, and restoration leaders such as GREGORIO LUPERÓN attempted to institute a DEMOCRACY. Nevertheless, the nation's second foray into independence was equally turbulent. Luperón (1879–80) was challenged by longtime CAUDILLO and former Santana rival BUENAVENTURA BÁEZ. Factional rivalry continued to plague the country, leading to the rise of dictator ULISES HEUREAUX (1882–84, 1887–99). Heureaux ruled tyrannically and drove the nation into economic ruin. Because of his mismanagement, U.S. interests increased considerably, setting the stage for decades of conflict and intervention in the 20th century.

See also HISPANIOLA (Vol. II).

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Seven Laws See SIETE LEYES.

sexuality *Sexuality* is a term that describes a person's association with either the male or female gender. It also describes the way individuals relate to and engage in sexual activities. Both aspects of sexuality have played an important role in Latin American history. Individual and societal attitudes toward sexuality evolved significantly after independence and often reflected important social changes that were occurring throughout the region.

During the colonial period in Latin America, sexuality was closely monitored and regulated by the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Religious teachings dictated the types of gender and sexual roles WOMEN and men should play, attempting to establish acceptable behavioral norms for both sexes. Under the colonial Catholic ideal, only married couples were to engage in sexual intercourse and, even then, only

for the purpose of procreation. Women were to strive for chastity and purity by safeguarding their sexual virtue, which was also associated with their FAMILY'S "honor." The religious and social expectations applied to men were more lax. Colonial society accepted that men would engage in sexual pursuits and so often cast a blind eye when men—both married and single—were caught in some sexual transgression.

The rigid assumptions relating to sexuality carried over into the 19th century after independence. But, as forward-looking liberal movements competed with conservative vanguards, sexuality and gender norms were affected. The liberty and equality promised by LIBERALISM inspired some women to challenge the informal system of gender hierarchies left over from the colonial period. New constitutions did not give women equal political rights, but some women found greater freedom to voice their opinions and step outside the strict boundaries that had defined their roles. Peruvian writer and journalist CLORINDA MATTO DE TURNER (1853–1909) published novels and essays advocating greater protections both for women and for the Andean indigenous (see LITERATURE).

The consolidation of liberal rule in many Latin American nations in the last half of the 19th century brought further changes in the regulation of sexuality. Liberalism called for limitations on the authority of the Catholic Church and for the adoption of civil codes in such countries as MEXICO, CHILE, and ARGENTINA with the aim of establishing state control over gender and family issues. Civil codes also established government control over the registration of vital statistics, such as marriages and births, which had long been the purview of the Catholic Church. Many codes transformed family law by changing the age of majority and redefining the legal rights that fathers and husbands held over female family members.

The late 19th century saw a rise in state involvement with sexual health concerns. Positivist governments in Argentina and Mexico, for example, used scientific rationale to pass laws intended to regulate prostitution and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (see POSITIVISM).

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Sierra, Justo (b. 1848–d. 1912) *Mexican writer and liberal intellectual* Justo Sierra was a prominent writer, poet, and historian in MEXICO in the late 19th century. Through his writings and his political activities, Sierra devoted himself to advancing the liberal cause in an era when liberal and conservative ideologies clashed in

Mexico. He is remembered for his literary and historical writings as well as for his career in public service, especially in the field of EDUCATION (see LITERATURE).

Sierra was born in Campeche on January 26, 1848. His father, the famous Mexican novelist Justo Sierra O'Reilly, died in 1861, and the young Sierra moved to MEXICO CITY where he finished his education at the Colegio de San Ildefonso. He completed his law degree in 1871 and began a career as a writer and public servant. Early in his career, he published general histories of Mexico and started work on what would become a classic biography of BENITO JUÁREZ, *Juárez, su obra y su tiempo* (Juárez, his works and his times). He also wrote plays, novels, and poetry.

As a public servant, Sierra served several terms as a congressional deputy and as a Supreme Court justice. In 1902, he became minister of education in PORFIRIO DÍAZ's cabinet, and in that position, his liberal inclinations became particularly prominent. He deviated slightly from the prevailing positivist ideology held by leaders of the PORFIRIATO (see POSITIVISM). Sierra viewed education as the way to build a strong nation and move Mexico along a path of progress.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution, Sierra became ambassador to Spain and relocated to Madrid. He died there on September 13, 1912.

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Siete Leyes (Seven Laws, Siete Leyes Constitucionales)

The Siete Leyes were a series of laws passed by ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA in MEXICO in 1835. They reversed many of the liberal measures contained in the CONSTITUTION OF 1824 and imposed a centralized, conservative form of government.

In 1833, MILITARY leader, CAUDILLO, and liberal supporter Santa Anna was elected president. After only a few months in office, he handed over power to his vice president, VALENTÍN GÓMEZ FARIÁS, who immediately began implementing reforms that threatened conservative interests. Many of these had been introduced in the Constitution of 1824 but had never been fully implemented. Church and military leaders, who stood to lose the most under Gómez Farías's liberal reforms, appealed to Santa Anna to depose his own former vice president and re-form a conservative government. Santa Anna, sensing a need for strong, centralized authority, reversed his earlier politics and obliged. He forced Gómez Farías into exile and took power for himself. Once in office, Santa Anna reversed the liberal reforms of the former administration and attempted to erase the constitutional authority that had made them possible.

In 1835, Santa Anna began working with the now conservative congress to rewrite the foundations for

Mexico's political system. The laws, which are known formally as the Siete Leyes Constitucionales, were promulgated between December 1835 and December 1836. They superseded the Constitution of 1824 and erased Mexico's status as a federal republic. They established a new government system and vested the central executive with extraordinary powers, including the ability to close Congress and restrict the activities of the Supreme Court. The presidential term was extended to eight years. The Siete Leyes called for a bicameral legislature, but the president would have the power to nullify any legislation he deemed a threat to the overall security and well-being of the nation. The laws further limited citizenship and voting rights to educated and wealthy property owners.

One of the most controversial measures in the Siete Leyes was the decree that abolished states and replaced them with departments, subdivided into districts, whose local leaders were appointed by and answered directly to the president. Santa Anna and his supporters viewed Mexico's earlier federalist organization as a weak system that allowed individual states too much autonomy. They hoped to hold the nation together by centralizing authority. The Siete Leyes, however, provoked a major backlash against the national government. Several states rose in rebellion. Texas and the Yucatán officially seceded and declared their independence. As a result of the Siete Leyes, the Mexican government was forced to engage in the TEXAS REVOLUTION, which resulted in the loss of Texas and laid the foundation for the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR. The laws also contributed to the instability and tension that culminated in the CASTE WAR OF THE YUCATÁN.

The Siete Leyes remained in place until new efforts at establishing a constitutional base in Mexico replaced them in 1843. Conflict over CENTRALISM VERSUS FEDERALISM and CONSERVATISM VERSUS LIBERALISM continued throughout most of the 19th century.

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silver Silver is a precious metal found in MEXICO, PERU, CHILE, and BOLIVIA. It can be mined directly or extracted as a by-product in the MINING OF GOLD, COPPER, zinc, and other elements. During the colonial period, the majority of the world's silver came from Mexico and South America. Silver mining declined during the 19th century but remained an important part of the economies of some Latin American countries.

Throughout the colonial period, the mining of silver and other metals for bullion provided the foundation for the economic system of mercantilism under which the Spanish Empire operated. Large quantities of silver were extracted from mines in Central Mexico and the Andean regions of South America. Workers labored

under oppressive conditions, descending into steep and treacherous mining tunnels without safety equipment and with little light. Early mining techniques were rudimentary and dangerous. Mine shafts were narrow, so small adults and even children were preferred as workers. Miners removed ore manually, then climbed out of the shafts with up to 100 pounds (45 kg) of ore on their backs. Processing the ore was equally hazardous, as crushed ore was mixed with poisonous mercury to remove the silver from impure deposits. Mercury mining increased in line with the need to process silver. Throughout the colonial period, the Spanish Crown maintained a monopoly over mining activities in the colonies, reaping the benefit of the rich silver deposits found in the Americas.

During the wars for independence, widespread violence shut down many of the silver mines in Latin America. In the decades immediately following independence, the economies of the new nations struggled to recover from the devastating effects of the wars. Continued instability and political conflicts in many areas kept would-be investors from risking their money in the Latin American silver mining industry.

Relative political stability accompanied the emergence of liberal oligarchic regimes, which actively encouraged investment in mining (see LIBERAL OLIGARCHY). Additionally, new technologies allowed silver to be extracted from lower-quality ore in mines that were previously thought to be depleted. The introduction of dynamite in the late 19th century changed the mining process but also made mine shafts more dangerous for workers. At the same time, the cyanide process, or cyanidation, was introduced as a more efficient way of extracting silver. This process involved dissolving the ore in a highly poisonous chemical solution of sodium cyanide. Because of these developments, countries such as Chile and Mexico experienced a silver boom in the late decades of the 19th century. Silver mining in Mexico declined once again with the onset of the Mexican Revolution in 1910.

See also MINING (Vols. I, II, IV); SILVER (Vol. I, II).

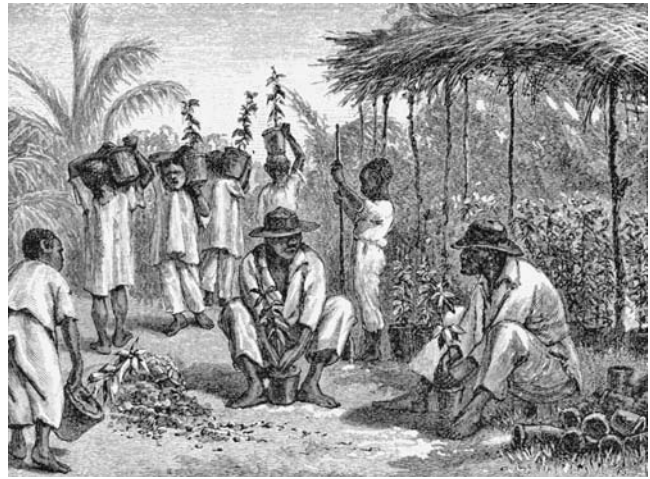
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Sint Maarten See CARIBBEAN, DUTCH.

slavery Slavery is a form of forced LABOR under which workers are purchased and considered the property of their owners. The use of slavery as a labor system dates back to ancient times and became particularly prevalent during the era of European colonialism, from approxi-



African slaves on a Brazilian coffee plantation, circa 1879 (From *Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast: Illustrated from Sketches by J. Wells Champney and Others*, by Herbert H. Smith. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879, p. 516)

mately the 16th to the 19th century. The Portuguese developed a thriving plantation economy in the Canary Islands off the coast of Africa in the 15th century, with planters relying on slave labor to cultivate SUGAR (see AGRICULTURE). Some slavery also existed in Spain, largely as a result of the Reconquista, the name given to the war of reconquest against the Moors. Various forms of slavery were also used by pre-Columbian civilizations throughout Mesoamerica, and South American civilizations used other forms of coerced labor. Slavery was a principal labor system in many regions of Latin America throughout the colonial period. Most of these slaves worked on plantations in the cultivation of agricultural commodities such as sugar and COFFEE. Some urban-based, household slavery existed as well. The institution survived in only a few areas after independence.

SLAVERY DURING THE COLONIAL ERA

Spanish explorers were the first to introduce African slaves to the Americas as part of the settlement of the Caribbean islands in the early 16th century. African slaves provided a reliable labor source after the NATIVE AMERICAN population declined due to disease and maltreatment. Portuguese settlers colonized BRAZIL in the 16th century, and they also relied on African slaves as a main source of labor. Plantation economies emerged in Brazil and along coastal areas of the Spanish mainland in the early years of the colonial period. Slavery began in the BRITISH CARIBBEAN and DUTCH CARIBBEAN colonies in the 17th century, and the forced labor system spread into the Spanish and FRENCH CARIBBEAN in the 18th century.

By the end of the colonial period, African slavery had become a mainstay of plantation economies in Latin America. The economies of Brazil, CUBA, PUERTO RICO, Hispaniola (present-day HAITI and the DOMINICAN

REPUBLIC), Jamaica, and the islands of the Lesser Antilles relied largely on the production of sugar and other agricultural commodities supported by slave labor. Although historical statistics are not precise, estimates indicate that more than 10 million Africans were transported to the Americas and that more than 85 percent of those people were sent to Latin American colonies. Most of these slaves went to work on sugar plantations first in Brazil and then in the Caribbean toward the end of the colonial period. Slavery in Latin America deprived millions of Africans of their freedom. Working conditions were usually cruel and unhealthy, as overseers and plantation owners aimed to keep costs low and profits high. Many workers were injured or killed in common mill accidents. Other suffered from malnutrition and tropical diseases. Dysentery, a preventable dietary disease, was the number-one killer of slaves on Brazilian plantations. Life expectancy averaged only around 23 years, and infant mortality rates were extraordinarily high. Estimates indicate that as many as one-third of all male children born to slaves died before the age of one. Female children suffered a similar fate, although life expectancy was slightly higher.

Throughout the colonial period and into the 19th century, slave owners in most areas of Latin America had few incentives to create a healthier living and working environment for slaves. It was generally more cost effective to purchase new slaves through the Atlantic slave TRADE that continued well into the 19th century than it was to improve living conditions for existing ones. As a result of high mortality rates and a continuous supply of newly imported slaves, slave populations in Brazil and the Spanish Caribbean never reached a point of natural reproduction. Rather, in those areas, they grew as a result of new imports.

Despite the harsh conditions of plantation life, some slaves in Latin America succeeded in advancing within the system. Slaves with several years of experience and a good work record could be promoted to less dangerous tasks that could allow them to develop a set of valuable skills. Slave owners often allowed slaves to hire themselves out for a wage on days off. Those who were able to accumulate savings after many years could purchase their freedom. By the 19th century, Brazil, Haiti, and Cuba all had large free black populations as a result of such practices of manumission.

Slaves also formed families and other kinship networks. Slave marriages were difficult in many locations because male slaves outnumbered female slaves by an average of four to one. Plantation owners often took female slaves into the household as domestic servants and concubines, which further complicated the process of kinship formation. Despite the imbalanced sex ratio and other obstacles, many slaves in Latin America did manage to form families. Some slave owners permitted men and WOMEN to marry slaves on other plantations or to marry free blacks. These arrangements complicated FAMILY life but did allow slaves a greater degree of freedom than

they otherwise would have had. Slaves who married free blacks often benefited from the spouse's ability to earn a wage. Free blacks often worked to purchase the freedom of a spouse and other family members. Children born to a free person and a slave inherited the status of the mother, so that babies born to slave mothers were born into slavery. It was not uncommon for white men to father children with slave women, and other forms of racial miscegenation occurred regularly in Brazil, Haiti, and elsewhere. Racial mixing created a large mulatto class, and many mulattoes became slave owners themselves.

SLAVERY AND INDEPENDENCE

The institution of slavery began to face challenges from abolitionist movements starting in Europe in the late 18th century, many of them tied to Enlightenment ideas. Serious abolitionist movements took root in Great Britain in the 1780s. The Haitian Revolution of 1791 began as a slave rebellion and eventually escalated into a full-scale war for independence. The revolution brought about the abolition of slavery on the island, and the newly independent republic of Haiti was the first nation in the Americas to outlaw slavery completely. The Haitian experience caused concern in slave societies elsewhere in the Americas and had a long-lasting impact throughout Latin America. One of the most immediate consequences was the disruption of the sugar economy in Haiti. Haiti had been one of the largest sugar producers in the world, and the abolition of slavery destroyed its plantation economy. Haiti's withdrawal from the sugar economy decreased the world sugar supply and caused a sharp rise in prices. As a result, the neighboring islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica along with Brazil expanded sugar production, and slave imports into those areas rose precipitously in the first half of the 19th century.

Haiti's independence movement also overturned the racial and social order that had traditionally privileged the white planter elite. Not only did it bring about the abolition of slavery, but the mulatto and colored population on the island pushed for greater rights and equality. By all accounts, colored populations in other regions of the Americas looked to the Haitian experience as a potential model for reform, but attempts to replicate the changes on the former slave island were quickly stymied. Slave societies in the rest of Latin America reacted in the short term by enforcing slave laws more strictly in an attempt to avoid upsetting the local balance of power. Portuguese officials had already cracked down on participants in the Tiradentes Conspiracy in 1789, which represented an early attempt in Brazil to establish a republic. A movement in Bahia in 1798 involved a number of blacks and mulattoes, and the racial tensions underlying that attempted rebellion brought a similarly aggressive reaction. Slave owners and colonial officials were particularly aware of the recent events in Haiti and feared that a slave revolt could take place in Brazil. Those fears partly explain why Brazilian elite did not follow the

same path toward independence as the Spanish colonies. After Napoléon Bonaparte's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1807–08, independence movements erupted throughout the Spanish Empire, and within 15 years, the mainland colonies had broken completely from Spain. The planter elite and other colonial leaders in Brazil feared a major slave uprising if Brazilians challenged the traditional power structure of the Portuguese monarchy. When the Portuguese royal family relocated to RIO DE JANEIRO in 1807, most Brazilians welcomed the continuation of traditional monarchical rule.

The impact of Haitian independence was also evident in the Spanish colonies after Napoléon's invasion of Iberia. In areas with a large indigenous population, the white elite looked back on the Haitian experience as an example of what could happen if the traditional authority figure was removed. Slavery was not widespread in most of the Spanish mainland colonies, but areas such as MEXICO and PERU relied on a large population of Amerindians in a variety of forced labor systems. Elite in those areas feared a major indigenous revolt, and many were reluctant to support independence because of those concerns. Peruvians had already witnessed a major Amerindian uprising in the Túpac Amaru rebellion in the 1780s. Mexico's initial independence movement, led by Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, was perceived by many elite to escalate into a peasant mob in 1810. As a result, independence armies in those areas gained momentum only slowly, while regions without a large concentrated indigenous or black population, such as the Southern Cone, achieved independence earlier.

South American liberator Simón Bolívar traveled to Haiti in 1815 after he was forced to flee VENEZUELA. With royalist forces closing in on his struggling insurgency, Bolívar sought refuge in the Caribbean and was welcomed by Haitian president ALEXANDRE PÉTION (1806–18). Pétion was a mulatto who had participated in the Haitian Revolution. He offered Bolívar logistical and material support in exchange for Bolívar's guarantee that slavery would be abolished in the new nations after independence. Royalist and insurgent armies throughout Latin America attempted to attract recruits by offering freedom to slaves who fought in the independence struggle. Bolívar imposed emancipation decrees in the regions of South America that he liberated in the 1820s. He also attempted to set up local juntas to collect taxes and purchase the freedom of slaves in GRAN COLOMBIA. But, when Bolívar was driven from power in 1830, many areas reverted back to earlier slave-holding practices. Most governments in the other former Spanish colonies passed "laws of free womb," which stipulated that all children born of slaves would be born free. Such laws were intended to allow for the gradual abolition of slavery. Emancipation procedures often set up a period of "apprenticeship" for slaves that extended their service obligations for years or even decades. Full emancipation was not legally established and was not successful in all

of the former Spanish colonies in South America until the 1850s.

ABOLITIONIST PRESSURES

While the wars for independence were being fought in Latin America, abolitionist efforts intensified in Europe. British groups inspired by Enlightenment ideas and religious morality formed abolitionist societies starting in the late 18th century and campaigned the British government to take legal action against slavery and the slave trade. In 1807, the British Parliament passed measures that made it illegal for British citizens to engage in the slave trade. The United States followed suit in 1808, and the British pressed Spain and Portugal to agree to the gradual abolition of the slave trade. But, with the shift in sugar production from Haiti to Brazil and the Spanish Caribbean, demand for labor was great, and even a gradual ban on the slave trade was difficult to enforce. Through its powerful Royal Navy, the British government attempted to enforce a complete ban on the Atlantic slave trade throughout the 19th century.

Legislation in Great Britain in 1833 abolished slavery completely in the British Empire. Slaves in British colonies were granted their freedom, and compensation was paid to slave owners. British abolitionist groups and government leaders then expanded their efforts by pressuring other nations to abolish slavery. The Spanish agreed to abolish the slave trade to its remaining colonies by 1820. The Portuguese had also been in negotiations with the British to end the slave trade, but when Brazil declared independence in 1822, those negotiations shifted to the new Brazilian government. Finally, in exchange for British recognition of its independence, the Brazilian government entered into an agreement in 1826 to end the slave trade by 1830. But, the full ban on the slave trade was also difficult to enforce. Smuggling of slaves continued for several decades while the British Navy attempted to police the Atlantic.

Abolitionists in Europe had hoped that ending the slave trade would eventually lead to the end of slavery in the Americas, but the enormous worldwide demand for sugar, coffee, and other commodities created a need for labor in the plantation economies of the region. Even while the gradual ban of the slave trade went into effect, large numbers of slaves reached Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Brazil, and the slave populations in those regions grew. Cuban smugglers continued to import slaves until the U.S. Navy intervened in the 1860s to enforce the treaties the Spanish had signed in earlier decades to ban the slave trade. Abolitionist groups in Spain gained momentum throughout the decade as liberal leaders put increasing pressure on the government to reform political and social systems. The MORET LAW was passed in 1870 calling for freedom for all slaves born after July 4 of that year and for all slaves over the age of 65. The law also established an apprenticeship system to facilitate the gradual emanci-

pation of all other slaves within the Spanish Empire. The onset of the TEN YEARS' WAR delayed the full enforcement of the Moret Law in Cuba until the 1880s. Complete abolition was finally achieved in 1886.

The British eventually reacted to the Brazilian government's refusal to enforce the ban on the slave trade by blockading several Brazilian ports in 1850. Those external pressures combined with a growing internal abolitionist movement to compel the government to enforce the ban, and slave imports into Brazil ceased in the 1850s. Even though the slave trade came to an end, slavery continued unabated in Brazil for at least another decade. The Brazilian plantation economy shifted to coffee production in the late 19th century, and an internal slave trade evolved to meet the demand for labor. Slaves became more valuable, and urban slavery declined as coffee plantations began to monopolize the labor supply. The internal abolitionist movement strengthened in the 1860s and coincided with pressure by positivist intellectuals to abandon monarchy and establish a republic. In 1871, Brazilian monarch PEDRO II passed the LAW OF THE FREE WOMB, which granted freedom to all children of slaves born after that date. The law was intended to allow for a gradual emancipation process and a transition period for the Brazilian economy. Nevertheless, abolitionist pressures accelerated during the 1880s, and the government eventually abolished the internal slave trade. Incidences of runaways and other forms of slave resistance increased throughout the decade as Ceará became a free state in 1884 and an underground railroad network emerged to help slaves escape to freedom. Higher rates of escape together with large numbers of slaves purchasing their freedom led to a precipitous decline in the total slave population in the last half of the decade. The Brazilian government finally passed a law calling for complete abolition in 1888, making Brazil the last area in the Americas to end slavery (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION IN BRAZIL OF).

Slavery had a lasting effect on Latin America. It created a deeply rooted system of racial inequality, and the transition from slave to free economies created conflicts in many areas that lasted well into the 20th century.

See also ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II); MINEIRO CONSPIRACY (Vol. II); MULATO (Vols. I, II); PLANTATIONS (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II); TÚPAC AMARU II (Vol. II).

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slavery, abolition in Brazil of The abolition of SLAVERY in BRAZIL was a long and gradual process. Brazil's colonial ECONOMY had become reliant on large numbers of slaves to work primarily on SUGAR plantations. As Latin American nations gained independence in the early decades of the 19th century, the former Spanish colonies began abolishing slavery, and most nations had ended the practice by the 1850s. But, Brazil maintained close connections to its colonial past and showed little sign of abandoning slavery.

Abolitionist ideas in Brazil were impeded by the recent history of HAITI, which had initiated its independence from France in 1791 in a protracted and violent war that began as a slave insurrection. Brazilian *fazendeiros*—or the planter class—feared a similar uprising would occur if Brazil broke too abruptly with institutions from the colonial period (see FAZENDA/FAZENDEIRO). Additionally, demand for Brazilian sugar increased substantially in the early decades of the 19th century, as abolition in Haiti had brought about a collapse of that country's sugar production. Brazilian sugar planters had grown reliant on slave LABOR and were reluctant to invest in new technologies to modernize production. The British ended the transatlantic slave TRADE in 1807 and attempted to enforce a ban on slave transports for the next several decades. Bowing to diplomatic pressure from the British and in exchange for recognition of its newly gained independence, the Brazilian government agreed in 1826 to end the importation of slaves by 1830. But, demand for plantation labor continued, creating a black market for slaves, who were smuggled in from Africa for the next two decades. It was not until 1850 that the trade ceased completely.

In the last half of the 19th century, important changes took place in the Brazilian ECONOMY. Agricultural production had shifted away from sugar in the northeast in favor of COFFEE in the south (see AGRICULTURE). Coffee planters were less reliant on slave labor and were more inclined to experiment with new technologies and new labor

sources. Many coffee plantations hired European immigrants, and *fazendeiros* invested in new technologies to reduce the need for manual labor (see MIGRATION). At the same time, an internal abolitionist movement began to surface, led largely by Brazil's LIBERAL PARTY. Opponents of slavery began to pressure the government to adopt policies to allow for the emancipation of Brazil's slave population, which had reached more than 1.5 million. Some of those arguments were made on moral grounds as abolitionists pointed to the cruel and oppressive nature of slavery. Others argued that slavery was an antiquated system that was preventing the nation from achieving modernity. Still others made racial arguments, insisting that ending the practice would create a "whitening" of Brazilian society.

In 1871, the Brazilian legislature passed the LAW OF THE FREE WOMB, which declared that all children born to slave mothers after it went into effect would be free. Since the external slave market had been cut off, lawmakers intended to phase out slavery gradually. Nevertheless, by 1880, intellectuals and liberal politicians had renewed their antislavery agitation. JOAQUIM NABUCO founded the BRAZILIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in 1880, which was devoted to producing antislavery propaganda. Finally, the national legislature passed the Golden Law of 1888, which freed all remaining slaves. Brazil was the last American nation to end slavery.

See also BRAZIL (Vol. II); PLANTATIONS (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II).

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Slum, The (*O Cortiço*) Published in 1890, *The Slum* is considered one of Brazilian writer Aluísio Azevedo's (b. 1857–d. 1913) greatest works. The novel is an example of the modernist and naturalist style in Latin American LITERATURE (see MODERNISM). Set in a slum of RIO DE JANEIRO, it chronicles the plight of a disparate set of characters whose stories come together through poverty, violence, and human tragedy.

Azevedo was a writer, artist, and journalist who lived for years in Rio de Janeiro, where he observed the spirited nature of Brazilian life and used those observations as inspiration in his works. When writing *The Slum*, Azevedo spent time in the many *favelas*, or "shantytowns," that had appeared throughout Rio as a result of industrial expansion and urbanization (see INDUSTRIALIZATION). The slums of Rio de Janeiro often brought together diverse groups of people and provided a fertile landscape for sketching a portrait of BRAZIL'S emerging national character. The novel's characters

represent the rising white sector of Brazilian society, as well as the Afro-Brazilian and the mulatto mixture of races. Azevedo carefully caricatured the European temperament as hardworking, judicious, and upright while portraying "Brazilianness" as carefree, sensual, and idle. The conflicts that arise between the characters are the consequences of poverty, overcrowding, and lawlessness—social problems that resulted from the rapid rate of urban growth in late 19th-century Brazil.

While Azevedo retired from writing shortly after completing *The Slum*, the novel grew in popularity and became a classic representation of social problems and daily life in Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the century.

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Social Darwinism Social Darwinism was a sociological concept that became popular around the world in the late 19th century. It applied Charles Darwin's ideas on biological evolution and natural selection to societies. British intellectual Herbert Spencer (b. 1820–d. 1903) created the term *survival of the fittest* to describe how Darwin's evolutionary theories applied to societies. Spencer is generally considered to be the founder of Social Darwinism. The theory quickly took on racist undertones as a way to offer a biological explanation for why populations of color were frequently in inferior social and economic positions.

Social Darwinism was a favored theory among Latin American positivists in the late decades of the 19th century. Many Latin American leaders ascribed to the theory of POSITIVISM and believed that societies underwent a natural process of deterministic progress from the prehistoric to the scientific. They believed that the elite and educated white population was ready to pass into the final stage of development, while the uneducated, poor, colored population was holding society back. Social Darwinism legitimized some of those theories by suggesting that there was a biological explanation for the apparent inability of the black and indigenous peoples of Latin America to "progress."

Social Darwinism in Latin America in the late 19th century was most evident in areas with large Amerindian populations. Positivist leaders and intellectuals in MEXICO were particularly swayed by the "survival of the fittest" theory. During the dictatorship of PORFIRIO DÍAZ (1876–80, 1884–1911), the *científicos*, or positivist advisers to Díaz, advocated a number of policies aimed at dealing with what they argued was a large and weak indigenous population. The *científicos* wanted to attract foreign investment to speed Mexico's path toward prog-

ress and took steps to hide or disguise Mexican NATIVE AMERICANS who still lived a traditional lifestyle. Porfirian laws prevented the indigenous from entering areas of cities where foreigners were likely to stay. Many cities passed CLOTHING laws requiring the indigenous to wear more “modern”—meaning Western—attire when they were likely to be seen by foreigners.

Científicos' belief in Social Darwinism had an even more nefarious impact as industrialists used the theory to justify the harsh exploitation of the poor working class. In Mexico and elsewhere, attempts to promote rapid INDUSTRIALIZATION and economic growth in the late 19th century often occurred at the expense of the larger populace. Social Darwinism proposed that people who were naturally better suited to “succeed” would move forward and that the success of the more capable would ultimately benefit society as a whole. The theory complemented the popular model of LAISSEZ-FAIRE economics, which allowed market forces to find a natural balance rather than inviting government control over the ECONOMY. As a result, many national leaders paid little attention to working conditions or LABOR exploitation. Some government leaders, such as those in ARGENTINA and URUGUAY, attempted to attract immigrants from Europe to fill the workforce, believing that European workers were naturally more capable than the poor at home (see MIGRATION). Even then, however, the exploitation of workers continued. During a period of impressive economic growth in Latin America, the gap between rich and poor widened.

Social Darwinism also provided a justification for suppressing DEMOCRACY during the era of LIBERAL OLIGARCHY in Latin America. In the early and middle decades of the 19th century, liberal politicians had pushed for political reforms ostensibly designed to provide greater individual freedoms and equality. But, by the late decades of the century, many supposedly liberal leaders were convinced that the majority of people were not yet ready for full democracy. Governments that were nominally liberal—such as the Díaz administration in Mexico—often rose to power claiming to promote democracy but then failed to implement meaningful democratic reform, arguing that the illiterate and rural indigenous populations were unprepared to make responsible political decisions and that democracy would develop as society evolved. Leaders in the Southern Cone looked to EDUCATION and immigration to further progress, while others resorted to repression and tyranny in the interest of maintaining an illusion of stability.

The theory of Social Darwinism also helped justify imperialist tendencies in western Europe and the United States at the end of the 19th century. Social Darwinists believed that people of color in Africa and Latin America had been subjected to colonialism in earlier centuries because they were biologically inferior. As the structures of formal colonialism began to break apart in the 19th century, the British, in particular, aimed to exert a more

informal but equally domineering system of economic and cultural control in many parts of the world. Other European powers followed suit, and an imperialist competition among European powers developed in the second half of the 19th century. European interest in Latin America was primarily economic, although the French attempted to establish an empire in Mexico in the 1860s, and at the same time, the Spanish tried to recolonize the Dominican Republic. In the final decades of the 19th century, the United States also participated in the grab for imperial control in Latin America, with some U.S. leaders rationalizing their policies using notions of biological inferiority. The theory of Social Darwinism began to fall from favor as populist politicians and progressive intellectuals called for a variety of social reforms.

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Solano López, Francisco (b. 1826–d. 1870) *dictator of Paraguay* Francisco Solano López was the leader of PARAGUAY during the disastrous WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE (1865–70) against ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, and URUGUAY. Solano López was known for his irrational and at times delusional behavior, and he is largely blamed for the devastating defeat, which cost Paraguay hundreds of thousands of lives and incalculable destruction of property.

Solano López was born in Asunción on July 24, 1826, the eldest son of dictator CARLOS ANTONIO LÓPEZ (1841–62). The elder López groomed his son to be his successor from a young age. Solano López served in important MILITARY command posts and represented his father's government on diplomatic missions in Europe. While in France, Solano López met Irish courtesan ELISA ALICIA LYNCH, who later joined the political leader in Paraguay as his mistress and first lady. Although they never married, Lynch and Solano López lived together as husband and wife and had numerous children. Lynch benefited enormously from Solano López's power and wealth, amassing a fortune in landholdings, cash, and other valuables.

After his father's death in 1862, Solano López assumed power, as stipulated in the late dictator's will. The Congress elected him president later that year, and Solano López immediately set the nation on a collision course with its powerful neighbors. The Paraguayan dictator hoped to bring his country greatness by expanding its territorial boundaries and securing more reliable access to the sea. He believed that Southern Cone politics had traditionally placed the smaller countries of Paraguay and Uruguay at the mercy of larger nations

such as Brazil and Argentina. In 1864, Brazilian emperor PEDRO II intervened in Uruguayan politics and in 1865 overthrew Atanasio Aguirre (1864–65), member of the BLANCO PARTY and ally to Solano López. The Paraguayan leader reacted by capturing several Brazilian ships and sending an invasion force north into Brazilian territory. As hostilities escalated, Solano López expanded his attack southward, through Argentina and into the Brazilian province of Río Grande do Sul. The presence of Paraguayan forces on Argentine soil prompted that nation's president, BARTOLOMÉ MITRE, to form an alliance with Brazil and with the ruling COLORADO PARTY in Uruguay. The three nations formed the Triple Alliance and prepared for all-out war against the Paraguayan military, which initially far outnumbered the combined forces of the three allied nations.

Solano López's advantage in the War of the Triple Alliance did not last long, however. An early naval victory by the Alliance forces cut off Paraguay's access to outside supplies. His poorly trained army suffered devastating losses, and over the next several years, the arrogant and improvident dictator forced all able-bodied males—some as young as 10 years old—into military service. As the war reached a stalemate, both sides committed shocking atrocities, not the least of which were committed by Solano López himself. Convinced that he was surrounded by conspirators, the dictator ordered the execution of thousands of Paraguayan citizens, including several members of his own family.

By 1869, the tide of the war had turned in favor of the Triple Alliance, and Solano López fled into the jungle, where he continued to wage guerrilla warfare for more than a year. Francisco Solano López was killed on February 14, 1870, after being captured by the Brazilian military.

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Soto, Marco Aurelio (b. 1846–d. 1908) *president of Honduras* Born in Tegucigalpa, Soto studied in HONDURAS and GUATEMALA, earning a law degree in 1866 from the Universidad de San Carlos. Among his fellow students was JUSTO RUFINO BARRIOS, who governed Guatemala from 1873 to 1875. Soto accepted an invitation to join the Barrios administration as secretary of foreign relations and secretary of public education and public worship. The Guatemalan experience sharpened Soto's liberalist views and strengthened his opposition to Honduras's conservative leadership. Aligned with the Liberals, who ousted President Ponciano Leiva (b. 1821–

d. 1896) on February 22, 1876, Soto was appointed provisional president the following August and became constitutional president on May 30, 1877.

Soto's liberal program paralleled that of other Central American liberal leaders at the time. He supported the expansion of telegraph lines across the country and founded the national mint (Casa de Moneda), which also performed the functions of a national bank. He established Tegucigalpa as the permanent national capital, created a national postal service, directed the construction of a national library, and instituted free public EDUCATION. In keeping with the liberal platform, Soto separated the MILITARY from national politics. He ensured that a clearly defined military institution remained, under the control of civilian political leaders. These and other liberal ideas found expression in the 1880 constitution. While the upper and middle classes benefited, however, this was at the expense of lower socioeconomic groups, which remained poor, uneducated, and outside the political arena.

Soto also opened the country's doors to foreign investment, particularly in the banana and MINING sectors. The former took root along the Honduran north coast, where the Vacarro brothers and Tropical and Standard Fruit Company commenced operations, although not until the 20th century would the exportation of bananas become a mainstay of the Honduran ECONOMY. Soto placed new emphasis on SILVER mining. The U.S.-based ROSARIO MINING COMPANY was among those that benefited from the various laws passed to foster their development.

In 1883, two years following his reelection as president, the Soto-Barrios connection splintered as the latter sought to revive the Central American federation with himself at the head. Soto openly opposed the union and through a series of pamphlets, attacked Barrios for attempting to revive the Central American union. Under pressure from Barrios and other unionist supporters, Soto resigned the presidency on October 15, 1883, and was replaced by another liberal, Luis Bográn Barahona (b. 1849–d. 1895).

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Soulouque, Faustin (Faustin I) (b. 1782–d. 1867) *president and emperor of Haiti* Faustin Soulouque was born a slave in Petit-Goâve in 1782. He was freed by his owner, French abolitionist Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, in 1793. Soulouque became a career MILITARY officer and fought in the Haitian Revolution. He advanced in the Haitian army to the rank of lieutenant general and was named supreme commander of the presidential guards under President Jean-Baptiste Riché (1846–47).

After Riché's death, Soulouque was elected president in 1847 by HAITI's mulatto elite, who believed him to be

weak and malleable. At first, he appeared a good choice, preserving the bulk of the Riché cabinet and carrying out their will. Soulouque waited until the appropriate time to assert his power. In the meantime, he covertly built a paramilitary gang, the *zinglins*, which he then used as both secret police and a personal army to purge the military and legislature of mulatto control.

In 1849, Soulouque proclaimed himself Faustin I, emperor of Haiti. Concerned with national security and the unification of the island of Hispaniola, he made several failed attempts to take control of SANTO DOMINGO. These military failures undermined his power, which allowed a conspiracy led by General FABRE-NICHOLAS GEFFRARD to force him to abdicate on January 15, 1859. Soulouque and his family went into exile in Jamaica. In 1867, Soulouque returned to Haiti, where he died on August 6. He was buried at Fort Soulouque.

Soulouque is believed to be the second-strongest ruler in Haiti after JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES (1804–06) and the “model” for the 20th-century dictator François Duvalier.

See also DUVALIER, FRANÇOIS (Vol. IV).

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Spanish–American War See WAR OF 1898.

sports and recreation Recreational activities have long been an important part of Latin American culture. The types of activities that people engage in often reveal important distinctions of ethnicity and social class. The elite had more opportunities, money, and leisure time to allow them to participate in sports and recreational activities. Particularly as organized sports developed in the late 19th century, the ability to enjoy those activities was almost exclusively limited to the elite. But, the urban poor and rural peasantry created their own systems of recreation. From informal sports to public festivals, a variety of recreational activities had emerged throughout Latin American society by the end of the 19th century.

Organized sports and recreation tend to develop in stable and prosperous societies. Participating in sports requires physical strength that may be in short supply for people who engage in arduous manual LABOR. Organized sporting activities also require disposable income to cover the cost of special equipment for participants and to pay the cost of admission for observers. The civil wars and political strife that plagued new nations in Latin America



Nicaraguan peasants enjoy a Sunday afternoon cockfight, circa 1902. (*Library of Congress*)

throughout the first half of the 19th century prevented the development of formal, professional sports. But, the political stability created after the consolidation of liberal oligarchies in the late decades of the century was often accompanied by the emergence of new sports and recreation activities.

During the PORFIRIATO, Mexican elite embraced cycling as a healthful and enjoyable form of transportation, especially in the nation’s growing cities. Bicycles were imported from Europe and the United States starting in 1869 and quickly became a symbol of modernization and sophistication. Avid cyclists organized formal clubs and regular competitions were taking place by the 1880s. Mexican elite also enjoyed a variety of other recreational activities imported from abroad during this time. One such activity was horse racing, which Mexican elites watched regularly in the capital city in the late decades of the 19th century. In 1881, the Jockey Club was formed as a meeting place for Mexico City’s wealthy citizens.

The trends surrounding bicycling and other activities in MEXICO coincided with positivist social theories that influenced Latin American leaders in the 1880s and 1890s (see POSITIVISM). Many Latin Americans viewed Europe and the United States as world leaders in achieving modernity and progress. Emulating leisure activities from those regions became a way to try to force foreign definitions of progress on to Latin America. Elite leaders also tried to limit recreational activities that were not considered “modern.” Bullfighting—a traditional and ritualistic sport originally imported from Spain and enjoyed for centuries in Mexico—remained popular with both the elite and the larger populace throughout most

of the 19th century. But, the administration of PORFIRIO DÍAZ attempted to pass regulations prohibiting bullfights in areas of the country frequented by foreigners. Those attempts were motivated by concerns that foreign visitors would find the practice barbaric and backward.

Baseball was also introduced in many areas of Latin America in the late 19th century. It quickly grew in popularity, particularly in regions in close contact with the United States. The sport appeared in Mexico, CENTRAL AMERICA, and the Caribbean in the final decades of the century. Baseball attracted fans from all socioeconomic levels, but the way that different sectors of society participated in the sport varied. Many poor urban workers played “street ball,” which required only the most basic equipment. Players used makeshift balls and bats, and pickup games did not require large spaces in the increasingly crowded streets of Latin America’s growing cities. Formal baseball clubs emerged as a precursor to the professional and semiprofessional leagues that developed in the 20th century.

The end of the 19th century also saw the initial introduction of soccer, or *fútbol*, by the British. The sport became enormously popular throughout Latin America within a few short decades. Soccer evolved in a similar way as baseball, with people in cities playing informal street games for recreation and more formal professional leagues emerging as well. Soccer is one of the most important sports in Latin America. It enjoys a stronger monopoly in South America, while in Central America and the Caribbean it competes with baseball.

In addition to sports, other recreational activities grew in popularity in Latin America throughout the 19th century. Public festivals have long been an important cultural expression in the region. Many of those festivals commemorate religious holidays, and they vary from one small village to the next. Festivals bring local communities together and help instill a common sense of identity. Some of the common public festivals in 19th-century Latin America include local saints’ days, pre-Lenten carnival celebrations, and Good Friday Judas burnings.

See also SPORTS AND RECREATION (Vols. II, IV).

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Squier, Ephraim George (b. 1821–d. 1888) *U.S. journalist and diplomat in Central America* Appointed chargé d’affaires to CENTRAL AMERICA in April 1849 by the Zachary Taylor administration, Squier arrived in León, NICARAGUA, in June 1849, immediately after

his predecessor, ELIJAH HISE, completed a treaty with Nicaragua. Because Hise no longer officially represented the United States at the time, Squier had reason to negotiate a new agreement. Save for two important exceptions, the Squier Treaty differed little from that of his predecessor. Under the Squier Treaty the United States would defend the route but not Nicaragua’s territorial integrity should concessions be granted for an interoceanic canal, and if granted, the concessions would go to a U.S. company (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). Squier also negotiated an agreement that provided for Cornelius Vanderbilt’s ACCESSORY TRANSIT COMPANY to construct a river-lake-road transit route connecting Nicaragua’s Caribbean and Pacific coasts. While the Nicaraguans were pleased with both proposed agreements because they checked British advances on their territory, the Costa Ricans and Guatemalans, both friendlier toward Britain, were not.

From Nicaragua, Squier moved on to HONDURAS, where he persuaded the government to cede to the United States Tigre Island in the Gulf of Fonseca, which had long been considered the obvious western terminus of a Nicaraguan canal. The cessation so infuriated the British minister to Central America, Frederick Chatfield, that he ordered a British naval ship into the gulf. Cooler heads prevailed in Washington, D.C., and London. The Squier Treaty arrived in Washington in October 1849, one month after Secretary of State John M. Clayton (b. 1796–d. 1856) commenced negotiations with the British minister, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, which resulted in an 1850 treaty that temporarily neutralized both countries’ interests in Central America (see CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY).

Squier remained in Honduras for several years, during which time he wrote extensively about the region and was a partner in the failed effort to build a railroad across the country.

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Stephens, John Lloyd (b. 1805–d. 1852) *U.S. author, explorer, and diplomat to Central America* An outstanding student, Stephens graduated first in his class from Columbia University at age 17. After practicing law in New York City for two years, Stephens embarked on an eight-year tour of Europe and the Levant region, about which he authored several popular books. On his return to the United States,

Stephens became interested in the indigenous civilizations of Mesoamerica, leading him to seek and gain appointment as minister to the UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA in 1839. He arrived in Guatemala City to find the federation had already collapsed. Stephens, along with architect and draftsman Frederick Catherwood (b. 1799–d. 1854), then embarked on a four-year investigative tour of several Maya cities, including Copán, Palenque, and Uxmal. Stephens's descriptions and Catherwood's etchings became *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatán*, first published in 1841 and reprinted several times in the 20th century.

Subsequently, Stephens assisted William H. Aspinwall in securing a concession from COLOMBIA for the construction of a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama and served as vice president and president of the PANAMA RAILROAD COMPANY, from 1849 until his death in 1852 (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS).

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Sucre, Antonio José de (b. 1795–d. 1830) *independence leader and president of Bolivia* Antonio José de Sucre was an independence leader in South America who worked closely with Simón Bolívar to liberate present-day VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, PERU, and BOLIVIA. He served as president of Bolivia and worked to maintain unity among the former Spanish colonies. He is revered today in many South American countries as one of the great heroes of independence.

Sucre was born on February 3, 1795, in Cumaná, New Granada (part of present-day Venezuela). Sucre came from a FAMILY with a long tradition of MILITARY service, and at the age of 15, he joined the Venezuelan independence movement of Francisco de Miranda (b. 1750–d. 1816). Even as the liberation movement struggled in its early years, Sucre made a name for himself helping to keep the movement alive. In 1818, Sucre joined Bolívar's forces in Angostura, and the two remained close allies throughout the rest of the independence struggle. In 1820, Bolívar promoted him to the rank of general, and Sucre led forces to GUAYAQUIL and QUITO to liberate present-day ECUADOR. After Bolívar joined forces with Argentine liberator José de San Martín (b. 1778–d. 1850), Sucre aided in the independence movement in Lower Peru (Peru) and Upper Peru (Bolivia), also known as Charcas. In 1824, he participated in the Battle of Junín and commanded liberation forces in the Battle of Ayacucho to oust the final holdouts of royalist forces from Peru.

Bolívar left his ally in charge of newly independent Upper Peru, and in 1825, Sucre convened a constituent assembly to determine the future of the region. Delegates voted to form an autonomous nation and signed a declaration of independence stipulating that the new nation was to be named the Republic of Bolivia in honor of the Liberator. The assembly selected Bolívar to serve as president, but in 1826, he stepped down in favor of Sucre. Later that year, Sucre promulgated the BOLIVARIAN CONSTITUTION and was elected the nation's first constitutional president.

Sucre's presidency was marked by turmoil and instability. The independence leader attempted to impose a number of liberal reforms such as expropriating church properties and abolishing the Amerindian tribute tax. Sucre's social reforms outraged local elite, and opposition to his government began to mount. To make matters worse, the country, which had been plagued by 15 years of war, showed no signs of economic recovery. Sucre faced numerous uprisings within his own army throughout 1827 and into 1828. Finally, Peruvian general AGUSTÍN GAMARRA invaded Bolivia, and Sucre resigned on July 6, 1828.

After resigning the presidency, Sucre retired to Ecuador, but he returned to Bolívar's aid in 1829 to defend GRAN COLOMBIA from an invading force led by General Gamarra. He spent his final months trying to negotiate a compromise to keep Gran Colombia from disbanding. Sucre was assassinated on June 4, 1830, ostensibly on the orders of future president of New Granada (Colombia) José María Obando (b. 1795–d. 1861).



Portrait of Antonio José de Sucre, hero of independence in Bolivia, and the country's first president (Private collection)

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); MIRANDA, FRANCISCO DE (Vol. II); NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ DE (Vol. II).

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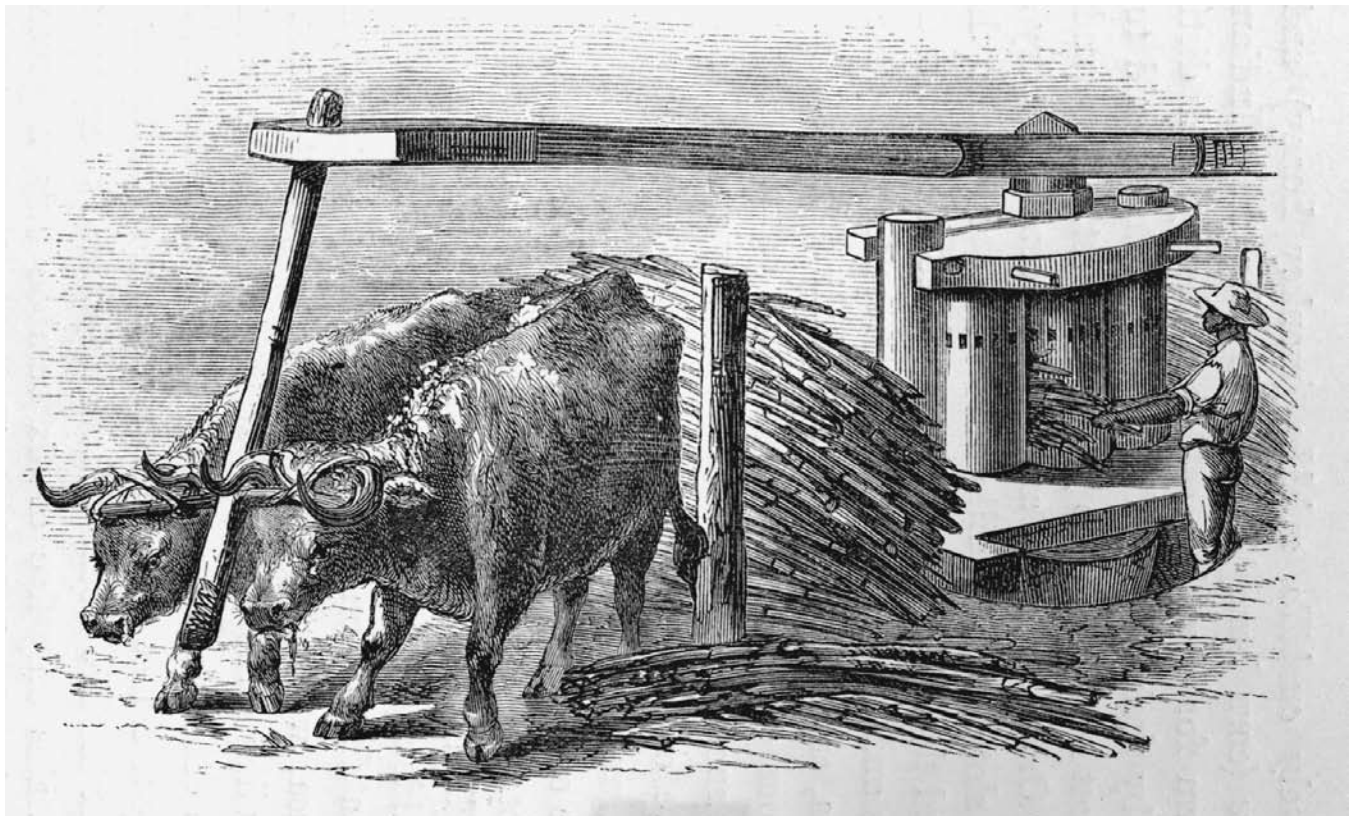
sugar Sugar is a sweetening substance made from sugarcane and sugar beets. The cultivation of sugarcane originated in India and quickly spread throughout Asia and the Middle East. By the 15th century, the Spanish were cultivating sugarcane on the Canary Islands, and the profits created by the crop convinced agricultural entrepreneurs to expand production to the Americas.

The Portuguese soon discovered that the tropical climate of BRAZIL was ideally suited to sugarcane. In the 16th century, Portuguese planters developed a sugar plantation ECONOMY in Brazil. To fill the demand for manual laborers on the plantations, a transatlantic slave TRADE evolved, and Brazil quickly became the largest importer of African slaves in the early colonial period. By the 18th century, sugar cultivation had taken off in Caribbean colonies such as the British West Indies, Saint Domingue,

and CUBA, as well as in coastal regions of the mainland (see CARIBBEAN, BRITISH; HAITI). The development of a sugar economy helped to create a land-owning elite who wielded enormous influence in the British, French, and Spanish Caribbean and Brazil (see CARIBBEAN, FRENCH). In all of those areas, the labor-intensive sugar industry relied heavily on African slaves to plant, cultivate, and process sugarcane. In later years, sugar mill operations became more automated, but the production of sugar continued to rely on a large supply of manual LABOR. In much of Latin America, sugar plantation AGRICULTURE became synonymous with SLAVERY.

Throughout the 19th century, the Brazilian economy moved away from sugar cultivation in favor of COFFEE production. After the British abolished slavery in their Caribbean colonies in 1833, those economies also shifted away from their heavy reliance on sugar. Haitian independence and the subsequent abolition of slavery on the island of Hispaniola led to a precipitous decline in sugar exports in an economy that had previously been dominated by sugar cultivation. As a result of these factors, Latin American sugar production in the 19th century shifted to the remaining Spanish Caribbean colonies of Cuba and PUERTO RICO.

Although the Spanish were negotiating with the British to end the slave trade to the Americas, the emerging and powerful planter elite on the island of Cuba suc-



Drawing of an animal-driven sugar mill in Brazil, circa 1870 (From *The Andes and the Amazon or Across the Continent of South America*, by James Orton. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1870, p. 63)

ceeded in guaranteeing a continued supply of slave labor. Cuba saw a more than fourfold increase in its slave population between 1800 and 1860 as the Spanish resisted pressure by the British to end the slave trade. During the same period, the United States emerged as the primary market for Cuban sugar, and U.S. interest in the island grew as well. Southerners in the United States began to advocate annexing Cuba to tip the balance of influence in favor of slave states over free states. U.S. investors bankrolled a number of technological improvements in the Cuban sugar industry, and by the end of the century, many U.S. interests were strongly tied to the island's economy. Those connections to Cuban sugar compelled many Americans to support the Cuban independence movement, which had been gaining momentum in the late decades of the 19th century. Cuban sugar eventually played a role in pulling the United States into the WAR OF 1898, which secured Cuban independence from Spain and situated Cuba firmly under informal U.S. imperialism in the 20th century.

See also PLANTATIONS (Vol. II); SUGAR (Vols. I, II).

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Suriname (Dutch Guiana) Suriname is a former Dutch colony located along the northeastern coast of South America. Until the 20th century, Suriname was more commonly known as Dutch Guiana. It is bordered by FRENCH GUIANA to the east, BRAZIL to the south, and GUYANA to the west. Suriname is a small country, encompassing less than 65,000 square miles (168,349 km²). Historically, it was a plantation ECONOMY, producing primarily SUGAR and COFFEE, with a large slave population.

The northern region of South America that is home to Suriname and the other Guianas was originally inhabited by small groups of NATIVE AMERICANS. The indigenous population successfully held off the earliest Spanish and Portuguese explorations and foiled attempts by other European expeditions to establish viable permanent settlements. Colonization of the region began in the 17th century by the English and the Dutch. In 1667, England ceded the small territory to Dutch control in the Treaty of Breda. Dutch settlers established a thriving plantation economy, relying largely on African SLAVERY in the labor-intensive cultivation of sugar, COTTON, coffee, and other commodity products. The small Dutch colony

had a slave population of roughly 30,000 by the 1670s, and that population had more than doubled by the end of the 18th century. Suriname became the main hub of other Dutch colonies in the Caribbean (see CARIBBEAN, DUTCH). A small white planter population attempted to control a population that was more than 75 percent slave. There were few urban centers, and most settlements were clustered along the coast.

Suriname's large slave population and the colony's interior of dense and unsettled jungle meant that slave rebellions and isolated escapes were relatively common. Suriname's interior was home to maroon communities of escaped slaves by the beginning of the 19th century. Thousands of escaped slaves populated large maroon communities, and Dutch authorities were forced to reach formal peace accords with the communities after failing to bring them under control. According to the terms of the treaties, the maroon communities isolated themselves and closed off access to new arrivals of escaped slaves. In the early decades of the 19th century, their numbers grew from approximately 6,000 to more than 8,000 by the 1840s.

Suriname saw a short-term increase in export agricultural production from sugar and coffee plantations after Haitian independence resulted in the abolition of slavery in the former French colony (see HAITI). But, the escalating demand for sugar did not sustain the Dutch colonial plantation system for long. The Dutch abolished the transatlantic slave TRADE in 1814, and Suriname's slave population declined sharply over the coming decades. Dutch planters attempted to make the transition to wage LABOR. Colonial officials sought to incorporate the maroon communities into the mainstream wage-earning population, and there were some attempts to attract low-wage immigrant workers from other regions of the Americas. The Dutch government made the revitalization of Suriname and the other Dutch Caribbean colonies a priority, and for several decades, colonial officials attempted several schemes to overcome the impending economic decline. In 1828, the Dutch Crown reorganized the administrative system in the Americas and placed Suriname and the Dutch islands under one governing unit. Suriname became the capital of all the Dutch colonies in the Americas, but that power shift caused more problems than it solved. Communication and TRANSPORTATION were slow and cumbersome between Suriname and Curaçao, the main Dutch island colony. Furthermore, the economies of the two regions were vastly different, and the colonial government had a difficult time devising laws that met the needs of both areas. The Dutch government also devised a policy that encouraged MIGRATION from the Netherlands to Suriname. The plan attracted only a few hundred immigrants, most of whom did not find the South American tropics to their liking.

The abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834 had significant repercussions in Suriname, as did

the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. British Guyana to the west and French Guiana (Cayenne) to the east provided havens for escaped Surinamese slaves. Facing a dwindling slave population and under increasing pressure from international abolitionist movements, the Dutch government looked for ways to emancipate slaves in the Dutch colonies without disrupting the local economies. Colonial officials also feared alienating the elite planter class in Suriname. Nevertheless, the Surinamese governor pushed for a series of laws in 1851 to regulate the treatment of slaves in the colonies. Abolitionist pressure continued until the Dutch abolished slavery completely in 1863. After a brief period of apprenticeship, many former slaves abandoned plantation labor altogether. The plantation economy fell into decline, and many planters sold off their properties, believing the Surinamese economy was irreparably damaged. In the final decades of the 19th century, the Dutch followed the lead of other Latin American nations and instituted a system of indentured servitude to maintain an agricultural workforce on its once-thriving plantations. In 1870, the Dutch entered into an agreement with the British that allowed for the migration of Hindustani from the British colony in India. Generally, Indian immigrants entered into five-year contracts in exchange for TRANSPORTATION to the Americas plus medical care and a wage once they arrived. More than 30,000 Indians migrated to Suriname under this agreement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Many of them stayed after their tenure of service expired, and the descendants of Indian Hindus have become an important part of the demographic makeup of present-day Suriname.

For their part, former slaves often relocated to the cities to look for wage labor. The Surinamese capital city of Paramaribo experienced a period of population growth as it absorbed the majority of former slaves who wanted to leave the countryside. Some former slaves remained in rural areas and became small-scale farmers. By the end of the 19th century, plantation crops were being replaced by the production of tropical fruits and other agricultural activities. The colony also experienced an increase in the MINING of GOLD and other minerals. Suriname's present-day economic activities continue to reflect the changes that took root in the late 19th century.

See also PLANTATIONS (Vol. II); SURINAME (Vols. II, IV).

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Syllabus of Errors Syllabus of Errors was an addendum to the papal encyclical *Quanta Cura* issued by Pope Pius IX on December 8, 1864. The Syllabus of Errors contained a condemnation of 80 ideas that were

contrary to the teachings of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. It was issued largely as a reaction to conflicts that had been emerging throughout the 19th century between the Catholic Church and liberals. In Latin America, liberal policies had aggressively challenged the traditional power and influence of the church. The Syllabus of Errors was embraced by conservative elite, while many liberals pointed to its pronouncements as further justification for their anticlerical stance.

Throughout the colonial period, the Catholic Church had held considerable power through its vast economic holdings and its political influence with the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns. After independence, liberal leaders throughout Latin America sought to curb the power of the church as part of a broader plan to lay the foundation for modern, sovereign nations. The conservative elite, favoring traditional ways and wanting to safeguard the power of the church, challenged liberal movements, and decades of civil wars and other internal strife ensued (see CONSERVATISM). By the middle of the 19th century, liberal governments had consolidated power in much of Latin America. They introduced reforms that were often inspired by liberal movements in 19th-century Europe, divesting the church of its landholdings and eliminating its influence in the political system. As a result, the Catholic Church found itself in a substantially weakened position both in Latin America and around the world. In response, Pius IX published the Syllabus of Errors.

Many of the theories that sparked the Enlightenment and POSITIVISM came under fire in the Syllabus of Errors. Pius IX denounced the notion that human reason, not God, is the source of truth and knowledge. He also rejected claims that any RELIGION can provide a path to salvation and that Protestantism was equal to Catholicism. Numerous liberal tenets advocating the separation of church and state came under fire in the document, as did liberal arguments for dismantling of church properties.

The Syllabus of Errors epitomized the rancorous debate between liberal intellectuals and the Catholic Church that was prevalent not only in Latin America but around the world in the 19th century. By the end of the century, the liberal position had become entrenched throughout most of Latin America, and the Catholic response changed accordingly. In 1891, Pope Leo XIII issued his *RERUM NOVARUM*, which took a different approach to combating LIBERALISM. Instead of denouncing the philosophies that had transformed social and economic interaction, Leo XIII presented the Catholic Church as the defender of the poor and others believed to be harmed by liberal policies.

See also ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II).

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Ten Years' War (1868–1878) The Ten Years' War was CUBA's first major independence movement. The war was initiated by CARLOS MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES and lasted from 1868 to 1878. The main objectives of Céspedes and other leaders were to achieve complete independence from Spain and to end SLAVERY in Cuba. Even though the war failed to achieve those aims, the fact that the war attracted so many supporters indicated that many of the island's inhabitants were ready to challenge Spanish authority. A number of participants in the Ten Years' War went on to lead Cuba in the subsequent independence movement that culminated in U.S. intervention, in the WAR OF 1898.

The causes of the Ten Years' War are varied and complex. Cuba had been a Spanish colony for more than 300 years and had silently witnessed the empire's mainland colonies fight wars of independence between 1810 and 1820. The island's lucrative SUGAR industry and its reliance on slave LABOR convinced many of the white planter elite that it was in their best interest to remain loyal to Spain. Elite creoles, however, resented the autocratic nature of Spanish rule, which enforced a system of social inequality among Spanish and Cuban whites. Cubans also began to demand greater political participation in Spain's relatively closed system. Tensions mounted around these issues throughout the middle decades of the 19th century.

By the 1860s, new economic strains were visible among some of the planter class. Larger and wealthier plantations had been able to afford to continue purchasing slaves, even though the slave TRADE had been officially prohibited since 1817. The larger planters also had invested in new technologies that modernized sugar production. Those advantages allowed the wealthier

est planters to profit even more in the booming sugar ECONOMY. Smaller and poorer plantations had fallen behind, and some began considering rebellion as a way to position themselves better. Some sought to take over the lands of the wealthier planters, while others envisioned transforming the socioeconomic and labor system completely.

Céspedes was one of these planters struggling on a smaller and less profitable plantation located in the eastern provinces of the island. On October 10, 1868, Céspedes proclaimed his GRITO DE YARA, with a litany of grievances against the Spanish Crown. Céspedes called for Cuban independence and an end to slavery and freed all of his own slaves to make up a fighting force. Within a month, dozens of planters in the region had joined the revolt, and the rebel army had grown to more than 10,000. The movement quickly gained momentum, and by the end of the first year, Céspedes was leading a revolutionary government based in the eastern provinces. Céspedes's insistence on ending slavery caused some dissent among the planter leadership, many of whom wanted independence but pushed for maintaining the traditional labor system. Rivals overthrew Céspedes in 1873, and leadership passed to Salvador Cisneros Betancourt (b. 1828–d. 1914).

The rebellion experienced impressive success in the early years of the war, and a number of local heroes rose to prominence as leaders of the movement. ANTONIO MACEO, a mulatto farmer-turned-soldier, rose from the rank of private to lead the revolutionary force. Maceo was known for his bravery and discipline on the battlefield and earned the nickname "Titan of Bronze." Despite the revolutionaries' successes, most of the fighting was restricted to the eastern portion of the island, and rebel armies relied primarily on guerrilla tactics.

After 10 years, the war reached a stalemate. In February 1878, the *TREATY OF ZANJÓN* called for a cease-fire and offered amnesty to all rebels who agreed to lay down their arms. The treaty also granted freedom to slaves who had fought in the conflict but did not end the institution of slavery on the island. Maceo rejected the treaty and fled to New York, where he attempted to resurrect the independence movement. One year later, he returned to Cuba and attempted to incite a new revolt. That effort failed miserably, and Maceo once again fled into exile to bide his time until Cubans were ready to embrace another war for independence. Maceo resurfaced in 1895 as one of the dominant leaders in Cuba's later independence movement.

The Ten Years' War came to an end in 1878, but its consequences could be felt for years afterward. The conflict had made it clear that many on the island wanted an end to slavery. By 1880, the Spanish government was forced to introduce new laws to phase out slavery over the next six years. The war had also created an economic crisis on the island, which was exacerbated by a decline in the world sugar market in the 1880s. The Spanish government faced growing challenges in Cuba, and a new independence movement would surface just 15 years later.

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Terrazas family The Terrazas were a wealthy land-owning FAMILY led by patriarch Luis Terrazas Fuentes (b. 1829–d. 1923) in northern MEXICO. Terrazas became governor of the state of Chihuahua in 1860, and through his relationship with PORFIRIO DÍAZ, the family's influence and wealth grew significantly during the PORFIRIATO. With the marriage of one of Terrazas's daughters to Enrique Creel, the son of a U.S. diplomat and landowner, the newly formed Terrazas-Creel clan eventually owned most of the arable land in Chihuahua. The family came to represent the abuses, corruption, and unequal distribution of wealth that defined the Porfiriato.

Luis Terrazas began building his landed empire when he took over the estate of a French sympathizer after the defeat of Maximilian and the end of the FRENCH INTERVENTION in 1867. He continued his political career, serving several times as governor over the following decades, while at the same time continuing to increase his landholdings, eventually acquiring more than 50 haciendas. In 1880, Terrazas married his daughter Angela to

Creel, who was building his own career as a landowner and industrialist. The marriage was characteristic of the way the Terrazas family expanded its own reach by conjoining with other wealthy and influential families.

Terrazas and Creel partnered in many business ventures and took advantage of land laws and other policies of the Porfiriato to build the family empire. Together, they owned more than 8.7 million acres (3.5 million ha) of agricultural land in Chihuahua (see AGRICULTURE; *LATIFUNDIO*). They also became involved in the growing industrial sector by buying into textile and FOOD plants and investing in infrastructure development (see INDUSTRIALIZATION).

Revolutionary hero Francisco Villa targeted the landholdings of the Terrazas-Creel clan in early cattle rustling, before the outbreak of revolution. During the Mexican Revolution, Villa confiscated property from the Terrazas family and other elites to finance his operations. Today descendants of the Terrazas-Creel clan are active in business and politics and hold many influential positions in the national government.

See also MEXICAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV); VILLA, FRANCISCO (Vol. IV).

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Texas revolution (Texas war of independence)

(1835–1836) The Texas revolution began in 1835 and lasted for more than a year as U.S. settlers in Texas fought to secede from MEXICO. Texas had been a province in colonial Mexico when Spain ruled the empire. It was only sparsely populated until entrepreneur Moses Austin (b. 1761–d. 1821) and his son Stephen F. Austin (b. 1793–d. 1836) negotiated a deal with the Spanish Crown to allow 300 U.S. families to settle in the area in 1819. At the same time, Mexico was waging its war of independence from Spain, and by 1821, Stephen Austin was forced to renegotiate with the newly independent nation's government. The provisions of these early land grant arrangements included stipulations that required all settlers to convert to Catholicism and become Mexican citizens (including learning Spanish and adopting Spanish surnames). U.S. settlers in Texas were also subject to Mexican laws, such as the abolition of SLAVERY. Amid the near-constant political turmoil in Mexico's early years of independence, many of these provisions were not fully enforced. As Mexican leaders established a republic under the CONSTITUTION OF 1824, Texas became part of the larger state of Coahuila y Tejas.

Austin received permission to bring an additional 900 families into the region between 1824 and 1828. Along with these legal settlers, other migrants without

government approval trickled into Texas (see MIGRATION). With growing numbers of Americans moving there, U.S. presidents John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson attempted to purchase Texas from Mexico in 1827 and 1829, respectively. It was becoming increasingly evident that American settlers were beginning to dominate the region and that the U.S. government was keenly interested in acquiring the territory. Mexican leaders tried to curb those trends by passing the Bustamante Decree in 1830. The laws revoked certain settlement grants and imposed measures to encourage Mexican families to migrate to the region. The decree also imposed TRADE restrictions and new systems of taxation. The Mexican MILITARY presence in Texas also increased. Although the laws were repealed a short time later, they are credited with having provoked the discontent that eventually triggered the move for Texan independence.

Signs of dissatisfaction were present among Texans throughout the 1820s and early 1830s, but revolt was improbable until 1833 when ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA

ANNA—who had been elected as a liberal president in favor of a federalist political system—abruptly changed his political position and imposed a highly centralized dictatorship. Santa Anna rejected Austin's request to make Texas a state, separate from Coahuila. A short time later, Santa Anna had Austin imprisoned on suspicion of subversion. The dictator abolished the Constitution of 1824 and replaced it with his SIETE LEYES (Seven Laws) in 1835. Among other things, the new series of laws dissolved state legislatures, disbanded state militias, and even replaced states with departments under strict control of the dictator.

Several Mexican states rebelled in response to the Siete Leyes, and Santa Anna saw the need to deter further unrest by putting down those revolts aggressively. The large Anglo population in Texas made it an easy target for his harsh discipline. War officially broke out when a group of Texas militia fired on a contingent of Mexican military that had been sent to retrieve a canon. Austin, Sam Houston (b. 1793–d. 1863), and other Texas leaders



Artist's rendition of the 1836 Battle of the Alamo, when Mexican forces defeated Texan revolutionaries (*Library of Congress*)

put together a provisional government and a strategy for escalating the war.

Santa Anna led an army of 6,000 to put down the insurgency in Texas. His forces took a strong stand at San Antonio de B́exar (present-day San Antonio) in an offensive aimed at retaking the Alamo fortress, which had been lost to the rebels. In March 1836, Santa Anna surrounded and sealed off the Alamo in a siege that lasted nearly two weeks. In the end, all Texan defenders of the Alamo were killed, including Jim Bowie, William Barret Travis, and Davy Crockett. The provisional government had refrained from sending reinforcements to help the defenders, seeing little strategic value in the fortress. Nevertheless, the men's heroic efforts became a rallying cry for later battles. On March 2, while the Alamo lay under siege, the Texas provisional government signed the Texas Declaration of Independence.

After his victory at San Antonio de B́exar, Santa Anna divided his troops into small, mobile units in an aggressive campaign to put down the rebellion. His army retook Goliad and enjoyed several other victories, while the rebels, under the leadership of Houston, found themselves on the defensive. In April 1836, Santa Anna aimed to bring the war to a quick end by going after the provisional government. Unexpectedly, the Texas rebel army halted its retreat and fought the Mexican army at the Battle of San Jacinto. Santa Anna was captured and was forced to sign the Treaties of Velasco to avoid being executed. The treaties ended hostilities and theoretically recognized the independence of Texas. While he was in captivity, political forces in Mexico removed Santa Anna from office, and the new leadership refused to abide by the treaty. Although Texas was officially a republic from 1836 to 1846, the Mexican government never recognized its independence. These unresolved conflicts partially contributed to the onset of the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR in 1846.

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textiles See CLOTHING; COTTON; INDUSTRIALIZATION.

Thirty-three Immortals (Thirty-three Orientals, Thirty-three Easterners) Thirty-three Immortals were a group of rebels led by JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA who revolted against the Brazilian occupation of the BANDA ORIENTAL. Their actions eventually resulted in the CISPLATINE WAR, which in turn led to the creation of present-day URUGUAY.

During the late colonial period, the Banda Oriental was a region within the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. When the viceroyalty was dissolved, it became the far eastern province of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, but the region broke away in the years following independence. By 1820, the Banda Oriental had been annexed by BRAZIL and renamed the Cisplatine Province. For the next several years, Lavalleja attempted to incite a revolt against Brazilian forces and was forced to flee into exile in 1822. The rebel returned to the Banda Oriental in 1825, along with 32 followers. The group attracted support throughout the countryside and won several important battles against the Brazilians. Lavalleja received recognition and assistance from the government of BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA (1826–27) in BUENOS AIRES, prompting the Brazilian emperor PEDRO I (r. 1822–31) to declare war on the United Provinces. The Cisplatine War dragged on for three years before arbitration by British mediators produced the Treaty of Montevideo in 1828. Under the peace agreement, leaders in Brazil and the United Provinces agreed to recognize the independence of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay. Even though the rebellion started by Lavalleja's group escalated into a conflict between Brazil and the United Provinces, the Thirty-three Immortals are considered the true heroes of Uruguayan independence.

See also BANDA ORIENTAL (Vol. II); RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II).

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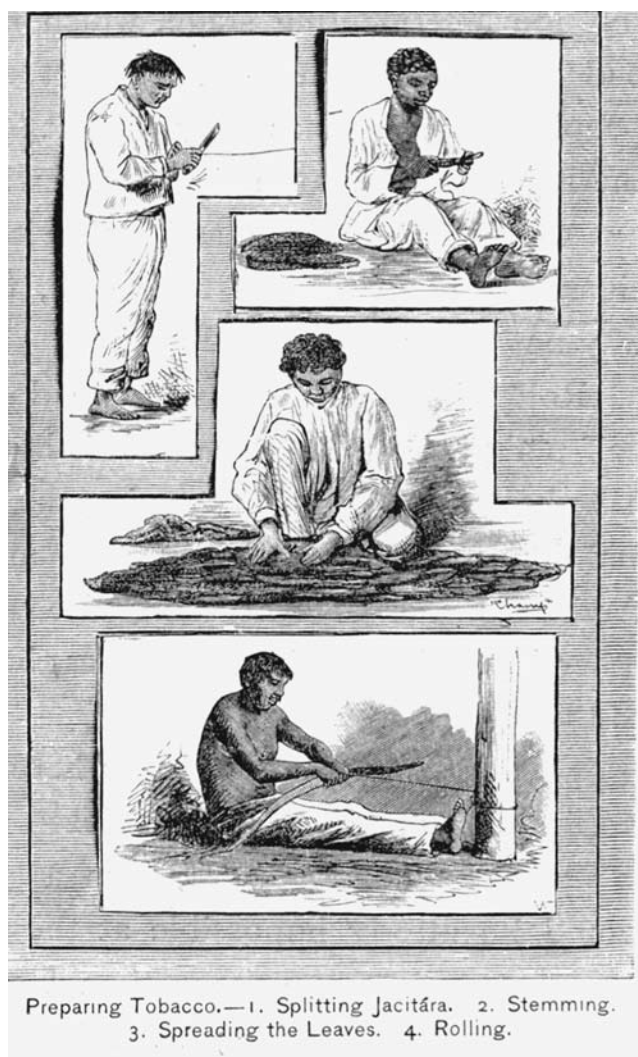
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Thousand Days' War See WAR OF THE THOUSAND DAYS.

tobacco Tobacco is a plant native to the Americas, whose leaves are processed and used primarily for smoking. Tobacco was widely used by pre-Columbian civilizations. Spanish conquistadores described tobacco use in indigenous religious rituals and medicinal practices. The product quickly made its way across the Atlantic Ocean, and tobacco smoking spread throughout Europe in the 16th century. As demand increased, tobacco plantations began appearing in the Spanish Caribbean. By the end of the colonial period, the Spanish Crown had established a royal monopoly on the lucrative tobacco industry.

Tobacco was an important agricultural product in many coastal areas of mainland Latin America and in the Caribbean throughout the colonial period and into the 19th century. Tobacco enjoyed a large portion of



Sketches illustrating the process of tobacco preparation (From Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast: Illustrated from Sketches by J. Wells Champney and Others, by Herbert H. Smith. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879, p. 157)

market share in the Caribbean in the 17th and 18th centuries but was replaced by other plantation commodity products such as COFFEE and SUGAR in the 19th century. Nevertheless, a viable tobacco industry did develop in countries such as CUBA and the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC in the 19th century in their attempts to diversify agricultural output. The rise in tobacco production in the Caribbean corresponded with increased cigar smoking in Europe and the United States in the last half of the 19th century. Caribbean tobacco quickly became associated with quality cigars, and the incipient Cuban and Dominican industries began to thrive.

Although sugar production continued to dominate the Cuban economy throughout the 19th century, tobacco production increased substantially. Cuba became known not only for its tobacco leaves, but also for its cigar rollers. Several U.S. tobacco companies imported Cuban tobacco seeds and attempted to imitate the qual-

ity of Cuban tobacco products. Tobacco also played an important role in the Dominican Republic in the late 19th century. There, the government implemented policies favorable to the cultivation of sugar, but local farmers feared that the island's ECONOMY would become too closely tied to U.S. investors. Farmers in the CIBAO region cultivated tobacco in an attempt to maintain a sense of autonomy and to diversify local AGRICULTURE.

Other areas of Latin America also saw growth of the tobacco industry in the 19th century. U.S. soldiers returning from the U.S.-MEXICAN WAR had developed a preference for the taste of tobacco grown in the tropical southern climates. In the 19th century, tobacco production was an important economic activity in MEXICO, BRAZIL, and CENTRAL AMERICA. As cigarette production became common in other countries in the 20th century, Latin American tobacco became more closely associated with cigar smoking.

In the second half of the 20th century, the United States imposed an embargo on Cuban tobacco following the revolution led by Fidel Castro. Today, the United States imports most of its cigars from the Dominican Republic, followed by Mexico and Central America.

See also CUBAN REVOLUTION (Vol. IV); PLANTATIONS (Vol. II); TOBACCO (Vols. I, II).

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trade Trade networks in 19th-century Latin America went through a series of sweeping changes. Trade and commerce were limited during the colonial period, but independence brought new governments and economic models to the region. Trade networks opened up significantly among neighboring countries and between Latin America and the rest of the world. By the end of the 19th century, the free trade models that had emerged linked Latin American economies to the global market.

Colonial trade networks in Latin America were defined by a mercantilist economic structure. Under that system, colonies traded almost exclusively with the mother country, providing raw materials from the AGRICULTURE and MINING sectors to Spain and Portugal. The manufacture of most finished goods took place in Europe, and colonies imported those products from the mother country. In the Spanish Empire, trade was tightly regulated by the Crown to prevent the colonies from engaging in unregulated trade with the British, French, or other European powers. Intercolonial trade from one region of the empire to another was also limited. The

desire for more open trade compelled some colonial merchants to support the movement for independence in the early 19th century. Independence was achieved, and the colonial mercantilist economic system was dismantled by the 1820s.

New governments in most Latin American nations moved away from the mercantilist system and instead adopted *laissez-faire*-based economic models. Under *laissez-faire*, nations engaged in more open trade with fewer government controls and specialized in producing goods according to their *comparative advantage*. Latin American nations produced agricultural goods and mining products comparatively well in relation to the economies of western Europe and the United States. Many Latin American governments therefore adopted policies intended to develop the raw material export sectors of their economies and pursued favorable trade arrangements with western European nations and the United States.

While the European countries and United States had entered the industrial revolution and were developing large manufacturing sectors, throughout the first part of the 19th century, most Latin American countries were not able to develop an industrial sector. Furthermore, decades of political conflict and civil wars created an unstable economic environment, which dissuaded potential investors. Additionally, there was little of the infrastructure necessary to support the development of industry. The export of raw materials therefore remained the mainstay of Latin American trade. British merchants were the first to trade with the newly independent Latin American nations, and finished goods from Great Britain flooded markets in *Argentina*, *Brazil*, and other countries in the region in the early decades of the 19th century. In later decades, French and U.S. merchants also provided manufactured goods to Latin America.

Generally, Latin American exports suffered in the first half of the 19th century, as nearly all economic indicators reached a standstill. Production had slowed during the independence era and the political instability that followed, but by mid-century, the economic sector in many countries began to recover, and government leaders pursued free trade networks more aggressively. Commodity agricultural products such as *coffee*, *sugar*, and *tobacco* made up the bulk of economic production in countries with existing and former plantation economies such as *Brazil*, *Colombia*, *Venezuela*, and the Caribbean. Rising demand for commodity foodstuffs in the industrializing economies of western Europe and the United States fueled demand for those products. The growth potential of Latin American agricultural sectors attracted the attention of some foreign investors. U.S. agribusinesses began investing in landholdings in *Central America*, and the production and export of tropical fruits—chiefly bananas—became the leading economic activity in those countries. By the end of the century, U.S. investors were playing an increasingly active role in *Mexico*, *Cuba*,

and the *Dominican Republic* as well. Investments in improved production technologies resulted in greater output and fueled the growth of the export market.

The Latin American mining sector experienced a similar recovery and expansion. Foreign investors provided funding to improve mining operations in *Chile* and *Mexico*. Mining output increased particularly in the last half of the 19th century, and the vast majority of that production was exported to the industrial markets of western Europe and the United States. Early mining interests focused on the extraction of precious metals in the *silver* mines of *Mexico* and other Latin American countries. By the end of the century, new developments in the global economy fueled demand for other mining products. *Copper* mines in *Peru* and *Chile* provided the materials for wiring as industrializing nations began adopting electrical power. *Bolivia* exported large amounts of tin in the late decades of the 19th century. The mass production of tin cans for use in the processed food industry increased in the last half of the century, and tin had become *Bolivia's* number-one export within a few decades. Large nitrate deposits in the *Atacama Desert* provoked a border dispute between *Chile*, *Bolivia*, and *Peru*. The three countries fought the *War of the Pacific* from 1879 to 1884, with *Chile* emerging from that conflict with control over the rich nitrate region. Nitrate exports dominated the *Chilean* economy at the turn of the century and allowed for impressive economic growth.

As export markets expanded in the last half of the 19th century, so did the need for more developed *transportation* and *communications* infrastructure. The liberal oligarchies that took over the leadership of many Latin American countries in those decades prioritized modernization and export-oriented growth (see *liberal oligarchy*). National leaders created favorable investment climates for foreign businesses in order to attract resources for improving production technologies as well as to expand the infrastructure necessary for trade. While some infrastructure expansion was financed by local entrepreneurs, foreign investors provided most of the money to build railroad lines throughout Latin America in the late 19th century. Tens of thousands of miles of rail lines were added in the geographically largest countries of *Argentina*, *Brazil*, and *Mexico*. Other countries experienced a smaller but equally impressive expansion of the rail industry. Most rail lines were built to connect the large cities and other major production centers with coastal ports. The nature of railroad construction reflects the export-oriented nature of Latin American economies by the turn of the century.

By the end of the 19th century, leaders in some of the larger Latin American nations were changing their trade policies in an attempt to develop an industrial sector. *Mexico*, *Argentina*, *Brazil*, and *Chile* led this trend. Raw materials and commodity exports still made up the bulk of national economic production, but governments

in those countries simultaneously encouraged INDUSTRIALIZATION in consumer goods sectors and in some basic heavy industry. Industrialization policies still relied heavily on foreign investors and required imports of capital goods and heavy equipment from abroad.

Latin America's shift from mercantilism to a more laissez-faire trade structure in the 19th century did bring the appearance of economic growth in the short term. But, 19th-century trade networks in Latin America largely prioritized the export of raw materials and commodity products. Most nations suffered a trade imbalance as they imported many luxury goods and finished products from abroad. Relying on commodity exports also left many Latin American nations vulnerable to international market fluctuations. Populist leaders in the early 20th century attempted to move away from the trade models established in the 19th century, but export economies still defined the region for several decades. The onset of the Great Depression in 1929 brought significant changes to Latin American trade policies.

See also TRADE (Vols. I, II, IV).

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transisthmian interests In 1513, the Spanish conquistador Vasco Núñez de Balboa marched across the isthmus at PANAMA and discovered that only a narrow strip of land separated the Caribbean Sea from the Pacific Ocean. Balboa's fellow conquistador Hernando Cortés suggested that a canal be constructed across the isthmus, and in 1524, King Charles V of Spain commissioned the first official survey of the area. Nothing more was done, and it would be nearly 400 years before a canal across the Panamanian isthmus would open to world traffic. Although Panama remained a land transit route throughout the Spanish colonial period, its importance declined as colonial control weakened in the 1700s.

Interest in a transisthmian TRANSPORTATION route was rekindled during the Latin American wars for independence. In an effort to attract support for Venezuelan independence, in 1797, General Francisco de Miranda offered a canal concession to Great Britain in return for assistance to his revolutionary movement. As U.S. minister to France, Thomas Jefferson showed interest in a transisthmian canal, but his country was isolation-

ist and was more interested in westward expansion in North America, which prevented any follow-through. In 1811, Alexander von Humboldt's (b. 1769–d. 1859) *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* suggested nine potential canal sites, three of which lay in Panama. Simón Bolívar placed the canal issue on the agenda for the 1826 PANAMA CONGRESS, and U.S. secretary of state Henry Clay instructed the U.S. delegates to discuss the issue. In 1830, a Dutch effort was abandoned by the revolution in Holland. Two years later, a French plan fell victim to monarchical machinations. In 1835, Guatemalan Juan Galindo (b. 1802–d. 1839) arrived in Washington, D.C., with canal proposals in response to British expansion in present-day BELIZE. None of these proposed canal projects envisioned any government participation, only that of private entrepreneurs. Although U.S. president Andrew Jackson only expressed concern about any transisthmian canal being opened, on an equal basis, to all nations of the world, he did dispatch Charles Biddle to the isthmus in 1836 to make a detailed analysis of the suggested canal routes. In Panama, Biddle determined that the anticipated cost prohibited the construction of a canal there for several generations. Jackson henceforth ignored the canal issue, and for the next 10 years, U.S. political dynamics focused on westward expansion, not a transisthmian canal. When the United States rekindled its interest in the mid-1840s, it found the British had expanded their territory along the ill-defined MOSQUITO COAST that ran from northern NICARAGUA south to the mouth of the San Juan River on the border with COSTA RICA, which had for long been considered the most likely Caribbean terminus of an isthmian transit route.

In 1846, the United States and COLOMBIA completed the Bidlack-Mallarino Treaty, which provided unrestricted transit of U.S. passengers and cargo across the isthmus by whatever means possible, provided the United States guaranteed the route's neutrality and Colombia's sovereignty over Panama. The U.S. Senate ratified the treaty in 1848. In 1849, the outgoing president, James K. Polk, dispatched ELIJAH HISE and then the subsequent president, Zachary Taylor, sent EPHRAIM GEORGE SQUIER to Central America to check British expansion. Each signed agreements with Nicaragua, but these were never ratified by the U.S. Congress because each committed the United States to defend transit routes. While the British minister to Central America, Frederick Chatfield, wanted to challenge the U.S. advances, the British foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston, confronted with European problems, preferred a peaceful solution. The upshot was the 1850 CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY, under which the United States and Great Britain pledged not to assume dominion over any part of Central America. In effect, the ambiguous wording prevented the United States and Great Britain from undertaking a canal project or maintaining any canal system by themselves. Owing to French, German, and Russian machinations in Europe and the battle over westward expansion and the civil

war in the United States, the Panama canal question was pushed into the background until 1872, when U.S. president Ulysses S. Grant (b. 1822–d. 1885) unilaterally declared the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty void and appointed the Inter-Oceanic Canal Commission (see U.S. CIVIL WAR AND CENTRAL AMERICA). When it reported its findings four years later, the commission recommended the San Juan River site over Panama because of its shorter distance and cheaper construction costs.

When the French developer of the Suez Canal (completed in 1869) Ferdinand de Lesseps undertook the canal project at Panama in 1879, he demonstrated the failure of both the 1846 Bidlack-Mallarino Treaty and the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty from preventing another nation from undertaking a canal project through Panama. Significantly, the de Lesseps project prompted a public outcry in the United States, which continued for the remainder of the 19th century. In his annual message to Congress in December 1880, President Rutherford B. Hayes set the tone when he declared in favor of a transisthmian canal to be built, controlled, and defended by the United States. Every succeeding president repeated the demand through 1900. Writing in *The Nation* in 1881, State Department consular John A. Kasson warned that if de Lesseps completed his project, the Caribbean Sea would become an American Mediterranean, a reference to the continued European conflict in that body of water. Chambers of commerce and boards of trade in major cities across the country predicted the trade benefits of a U.S.-controlled canal at Panama. Led by Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, advocates of the “large policy,” or U.S. global commercial and naval policy, pointed to the increased security a U.S.-owned canal offered.

As the call for a U.S.-owned and operated canal became louder, de Lesseps continued to plod along until his project’s failure in 1889. The final private endeavor to construct a transisthmian canal was made by the Maritime Canal Company, formed by former U.S. civil engineer A. G. Menocal. For three years, from 1887 to 1890, Maritime spent \$4 million and labored at the mouth of the San Juan River and, like others before, made little progress in constructing a transisthmian canal before going bankrupt.

In the 19th century, each of the Latin American states involved in the canal imbroglio—that is, Colombia, the department of Panama, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua—anticipated prosperity and modernization as a result of a canal running through its territory. Furthermore, the elite Panamanian administrators blamed the government at BOGOTÁ, not foreigners, for failing to bring the canal to fruition. In the United States, a growing cadre of politicians and business leaders came to the conclusion that the U.S. government needed to intervene in the tumultuous politics of Central America and to construct and defend a transisthmian canal. In the early 20th century, these advocates would have their way, and they found the British more supportive of the U.S. cause. The rising

German MILITARY and naval power challenged Britain’s international hegemony and forced the London government to cast about for new friends. The British found such a friend in the United States and contributed to the abrogation of the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which helped ensure PANAMANIAN INDEPENDENCE in 1903.

See also BALBOA, VASCO NÚÑEZ DE (Vol. I); BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); CORTÉS, HERNANDO (Vol. I); MIRANDA, FRANCISCO DE (Vol. II); PANAMA CANAL, CONSTRUCTION OF (Vol. IV).

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transportation Transportation in Latin America was relatively archaic and underdeveloped at the beginning of the 19th century. The evolution of internal and external transportation networks reflect important trends in national development in many Latin American nations. Highways, ports, and eventually railroads emerged as TRADE networks arose, and economic developments in the 19th century can often be traced through transportation lines. Transportation networks also played an important role in the internal and external conflicts that afflicted most Latin American nations in the 19th century. In the late decades of the century, the modernization policies of many Latin American governments focused on developing the transportation infrastructure.

During the colonial period, formal transportation networks in Latin America were limited. Transatlantic shipments were tightly regulated by the Spanish Crown, and for most of the colonial era, those shipments were allowed to depart only from select ports, namely, Cartagena de Indias, in present-day COLOMBIA; Veracruz, in present-day MEXICO; and Nombre de Dios, in present-day PANAMA. Only in the late 18th century did the Spanish begin to develop alternative ports, opening BUENOS AIRES and other areas to trade. Trade and transportation became sluggish during the wars for independence, and in many areas, those trade networks were slow to recover. Eventually, traditional ports were revived, and new ports emerged as Latin American governments moved toward LAISSEZ-FAIRE trade policies. For example, VALPARAISO became a major shipping outpost in CHILE in the middle of the 19th century.

Overland transport was also fairly meager in colonial Latin America, with small roads crossing rough terrain. Most road travel was on foot since roads were often too treacherous for draft animals, while only the elite could afford to travel by horse and carriage. The basic road system connected MINING and AGRICULTURE centers with urban areas and coastal ports. Inland roadways were slow

to develop in the first half of the 19th century. The wars of independence and subsequent internal warfare damaged much of the transportation network in Latin American nations, and continued political instability made infrastructure development difficult. By the mid-19th century, however, many Latin American governments were devoting resources to improving internal roadways that connected major cities to coastal ports. The Chilean government began developing an internal road system to connect SANTIAGO DE CHILE with agricultural and mining sectors. Inland roads also extended into neighboring ARGENTINA to facilitate trade. In Mexico, a long-standing road connecting MEXICO CITY to Veracruz was improved during the administration of BENITO JUÁREZ in the 1860s. Juárez also established the *RURALES* security force to prevent crime and banditry along Mexico's rural roadways.

River transport was the basis of much of the trade and travel in South America. The Río de la Plata and the Paraná shaped transportation networks in Argentina and URUGUAY, and the Orinoco River did the same in COLOMBIA and VENEZUELA. By the end of the 19th century, the Amazon River had become a vital transit route. River transport accelerated in mid-century with the introduction of steamboats in many areas of Latin America. Technological improvements continued in the

last half of the 19th century, and the transportation of goods and people into and out of the interior regions of Latin American countries through river transport became increasingly efficient.

One of the most significant transportation developments in 19th-century Latin America was the expansion of railroads, particularly in the final decades of the century. Many government leaders believed Latin America had fallen behind the rest of the world and actively pursued modernization policies in an effort to promote progress. Leaders throughout the region devoted national resources to developing transportation infrastructure and also invited foreign investors to expand transit networks. British financiers were instrumental in backing the construction of thousands of miles of railroads in Argentina, BRAZIL, and Chile. European and U.S. companies were involved in Mexico and CENTRAL AMERICA. Foreign owners of mining companies and commercial agricultural endeavors often invested in railroad expansion as a way to ensure reliable transport of their products. Even more than overland roads, railway transport facilitated internal and external trade. Latin American exports of raw materials expanded considerably in the last half of the 19th century, and that growth was directly tied to more efficient railroad transportation.



New rail lines facilitated trade and became a marker of modernization in the late 19th century. This 1882 illustration shows the impressive bridge over the Gorge of Metlac in Veracruz, Mexico. (Time & Life Images/Getty Images)

Modernization programs in the late 19th century often coincided with rapid urbanization in many large Latin American cities. New industries emerged in large urban areas, and those industries became an important part of the export-oriented markets that dominated the region's economies. Urbanization was facilitated by the advances in transportation infrastructure in the final decades of the 19th century. Internal transport networks allowed MIGRATION from rural provinces into urban areas. Swelling populations in Latin American cities compelled many governments to invest in public works, including widening and expanding city streets and introducing public transportation systems. Most Latin American governments attempted to emulate European progress. Urban streets in Mexico City, Buenos Aires, and CARACAS were modeled after European boulevards. In Mexico City, middle-class and elite residents even adopted bicycle riding as an easy and healthy way to navigate the city's busy streets.

The importance of external trade networks was evident by the end of the century, and moving shipments between oceans had long been a concern. Interoceanic shipments traditionally had crossed the Isthmus of Panama on the PANAMA RAILROAD, which had started operating in the 1850s. The other alternative was for ships to sail around the tip of South America. European countries expressed early interest in constructing a canal across the isthmus to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and allow for more efficient interocean transit (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). French engineers began a canal-building project in the 1880s, and several companies pursued the venture for the next 20 years. French investors went bankrupt and abandoned the project, but the United States under President Theodore Roosevelt stepped in and took over canal construction in 1904. The Panama Canal officially opened to ocean-going traffic in 1914.

See also PANAMA CANAL, CONSTRUCTION OF (Vol. IV); TRANSPORTATION (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Trinidad See CARIBBEAN, BRITISH.

Trinitaria, La La Trinitaria was a secret movement formed by Juan Pablo Duarte (b. 1813–d. 1876) in 1838 to consolidate resistance to the HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO (present-day DOMINICAN REPUBLIC). Duarte was born to an affluent FAMILY in the capital city of SANTO DOMINGO. In 1822, Haitian president JEAN-PIERRE BOYER ordered his army to invade the eastern portion of the island of Hispaniola. Between 1828 and 1833, Duarte's family sent the young student to study in Europe. He traveled throughout France, Spain, and Britain, where he was exposed to emerging ideals of LIBERALISM and DEMOCRACY.

Inspired by liberal tenets, Duarte returned to Santo Domingo and began organizing an anti-Haitian resistance movement with Matías Ramón Mella (b. 1816–d. 1864) and Francisco del Rosario Sánchez (b. 1817–d. 1861). The triumvirate called their movement La Trinitaria (The Trinity) in honor of the three-man leadership structure and as a tribute to the Holy Trinity. Since HAITI's army had attempted to stifle Spanish traditions and diminish the importance of the CATHOLIC CHURCH, the movement's nomenclature made a strong symbolic statement of resistance.

For five years, La Trinitaria recruited supporters, and its strength grew. Then, in 1843, Duarte formed an alliance with a Haitian opposition movement led by CHARLES RIVIÈRE-HÉRARD. Their two simultaneous rebellions succeeded in driving Boyer from power, but soon after, a rift with their former Haitian allies caused La Trinitaria's leadership to flee, while the island remained under Haitian control. In 1844, a new opposition movement, also called La Trinitaria, successfully rebelled against the Haitian MILITARY. A governing junta declared the independence of the new nation of the Dominican Republic. Duarte returned from exile, but within six months, he and other leaders of La Trinitaria had been ousted, and the new nation fell under the tyrannical leadership of CAUDILLOS.

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unitarios The *unitarios* were members of a group that eventually became a political party—the Partido Unitario—in ARGENTINA in the decades immediately following independence. *Unitarios* tended to support liberal economic and social policies but also a centralist form of government that favored the interests of *porteños*, or residents of BUENOS AIRES (see CENTRALISM). With much of their membership drawn from intellectual circles, the *unitarios* prided themselves on their high levels of EDUCATION and sophisticated cultural outlook. In the immediate aftermath of independence, it became clear that *unitario* politicians would clash with regional CAUDILLOS, who made up the competing political group of FEDERALES.

BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA became one of the first leaders of the *unitarios* while serving in the administration of Buenos Aires governor Martín Rodríguez (b. 1771–d. 1845) in the 1820s. Throughout that decade, *unitario* leaders implemented a vast array of reforms, such as abolishing SLAVERY and expanding the system of higher education. At the same time, Rivadavia, who became first president of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata in 1826, led attempts to enhance the economic power of Buenos Aires and to rein in the power of local caudillos. *Unitario* control over national politics came to an end after Rivadavia was forced into exile in 1827 and JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS came to power in 1829.

Rosas formed strong alliances with other federalist caudillos in the provinces. During his tenure as governor of Buenos Aires, Rosas ruled as a quintessential caudillo, coopting many would-be opponents into his circle and relying on his security force, LA MAZORCA, to inflict violence when persuasion was not effective. Many of the *unitario* leaders were persecuted under Rosas, and others fled into exile. A number of exiled *unitarios* gathered in

Montevideo and worked to restore their movement and bring down the Rosas dictatorship from abroad. *Unitario* resistance inspired the formation of a new group of young anti-Rosas intellectuals who became known as the Generation of '37. Operating both as a political movement and a literary circle, the Generation of '37 attracted such notable members as JUAN BAUTISTA ALBERDI and DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO, who published a scathing critique of caudillo rule in Argentina in 1845. Another member, ESTEBAN ECHEVERRÍA, waged an aggressive anti-Rosas propaganda campaign from Montevideo.

Many members of the Generation of '37 became national leaders in Argentina after the fall of the Rosas regime, and the basic *unitario* liberal ideology that had been introduced in the decades following independence was still visible. In particular, Sarmiento and Alberdi introduced new educational programs and attempted to attract strong immigrant populations to the country in the last half of the 19th century. Although the *unitarios* ceased to exist as a political entity, the political legacy of the party endured in liberal policies and in continued factionalism between Buenos Aires and the provinces.

See also UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II).

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United Provinces of Central America The geopolitical entity of the United Provinces of Central America was an attempt to unify the five modern-day

Central American states of COSTA RICA, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS, and NICARAGUA into a federation after their independence from MEXICO in 1823. Beset by internal problems, the federation fell apart in 1839.

During the colonial period, the *audiencia* (court) of Central America fell under the responsibility of the Spanish viceroy sitting in MEXICO CITY, and in 1821, a council of elite men, meeting in Guatemala City, voted to continue that linkage. Two years later, on July 1, 1823, another group of elite Central Americans meeting in Guatemala City voted for their countries' independence from Mexico and for the establishment of the United Provinces of Central America (Provincias Unidas del Centro de América). Honduran José Cecilio del Valle (b. 1780–d. 1834) played a major role in writing the constitution for the federation in 1824, which went into effect in August 1825.

Based on Spain's Constitution of 1812 and showing the influence of the U.S., French, and British documents, this liberal constitution established Roman Catholicism as the official RELIGION but limited the clergy's role in politics, established a unicameral legislature and a weak executive, and guaranteed civil liberties. It was considered a progressive document for its time, but its implementation fell victim to the liberal-conservative political struggle that characterized postindependence Latin America (see CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM). While both groups came from the elite and shared the common desire to retain political power, they differed on Central America's future direction. The Liberals favored a more decentralized government, foreign TRADE, immigration, and a rejection of Hispanic values in favor of those found in the United States and western Europe. In contrast, the Conservatives wanted a strong central government, a privileged CATHOLIC CHURCH, and the maintenance of Hispanic values. This argument played out in each of the individual states and between the states and the central government located in Guatemala City.

International attention came briefly to Central America during the federation. In 1825, a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Amity opened the door to commerce with the United States, but little came of it. With British, Dutch, and French groups already showing an interest, in 1835 Guatemalan Juan Galindo (b. 1802–d. 1839) arrived in Washington, D.C., with plans for a transisthmian canal. Although nothing materialized at the time, it proved to be the first of many such schemes promoted later in the 19th century (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS).

Salvadoran MANUEL JOSÉ ARCE, a Liberal, captured the United Provinces' first presidential election, but he soon carried favor with Guatemala's Conservative elite and found himself at odds with Guatemala's Liberals. The conflict resulted in a three-year civil war, from 1826 to 1829. Honduran FRANCISCO MORAZÁN followed Arce to the presidency in 1829 and quickly introduced liberal

reforms that encouraged agro-exports; moved to integrate NATIVE AMERICANS into society; introduced penal and judicial codes, including trial by jury; and in 1834 moved the federal capital to San Salvador. The exile of prominent Conservatives served only to fuel the fires of discontent. The conflict was exacerbated by additional liberal reforms by Guatemalan governor MARIANO GÁLVEZ. The liberal programs triggered violent protest throughout the United Provinces, but these became most pronounced in Guatemala when the charismatic swine herder RAFAEL CARRERA capitalized on a cholera epidemic to lead an indigenous rebellion against the government. He finally defeated Morazán's army in 1840, but Costa Rica, Honduras, and Nicaragua had already withdrawn from the federation. For the next generation, Conservative leadership characterized each of the Central American governments.

A temporary union came about as a result of WILLIAM WALKER's incursions in Nicaragua in 1855 and 1856. A U.S. filibusterer, Walker and his small band of MILITARY followers arrived in Nicaragua in May 1855 at the behest of Nicaraguan Liberals, who sought to wrest control of the country from the ruling Conservatives. Walker accomplished that objective within five months of his arrival, but he also had his own ambitions to govern the country himself and impose a Central American union under his direction. His personal plan brought together the Conservative leadership in the other four Central American republics to oust Walker in a battle at La Virgen on March 1, 1856. Following Walker's defeat, however, the five Central American republics returned to their individual machinations.

Beginning in the 1860s, Liberals returned to political power across Central America, and at the same time, President Ulysses S. Grant rekindled U.S. interest in a transisthmian canal. The two forces—the Liberal vision of Central American unity and U.S. canal interests—came together in 1880, one year after the Frenchman Ferdinand de Lesseps commenced construction of a canal route at PANAMA. The U.S. minister to Central America, Cornelius A. Logan, found Guatemalan president JUSTO RUFINO BARRIOS receptive to a Central American union under his leadership that would secure the region from foreign penetration under the MONROE DOCTRINE but also provide the United States the opportunity to build and secure a transisthmian canal. The idea passed into history when Barrios sent a special negotiator to Washington, D.C., where it was rebuffed by the Rutherford B. Hayes administration. Hayes set a policy precedent by declaring in favor of a U.S.-owned and -operated canal.

The U.S. canal euphoria continued. In 1884, Secretary of State Frederick T. Freylinghuysen completed a treaty with the Nicaraguan minister to the United States, Joaquín Zavala, that provided for a U.S.-constructed and -operated canal through Nicaragua in return for a U.S. guarantee of Nicaraguan territorial integrity. Fearful

that the Guatemalan leader might force Nicaragua to obtain approval for the treaty from the Central American union, the Nicaraguan legislature rapidly approved the FRELINGHUYSEN-ZAVALA TREATY. Not anxious to become embroiled in Central American political affairs, U.S. president Grover Cleveland refused to submit the treaty to the Senate for its consideration. Again, plans for both the canal and Central American unity efforts collapsed.

In 1895, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, prompted by nationalistic Hondurans who threatened to engulf the region in conflict and suspicious of the growing presence of U.S. entrepreneurs, formed a loose federation, the Greater Republic of Central America. As in the past, none of the governments was willing to surrender its autonomy to a central government. In 1898, El Salvador withdrew from the republic, bringing the venture to an end. This final 19th-century attempt at Central American unity confirmed the century-long U.S. impression that the region's ruling elite only talked about isthmian unity but were unwilling to take any measures to implement it. U.S. policy became evident at the 1907 and 1923 Central American conferences at which U.S. policymakers refused to include the unity question on the agendas. The Central Americans finally came together in 1960 with the formation of the Central American Common Market.

See also CENTRAL AMERICA (Vols. II, IV); CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMON MARKET (Vol. IV); CENTRAL AMERICAN CONFERENCES IN 1907 AND 1923 (Vol. IV); CONSTITUTION OF 1812 (Vol. II).

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University of Buenos Aires The University of Buenos Aires was founded in 1821 by BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA, who was serving in the administration of Buenos Aires governor Martín Rodríguez (b. 1771–d. 1845) at the time. It served as BUENOS AIRES's main provincial university throughout most of the 19th century and became a national university in 1881. The university was part of Rivadavia's plan to usher in liberal reforms in the years immediately after ARGENTINA's independence (see EDUCATION; LIBERALISM).

Throughout the colonial era, the CATHOLIC CHURCH-operated University of Córdoba had been the region's main institution of higher learning. Rivadavia estab-

lished the University of Buenos Aires as a government-sponsored institution, independent of church control. Antonio Sáenz (b. 1780–d. 1825) became the first rector of the university, and under his leadership, the University of Buenos Aires developed preeminent programs in the arts, sciences, MEDICINE, and law. In the early years of its operation, Rivadavia secured government funding for the university and ensured that the institution had a well-stocked library and other necessary resources.

Even though many intellectual pursuits were stifled during the dictatorship of JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS (1829–32, 1835–52), the university continued to operate. Deprived of full government support, enrollment declined during the 1840s. After the overthrow of Rosas, the University of Buenos Aires played a central role in the educational reform programs of Presidents BARTOLOMÉ MITRE and DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO. In the late decades of the 19th century, the university grew substantially and became one of the top universities in Latin America. Many of the nation's economic and political leaders who shaped the nation's development into the 20th century were educated at the University of Buenos Aires.

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University of Chile The University of Chile is located in SANTIAGO DE CHILE and is one of the nation's premier educational institutions. It was founded in 1843 by Venezuelan native ANDRÉS BELLO during an era of nation-building and progressive intellectual thought. As a writer and diplomat, Bello had spent time in London and introduced a number of European intellectual trends to CHILE when he moved to Santiago in 1829. Among those innovative ideas was a new emphasis on the role of higher EDUCATION in the creation of national identity. As Chile entered a period of stability and prosperity in the 1830s, Bello and other intellectuals formulated a strategy for advancing higher education.

During the colonial period, higher education in Chile was dominated by CATHOLIC CHURCH-run institutions and the Royal University of San Felipe. The CONSTITUTION OF 1833 provided a legal foundation for the establishment of a national university. In 1841, President Manuel Bulnes (b. 1799–d. 1866) and Minister of Education Manuel Montt (b. 1809–d. 1880) charged Bello with drafting a law to create the University of Chile. Bello created a program modeled after the ideas of Polish geologist and future university rector Ignacio Domeyko (b. 1802–d. 1889). Chilean leaders envisioned secular higher education that would provide a broad general foundation of humanistic training. Bello and Domeyko believed such training would create wise, responsible, and cultured leaders for the new nation. The University

of Chile opened in 1843 as a supervisory institution over the nation's education system as a whole. In later decades, the institution's functions evolved to include instruction and training as well.

The university program was intended for the elite and did not address the education of the larger population. Nevertheless, the establishment of the University of Chile marked a clear shift toward state-controlled, secular education and was an important first step in educational reform for the rest of the 19th century.

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Uribe Uribe, Rafael (b. 1859–d. 1914) *Colombian writer and Liberal politician* Rafael Uribe Uribe was a writer, Liberal politician, and MILITARY leader in COLOMBIA who became an important voice in the radical faction of the LIBERAL PARTY in the late 19th century. He played an important role leading Liberal forces in the WAR OF THE THOUSAND DAYS (1899–1902). In the 20th century, he continued his political career, serving in Congress and holding diplomatic posts.

Uribe was born on April 12, 1859, on his family's HACIENDA, El Palmar, in the Antioquia region. In his youth, his FAMILY supported the Liberal Party in numerous local conflicts, and at the age of 17, Uribe joined the local Liberal army in Cauca to fight in a regional skirmish against Conservatives. By all accounts, Uribe was a brave and able military leader and rose to the rank of captain. After helping secure a Liberal victory, he relocated to BOGOTÁ to study law and political science. Upon receiving his degree, Uribe took a position as professor at the University of Antioquia. There, he founded a newspaper to pursue his preference for political writing and practiced law. He earned a reputation as a defender of the *gólgota*, or radical, faction of the Liberal Party (see *GÓLGOTAS*). Conflict erupted in Antioquia once again in 1885 in reaction to the conservative reform of the Regeneration movement led by President RAFAEL NÚÑEZ. Uribe led the local Liberal army and was eventually captured and imprisoned.

Uribe spent the several years after his release from prison overseeing numerous agricultural pursuits. He studied various ways to modernize COFFEE cultivation and became even more convinced that the liberal notion of agrarian reform should be the basis of the Colombian ECONOMY. The 1890s found Uribe back in Bogotá, where he supported various failed uprisings against the Conservative government. His family connections helped him avoid government reprisal for those actions, and in 1896, Uribe was elected to Colombia's Congress. Now with increased political clout, he began plotting with other radical

Liberals and eliciting support for a rebellion against the Conservative government.

Uribe had long opposed the economic policies being pursued by the Conservative government. Nationalist president Miguel Antonio Caro (b. 1843–d. 1909) had imposed an export tariff on coffee shipments in an effort to rejuvenate the flagging national treasury. Economic decline worsened as the central government printed excess paper money, causing inflation and other problems. Uribe and his Liberal allies actively sought ways to force the government to reverse such policies and became increasingly convinced that armed insurrection was their only recourse. Caro did not run for reelection in 1898, but his fellow Nationalists Manuel A. Sanclemente (b. 1813–d. 1902) and José Manuel Marroquín (b. 1827–d. 1908), won the presidency and vice presidency, respectively. Uribe and the *gólgotas* saw little hope for compromise with the hard-line Nationalist wing of the CONSERVATIVE PARTY still in power.

Uribe plotted an insurrection, based primarily in the Liberal stronghold of Santander. Hostilities broke out in fall 1899, and the deadly conflict that would become known as the War of the Thousand Days began. Uribe himself directed military campaigns in cooperation with General Benjamín Herrera (1853–1924), and the two Liberals achieved a decisive victory at the Battle of Peralonso in December 1899. The tides turned against them in the coming months, however, and the government victory at the Battle of Palonegro in May 1900 marked the end of the Liberal army's viability as a major fighting force. The crushing defeat depleted Liberal manpower, arms, and supplies, and the extent of their losses demoralized the movement. Uribe fled to VENEZUELA and then to New York, seeking aid and support. Unable to secure any meaningful assistance, the military leader turned his attentions to trying to secure a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Neither Conservative nor Liberal leaders were ready to compromise for peace, and the fighting continued. The Liberal movement was relegated to guerrilla-style warfare, and the death and destruction continued.

By 1902, both sides of the conflict were growing increasingly concerned that the instability and internal divisions that dominated Colombian politics would open the door for the United States to demand unreasonable concessions in the negotiations over a transisthmian canal through Panama. In October 1902, Uribe and Herrera signed a provisional peace accord on the Neerlandia hacienda. A final peace came one month later in the Treaty of Wisconsin, signed on board the U.S. warship by the same name. The peace agreements offered amnesty to Liberal insurgents but included few provisions to address their main concerns.

After the war, Uribe continued to serve in Congress and later received several diplomatic posts. He was assassinated in Bogotá in October 1914.

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Urquiza, Justo José de (b. 1801–d. 1870) *military leader and president of Argentina* Justo José de Urquiza was the governor of Entre Ríos Province and one-time ally of dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. He is best known for overthrowing Rosas and overseeing ARGENTINA'S transition to constitutional DEMOCRACY in the 1850s.

Urquiza was born on October 18, 1801, in the province of Entre Ríos. He received some EDUCATION in URUGUAY and later in BUENOS AIRES. He returned to Entre Ríos in the 1825 and began consolidating MILITARY and political support, speaking out against the UNITARIOS who dominated the national leadership. In the 1830s, Urquiza met Rosas, and the two formed a strategic but tenuous alliance and agreed to promote a federalist agenda. In 1841, Urquiza became governor of Entre Ríos and implemented a series of reforms to bring stability to the region. He brought military rivals in his province and in neighboring provinces under control. Urquiza also encouraged agricultural and industrial development and began reforming the region's educational system.

It quickly became apparent that Rosas had turned his back on the alliance he had made with FEDERALES in the provinces, as the dictator consistently supported policies that favored the port of Buenos Aires over the interior. In 1851, Urquiza led a group of provincial CAUDILLOS and formed an alliance with neighboring Uruguay and BRAZIL. The coalition rebelled against Rosas and deposed the dictator in 1852. Urquiza assumed control of the national government and immediately convened a constitutional congress to draft a new governing document. The CONSTITUTION OF 1853 quickly won the support of all provinces but Buenos Aires, which withheld approval until 1860.

Urquiza served as president of Argentina from 1854 to 1860. Even after he left office, he continued to lead the national military. He was assassinated in his home province on April 11, 1870.

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Uruguay Uruguay is located in the southern half of South America, along the Atlantic coast, east of ARGENTINA and southwest of BRAZIL. It is bordered on the south and west by the Río de la Plata and the Uruguay River. It is a relatively small country with fertile terrain made up of rolling plains known as the PAMPAS in the south and low-lying flatlands in the north. Historically, Uruguay has been primarily an agricultural ECONOMY,

but some modest industry began in the late 19th century (see AGRICULTURE; INDUSTRIALIZATION).

During the colonial era, present-day Uruguay was known as the BANDA ORIENTAL and was the easternmost province in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, formed in 1776 with its capital in BUENOS AIRES. The Banda Oriental was home to numerous Jesuit missions, whose objective was to Christianize the NATIVE AMERICANS in the area. The region was not heavily populated but became economically viable through thriving cattle ranching activities. By the 18th century, settlers from Portuguese-controlled Brazil began encroaching into Spanish territory in South America, and the Spanish Crown enacted a number of reform measures to augment security and protect its territorial claims. To that end, Montevideo was founded in 1726 as a MILITARY outpost and became a buffer zone between the Spanish Empire in South America and Portuguese settlements in Brazil. As a natural port location along the mouth of the Río de la Plata, the city quickly grew as a major center of commerce and TRADE.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

When France's Napoléon Bonaparte invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 1808 and set off the independence movements in Latin America, numerous rebellions surfaced in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. In Buenos Aires, the local elite formed a governing junta and began taking steps toward local autonomy. In 1810, the Spanish leadership of the viceroyalty abandoned Buenos Aires and relocated to Montevideo. The junta in Buenos Aires then dissolved the former viceroyalty and formed the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata.

Political divisions began to surface in the Banda Oriental, as some local leaders advocated remaining loyal to Spain, while others pushed to distance themselves from Spanish rule. Local GAUCHO José Gervasio Artigas began a revolt against Spanish authorities in 1811 and formed an alliance with the governing junta in the United Provinces. Artigas won several early battles against the Spanish and laid siege to Montevideo for several months. The gaucho leader eventually withdrew to the interior late in 1811 and spent the next year orchestrating a plan to impose a federalist system in the Banda Oriental. By 1813, Artigas had grown disillusioned with the governing UNITARIOS in the United Provinces, who were pursuing a centralist form of government that privileged the interests of Buenos Aires over those of the provinces. As a champion of FEDERALISM, Artigas abandoned the United Provinces and returned to the Banda Oriental. He quickly dominated the countryside, but military forces from the United Provinces marched on Montevideo. In 1814, Artigas declared independence and began a series of campaigns to take the port city. The following year, he succeeded in driving the *unitarios* out of Montevideo and began organizing a new government. He abolished SLAVERY and began a land redistribution program that

dismantled large HACIENDAS and gave property to mestizos, Amerindians, and freed slaves.

A sense of quietude did not last for long under Artigas's government. Brazilian leaders viewed the gaucho's abolitionist and land reform policies as a potential threat to the still-thriving plantation and slave-based economy next door. In 1816, Brazilian forces began an invasion of the Banda Oriental, and Artigas was forced to flee to neighboring PARAGUAY. Several years of confrontations passed, and by 1820, Brazil had taken over the entire region, renaming it the Cisplatine Province.

In 1825, JUAN ANTONIO LAVALLEJA put together a group of 33 rebels known as the THIRTY-THREE IMMORTALS and began an insurrection against the Brazilian forces in the Banda Oriental. On April 19, the group crossed the Uruguay River and began a series of campaigns aimed at ousting the Brazilian forces from the area. Lavalleja won several early battles and began receiving assistance from the president of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA (1826–27). Brazil reacted to the alliance between Lavalleja and Rivadavia by declaring war on the United Provinces, marking the beginning of the CISPLATINE WAR.

The insurrection started by the Thirty-three Immortals escalated into full-scale war between the United Provinces and Brazil. The rival nations competed for control of the Banda Oriental, and within three years, hostilities had reached a stalemate. In 1828, British mediators intervened, and the warring nations agreed to a compromise to bring the war to a peaceful conclusion. In the Treaty of Montevideo, leaders from Brazil and the United Provinces agreed to give up all claims to the Banda Oriental. The peace agreement created a new, independent nation called the Eastern Republic of Uruguay.

THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Leaders in Uruguay immediately began drafting a governing document for the newly independent nation. On July 18, the CONSTITUTION OF 1830 was ratified by Uruguayan delegates and by the leaders of Brazil and the United Provinces. The document called for a centralized form of government under a strong executive, with relatively weaker legislative and judicial branches (see CENTRALISM). It reaffirmed the abolition of slavery and established Roman Catholicism as Uruguay's official RELIGION. JOSÉ FRUCTUOSO RIVERA, who had supported Lavalleja's insurgency in 1825, was chosen as the nation's first president (1830–34). The initial years of nationhood, however, were marred by instability as land disputes arose in the countryside and regional CAUDILLOS struggled to maintain local autonomy. During Rivera's presidency, Lavalleja made numerous bids for power and attempted several revolts. Rivera managed to put down the insurgencies and was succeeded by his ally and fellow caudillo MANUEL ORIBE in 1835. One year later, that alliance turned to rivalry, and conflict between the two

leaders escalated to violence. Rivera overthrew the Oribe administration in 1838, and war erupted between two emerging political factions. Rivera's supporters became known as the COLORADO PARTY and generally represented the interests of Montevideo and other urban commercial centers. Oribe formed the BLANCO PARTY and drew support from ranchers and other rural interests.

Rivera took the presidency again in 1839, but the *blancos* continued to challenge his authority. Between 1838 and 1851, the *blancos* and *colorados* fought a violent civil war known as the GUERRA GRANDE. Leaders in Argentina and Brazil—who had not lost their interest in the region—became involved in the conflict almost immediately. Oribe formed an alliance with Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, receiving vital support from the neighboring caudillo. Rivera's government received assistance from the French, who attempted to destabilize Rosas by blockading the Río de la Plata. The governments of Great Britain and Brazil also eventually stepped in on behalf of the *colorados*, but not before Rosas and Oribe had driven Rivera into exile in 1843. With Oribe gone, the *blancos* laid siege to Montevideo, and a standoff ensued for the next eight years. The *colorados'* European allies helped defend the city in an attempt to secure more favorable trade conditions. By 1850, it appeared that the *blancos* would gain the upper hand, as Rosas secured a peace treaty that called for the withdrawal of British and French forces. But, before Oribe could claim victory, Argentine caudillo JUSTO JOSÉ DE URQUIZA rebelled against the Rosas dictatorship. Urquiza's revolt successfully overthrew Rosas and left the *blancos* vulnerable. Rivera formed an alliance with Brazil, and by 1852, the *colorados* had forced Oribe to escape into exile in Spain. A peace treaty declared neither side the victor, but the end of the war marked the beginning of the dominance of the Colorado Party in Uruguayan politics for the rest of the century. Brazil's assistance in the Guerra Grande also resulted in a close alliance between the Colorado Party and its neighboring country. A series of peace treaties ending the war included numerous provisions that were favorable to Brazil. These included the right to free navigation on the Uruguay River and the right to intervene in Uruguayan internal affairs. The treaties also stipulated that Uruguay would return escaped slaves to Brazil, an issue that had long caused contention between the two nations.

THE QUEST FOR STABILITY

With the conclusion of the Guerra Grande, Uruguay began a period of substantial economic growth. In the 1860s, relative political stability resulted in new investments in TRANSPORTATION and communications infrastructure. Montevideo and other urban centers grew as immigrants flooded into the country and the population soared (see MIGRATION). Cattle ranching and sheep herding remained the leading economic activities. The processing of meat and other animal by-products tied the

rural economy to the expanding urban areas. Meat went primarily to *SALADEROS*, or salted meat processing plants, through most of the 19th century. In the final decades of the century, *saladeros* began to decline in importance. Refrigeration was introduced in the early 20th century, and frozen meat largely replaced salted meat.

Despite the peace treaties that brought an end to the Guerra Grande, conflict between the *blancos* and *colorados* continued into the 1850s. Several Colorado presidents attempted to introduce a policy of *fusión* (fusion), indicating that they incorporated the Blanco Party's interests into their government policies. Nevertheless, rivalry continued as the *colorados* secured control over Montevideo, and the *blancos* retained a strong influence in the countryside. On several occasions, the Colorado leadership asked the Brazilian government to intervene to help put down insurrections by the Blanco Party. In 1864, Brazilian forces helped depose the interim presidency of *blanco* Atanasio Aguirre (b. 1801–d. 1875), who was allied with Paraguayan dictator FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ. Solano López rose to the defense of the Blanco Party, while the *colorados* counted on support from Brazil as well as Argentina.

Tensions mounted between the opposing parties, and hostilities quickly escalated into the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE, which pitted Paraguay against Brazil, Argentina, and the dominant Colorado Party in Uruguay. The war lasted from 1865 to 1870 and was one of the bloodiest and most destructive wars in all of Latin American history. Led by Argentine president BARTOLOMÉ MITRE, the forces of the Triple Alliance blockaded Paraguay almost immediately, cutting off the nation's sea access. Most of the ground fighting took place on Paraguay's territory. Even though Solano López had started the war with an army that far outnumbered the combined forces of his enemies, the Triple Alliance forces quickly demolished much of the Paraguayan army. By the war's end, Paraguay had suffered hundreds of thousands of casualties. Indeed, it had lost nearly all of its adult male population. As a result of the war, Paraguay was stripped of more than 50,000 square miles (129,500 km²) of territory, and Argentina became the hegemonic force in the regional politics of the Southern Cone.

The conclusion of the War of the Triple Alliance also had an impact on the political struggle within Uruguay. As the war with Paraguay was winding down, an internal insurrection challenged the presidency of Lorenzo Battle y Grau (b. 1820–d. 1887). Blanco leader General Timoteo Aparicio (b. 1814–d. 1882) launched the Revolución de las Lanzas (Revolution of the Lances), and *colorados* and *blancos* once again wrangled for political control. Eventually, a peace agreement introduced a system of *coparticipación*, or "coparticipation." *Coparticipación* called for a sharing of public offices and congressional seats between the two parties, guaranteeing the *blancos* at least a minority voice in national government. The introduction of the power-sharing system ushered in

an era of virtually uninterrupted Colorado Party rule until well into the 20th century. In 1872, the *blancos* were renamed the National Party, which is the name the party uses today.

A brief period of civilian rule was overturned in 1875 by Colonel Lorenzo Latorre (b. 1844–d. 1916), who initiated a period of military rule that lasted until 1890. Latorre was backed by foreign commercial interests in Montevideo and former military officers. Latorre and his supporters despised the political party system that had privileged the rural caudillos of the *blancos* and the urban intellectuals of the *colorados*. Instead, Latorre intended to dismantle the party system entirely and impose his own vision of political stability. The military man assumed dictatorial powers and used all methods of oppression to bring the countryside firmly under government control. He attempted to rein in the power apparatus of traditional political parties but eventually had to appoint some party leaders to advisory positions within his administration. Latorre stepped down in 1880 and was replaced by another military leader, Máximo Santos (b. 1847–d. 1889). Santos was forced to abandon much of his predecessor's agenda to dismantle the political parties and became leader of the Colorado Party. During his administration and the subsequent administration of General Máximo Tajes (b. 1852–d. 1912), a powerful branch of the Colorado Party gained prominence. Known as the *civilistas* for their opposition to military rule, this faction of the *colorados* managed to secure a number of high-level positions during the era of militarism from 1875 until 1890. During more than a decade of authoritarian rule, Uruguay's economy stabilized, as the military governments brought order to rural areas and ended the nation's long tradition of political infighting.

By 1890, civilian rule had returned to Uruguay, and the Colorado Party controlled the political scene once again as a series of *civilista* leaders rose to power. Julio Herrera y Obes (b. 1841–d. 1912) and Juan Idiarte Borda (b. 1844–d. 1897) restored the dominance of the Colorado Party but also set off a major backlash by the National Party by failing to fulfill the power-sharing promises of *coparticipación*. National Party leader Aparicio Saravia (b. 1856–d. 1904) initiated yet another rebellion against the Colorado government in 1897. Before the revolt could be put down, the Colorado president had been assassinated, and the National Party had won even more concessions from the rival party. The Saravia rebellion also introduced important reform issues into the national political dialogue. Leaders began to consider electoral reforms and measures to secularize Uruguayan society. President Juan Lindolfo Cuestas (b. 1837–d. 1905) wrested social control away from the CATHOLIC CHURCH by creating a civil registry and introduced new electoral legislation that guaranteed even greater representation for the minority party.

While Cuestas ruled in the last years of the 19th century from Montevideo, Saravia maintained a large degree



Late 19th-century photo of the Plaza de la Constitución in Montevideo, Uruguay (*Library of Congress*)

of autonomy in the countryside. The separation of urban and rural Uruguay between the Colorado Party and the National Party (*blancos*) that had defined earlier decades continued into the early years of the 20th century. It was not until the presidency of José Batlle y Ordóñez (1903–07, 1911–15) that 19th-century political divisions gave way to a new era of national unification under populism in the early 20th century.

See also ARTIGAS, JOSÉ GERVASIO (Vol. II); BANDA ORIENTAL (Vol. II); BATLLE Y ORDÓÑEZ, JOSÉ (Vol. IV); RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA (Vol. II); URUGUAY (Vols. I, IV).

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U.S. Civil War and Central America In the four years preceding the outbreak of the U.S. Civil War in 1861, Great Britain looked beyond the U.S. South for

a source of raw COTTON for its textile industry. CENTRAL AMERICA, and particularly GUATEMALA, benefited from the British initiative. Cotton became an important export for Guatemala, as well as HONDURAS and NICARAGUA, until the 1870s.

With the outbreak of civil war in April 1861, U.S. president Abraham Lincoln determined to deny the Confederacy the legal status that would come through recognition by a foreign government. The Central American republics complied with his request, denying the Confederacy recognition and their privateers access to isthmian ports. Central American leaders were motivated more by local political matters, however, than Lincoln's needs. They rationalized that if they granted recognition to the Confederacy, they only encouraged rebellion at home. Likewise, if they opened their ports to Confederate gun runners, U.S. naval ships would likely respond.

As U.S. leaders moved to abolish SLAVERY, they also considered what to do with the former slaves. In late 1861, Lincoln, persuaded by Secretary of State William H. Seward, proposed that the Central American republics absorb an unlimited number of black freedmen from the U.S. South. Lincoln and Seward rationalized

that the similar climatic conditions of the two areas would aid in the relocation. U.S. ministers in Central America approached the governments to which they were accredited, and in Washington, D.C., Seward met with Central American representatives. The Central Americans rejected the proposal out of hand. U.S. policymakers did not appear to understand race relations in Central America or the impact that WILLIAM WALKER had had upon the isthmian psyche when he proposed to reintroduce slavery to Central America in 1856. Central America housed very few blacks at the time of its independence, and each country had outlawed slavery in the 1820s. Moreover, most blacks who resided in the region had intermarried with mestizos or creoles.

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U.S.-Mexican War (1846–1848) The U.S.-Mexican War was fought from 1846 to 1848 between the United States and Mexico. The war officially started as a boundary dispute after the United States annexed Texas, but the eventual resolution of the war reveals that the conflict also involved territorial issues beyond Texas. During the two-year struggle, U.S. forces invaded and occupied many areas of Mexico, including MEXICO CITY. As a result of the U.S.-Mexican War, Mexico was forced to cede nearly half of its national territory to the United States in exchange for \$18.25 million.

The precursor to the U.S.-Mexican War occurred 10 years earlier when U.S. settlers in Texas won independence from the government of ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA (see TEXAS REVOLUTION). Subsequent Mexican governments never recognized Texas's secession. Even though many U.S. politicians wanted to annex Texas immediately, others feared that bringing Texas into the Union would inevitably lead to war with Mexico. Over the next decade, U.S. administrations under Andrew Jackson and John Tyler attempted to negotiate diplomatic agreements allowing the United States to annex Texas and to purchase additional territory in Mexico's northern frontier. Mexican leaders, struggling amid internal political crises, also feared external interference by the United States.

In 1844, James K. Polk won the U.S. presidency by promising to expand American territory and annex Texas.

On March 1, 1845, outgoing president Tyler secured a congressional resolution annexing Texas. The Mexican government under President José Joaquín de Herrera (b. 1792–d. 1854) responded by breaking off diplomatic negotiations with the United States, fearing that the Texas annexation would be closely followed by attempts to take additional territory. Those fears were realized when Polk sent John Slidell as the U.S. representative to Mexico City with orders to try to negotiate the purchase of more territory. Slidell's covert instructions were to push for the New Mexico and California territories, the latter to give U.S. shippers access to major ports along the Pacific coast. News of Slidell's secret mission leaked into the Mexican press, and under intense negative public pressure, Herrera broke off negotiations with the U.S. emissary. At the same time, political divisions within Mexico began to surface as General Mariano Paredes (b. 1797–d. 1849) took advantage of tense times and rebelled against Herrera's government. In January 1846, Paredes became president of Mexico. He focused his attention on stabilizing the internal political crisis and refused to see the U.S. diplomatic envoy.

With diplomatic negotiations stalled, Polk sent General Zachary Taylor to the border region to prepare for a possible confrontation. At that point, the unresolved boundary dispute left over from the Texas revolution came into play. Mexico had traditionally considered the southern Texas border to be the Nueces River. Texas and U.S. leaders claimed it was 150 miles (241 km) south on the Rio Grande (Río Bravo). Mexican leaders refused to compromise as the Rio Grande boundary marker effectively doubled the size of Texas. General Taylor marched his men into the disputed territory, and in April 1846, a skirmish broke out between Taylor's troops and a small Mexican cavalry contingent. When Polk received word that U.S. soldiers had been attacked and killed on what he considered to be American soil, he immediately presented Congress with a declaration of war. The declaration passed on May 13, and the U.S.-Mexican War began.

U.S. forces commenced an invasion of Mexican territory from a western and a northern front. Cavalry forces under Stephen W. Kearney spearheaded the invasion on the western front, advancing across New Mexico, Arizona, and eventually reaching California. When rumors of an impending war reached California in June, U.S. settlers rose in revolt in Sonoma. Reinforced by the Pacific naval fleet under John Drake Sloat and led by Commodore Robert F. Stockton, the California Battalion easily took northern California. Seeing the U.S. troops advance, Mexican MILITARY and political leaders fled south leaving the rest of California virtually defenseless. Stockton's forces met local resistance in Los Angeles, where many residents attempted to fight off the invading forces themselves. It was not until January 1847 that Stockton's and Kearney's combined forces of more than 600 finally defeated the 160-man California force.

The Treaty of Calhoun ended the California portion of the U.S.-Mexican War on January 13, 1847.

As events unfolded along the western front and in California, political turmoil continued in the Mexican government. CAUDILLO and military leader Santa Anna, who had previously withdrawn from politics in disgrace, monitored the progress of the war from his exile in CUBA. The former president began negotiating with U.S. leaders, promising to end the conflict peacefully and sell some of Mexico's northern territories if he would be allowed to pass through the naval blockade to reenter Mexico. Once back in his native land, Santa Anna turned on the United States and took up leadership of Mexico's northern defenses.

General Taylor continued his assault from Texas on the northern front. He led more than 2,000 troops across the Rio Grande and took the city of Matamoros. Taylor then proceeded to advance toward Monterrey, where he fought a difficult battle with Mexican troops under General Pedro de Ampudia. Eventually, Ampudia was forced to surrender, and Taylor advanced farther to the city of Saltillo. By February 1847, Santa Anna had managed to put together an army of 20,000 men and marched north to confront Taylor's advancing front. The two armies faced off at the Battle of Buena Vista in February 1847. Santa Anna was forced to withdraw, although he

claimed a victory for his army. His retreat effectively left the U.S. Army in control of most of Mexico's northern territories.

Taylor's successful advance, combined with the U.S. victories on the western front in California, seemed to indicate that U.S. strategies in those regions were bringing the desired results, but the Mexican government was unwilling to negotiate a peace. President Polk was also concerned that General Taylor's military successes could make him a formidable political rival if the army officer decided to run for president in the next election. The U.S. leader decided to change strategies and open up a new front with an invasion into the central heartland of Mexico. On March 9, 1847, General Winfield Scott landed just outside Veracruz with 12,000 soldiers to begin a campaign with the ultimate goal of invading Mexico City. The U.S. Army surrounded the port city of Veracruz, and for nearly three weeks, Mexican military personnel and civilians alike fought to defend the city from Scott's attack. On March 29, Veracruz fell, and Scott began his march toward Mexico City.

Santa Anna immediately set out with his army to confront Scott and defend the nation from the impending invasion. The two military leaders met on April 18 at the Battle of Cerro Gordo. Overpowered, Santa Anna's army was forced to retreat so hurriedly that Santa Anna



Artist's rendition of the bombardment of Veracruz by U.S. troops on March 25, 1847 (*Library of Congress*)

left behind the wooden leg that he used to walk after his leg was amputated in the PASTRY WAR. U.S. troops confiscated the leg as war booty, and their refusal to return it after the war became an issue of diplomatic contention between the nations for decades.

As the Mexican army retreated, Scott advanced and took the towns of Jalapa and PUEBLA. In August, freshly resupplied with newly arrived reinforcements, Scott pushed on toward Mexico City and faced off again with Santa Anna on August 19 and 20 on the outskirts of the capital. After another U.S. victory at the Battle of Churubusco, Scott brought in a diplomatic envoy to attempt to negotiate a peace. After one final major battle and U.S. victory at Molina del Rey, Santa Anna and the majority of the professional army abandoned Mexico City to continue small pockets of resistance from the countryside.

The withdrawal of the Mexican army left the capital virtually undefended. As Scott's forces advanced into the city, only civilians and a small group of cadets from the military academy were left to try to fend off the invading troops. The boys, some as young as 13, bravely defended the city, but U.S. forces quickly overpowered them. In one final confrontation, the last of the defenders leapt to their death from the top of Chapultepec Castle rather than surrender to the enemy army. Today, a monument stands in their honor at the foot of the castle, and the nation commemorates the sacrifice of "los Niños Héroes" (the boy heroes) every September 13.

As the U.S. occupation of Mexico City began, it was unclear who in the Mexican government had the authority to negotiate a peace settlement. Finally, on September

27, Supreme Court chief justice Manuel de la Peña (b. 1789–d. 1850) assumed the presidency and set up a government in Querétaro. Negotiations began in January between the de la Peña government and Nicholas Trist. With Mexico in such a distressed position, U.S. leaders demanded large concessions. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed on February 2, 1848, the U.S.-Mexican War ended with Mexico recognizing the U.S. claim to Texas and ceding the California and New Mexico territories for \$15 million. In addition, the U.S. government assumed more than \$3 million in outstanding claims against Mexico.

Shortly after the conclusion of the war, U.S. settlers discovered large deposits of GOLD in California, and the United States began enacting policies to encourage the settlement of the newly acquired lands. Defeat in the war was seen as a national failure for Mexico, yet the political turmoil and infighting that had allowed such an easy U.S. victory continued for several more decades.

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V

Valdés, Gabriel de la Concepción See PLÁCIDO.

Valparaiso Valparaiso is CHILE's most important coastal port city, whose prominence was established during

the 19th century. Located along the central coast not far from the inland capital of SANTIAGO DE CHILE, Valparaiso is a transit point for Chilean imports and exports. It has also historically provided a stopping point for vessels en route between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.



Late 19th-century photo of milk peddlers in Valparaiso, Chile (*Library of Congress*)

Valparaiso became a major transit port along South America's Pacific in the decades immediately following independence. When Bolivian dictator ANDRÉS DE SANTA CRUZ formed the PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION in 1836, Chilean leaders worried that the unified territory to the north would compete for coastal dominance with Chilean port cities. Chile went to war and forced the dissolution of the confederation. That victory effectively ensured Chile control of the Pacific coast and positioned Valparaiso as the region's principal port city.

Valparaiso grew quickly as Chile became more involved in global TRADE networks in the 1840s. The port became a popular stopover for ships carrying goods to supply California's gold rush in 1848. It also became the main exit point for Chile's growing nitrate industry. In the 1860s, the city was swept up in the Guano War between Spain and PERU. As Spanish forces invaded Peru's coastal Chincha Islands to secure access to guano, Chile signed a defensive pact with its northern neighbors. When port officials in Valparaiso refused to service Spanish ships in 1865, the Spanish navy blockaded and later attacked the city. U.S. and British officials attempted to intervene, demonstrating the important role Valparaiso played in global trade.

Valparaiso's importance as a stopover port for inter-oceanic traffic declined after the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914. Nevertheless, Valparaiso continued to be an important coastal port and cultural location.

See also PANAMA CANAL, CONSTRUCTION OF (Vol. IV).

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Venezuela Venezuela is a country in the northern region of South America, located on the Atlantic coast north of BRAZIL, east of COLOMBIA, and west of GUYANA.

INDEPENDENCE

Citizens in colonial Venezuela began to entertain the notion of independence a full decade before the formal movements erupted throughout Latin America. A group of creole elite initiated a failed effort to liberate the colony as early as 1797. In 1806, Francisco de Miranda, a MILITARY man and native of CARACAS, attempted to incite an independence rebellion. Failing to inspire Venezuelans to join his cause, however, he escaped to Europe until Simón Bolívar recruited him to assist in a new attempt in 1810.

Bolívar, also a native of Caracas, was from a wealthy family and had been educated in Europe, where he had been exposed to Enlightenment ideas. Motivated by notions of liberty and self-determination, Bolívar began plotting to overthrow colonial officials after Napoléon Bonaparte's 1808 invasion of Spain. In 1810, elite creoles on the Caracas *cabildo*, or city council, formed a resistance

junta and deposed local Spanish government officials. The new ruling junta originally declared loyalty to Spain's Ferdinand VII, but a rift developed between those who advocated independence and those who merely wanted more autonomy. Led by Bolívar, a Venezuelan congress met, and on July 5, 1811, the group officially declared Venezuela's independence and established the First Republic.

Despite the early support for Bolívar's movement, Venezuelan independence was not secured for several years. Even with a new constitution and a seemingly unified stand for independence, infighting erupted almost immediately. Leaders of the new republic failed to address deep-seated social inequalities, and mulattoes (people of mixed European and African blood) and *llaneros* (cowboys or livestock herders, generally of mixed Spanish and Amerindian blood) joined the royalist forces in opposition to independence. A major earthquake struck Caracas in March 1812, and royalist leaders claimed that God was expressing his displeasure with the independence movement. Finally, Miranda, who had been given supreme command, lost a series of battles against royalist forces. After attempting to negotiate a surrender with the royalists, he was captured while trying to escape with the national treasury.

Bolívar continued to push the movement forward and after several major victories declared the Second Republic in 1813. He was granted the title *libertador* upon taking Caracas, but with the restoration of Ferdinand VII in Spain and the arrival of Spanish army reinforcements, patriot forces quickly lost momentum. The Second Republic was crushed in 1814, and Bolívar fled the country. By 1815, the Liberator made his way to Jamaica, where he wrote his famous "Letter from Jamaica" articulating his views of colonialism and independence. A short time later, he went to HAITI and received some support from the newly independent nation's president, ALEXANDRE PÉTIION.

In 1816, Bolívar revised his military strategy and revived his attempt to secure independence for Venezuela. He recruited the help of *llaneros* under General JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ and attacked from the interior. With renewed energy and several military successes, Bolívar established the Third Republic. In 1819, he formed the Congress of Angostura and called for the creation of a new constitution. Bolívar urged the congress to select one strong central leader, and the governing body responded by granting Bolívar extraordinary powers. Within months, Bolívar's army expanded its activities into New Granada and enjoyed victory in the Battle of Boyacá. As the last western royalist strongholds fell, the Congress of Angostura created the Republic of Colombia (GRAN COLOMBIA), encompassing the territories that had previously made up the Viceroyalty of New Granada.

GRAN COLOMBIA

Spain's 1820 Riego Revolt helped seal independence for Bolívar in Venezuela. Many frustrated royalists joined

the independence movement after the restoration of liberal rule in Spain. At the same time, with no new reinforcements arriving, the Spanish army found itself in an increasingly weakened position against Bolívar and Páez's forces. Bolívar's victory at the Battle of Carabobo in 1821 secured the independence of Venezuela, and the leader determined that to protect independence, Spanish forces needed to be removed from the entire South American continent. His army ousted the last royalist forces at Puerto Cabello in 1823, and in 1824, he aided in the final liberation of PERU to the south.

While Bolívar continued to lead independence forces, congressional delegates first in Angostura and then in Cúcuta worked to draft a constitution for Gran Colombia (see CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT, VENEZUELA). The document, which was approved in 1821, established a strong central government with Bolívar as the president of the republic. It also called for a number of social reforms such as the abolition of SLAVERY, the elimination of the *mita* LABOR system, and secularization of EDUCATION, although those measures were not fully implemented. Bolívar left governing duties to his vice president, FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER, while he led the final battles for independence in Peru. As acting president, Santander worked to stimulate the national ECONOMY and implement the various reform measures contained in the constitution. He raised the ire of many influential supporters of the CATHOLIC CHURCH by revamping the nation's education system to include a more liberal curriculum. Furthermore, he financed an expansion of the education system by confiscating church assets. Resentment of social reforms combined with growing financial troubles set the stage for a number of challenges to the new government in its first years.

Instability in Gran Colombia manifested most seriously in antagonism among regional leaders. In particular, the elite in Caracas felt isolated from the center of government in BOGOTÁ and frequently argued that the needs of Venezuelans were being overlooked by that government. In 1826, Páez, one of Bolívar's most trusted military commanders, led a revolt against the government in Bogotá. Bolívar negotiated a peaceful, temporary end to the rebellion, but the Liberator had become increasingly dictatorial and pushed to consolidate power even further under a highly centralized government. He dissolved congress and reversed many of the liberal social measures that had been implemented under Santander. In 1829, Páez led Venezuelans again in revolt, this time declaring formal secession from Gran Colombia. The republic disbanded, and Páez became president of the new republic of Venezuela.

REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA

Páez's military background and authoritative leadership style made him a quintessential 19th-century Latin American CAUDILLO. He either ruled as president or exerted his influence behind the scenes in Venezuelan

politics from 1830 to 1848. That time is known as the period of the conservative oligarchy, as many of Páez's allies endorsed a more conservative political platform. Under the caudillo's guidance, Venezuelan leaders worked to provide economic recovery and social stability. Páez began to build a fragile sense of national unity, but an economic downturn in the 1840s combined with preexisting regional animosities provoked an anti-Páez movement in 1848. José Tadeo Monagas (b. 1784–d. 1868), a candidate from the LIBERAL PARTY that had formed in 1840, won the presidential election in 1846. Within two years, the new president had driven Páez into exile.

Monagas held office from 1847 to 1851; was succeeded by his brother, José Gregorio Monagas (b. 1795–d. 1858) from 1851 to 1855; then returned to presidency from 1855 to 1858. As Liberals, the brothers pushed through numerous social reforms, such as the abolition of slavery in 1854, but they also ruled as dictators, suppressing the power of Congress and silencing political opposition. Their heavy-handed tactics infuriated Conservatives and even alienated many within the Liberal Party. When the brothers moved to limit provincial authority, a large group of Liberals defected and joined forces with individuals within the CONSERVATIVE PARTY to overthrow the Monagas brothers.

The unified front presented by Conservatives and Liberals to oust the dictatorial brothers did not last for long. The power vacuum created by deposing the president provided the foundation for a power grab among regional caudillos. Long-standing disagreements over CENTRALISM VERSUS FEDERALISM erupted in a five-year civil war. The FEDERAL WAR—also known as the Guerra de los Cinco Años (Five Years' War), Guerra Larga (Long War), and Revolución Federal (Federal Revolution)—developed as Conservatives struggled to maintain a strong central government with a rigid social hierarchy. Liberals, whose ranks included the largely mixed-race rural and *llanero* population, advocated a more egalitarian social system with substantial regional autonomy. Political rivals waged guerrilla warfare from March 1858 to July 1863. Conservatives tried to gain the advantage by bringing Páez back to power, but even that strategy did not sustain them for long. While Páez became increasingly dictatorial, the Conservative Party fractured. The Treaty of Coche compelled a Conservative surrender, and Liberals moved to implement a federalist political and social system.

Military leader of the Liberal forces in the Federal War, General Juan Crisóstomo Falcón (b. 1820–d. 1870) won the presidency in 1864, with ANTONIO GUZMÁN BLANCO as vice president. Immediately, the two implemented a new constitution that strengthened the federalist system and called for varying degrees of liberal reform. An uprising of Monagas supporters in 1867, known as the Revolución Azul (Blue Revolution), drove Falcón from power and ushered in a brief period of rule (1869–70) by José Ruperto Monagas (b. 1831–d. 1880), son of for-

mer president José Tadeo Monagas. Immediately, ousted vice president Guzmán Blanco began garnering support from fellow Liberals and regional caudillos throughout Venezuela. He led a revolt known as the April Revolution, and in 1870, Guzmán Blanco drove the *azules* (blues) out of Caracas and took over the presidency.

THE GUZMANATO

Between 1870 and 1888, Guzmán Blanco served as president, dictator, or the power behind the scenes in an era known as the *guzmanato*. Although he was a prototypical liberal and caudillo, Guzmán Blanco's administration was known for its combination of modernization and oppression. The *guzmanato* provided a crucial period of stability that allowed the economy to recover and grow. The nation attracted foreign investors, and the president used the ever-expanding treasury to finance an expansion of TRANSPORTATION and communication infrastructure. He built roads, ports, and railroads to facilitate TRADE and displayed the nation's modernity and progress by constructing grandiose monuments and public buildings. Guzmán Blanco epitomized the Liberal Party platform by curbing the power of the Catholic Church, causing some consternation among the Conservative elite. Although social reform did not rank high among his priorities, the caudillo did expand the EDUCATION system and made primary schooling free and compulsory. He also endeavored to foster a sense of national unity by creating a common national currency, establishing a national anthem, and conducting a national census. The *guzmanato* succeeded in bringing stability and modernity to a once-chaotic society, but such progress came at a cost. The dictator was known for jailing opposition and censoring the press. Aside from modest education reforms, little was done to alleviate the problems of the poor. To the contrary, the general populace was often ruled with an iron fist in the interest of maintaining order.

Guzmán Blanco's dictatorship ended in 1888 when a coup deposed his government and ushered in an era of attempts at civilian rule and continued instability. Juan Pablo Rojas Paúl (b. 1826–d. 1905) was elected president, followed by Raimundo Andueza Palacio (b. 1846–d. 1900) in 1890. When Andueza Palacio took steps to reform the nation's constitution, caudillo and former president Joaquín Crespo (b. 1841–d. 1898) led the Revolución Legalista (Legalist Revolution) in 1892. He wrested power away from the civilian politicians and imposed his own version of constitutional reform. In 1893, Crespo pushed through a constitution that called for direct elections and a secret ballot for the first time in Venezuela's history. He also extended the presidential term from two years to four years and won the new election held in 1894.

Crespo inherited a boundary dispute with Great Britain over the border between British Guiana (present-day Guyana) and Venezuela that had been simmering over the course of the 19th century. The discovery of GOLD in the contested territory further exacerbated the debate

and made a simple and amicable resolution impossible. In 1895, U.S. secretary of state Richard Olney invoked the MONROE DOCTRINE in his Olney Declaration. He stated that the United States had full authority to arbitrate the dispute as an extension of the protective powers stipulated by U.S. president James Monroe in 1823. British leaders initially rejected these claims, but after a brief exchange of strongly worded diplomatic messages, the British agreed to allow the United States to appoint a boundary commission. As the commission worked to determine the border, Caracas erupted once more in civil unrest, and Venezuelan leaders were essentially left out of the negotiations. The final border as determined by the U.S. commission in 1899 corresponded closely to the British claims, and antagonism over the contested territory continued well into the 20th century.

In 1898, Crespo supported fellow Liberal and military general Ignacio Andrade (b. 1839–d. 1925) in his bid for president. Andrade claimed victory in an election marred by fraud and corruption. When opposition candidate José Manuel Hernández (b. 1853–d. 1921) challenged the election, another skirmish broke out among competing presidential hopefuls. Such turmoil in Caracas opened the door for yet another rebellion, this one led by Andean cattleman CIPRIANO CASTRO. Castro, a regional caudillo from the mountainous region of Táchira, had been influenced by liberal politics at an early age. He had gained a reputation for leading local rebellions against ill-favored state politicians. In 1892, he was exiled to Colombia for opposing Crespo's Revolución Legalista. During his seven years in exile, Castro engaged in illegal cattle trading and built a considerable financial empire. His pocketbook, plus his manner of appealing personally to disaffected Venezuelans, helped him raise a powerful army and take power in 1899.

Although Castro began his foray into politics as a typical regional caudillo, his presidency is generally considered a transitory era when Venezuela began to move away from the *caudillismo* of the 19th century toward a more populist system characteristic of the early 20th century. His rebellion became known as the Revolución Liberal Restauradora (Restorative Liberal Revolution), and one of its most notable accomplishments was to allow full inclusion for the first time of the country's Andean region in national politics. Castro built support as a federalist, advocating local autonomy. In later years, his administration became more highly centralized in an effort to subdue internal conflict, but he retained the support of many local leaders. Where previous leaders had failed to rein in the autonomist tendencies of unruly local caudillos, Castro succeeded in harnessing their support to lay the foundation for national progress.

See also ANGOSTURA, CONGRESS OF (Vol. II); BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (Vol. II); ENLIGHTENMENT (Vol. II); LLANEROS (Vol. II); MIRANDA, FRANCISCO DE (Vol. II); MITA (Vol. II); NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF (Vol. II); VENEZUELA (Vols. I, II, IV).

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Victoria, Guadalupe (José Miguel Ramón Aducto Fernández y Félix) (b. 1786–d. 1843) *independence leader and president of Mexico* Guadalupe Victoria was an independence leader in MEXICO who became the nation's first president, from 1824 to 1829. Victoria was born José Miguel Ramón Aducto Fernández y Félix in Tamazula, Durango, in 1786. He changed his name to Guadalupe Victoria when he joined the struggle for independence in 1811. His name honored the VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE, the symbol adopted by Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla as the patron saint of independence, and the insurgents' assured victory over Spain.

He took up arms under José María Morelos y Pavón and fought first in Oaxaca and then in Veracruz. He was in hiding when VICENTE GUERRERO and AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE promulgated the Plan de Iguala, which paved the way for independence. Victoria was unhappy with the conservative compromise outlined in the plan and publicly advocated for a republican form of government rather than a monarchical republic with Iturbide as emperor. When Iturbide began jailing political opposition in 1822, Victoria was detained but managed to escape to Veracruz. He joined ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA'S PLAN DE CASA MATA to overthrow Iturbide.

After Iturbide abdicated, Victoria formed the ruling triumvirate with Nicolás Bravo (b. 1786–d. 1854) and Pedro Celestino Negrete (b. 1777–d. 1846). The triad oversaw the drafting of the CONSTITUTION OF 1824, and when the document took effect in October, Congress elected Victoria to serve as the first president of the Mexican republic. Victoria, a liberal and advocate of FEDERALISM, served alongside his conservative vice president, Bravo. Representing both sides of the developing political extremes, the pair maintained a brief period of relative political stability. The temporary hiatus from political turmoil ended in 1827, however, when Bravo unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow Victoria's regime. The president defeated and exiled his vice president and went on to serve his entire term. During that time, Mexico normalized diplomatic relations with the United States and Great Britain, effectively gaining recognition of Mexican sovereignty. Victoria strengthened the nation's financial structure and negotiated important TRADE arrangements with foreign powers. He abolished SLAVERY and began plans to invest in infrastructure projects.

Victoria stepped down from the presidency peacefully, but the nation was immediately beset by instability as competing political factions vied for power. Guerrero succeeded Victoria as president, and Victoria retired from public life. He died in Veracruz in 1843.

See also HIDALGO Y COSTILLA, MIGUEL (Vol. II); MORELOS Y PAVÓN, JOSÉ MARÍA (Vol. II).

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Vieques Island Located approximately nine miles (14.5 km) east of mainland PUERTO RICO, the island of Vieques occupies an area of 51.5 square miles (133 km²) and during peak months has a population of nearly 10,000 people. It is the largest of Puerto Rico's offshore islands, and its name is derived from the Taino Indian word *bieque*, meaning "small land." Vieques was one of the last strongholds of Taino resistance against Spanish domination in Puerto Rico during the 16th century, and the Spanish sent troops to the island to crush the Taino rebellion but never established a permanent presence there. The lack of a Spanish MILITARY presence on the island led to its use by numerous smugglers and pirates in the region until the 19th century.

In 1811, Puerto Rican governor Salvador Meléndez initiated a series of military actions against the island as part of a formal attempt by Spanish authorities to impose the rule of law upon its criminal residents and officially annex the island to Puerto Rico. Following an accord with the Puerto Rican government, Frenchman Teófilo José Jaime María Le Guillou became the first governor of Vieques in 1832, ushering in a period of economic and social progress previously unseen on the tiny island. In 1843, the first town was founded and given the name Isabel Segunda after the Spanish queen Isabella II (b. 1830–d. 1904). Large SUGAR plantations were established following permanent Spanish settlement of the island, increasing its population through the importation of thousands of African slaves (see SLAVERY). Many of these slaves were brought from the neighboring British island colonies of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Kitts (see CARIBBEAN, BRITISH). Vieques was permanently annexed to Puerto Rico in 1854, and constant ship traffic linked Puerto Rico and Vieques, which largely retained its unique culture and remained more colonial as the main island modernized during the latter half of the 19th century.

Following the dramatic decline of global sugar prices in the 1920s and 1930s, the island's population greatly decreased, leaving just a handful of subsistence farmers. Seizing upon the drop in land prices and the strategic importance of the island to defense of the Atlantic Ocean, the U.S. government purchased nearly two-thirds of Vieques during World War II as an addition to the exist-

ing Roosevelt Roads Naval Station on the eastern coast of neighboring Puerto Rico.

See also PUERTO RICO (Vols. I, II, IV); TAINO (Vol. I); VIEQUES ISLAND (Vol. IV).

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Virgin of Guadalupe The Virgin of Guadalupe is the patron saint of MEXICO. Her image became a national symbol during and after the struggle for independence. The image is also revered in other Latin American nations. The Virgin Mary is said to have appeared to a Nahua Indian named Juan Diego in the 16th century as the Spanish were attempting to consolidate power after the conquest. The virgin appeared on the Hill of Tepeyac, previously a site dedicated to an Aztec goddess, and spoke to Juan Diego in his native language. Her image, which miraculously appeared on Juan Diego's *tilma*, or "cloak," was taken as a sign that church leaders should build a temple in her honor at Tepeyac. After her appearance, large numbers of NATIVE AMERICANS were converted to Catholicism. The authenticity of the miracle was called into question from the beginning. Many church leaders rejected it during the colonial period, and questions about its validity were raised in the 19th century. Nevertheless, the CATHOLIC CHURCH erected a monument on the site of the apparition, and in 1709, a large cathedral dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe was completed. By the end of the colonial period, the Virgin of Guadalupe had become a major spiritual icon throughout Latin America.

The onset of the Mexican war for independence made the Virgin of Guadalupe a national symbol and a representation of an emerging sense of national identity. Independence hero and Catholic priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla summoned the nation to arms with his Grito de Dolores on September 16, 1810, invoking the name of the Virgin of Guadalupe as a guardian for his cause. His call for independence inspired parishioners in his rural village and in surrounding areas, who lined up to follow Hidalgo into battle. The incipient independence army seized a banner of the virgin and carried it as the official standard of the movement. Subsequent independence leaders also invoked the virgin as the spiritual inspiration for the patriot cause. José Miguel Ramón Aducto Fernández y Félix changed his name to GUADALUPE VICTORIA as a patriotic gesture. Victoria became the first president of the Republic of Mexico in 1824.

The Virgin of Guadalupe evolved into a true national symbol in Mexico after independence. In the 1850s, the Mexican government declared the Virgin of Guadalupe the patron saint of the country. The French-imposed Emperor Maximilian and his wife, Carlota, prayed to her on their arrival in Mexico City in 1864 (see FRENCH



Outside view of the Old Basilica of Guadalupe in Mexico City (*The Bridgeman Art Library*)

INTERVENTION). Their homage to the virgin was intended to demonstrate a common spiritual and patriotic identity between the European monarchs and the Mexican people. Despite several attempts to challenge the existence of the image as a grand Catholic conspiracy in the late 19th century, the Virgin of Guadalupe thrived as an expression of nationalism during decades of political and social conflict. On October 12, 1895, tens of thousands of pilgrims joined church leaders from Mexico and around the world for the coronation of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Her image is still on display in the Basilica of Guadalupe in MEXICO CITY, and her feast day, December 12, is a national holiday.

See also HIDALGO Y COSTILLA, MIGUEL (Vol. III); VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE (Vol. I).

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Vodou (Vaudou [French], Voodoo [English], Voudou, Vodun) Vodou is an official RELIGION of HAITI; it reflects the complex history of the West Africans who were brought to the Caribbean as slaves and became Catholic during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Haitian Revolution, said to be inspired by a famous Vodou ceremony at Bois Caïman in 1791, led to the defeat of the French and the colony of Saint Domingue's declaration of independence in 1804. After independence, Haitian society "creolized," meaning it remained fundamentally African but highly responsive to new influences. As a result, African Vodou spirits continued to be transformed and adapted not only through contact with Europeans and their spiritual traditions but also through the experience of SLAVERY, revolution, and independence.

The fundamental concept of Vodou revolves around an understanding that reality consists of coexisting seen and unseen worlds. The human environment and all associated tangible things are examples of the seen, or physical, world. Spiritual entities, or invisibles, are called *lwa* (*loa*), *mystères*, *anges*, and *les morts* and are believed to populate the unseen world.

Vodou is monotheistic. Practitioners recognize a single and supreme god known as Bondye. It is believed that Bondye created both the physical and spiritual worlds, placing the spirits in charge of maintaining humanity and the natural environment. The emphasis in Vodou is on service rather than belief. For this reason, those who practice it are said to be “serving” the spirits rather than “believing” in them.

There are three important categories of spiritual beings in Vodou: the *lwa*, the *marasa* (twins), and *les morts* (the dead). The *lwa* are family spirits as well as forces of the universe, such as good, evil, health, and prosperity. The family spirits encompass all aspects of daily life. They interact with the people of the earth and are known to “possess,” or “mount,” *vodouisants* (practitioners of Vodou) during religious ceremonies. Possession is indicated when a person incarnates a particular *lwa*'s movement, speech, dress, preference for food or drink, and so on. The *marasa*, or twins, represent “sets of contradictions,” such as good/evil and happy/sad. *Les morts* are ancestral spirits and the newly deceased. All of these spirits live in a place called Ginen, which is understood as a “cosmic Africa.”

The central goal of Vodou is to heal or “balance” the energies between people and between people and the spirits of the unseen world. This is achieved through service to a particular *lwa* in the form of prayer or other devotional activities. In return, the *vodouisant* receives health, protection, and good fortune.

The Vodou clergy consists of men (*houngan*) and women (*mambo*) who practice in community centers called *houngfo*. Their functions include healing, performing religious ceremonies to summon or appease spirits, initiation, interpreting dreams, predicting the future, casting spells, and creating protections and potions for such things as love, health, and wealth.

Vodou ceremonies are usually held outside, under a rough roof, around a *poto mitan*, or center pole, which is also understood as a crossroad between the spirit and earth. A *houngan* or *mambo* usually directs the service. Drums are used extensively, and dancing is essential. Anyone present at the ceremony can be mounted, or possessed. Vodou ceremonies involve offerings, often including animal sacrifice. It is believed that when an animal is killed, its life force is released, which rejuvenates the *lwa*.

Vodou is an oral tradition that is perpetuated within extended families. The young inherit familial spirits

and learn important devotional rites from the old. Most knowledge is passed on during initiation rites, such as the *bounsi kanzo* (basic initiation).

There is no centralized hierarchy in Vodou. It is composed of individualized “houses,” the *houngfo*, headed by a *mambo* or *houngan*. For this reason, there is a great deal of diversity among regional *houngfo*. The *mambo* or *houngan* becomes the spiritual parent of her or his initiates, forever responsible for the “children’s” spiritual knowledge, growth, and protection. In return, the initiates owe their *mambo* or *houngan* loyalty and respect.

There are several central *lwa* in the Vodou pantheon. Legba is an old man who acts as the gatekeeper between the physical and spirit world. He is the origin of life and is symbolized by the Sun. Kafou is known as the crossroads. He is the spirit of the night and the origin of darkness, symbolized by the Moon. Papa Ghede is the *lwa* of death and resurrection and is portrayed as comic and erotic. Danbalah is the father figure. He is the source of peace and tranquillity, depicted as the good snake. Danbalah and his wife, Ayida-Wèdo (rainbow), are the characters in the Vodou creation story. Agwe is master of the oceans. Ogou is the warrior summoned for the Haitian Revolution. Ezili is the earth mother, the spirit of love and beauty.

During the colonial period, Vodou was prohibited by the French. Slave owners permitted slaves to hold dances on weekends, however, and many of these festivities were actually Vodou ceremonies. After independence from France was declared in 1804, many of the remaining French in Haiti were killed, including some Roman Catholic priests. As a result, the Vatican broke with Haiti in 1804, and relations were not reinstated until 1860. During this 56-year period, Haitian religion creolized to such an extent that to this day Haitians practice both Catholicism and Vodou side by side.

From the 1860s until the 1940s, the CATHOLIC CHURCH unsuccessfully campaigned against Vodou. In 2003, Vodou was recognized (on equal terms with Catholicism) as an official religion of Haiti.

See also SYNCRETISM (Vol. I).

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Walker, William (b. 1824–d. 1860) *U.S. filibusterer and president of Nicaragua* The son of a successful Nashville, Tennessee, businessman, Walker earned a medical degree, practiced law, and dabbled in journalism before going to California, where he became entwined with others who wanted to incorporate Baja California and then all of MEXICO into the United States. In October 1853, Walker led a contingent of 45 men into Baja California and a month later proclaimed the peninsula a republic. In April 1854, Walker entered Sonora State, where in the face of stiff Mexican resistance, he was forced to retreat to the United States, where he was acquitted by a San Francisco court for violating U.S. neutrality laws.

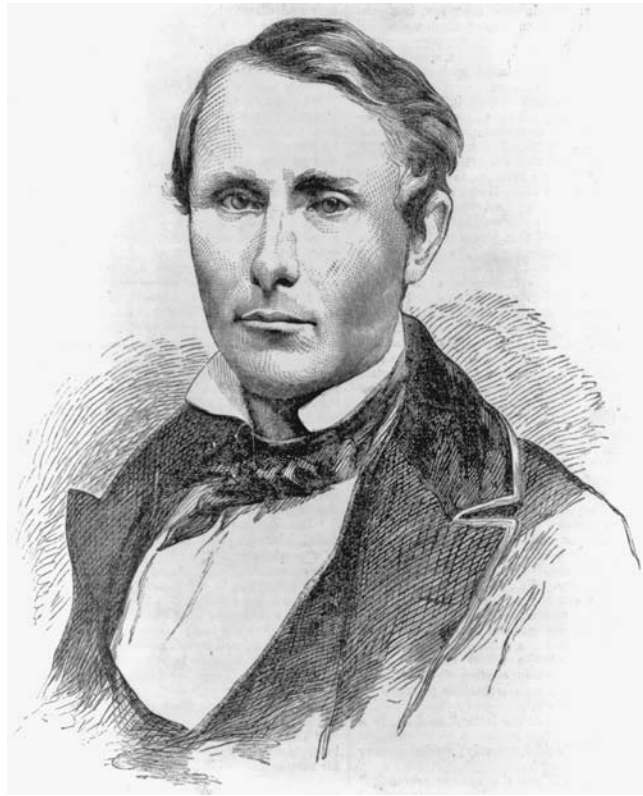
At the same time, the liberal-conservative conflict that characterized Latin American politics at the time manifested in NICARAGUA. The Conservatives, based in the old Spanish capital of Granada, were in constant conflict with the León-centered Liberals. With the Conservatives dominant in 1854, the Liberals cast about for assistance, and through the efforts of Byron Cole, a U.S. mine operator in Nicaragua, arranged for Walker to come to the country in defense of the Liberal cause. In October 1855, five months after his arrival in Nicaragua, Walker governed through his imposed president, Patricio Rivas. But, Walker wanted power in his own right. In June 1856, he engineered his own presidency in farcical elections that violated the Nicaraguan constitution.

Governing as a MILITARY commander, in September 1856, Walker decreed a series of LABOR “reforms” that instituted forced labor for all unemployed people not actively seeking work, legalized labor contracts for unlimited time periods, and rescinded decrees that abolished SLAVERY. He also laid out a complicated system of land registration that led to the confiscation of lands

held by his political enemies. He declared English the official language. Walker’s program intended to bring white North Americans, particularly his Southern supporters, to Nicaragua. In reality, more Northerners came in hopes of making their fortunes through agricultural pursuits. With his program in place in Nicaragua, Walker set out to conquer all of CENTRAL AMERICA. The failure of the U.S. government to shut down his operation seemed to verify the Central American view that Walker was an agent of U.S. expansionist policy.

Neither Walker nor the North Americans who followed him achieved further success. Walker’s “reforms” infuriated both Nicaraguan Liberals and Conservatives, and for the Central American leadership, the imposition of foreign rule was an anathema. Walker had to go, but the Central Americans needed financial support to supply an army to challenge the “green-eyed man of destiny.” U.S. shipping magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt appeared as their benefactor. Vanderbilt, whose ACCESSORY TRANSIT COMPANY had since 1849 enjoyed exclusive rights to the San Juan River, Lake Nicaragua, and a road leading to the western port of Rivas, lost these concessions in 1856 when Walker directed President Rivas to annul the agreement and allow two of his own supporters, Cornelius K. Garrison and Charles Morgan, to direct operations. Vanderbilt turned to Walker’s opponents to impose retribution.

Costa Rican Conservative president Juan Rafael Mora (b. 1814–d. 1860) reacted quickly. Through his minister in Washington, D.C., Mora implored the government to take preventive measures against Walker and, in London, sought British assistance. The British, seeing this as an opportunity to curtail U.S. expansion on the isthmus, provided Costa Rica with military supplies and increased its naval squadron in the Gulf of Mexico (see



Portrait of U.S. filibusterer William Walker (*Library of Congress*)

TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). Mora took his troops to the battlefield and at La Virgen on March 1, 1856, defeated Walker's army but was then forced to retreat because of a cholera epidemic. Mora's victory inspired the governments of EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS, and GUATEMALA to join the Nicaraguan Conservatives to drive Walker from Central America. In what the Central Americans proudly call their "National War," the region's national armies, supported by Vanderbilt's money, pursued Walker until they besieged him in Rivas on Nicaragua's Pacific coast in March 1857. Two months later, Walker surrendered to U.S. naval captain Charles E. Davis, who brought him back to New Orleans and a vociferous welcome.

Walker organized a second expedition to Central America in 1858 but was interned by the British at Greytown before again being returned to the United States. He returned yet again in 1860, this time to Trujillo, Honduras, where a British naval officer turned him over to the Honduran military command there. He was executed by firing squad on September 12, 1860. Walker's death coincided with a temporary loss of U.S. interest in isthmian affairs, as it turned inward to deal with its own civil war (see U.S. CIVIL WAR AND CENTRAL AMERICA).

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War of 1898 (Spanish-American War) The War of 1898 between the United States and Spain resulted in the independence of CUBA and the U.S. annexation of other Spanish colonies. Economic relations between the United States and Cuba had been strengthening throughout the 19th century, and many Americans had become directly involved in Cuba's SUGAR industry. The war followed several earlier independence movements on Cuba, specifically the TEN YEARS' WAR and the War of 1895.

Cuba's and PUERTO RICO's slave-based sugar economies had kept the islands tied to Spain even after the rest of the empire had fought and won wars for independence between 1810 and 1825 (see SLAVERY). Plantation owners feared a massive slave uprising, and few challenges to Spanish authority surfaced until late in the 19th century. In 1868, CARLOS MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES issued the GRITO DE YARA to declare Cuba's independence and sparked the Ten Years' War. Céspedes's movement ended in the TREATY OF ZANJÓN but did not bring about independence. The treaty was supposed to place Cuba on a par with other Spanish provinces, but it quickly became apparent that the island's political status would change very little. Furthermore, the end of the Ten Years' War opened the door for increased U.S. involvement in Cuba's sugar industry, and American businessmen began acquiring land and other holdings on the island. Leaders such as ANTONIO MACEO and MÁXIMO GÓMEZ, who had fled Cuba after the war, eventually joined forces with other exiles to plot a new independence movement.

JOSÉ MARTÍ emerged as a leader of the continued quest for Cuban independence. Martí was a writer and political thinker who had been imprisoned and then banished from Cuba for speaking out against the Spanish government (see LITERATURE). In 1892, in New York, he formed the Cuban Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Cubano) and began making plans to spearhead another push for independence on the island. In the early months of 1895, Martí issued the Manifiesto de Montecristo and led an invasion force to Cuba. Together with Maceo and Gómez, Martí sparked an insurrection that grew into the War of 1895.

As rebellion spread throughout Cuba, Spain prepared to defend its imperial authority. Martí was killed after just six weeks of fighting, and Maceo succumbed the following year. Nevertheless, Gómez and other leaders kept the revolt alive, mainly by using guerrilla tactics against the Spanish army's larger and more organized force. Spanish forces found it increasingly difficult to

combat the smaller, more maneuverable rebel forces. Revolutionaries hid easily among the civilian population and quickly gained support for their cause. By the end of the first year, the rebels controlled much of the eastern half of the island and had gained several important strongholds in the west. The war, however, left a swath of destruction in its wake, and the U.S. public watched the violence unfold with increasing alarm. Rebel forces often targeted large plantation owners—many of them U.S. citizens—who refused to support the insurgency. Many Americans made early appeals for the U.S. government to intervene, but the administration of President Grover Cleveland issued a declaration of neutrality in an attempt to keep the United States out of the conflict.

Early in 1896, the Spanish government sent Valeriano Weyler, a ruthless military man and decorated general, to lead the Spanish offensive. The government made Weyler governor of Cuba, giving him extraordinary authority to suppress the insurgency. Weyler understood that one of the rebels' greatest advantages was that they blended easily with the civilian population, making it difficult for the Spanish army to discern combatant from noncombatant. In an effort to eliminate that advantage, Weyler introduced a system of concentration camps, forcing civilians to relocate to the camps so as to flush out the rebels. Those who refused to relocate were executed. Anyone caught outside the camps was assumed to be part of the insurgency and suffered the same fate. The MILITARY forcibly evacuated the civilian population, burning homes and entire villages as it did so.

Cubans who willingly complied with the evacuation orders did not fare much better than those who resisted. Conditions in the camps were deplorable, as most suffered from a shortage of vital supplies such as food and MEDICINE, and tropical and other contagious diseases such as dysentery, yellow fever, and cholera ran rampant. Those not affected by disease often suffered from malnutrition. Weyler's brutality and the rebels' attacks on loyalist planters paralyzed the Cuban ECONOMY. Crops and fields were razed, and the island's general infrastructure was destroyed.

As Weyler continued his ruthless tactics, support for the Spanish waned further in the United States. Owners of American periodicals, such as William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, published numerous exposés emphasizing the atrocities of the war and found that the most sensational stories sold the most newspapers and magazines. Hearst and Pulitzer both hired reporters and artists to describe the horrible events of the war and to provide illustrations to eager readers. As the two publishing moguls competed for readership, both resorted to exaggeration and even went so far as to manufacture stories in an attempt to outdo each other. This sensationalistic and exaggerated form of reporting became known as yellow journalism, and the press played a large role in eventually pulling the United States into the conflict. Many Americans began to argue that U.S. leaders

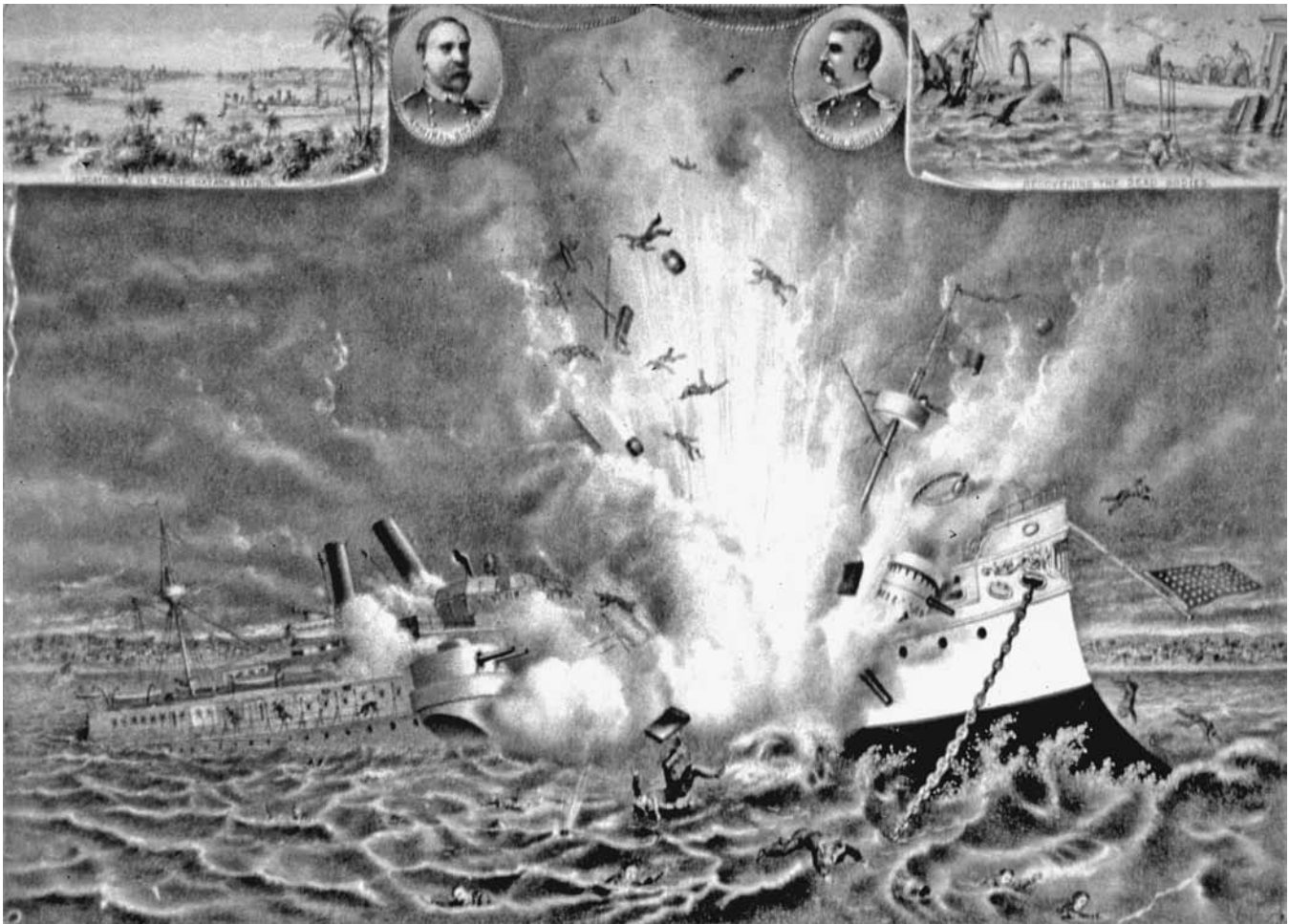
should intervene in the Cuban independence movement to protect the smaller, weaker nation from the evils of European colonialism. Many were also concerned about U.S.-owned property on the island, while others wished to annex Cuba to the United States.

By 1898, newly inaugurated U.S. president William McKinley had abandoned Cleveland's earlier neutral stance. In January, the president sent a naval battleship, the USS *Maine*, to HAVANA harbor to demonstrate that he would use force if necessary to protect U.S. interests. On February 15, the warship mysteriously exploded, killing most of the crew. Yellow journalists in the United States accused the Spanish of mining the harbor and called for an immediate reprisal. In April 1898, Congress passed a resolution authorizing McKinley to send U.S. forces to Cuba and calling for a complete Spanish withdrawal from the island. U.S. congressional leaders also passed the Teller Amendment, which stipulated that the United States would not annex Cuba. Instead, a victory against Spain would guarantee the island's independence. By the end of the month, the United States and Spain were at war.

The first hostilities between U.S. and Spanish forces took place in the Spanish Pacific colonies of the Philippine Islands and Guam. U.S. commodore George Dewey enjoyed a quick and relatively easy victory and captured Manila harbor, preventing the Spanish Pacific fleet from coming to the aid of naval forces in Cuba. U.S. naval leaders thus had an advantage when they led an assault on Cuba in June and July. The combat stage of the War of 1898 was relatively short lived, and both sides suffered more casualties from tropical disease than from actual battlefield wounds. Fighting came to a close in August when U.S. and Spanish leaders signed an armistice. The war officially ended with the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10.

The conclusion of the War of 1898 dismantled what remained of the once-great Spanish Empire. The Treaty of Paris stipulated that Spain cede its colonial possessions in the Caribbean and the Pacific to the United States. As a result of the U.S. victory, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines became U.S. possessions. The peace treaty also required that Spain give up all claims to Cuba. In accordance with the Teller Amendment, U.S. leaders guaranteed the independence of the island.

After claiming victory over the Spanish, the U.S. military occupied Cuba from December 1899 to May 1902. During that time, the Cuban military was disbanded, and the political system was reorganized under a new government. U.S. occupation leaders also took steps to rebuild the island's economic infrastructure, but planters and other landowners looking to rebuild received no assistance. Many lost their landholdings as U.S. agribusinesses moved to purchase the inexpensive, foreclosed properties. In 1901, delegates to the Cuban constitutional convention approved a new governing document that included the Platt Amendment, a provision allowing U.S. intervention as necessary to protect U.S. interests



An artist's rendition of the explosion of the USS *Maine*. The mysterious explosion in Havana harbor was one factor that brought the United States into the War of 1898. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

on the island. The U.S. military intervened in Cuba on several occasions in the early decades of the 20th century, fueling a growing nationalistic fervor and leading to anti-American resentment.

See also CUBA (Vol. IV); PUERTO RICO (Vol. IV).

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War of Reform (1858–1861) War of Reform was a civil war fought in MEXICO from 1858 to 1861, precipitated by the era known as LA REFORMA. During La Reforma, Liberal politicians instituted numerous reforms that targeted the wealth and power of the CATHOLIC CHURCH and other corporate groups. Conservatives rebelled, and the nation descended into a bloody and protracted civil war that was fought primarily between Liberals and Conservatives, although many unwitting indigenous and poor countrymen were also dragged into the violence.

The antecedent to the War of Reform dates back to the REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA, which ousted the Conservative regime of ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA in 1855. Led by some of the most notable Liberal political thinkers of the time, the revolution ushered in an era when Liberal leaders could dismantle many of the traditional economic and social structures that they believed were preventing

the nation from advancing. Politicians such as BENITO JUÁREZ and MIGUEL LERDO DE TEJADA drafted and implemented a series of social and economic remedies known as the Reform Laws. They also oversaw the writing of the CONSTITUTION OF 1857, which encompassed those laws and codified the changes Liberal leaders were trying to initiate. Among other things, liberal reform divested the Catholic Church of its vast landholdings; eliminated corporate privileges, or *FUEROS*, such as the parallel court system; and secularized the registry of vital statistics.

The Constitution of 1857 and accompanying legislation provoked a bitter reaction by church leaders and other Conservatives. Pope Pius IX and bishops throughout Mexico threatened to excommunicate parishioners who were tempted to purchase church land being auctioned by the government, and Conservative leaders declared the constitution invalid. Liberal leaders applied their own pressure to try to force Mexicans to abide by the constitution, and it was quickly evident that the liberal-conservative divide surrounding La Reforma could tear the nation apart.

In 1858, General Félix Zuloaga (b. 1813–d. 1898) issued the Plan de Tacubaya, declaring revolt against the Liberal government. He dissolved Congress and arrested numerous Liberal leaders. Faced with a quickly escalating national crisis, President IGNACIO COMONFORT resigned, and under the new constitution, power theoretically passed to the chief justice of the Supreme Court, Juárez. A number of MILITARY leaders, however, backed the Conservative cause and declared Zuloaga president. Juárez and his Liberal cohorts were forced to flee MEXICO CITY, and the civil war began.

For three years, the War of Reform ravaged the nation. Liberals set up a base in Veracruz, while Conservatives occupied the national capital. Each side appealed to the general populace in an effort to win support. Conservatives emphasized that liberal reforms threatened the spiritual well-being of the nation as a whole by weakening the position of the church. They also pointed out that many of the land reforms targeted *EJIDO* holdings of Amerindian communities. Liberals enjoyed the advantage of having Juárez, a pure-blooded Zapotec Indian, as their leader and through him won considerable indigenous support.

Both sides committed atrocities in the name of their cause. As the fighting became increasingly desperate, the ideologies of the opposing sides also grew more extreme. Liberals declared even more aggressive reforms that were not included in the constitution in an attempt to secularize society further. The new measures included prohibition of religious rituals off church property and strict regulation of religious holidays. They also declared an outright guarantee of religious freedom, opening the door for the first time to non-Catholic religious movements. Conservatives declared the constitution null and void and encouraged countrymen to defy the liberal reforms. In practice, Juárez could only apply the new laws

in Liberal-held territory, and even then, strict adherence to the measures was often impractical. It was simply not realistic to prevent priests from performing sacraments at the deathbed of a loyal parishioner or to expect towns to forgo their traditional religious processions.

The ideological battle was by far overshadowed by the actual bloodshed as the civil war continued. In the process, civilians were caught between the two extremes and often bore the brunt of the chaos, violence, and destruction. Both sides found themselves struggling to finance the nearly incessant hostilities. Liberals briefly considered ceding more territory to the United States or granting foreign investors transit rights across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Conservatives pilfered from church coffers and resorted to costly loans from foreign investors, a move that would have devastating consequences for the nation's financial stability in later years.

A breaking point finally came in March 1859 when Conservative forces attempted to take Veracruz and deliver a final blow to the Liberal camp. Instead, the Liberal army enjoyed a resounding victory and chased the Conservatives back to Mexico City. At the same time, infighting among Conservative leaders weakened their position. General Miguel Miramón (b. 1832–d. 1867) deposed Zuloaga and assumed the presidency in the Conservative camp, but his army faced continual challenges from Liberal forces under Ignacio Zaragoza and Jesús González Ortega. In December 1860, Liberals drove the Conservative leadership from the capital, and in January 1861, Juárez retook the presidency uncontested.

The War of Reform officially ended in early 1861, but after three years of fighting, the nation was devastated: *HACIENDAS* and entire villages were destroyed, as was the *TRANSPORTATION* infrastructure. Productive activity in many economic sectors had come to a virtual standstill, while crime and banditry flourished in the countryside (see *CRIME AND PUNISHMENT*). To make matters worse, Mexico owed large sums to foreign lenders, and with a nearly depleted treasury, the government was unable to make the onerous repayments. The Juárez administration attempted to restore order and repair the nation's infrastructure, but it was only a short time before the leader was beset once more. Prompted by the instability created during the civil war, French emperor Napoléon III used Mexico's debt trouble as a pretext to invade and expand the French empire to the Americas. Scarcely a year after defeating the Conservative army in the War of the Reform, Juárez faced a new wartime crisis in the *FRENCH INTERVENTION*.

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War of Restoration (1861–1865) The War of Restoration was an anti-Spanish rebellion in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC from 1861 to 1865. Dominican forces led by JOSÉ ANTONIO SALCEDO rose in revolt after the CAUDILLO PEDRO SANTANA negotiated Spain's annexation of the Dominican Republic. The young nation had faced near-constant instability throughout the first half of the 19th century. Forces from neighboring HAITI had only recently been driven out after the HAITIAN OCCUPATION OF SANTO DOMINGO, which lasted from 1822 to 1844. Dominican leaders struggled for two decades to prevent Haitian MILITARY leader FAUSTIN SOULOUQUE from reinvading. Santana set up the Dominican Republic as a protectorate of Spain in 1861 in an attempt to shield the eastern portion of the island from the belligerent endeavors of its neighbor. Instead of welcoming Spanish protection, many Dominicans protested the foreign incursion on their soil.

Revolts against the Spanish erupted immediately. Some of the most successful opposition was led by supporters of BUENAVENTURA BÁEZ, Santana's political rival. Santana helped put down the early revolts, but he quickly grew discontented with renewed colonial rule and resigned the leadership posts he had been offered by the Spanish government. Sporadic and disorganized fighting continued until Salcedo consolidated the resistance movement under a provisional government and declared independence on September 14, 1863, formally launching the War of Restoration. The Spanish government called on Santana once again to put down this more serious threat, but the caudillo was captured and died in rebel custody.

The Restoration army continued its struggle against the Spanish, and the movement gained momentum. Nationalist leaders promulgated the Constitution of 1865, and the Spanish government found itself unable to contain the growing insurgency. The Spanish abandoned the island in the early months of 1865, but the Dominican Republic did not achieve the political stability its leaders sought. Regional factionalism surfaced in the power struggle that followed the Spanish withdrawal.

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War of the Confederation See CHILE-PERU WAR OF 1836.

War of the Farrapos (Revolução Farroupilha) (1835–1845) The War of the Farrapos began as a revolt in Rio Grande do Sul in BRAZIL. It eventually spilled into neighboring Santa Catarina and escalated

into a full-scale war for independence between 1835 and 1845. The war represented the provincial turmoil that plagued the period of the REGENCY after the abdication of PEDRO I in 1831.

Conflict in Rio Grande do Sul began nominally as a dispute over TRADE policies, as local *farrapos*—akin to the Argentine GAUCHOS—rose up against local government officials. The incipient revolution quickly became a separatist movement after rebels formed their own government and established the Piritini Republic. The War of the Farrapos was one of the most serious provincial challenges faced by the Brazilian government during the tumultuous middle decades of the 19th century. Southern Brazilians took pride in their strong sense of autonomy, and foreign participants quickly took an interest in the revolt. URUGUAY provided equipment and monetary aid to the rebellion in the hope of gaining territory and/or economic concessions. The famous Italian freedom fighter Giuseppe Garibaldi fought alongside the *farrapos*, as did other foreign mercenaries.

The Brazilian government was operating under the precarious Regency when the War of the Farrapos began. Government leaders were struggling between competing factions over whether to allow provincial autonomy or to reconsolidate the political system under centralized control. Each side vied for control of the Regency and attempted to influence PEDRO II, the young monarch-in-waiting. In 1840, Pedro II was sworn in as the constitutional monarch and began attempts to unite the fragile nation. At the same time, the Brazilian government proposed a peace agreement to end the War of the Farrapos. Rebels rejected the offer and continued to press for autonomy for another five years. The peace treaty finally reached in 1845 offered amnesty to the rebels and reincorporated the secessionist territory into the EMPIRE OF BRAZIL.

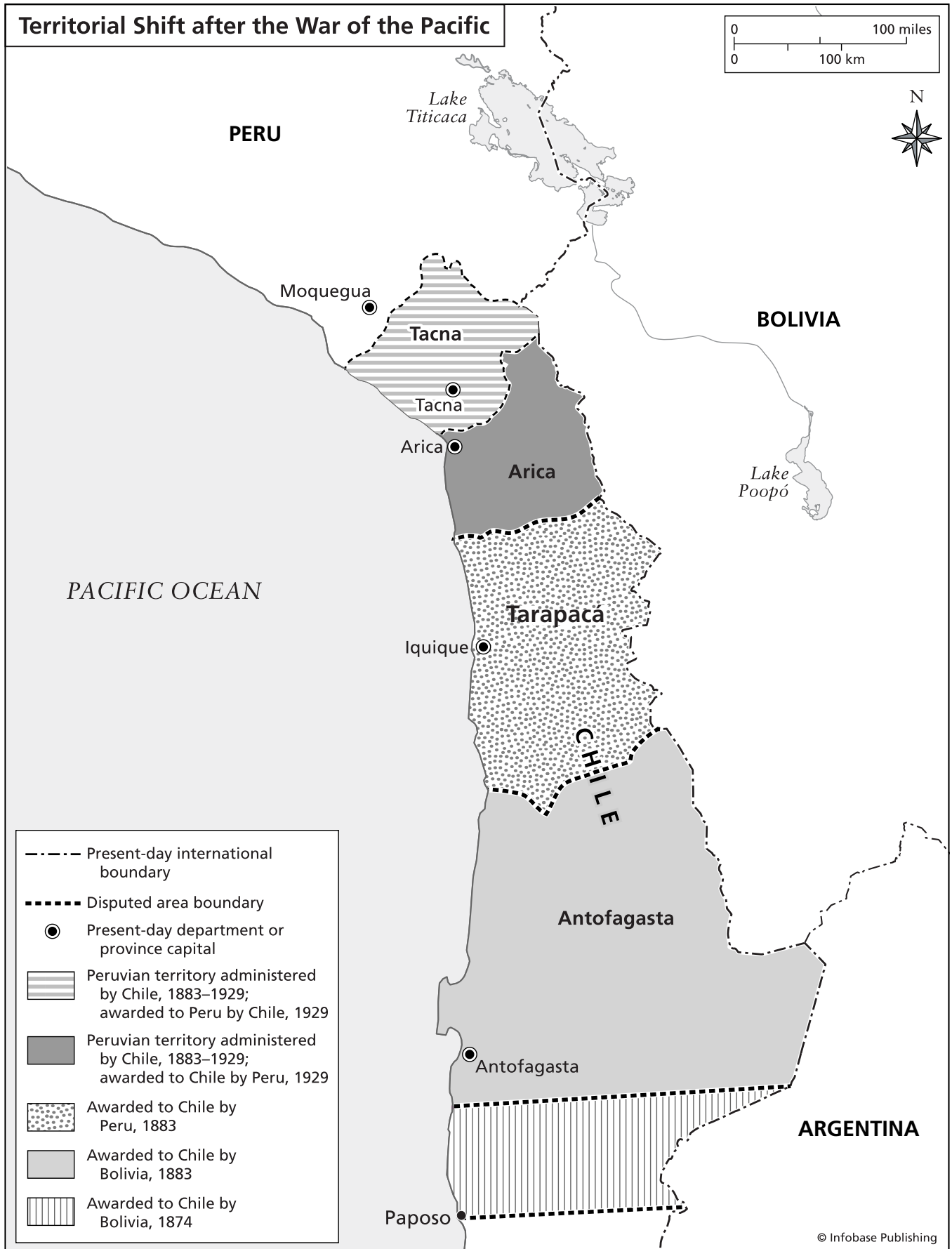
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War of the Pacific (1879–1884) The War of the Pacific was fought by CHILE against BOLIVIA and PERU from 1879 to 1884 for control over the nitrate-rich Antofagasta region of the Atacama Desert. As a result of the war, Chile extended its northern territory and gained full control over lucrative MINING activities. The shift in the border blocked entirely Bolivia's access to the sea. Chile emerged from the War of the Pacific as the leading sea power in the region.

National borders in 19th-century Latin America were poorly defined, and competition over natural



resources became a source of conflict among many neighboring countries in the decades following independence. The Antofagasta region technically became part of Bolivia after its independence, but the rugged terrain and limited TRANSPORTATION networks made it difficult to move from the coastal region to the rest of the country. Antofagasta, in fact, was more accessible from Chile, and the two nations had sparred over the territory for several decades following independence. By the middle of the 19th century, vast deposits of guano, nitrates, and other minerals were discovered in the region, and competition for access to the profitable natural resources intensified. Bolivia and Chile entered into a series of treaties in the 1860s in an attempt to define the border. The two countries also entered into a cumbersome resource-sharing agreement, which allowed Chilean companies to operate in the region and provided them special tax exemptions. When Bolivian president Hilarión Daza (b. 1840–d. 1894) unilaterally abrogated the treaty in 1878, Chilean companies protested. The Chilean government of Aníbal Pinto (b. 1825–d. 1884) ordered the invasion of the port of Antofagasta, prompting the Bolivian government to declare war.

Peruvian leaders had entered into a defensive alliance with Bolivia years earlier, thus the neighboring country was soon drawn into the conflict. Chile declared war on both Bolivia and Peru in April 1879. Within a month, the Chilean army had firm control over the Antofagasta region, and the Chilean navy immediately moved to control the coast. Most of the fighting at sea took place between the Chilean and Peruvian navies, and violent clashes continued for months. Peruvian admiral MIGUEL GRAU SEMINARIO is largely credited with stalling the Chilean naval advance by commanding the famous ironclad *Huáscar*. It was not until October 1879 that the Chilean navy managed to defeat and capture the warship. Grau was killed in that battle and is remembered as one of Peru's national heroes.

Chile's naval victory allowed the army to proceed with a ground invasion of Peru in November 1879. Thousands of troops landed along the Peruvian coast at the port of Pisagua and began marching inland. A major confrontation took place at the Battle of San Francisco. The Chilean victory caused the Bolivian MILITARY to withdraw from further confrontations. The Peruvian army was considerably weakened after the battle, and Chilean troops easily took control of Iquique and other strategic locations. Additional invasion forces landed along the coast in the coming months, and the Chilean army cut off large contingents of Peruvian forces from receiving supplies and reinforcements. Chile achieved another major victory at the Battle of Arica in June 1880. Attempts at negotiating a conclusion to the conflict failed in the coming months, and the Chilean military continued to gain ground in Peruvian territory.

In January 1881, Chilean armed forces defeated the last remaining Peruvian troops at Chorrillos and

Miraflores, forcing the surrender of LIMA. Chilean forces occupied the Peruvian capital for more than two years as guerrilla fighting continued in outlying regions and Chilean leaders held out for a peace treaty that would include the ceding of territory. Peace was also delayed after a series of power shifts within the Peruvian government created uncertainty over who was eligible to negotiate on the country's behalf. Meanwhile, Chilean troops destroyed much of the infrastructure they encountered. Throughout the occupation of Peru, the Chilean position strengthened, and Peru was eventually forced to negotiate a peace settlement in Chile's favor.

The War of the Pacific came to an end with the TREATY OF ANCÓN, which was negotiated between acting Peruvian president Miguel Iglesias (b. 1830–d. 1909) and Chilean military leaders and signed on October 20, 1883. Nevertheless, Peruvian military commander and future president ANDRÉS AVELINO CÁCERES did not recognize the treaty's legitimacy until the following year. The Treaty of Ancón forced Peru to cede part of its southern territory of Tarapacá to Chile. Peru also granted Chile temporary access to the provinces of Arica and Tacna. Conflict continued over those two provinces for the next 40 years and was eventually addressed through mediation by the United States in 1929. Bolivia ceded the Antofagasta Province, which was part of the original dispute, and the treaty included specific stipulations for the trade and administration of nitrates and guano.

As a result of its victory in the War of the Pacific, Chile gained control over the lucrative nitrate and guano industries in the Atacama Desert. In the final decades of the 19th century, the country's ECONOMY expanded as the production and export of those commodity products increased. The war also established Chile's role as the leading naval power in South America.

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War of the Thousand Days (Thousand Days' War) (1899–1902)

The War of the Thousand Days was a civil war in COLOMBIA between Liberals and Conservatives that lasted from 1899 to 1902. It encompassed conflicts over economic and TRADE policies, as well as disputes over presidential elections. The guerrilla-style warfare destroyed the country's infrastructure and claimed an estimated 100,000 lives. Generally, the war can be considered the result of unresolved conflicts from the Regeneration era (1878–1900) of conservative reform.

The liberal Constitution of 1863 and progressive social and economic policies dominated Colombian politics in the late 19th century. Weaknesses in the Liberal

platform, however, prompted President RAFAEL NÚÑEZ to nullify the constitution in 1884 and begin imposing conservative reforms. The resulting CONSTITUTION OF 1886 called for a highly centralized government, leaving members of the LIBERAL PARTY feeling alienated and increasingly hostile. A faction within the Liberal Party, made up primarily of the radical GÓLGOTAS, began advocating armed revolt almost immediately, and Liberals did attempt to overthrow the Conservative government on several occasions in the 1890s. One such rebellion in 1895 attracted the participation of RAFAEL URIBE URIBE, who later played a prominent role in the War of the Thousand Days. But the Liberal movement was weakened by the fact that many party members did not support armed rebellion. The “peace” faction and the “war” faction of the Liberal Party remained divided throughout the decade.

Complicating matters further, in the 1890s the CONSERVATIVE PARTY split into opposing factions over economic policies. The *históricos*, or Historical Conservatives, disputed an export tax on COFFEE that had been imposed by the Nationalists under longtime Núñez supporter President Miguel Antonio Caro (b. 1843–d. 1909). Liberals, as proponents of free trade and LAISSEZ-FAIRE economics, also opposed the export tariff and hoped to garner support for a revolt among the Historical Conservatives. They saw the rift among Conservatives over economic policy as a way to destabilize the Nationalist government and reclaim power. President Caro, sensing that political turmoil was brewing, attempted to ameliorate the situation and declined to run for reelection. Instead, he supported Nationalists Manuel Antonio Sanclemente (b. 1813–d. 1902) and José Manuel Marroquín (b. 1827–d. 1908) as the presidential and vice presidential candidates in 1898. Under the new administration, the economic decline worsened, and Liberals seized on the opportunity to lead another revolt.

Late in 1899, the prowar faction of the Liberal Party began planning a major rebellion against the Conservative government, citing economic and political grievances. Liberals put together both a land army and a river flotilla force and focused their attentions on the Santander region, an area that had traditionally supported the *gólgota* faction of the Liberal Party. The first major skirmish broke out in October but was easily put down by the central government. In subsequent months, more intense fighting erupted, and Uribe and Benjamín Herrera (b. 1853–d. 1924) emerged as leaders of the Liberal insurrection. The Liberals enjoyed a decisive victory in December 1899 at the Battle of Peralonso, but their fortunes quickly turned as the national government once again gained the upper hand in May 1900 at a major battle in Palonegro. Although the war continued for some time, the Conservative victory at Palonegro was a major turning point that ultimately gave the central government the strategic advantage over the insurrection. The Battle of Palonegro continued for weeks, claiming

upward of 4,000 lives. Liberals left the battle demoralized; they had lost vital arms and other equipment in the struggle, and their army was virtually destroyed.

Other major campaigns were under way along the coast and on the Isthmus of Panama. Throughout the summer of 1900, Liberal forces under the leadership of future Panamanian president Belisario Porras (b. 1856–d. 1942) and local politician Victoriano Lorenzo rebelled against the Conservative army. By July, liberal forces in PANAMA had suffered similar losses to those in Santander. By August 1900, conventional-style warfare gave way to a muddled and disjointed guerrilla war with small skirmishes and pockets of insurrection erupting haphazardly and without clear leadership throughout the country. Political elite on both sides began to fear that the war was descending into anarchy. In some regions with large Amerindian populations, the fighting seemed to turn into a brutal race war.

Even as the war reached a stalemate, factional divisions within both parties continued to thwart the possibility of peace. Historical Conservatives denounced the indiscriminate bloodshed and violence of the war and urged Nationalist president Sanclemente to negotiate for peace. The aged president refused to compromise, and in the late months of 1900, Vice President Marroquín formed a coalition with Historical Conservatives to overthrow him. The pacifists among Historical Conservatives, however, were disappointed, as Marroquín followed much the same line as his predecessor, and the war raged on.

The status of Panama and its role as a major inter-oceanic transit route began to affect the urgency of the war as well. Panama had attracted the attention of foreign powers—the United States among them—since the middle of the 19th century as a suitable site for a trans-isthmian canal (see TRANSISTHMIAN INTERESTS). In 1899, the U.S. Congress created a commission to determine the best location for such a project. By 1902, U.S. canal officials and members of Congress agreed that Panama would provide the best route and began negotiating with the Colombian government for concessions to build a canal. Armed with the knowledge that Panama was a major battleground in the ongoing civil war and that several secessionist movements had emerged in recent years, U.S. negotiators hoped convince Marroquín that coming to an accord with the United States over the canal and welcoming U.S. presence in the region would calm the insurrectionist and secessionist tendencies in Panama. Still beset by a guerrilla war and internal instability, Marroquín correctly sensed that he must bring an end to the war in order to have any negotiating leverage with the United States.

Late in 1902, the Colombian government finally began negotiating seriously with Liberal rebels. The Marroquín administration reached an armistice with insurgents along the coast in October, and one month later, the Treaty of Wisconsin, signed on board a U.S. warship off the coast of Panama, put a final end to

hostilities. The treaty did not redress any of the Liberals' grievances over economic policy and did nothing to bridge the political differences between the two sides. Although the War of the Thousand Days had torn the country apart, destroyed property and infrastructure, and cost more than 100,000 lives, by its end no real structural changes had taken place to appease Colombian Liberals.

The status of Panama, however, did change as a result of the War of the Thousand Days. In the final months of the war, late in 1902, the Colombian foreign minister in Washington, D.C., Tomás Herrán, continued negotiations to grant the United States concessions to build a canal across the isthmus. In January 1903, Herrán signed the Hay-Herran Treaty with U.S. secretary of state John Hay. The treaty gave the United States sovereignty over a strip of land that would become the Panama Canal Zone in exchange for \$10 million plus a \$250,000 annuity. Many in Colombia balked at the agreement, arguing that Colombia should receive more favorable terms for relinquishing such profitable and sought-after property to U.S. investors. Desperate to show unity after the destruction and devastation of the War of the Thousand Days, Historical Conservatives and Nationalists within the government agreed that granting the United States control over such an important piece of Colombian real estate was not in the best interest of the nation.

The Colombian government refused to ratify the Hay-Herran Treaty, and U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt reacted by capitalizing on the fragile state of political affairs in Colombia. In October 1903, Roosevelt supported a local Panamanian uprising against the Colombian government. A U.S. naval force off the coast prevented the Colombian military from reaching Panama in time to suppress the revolt, and on November 6, President Roosevelt recognized PANAMANIAN INDEPENDENCE. A canal treaty was reached with a new Panamanian government just two weeks later.

Although the War of the Thousand Days brought massive destruction and contributed to the loss of Panama, its legacy in the first decades of the 20th century can be viewed in a more positive light. Colombia's political elite learned important lessons from the conflict. In the decades following it, they saw their way to compromise and concessions that allowed for a period of relative peace.

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War of the Triple Alliance (1865–1870) The War of the Triple Alliance was fought from 1865 to 1870 between the Paraguayan MILITARY and the army of the Triple Alliance, made up of BRAZIL, URUGUAY, and ARGENTINA. The causes of the war were deeply rooted and complex. At the heart of the conflict was long-stand-

ing enmity between the four nations over control of river TRADE and political hegemony in the Southern Cone. Paraguayan dictator FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ saw it as his destiny to disrupt the delicate balance of power that had long existed in the region and raise the status of his once-isolated backwater nation in regional politics.

Solano López was, in many ways, a quintessential CAUDILLO. He ruled in an autocratic and often arbitrary fashion. He had an extreme personality with a large ego and ambition to match. Solano López was PARAGUAY'S third strongman dictator, who rose to power after the death of his father, dictator CARLOS ANTONIO LÓPEZ. López and his predecessor, JOSÉ GASPAR RODRÍGUEZ DE FRANCIA, had meticulously guarded Paraguay from the numerous commercial and political conflicts that plagued the region in the early decades of the 19th century. Solano López abandoned such caution, envisioning himself and his deceptively large army as a new mediator in the balance of power between the larger nations of Brazil and Argentina. Solano López grossly misjudged regional diplomatic currents and led his country into a lengthy and destructive war that had devastating consequences on Paraguay's population.

In the years following independence, leaders in Brazil and Argentina (the latter known as the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata until 1826) were in a near-constant struggle for regional dominance. Much of the conflict centered on commerce and tariff rates along the region's rivers. The status of neighboring Uruguay was also a source of contention, as Uruguayan political factions frequently brought the larger powers into internal conflicts. Uruguay's COLORADO PARTY had established ties to Brazil's emperor PEDRO II and to the liberal UNITARIOS in Buenos Aires. The BLANCO PARTY, Uruguay's conservative, rural-based party, had worked closely with Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS in earlier years. The *blancos* were removed from power after a bloody civil war, known as the GUERRA GRANDE. The conclusion of the war also strengthened the alliance between the Colorado Party and Brazil. Based on generous treaty concessions, Brazil intervened in Uruguay on several occasions to support the Colorado Party between 1850 and 1864. One such intervention served as the catalyst for a series of reactions that eventually culminated in the War of the Triple Alliance.

In 1864, Pedro II sent a Brazilian military force into Uruguay to depose the Blanco president Atanasio Aguirre (b. 1801–d. 1875). Solano López viewed Brazil's action as a threat to the balance of power in the Southern Cone. The dictator also had expansionist ambitions and envisioned using his growing army to secure a better passage to the sea. Brazil's intervention in Uruguay became the ideal pretext for Solano López to incite a major regional war.

The Paraguayan dictator declared war on Brazil and attacked the neighboring country. He then dispatched another invasion force through Argentine territory with

the objective of securing a stronghold in the province of Rio Grande do Sul. Argentine president BARTOLOMÉ MITRE responded to the violation of his nation's territorial sovereignty by forming an alliance with Brazil and the ruling Colorado Party in Uruguay. The pact between the three nations was formalized in the Treaty of the Triple Alliance, which gave the conflict its name. Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay scrambled to assemble a fighting force and created the Army of the Triple Alliance, under the command of Mitre. Initially, the Triple Alliance force was seriously outnumbered, with only a fraction of the more than 30,000 troops under Solano López's command. Nevertheless, the superior numbers and other advantages Paraguay seemed to have at the beginning of the conflict soon began to crumble. As the conflict unfolded, the facade of Paraguayan military strength gave way to the harsh reality that Solano López's forces were no match for the alliance between his three neighbors.

Paraguay went on the offensive in the first months of the war, and Solano López achieved several early victories. Two invasion forces marched north into the Mato Grosso Province in Brazil and easily chased out the ill-prepared defenders. A southern force advanced through Argentina but failed to win support from Argentine caudillos. Nevertheless, Solano López continued his advance into Brazil and took several important towns in the south. By the summer of 1865, the Paraguayan military controlled Mato Grosso to the north and a large portion of Rio Grande do Sul to the south.

In the early months of 1865, Solano López appeared to have the upper hand, but as the Triple Alliance began assembling its army, his fortunes quickly changed. Paraguay's military advance initially met little opposition as the Brazilian armed forces scrambled to react. The Triple Alliance sent small units to confront the Paraguayan ground invasion, while naval forces attacked Paraguayan outposts along the Río de la Plata. By the summer of 1865, the Triple Alliance controlled all river transport and communications in and out of the region, effectively cutting Solano López off from outside assistance. Unable to procure arms and other materials from abroad, Paraguay's army began to falter. It quickly became evident that the large fighting force was poorly trained and lacked capable leaders. At the same time, Mitre's Triple Alliance forces had ready access to supplies and personnel to augment the growing army.

By the end of 1865, Solano López had lost more than half of his original force, and the dictator became desperate to turn the war in his favor. Instead, he faced a full-scale invasion of his nation by the Triple Alliance, starting in 1866. Solano López imposed a policy of forced conscription, requiring every adult male to fight in the war. When those measures failed to raise enough troops, he turned to the younger population, recruiting children as young as 10 years old into his army. By 1867, the entire Paraguayan population had been mobilized with every able-bodied male serving in the military and women

working to keep the troops supplied. Solano López could not raise enough troops to match the ever-growing Triple Alliance army, however. Indeed, he could not keep even his smaller army properly supplied. With access to outside supplies cut off, the Paraguayan army suffered shortages of weapons, food, clothing, and MEDICINE. As a result, tens of thousands of Paraguayans died either from wounds suffered in battles for which they were unprepared or from disease and malnutrition. The Triple Alliance forces fared only slightly better, as disease and malnutrition plagued them also. Brazilian leaders eventually introduced a health corps in an attempt to thwart the spread of cholera, but disease continued to claim more lives than battlefield injuries. The Triple Alliance forces suffered numerous losses, but military leaders were able to replace those troops with fresh recruits from the much larger combined population of the three allied nations.

Throughout 1867 and 1868, the war nearly reached an impasse. Solano López had neither the supplies nor the personnel to take the offensive, while infighting among Brazilian and Argentine military leaders prevented the Triple Alliance forces from claiming a quick victory. As time passed, Solano López grew increasingly paranoid and despotic. The dictator became convinced that his inner circle had been infiltrated by traitors who were undermining his chance of victory. As his delusions intensified, Solano López initiated a series of purges that were as destructive to Paraguay as enemy forces. The dictator investigated and executed thousands of military personnel and officials in his own government. Often, the slightest suspicion of misdeed was enough to evoke a death sentence, and no one was safe from the tyrant's wrath. Solano López ordered the deaths of many foreign diplomats and even oversaw the executions of several members of his own FAMILY. Despite his extreme behavior in the late years of the war, most Paraguayans remained fiercely loyal to Solano López. The dictator aroused a strong sense of patriotism as citizens rallied around him in what became a war to the death.

In 1868, Mitre stepped down as leader of the Triple Alliance army and handed command to the Brazilian general, the marquis of Caxias, Luís Alves de Lima e Silva (b. 1803–d. 1880). Under new leadership and with a new strategy, the Triple Alliance army won a series of major battles and, by early 1869, had captured Asunción. Refusing to surrender, Solano López fled with a small fighting force and continued to wage guerrilla warfare for more than a year. The Paraguayan dictator was eventually captured and killed by Brazilian forces in 1870, bringing a final end to the deadly conflict.

The War of the Triple Alliance was the bloodiest and most destructive war fought on South American soil in the 19th century. Casualty figures are unreliable, but estimates give an idea of the disproportionate destruction suffered by both sides. The victorious Triple Alliance forces fared far better than Paraguay but still suffered casualties in the tens of thousands. According to

some estimates, Paraguay lost more than half of its total population and more than 90 percent of its adult male population in the war. And since much of the fighting in the final years took place on Paraguayan soil, the physical destruction left in its wake had a devastating impact on the struggling nation. To make matters worse, Brazil and Argentina forced Paraguay to cede territory at the war's conclusion, and the two larger powers occupied the defeated nation for six years after the war.

The conclusion of the War of the Triple Alliance also had important repercussions outside Paraguay. The victory of the Triple Alliance forces effectively secured the dominance of the Colorado Party in Uruguayan politics for the remainder of the century. The war allowed the Argentine government to modernize its military and bring regional caudillos more firmly under the control of the national government. Brazil also benefited from the outcome of the war, as Pedro II had also expanded and modernized his military. But, the Brazilian emperor also faced unexpected dissent at the conclusion of the war. Members of his own government disapproved of the way he handled the peace treaty, and those politicians broke away to form an opposition party. Furthermore, the abolitionist movement in Brazil pointed to slaves' participation in the Brazilian military in their quest to end the institution of **SLAVERY** in the country once and for all. Finally, Brazil and Argentina moved from having an antagonistic and competitive relationship in the decades following independence to establishing close diplomatic and commercial ties in the late 19th century.

Further reading:

William F. Sater. *Andean Tragedy: Fighting the War of the Pacific, 1879–1884* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

wheat Wheat is a type of grass that yields a grain used to make flour and other **FOOD** products. It originated in the Middle East, and its domestic use in foodstuffs dates back to ancient times. It has been an important part of the European diet for thousands of years. Wheat was introduced into Latin America by Spanish conquistadores in the 16th century.

European settlers preferred the coarse wheat grain to **MAIZE** and other crops native to the Americas. Spanish agriculturalists introduced large-scale farming of wheat and began cultivating it in northern **MEXICO** and the dry prairie lands of South America. Some **HACIENDA OWNERS** attempted to cultivate wheat in other regions, but the soil and climate were often unsuitable. Most wheat production was intended for consumption in urban areas with a large European population, while indigenous populations continued to depend on maize and other local crops. Spanish bakers played an important role in the colonial period in their provision of bread, a staple of the European diet. The **CATHOLIC CHURCH** also favored

wheat during the colonial period as the main ingredient for eucharistic loaves.

Wheat continued to play an important economic and cultural role in Latin America throughout the 19th century. In **ARGENTINA**, expeditions against **NATIVE AMERICANS** in the **PAMPAS** opened up new agricultural lands to European immigrants from 1879 (see **MIGRATION**). Italian and Spanish farmers settled in the fertile plains, and many cultivated wheat to meet the growing global demand. By the turn of the century, wheat had become one of Argentina's main exports and is still an important component of the Argentine **ECONOMY** (see **AGRICULTURE**).

In Mexico, wheat played a more symbolic role in the late 19th century as Liberals and positivists associated the indigenous maize-based diet with cultural and economic inferiority. Using pseudo-scientific arguments in the spirit of **POSITIVISM**, it was argued that eating maize was keeping the poor and indigenous in a state of inferiority. In the same way, many Mexican elite associated eating wheat with higher levels of intelligence and sophistication, a trend that had carried over from the colonial period. During the **PORFIRIATO**, leaders took measures to encourage the entire nation to eat wheat bread rather than corn tortillas, believing that by changing the national diet, they could "civilize" the larger population.

Maize lost its stigma in Mexico by the middle of the 20th century, but wheat remains an important crop there and elsewhere in Latin America.

See also **WHEAT** (Vols. I, II).

Further reading:

Jeremy Adelman. *Frontier Development: Land, Labor, and Capital on the Wheatlands of Argentina and Canama, 1890–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

James R. Scobie. *Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860–1910* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964).

women The status and roles of women went through a series of transformations in 19th-century Latin America. Acceptable behavior for women had been dictated by Catholic ideals and a long-standing culture of patriarchy throughout the colonial period. Patriarchy is a type of social structure in which males have ultimate authority, and at that time, men also had authority over all members of a household. While patriarchal norms generally kept women in a subordinated position, in reality, gender ideals varied according to race, ethnicity, and social class. After Spanish and Portuguese colonies achieved independence in the 19th century, the established systems of power and authority were called into question. Liberal social and political movements introduced notions of freedom and equality, and women's groups emerged in many areas inspired by those ideas. Even as an incipient women's movement achieved modest reforms through

liberal legal systems, a pervasive tradition of gender difference persisted throughout the 19th century (see LIBERALISM).

Colonial gender norms generally placed women in a passive and subservient position compared to men. It was believed that women needed the guidance and protection of a male guardian. These social expectations limited women's options to marriage or entering the church as nuns. Married women passed directly from the protection and authority of their fathers to that of their husbands. The male head of household was responsible for safeguarding the FAMILY'S honor and reputation. Society generally considered women to be at high risk of damaging the family's honor. As a result, women were to be shielded from the public eye, and they ideally led private lives behind the protective walls of their households. In reality, elite women were the ones who came closest to abiding by such an ideal. Wives and daughters of the wealthiest families did not need to earn an income or perform menial household work to sustain the family and therefore were able to lead more secluded and sheltered lives. Poor women in the cities and the countryside lived their lives in the public sphere because work and household duties did not allow them to maintain privacy and protection.

Women were also expected to maintain their sexual purity and abide by the notion of *marianismo*: Social expectations required that women model their character and behavior after that of the Virgin Mary (see SEXUALITY). According to this idea, women were to play the role of obedient wife and loving mother and were to engage in sexual activity only for the purposes of procreation. The Marian ideal reinforced assumptions about the gender division of LABOR that placed men in the "productive" role of providing for the family and women in the "reproductive" role of mother and caregiver. Patriarchal structures and the demands of *marianismo* have roots in ancient history, but both ideals were formalized and strengthened through the early practices and teachings of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Those expectations permeated social networks and cultural practices, and they left a lingering impact after the colonial period.

The wars for independence disrupted family life in many areas of Latin America as MILITARY duty called men away from home, and women often stepped up to fill the productive role. In some areas, a small number of women even fought in local militias or served as spies. Even though the demands of wartime allowed some women to challenge the colonial gender system, by the end of the war, most women had returned to their traditional roles. New nations emerged out of the wars for independence, and new constitutions established systems of government that were theoretically democratic. Nevertheless, by most measures, the emergence of independent governments had little impact on the lives of women in the first half of the 19th century. Patriarchy and its gendered divisions of labor continued into the 19th century.

Some women seemed to defy gender expectations in the early 19th century and rose to prominence, often in positions of real or implicit authority. Encarnación Ezcurra, the wife of Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, helped direct political affairs and held considerable power when her husband was away from the capital. Similarly, ELIZA ALICIA LYNCH, the mistress of Paraguayan dictator FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ, played the role of first lady during Solano López's administration and seemed to revel in defying Latin American gender traditions. She and Solano López never married, yet they had numerous children together. Lynch eventually accompanied her lover into battle as he led the Paraguayan forces in the WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE. The stories of these women were not the norm, however, particularly in the first half of the 19th century. Infighting and civil wars between liberal and conservative political factions plagued most newly independent nations, and those internal political battles were largely unconcerned with gender practices (see CONSERVATISM).

Nevertheless, the independence era did leave a lasting mark on Latin American gender practices that became more evident in the last half of the 19th century, when new concepts of citizenship and equality became part of emerging political debates. By the 1850s, liberal movements had taken over in many Latin American countries, and their leaders imposed laws intended to limit the power and authority of the Catholic Church. Long-standing Iberian traditions had allowed the church to govern family law and record vital statistics—such as marriages and births—through the sacraments. Liberal reform movements in the last half of the 19th century aimed to place many of those functions under civil control and to modernize social and legal systems.

Liberal governments throughout Latin America adopted civil codes that were intended to place private and family laws under state jurisdiction. Most Latin American civil codes were modeled after the 1804 Napoleonic Code in France. MEXICO passed its first national civil code in 1870, followed by CHILE and URUGUAY in 1885. Argentine civil codes were introduced in 1888, and PERU gradually implemented a similar system in the early decades of the 20th century. Although the specifics of Latin American civil codes vary by country, some similar characteristics are evident. New civil regulations changed the traditional application of *patria potestad*, or the power of the male head of household over dependents. During the colonial period, husbands and fathers held ultimate authority over wives and children, and there were few mechanisms for individuals to escape *patria potestad*. The civil codes lowered the age of majority from 25 to 21 or 22 in most countries and provided a legal mechanism for adult children to "emancipate" themselves from parental authority. Mothers were granted some legal jurisdiction over children, although wives remained within the same patriarchal structures that had defined earlier centuries.

A more cohesive women's movement emerged in the final decades of the 19th century. The success of liberal political movements allowed some middle-class and elite women to apply basic liberal concepts of equality and individual rights to women. But, unlike the incipient forms of feminism that simultaneously developed in the United States and western Europe, Latin American women's rights leaders did not focus their arguments on equality and suffrage. Instead women in Latin America tended to define their own version of feminism as a movement that reinforced the maternal role of women. Feminist leaders throughout Latin America took up issues such as women's health, poverty, and EDUCATION to argue that sweeping reforms were necessary to allow women to play the natural maternal role of protector.

Early signs that attitudes surrounding women's roles were beginning to shift appeared in areas such as ARGENTINA, Mexico, Chile, and BRAZIL where liberal government leaders increasingly encouraged women to enter the workforce in new ways. Governments supported the establishment of normal schools to train young women to become teachers. Liberal politicians assumed that women's maternal nature made them naturally suited for the education of young people, and they hoped that such programs would promote the nation-building process. While normal schools provided some women with new opportunities to participate in the workforce, they kept women in a role of caregiver.

The turn toward INDUSTRIALIZATION in many Latin American economies by the end of the 19th century brought additional changes for Latin American women. The growth of manufacturing was accompanied by rapid urbanization, transforming the lives of workers and their families. Many women joined the ranks of the urban

working class, finding employment in industries such as textiles, FOOD processing, and other consumer goods sectors. Industrialization also brought large waves of immigration to some areas, such as Brazil and Argentina (see MIGRATION). Those immigrant groups often propelled the feminist movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Other countries such as Mexico and Chile attempted to attract immigrant populations but were less successful.

The initial women's movements that emerged in the late decades of the 19th century created few significant changes in policies and practices toward Latin American women. Nevertheless, they did set the stage for the more sweeping changes, such as suffrage and legal protections for women, that would eventually be achieved in the 20th century.

See also WOMEN (Vols. I, II, IV).

Further reading:

- Silvia M. Arrom. *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985).
- Tanja Katherine Christiansen. *Disobedience, Slander Seduction, and Assault: Women and Men in Cajamarca, Peru, 1862–1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).
- June Edith Hahner. *Emancipating the Female Sex: The Struggle for Women's Rights in Brazil, 1850–1940* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990).
- . *Women through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1998).
- Asunción Lavrín. *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978).

Wycke Treaty See MOSQUITO COAST.



Zanjón, Treaty of (1878) The Treaty of Zanjón was the 1878 cease-fire agreement that effectively brought an end to the TEN YEARS' WAR and disrupted CUBA's attempt to achieve independence from Spain. Spanish general Arsenio Martínez Campos (b. 1831–d. 1900) led the efforts to reach a compromise with the rebel troops under MÁXIMO GÓMEZ. Although the treaty brought an end to major hostilities, it did not guarantee Cuban independence, and several revolutionary leaders, such as ANTONIO MACEO, rejected the agreement. The Treaty of Zanjón left many issues unresolved, and another movement for independence erupted in the 1890s.

The Ten Years' War began on October 10, 1868, when CARLOS MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES issued his GRITO DE YARA, proclaiming an end to SLAVERY and declaring Cuba's independence from Spain. Together with fellow plantation owners from the eastern provinces of the island, Céspedes organized a revolutionary government and called for numerous progressive reforms. The insurgents demanded sweeping changes such as free TRADE, fair tax laws, and social equality with Spaniards. The Spanish MILITARY resisted the rebellion, but bands of guerrilla fighters quickly gained the upper hand in the eastern provinces. Maceo, a mulatto farmer-turned-soldier, rose to prominence for his leadership of the revolutionary forces on the battlefield, and the Spanish army was unable to subdue the region. The war raged for 10 years and eventually reached a stalemate as the revolutionary forces found themselves confined to the eastern provinces and Spanish troops could not put down the rebellion.

General Martínez Campos led the Spanish military offensive in the early years of the war and then was named governor of Cuba in 1876. By that time, rifts had started to emerge among the leaders of the revolution.

Céspedes had been deposed a few years earlier, and command of the rebellion had fallen to Gómez and Maceo. Martínez Campos took advantage of dissension among the insurgents and began negotiating a cease-fire. Gómez participated in those negotiations, while Maceo rejected any thought of surrender.

Martínez Campos was finally able to secure a truce in the Treaty of Zanjón. Under the convention, both sides agreed to a cease-fire, and those who had fought for the revolutionary forces were offered amnesty. Slaves who had fought for the insurrection were emancipated, but the institution of SLAVERY in Cuba as a whole remained. The treaty also offered some modest reforms, guaranteeing greater autonomy to Cuba in local affairs. Many revolutionary leaders recognized the treaty, and the independence movement began to crumble. Gómez and Maceo both refused to do so and eventually fled into exile.

Although the Treaty of Zanjón did not result in complete independence for Cuba, it did have a number of ramifications for the future of the island. The role many slaves had played in the war combined with provisions calling for their freedom in the treaty further called into question the validity of the institution of slavery. By 1880, the Spanish government was forced to pass laws that provided for the gradual abolition of slavery. Maceo and others who were dissatisfied with the treaty continued to push for independence. Many of those disillusioned leaders played a prominent role in the later movement for independence in the 1890s (see WAR OF 1898).

Further reading:

Ada Ferrer. *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868–1896* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

APPENDIX

PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENTS

The following section contains excerpts from a variety of primary documents related to 19th-century Latin American history and culture. These include firsthand accounts from government officials such as national leaders and foreign diplomats. Travelers from the United States and western Europe also frequently recorded and published their observations from their voyages throughout Latin America. Foreign traveler accounts offer a rich source of historical documentation for studying the history of Latin America in the 19th century. They provide valuable descriptions of daily life and local culture that are often not available in government documents.

James Monroe, Monroe Doctrine, 1823 (Excerpts)

In 1823, U.S. president James Monroe, in his annual address to Congress, articulated a new foreign policy toward the nations of Latin America that had recently won independence from European colonizers. The Monroe Doctrine states that the United States will endeavor to protect the independence of all nations of the Americas. Many Latin American leaders interpreted the doctrine as a U.S. attempt to exert dominance over the entire hemisphere. The statement became the foundation for U.S. foreign policy in Latin America.



... At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest of this continent. A similar proposal has been

made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, and henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . .

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the results have been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed

unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none of them more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at any early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different.

It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in hope that other powers will pursue the same course. . . .

Source: "Monroe Doctrine (1823)." Our Documents. Available online (<http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=23>). Accessed December 1, 2008.

Simón Bolívar, "Essay on Public Education," 1825–1826 (Excerpts)

Simón Bolívar was one of the most important independence leaders in South America. He was inspired by the European Enlightenment, and his ideas on society and governing in Latin America reflect this. Bolívar saw education as a cornerstone of a successful society, and he promoted public education as a way for new nations to build a loyal and responsible citizenry. In the follow essay, Bolívar describes the importance of education and outlines specific prescriptions for developing uniform educational standards.



Government molds the character of a nation and can set it upon the path to greatness, prosperity, and power. Why? Because it has charge of the basic elements of a society and can thereby organize and direct public education. A people whose principles of education are wisdom, virtue, and discipline will be wise, virtuous, and warlike in character. A nation will be superstitious, effeminate, and fanatical if its educational system develops such attitudes. That is why the illustrious nations have always included education among their fundamental political institutions. For example, Plato's Republic—but why examine theories? Consider Athens, the mother of the sciences and the arts; Rome, the master of the world; virtuous and invincible Sparta; the Republic of the United States, that land of freedom and home of civic virtue. What made them what they have been and what they are at present? In effect, nations move toward the pinnacle of their greatness in proportion to their educational progress. They advance if education advances; if it decays, they decay; and they are engulfed and lost in oblivion once education becomes corrupt or is completely abandoned. This principle, dictated by experience and taught by philosophers and statesmen, ancient and modern, is today so well-established a doctrine that scarcely a man will be found who is not convinced of its truth.

Happily, we live under the sway of an enlightened and paternal government which, amidst the exhaustion and poverty to which the King has reduced us, amidst the trials and turbulence of a war of extermination, although caught in the vortex of its hardships, cast its benevolent gaze upon the people and beheld their sufferings. This government was deeply moved by what it saw, and, though its resources were few, it endeavored to find such remedies as humane considerations might suggest. Out of necessity its attention was focused upon the point of greatest significance, upon the true cornerstone of any nation's happiness—education.

It is not my intention to discuss curriculums, the founding of schools, the cultivation of the arts and sciences, the encouragement and appreciation of literature, or the promotion of the usual arts. The people have seen this system of moral rebirth in practice with their own eyes, and every man has benefited from its salutary effects.

I shall confine myself solely to the school that was opened here on October 1 of this year. What a difference! Bands

of children who were systematically devoted to idleness and formerly the scourge of the streets, the bane of the market place, and a source of anguish for their parents, are today organized into an orderly and decent community. Here they recite learnedly on the history of religion and the elements of arithmetic, drawing, and geography; see them write with elegance, according to the Carver method; behold them, filled with an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and encouraged by the hope for prizes, ignoring the attractions of idleness. Herein, today, we have the object of happiness, one that has the blessing of the people. If there is any man who, at sight of this transformation, fails to experience similar emotions, he must, indeed, be insensible to all good. But I, who am deeply moved, shall reveal my interest in so useful an institution by venturing a few suggestions, which may, perhaps, be found worthy of adoption.

. . . To mold the heart and mind of youth will be the work of the director: that will be his mission. When his understanding and ability have engraved upon the character of the children the cardinal principles of virtue and honor; when he has so disposed their hearts, by means of example and simple demonstration, that they respond more quickly to a symbol that spells honor than to one that promises them a pot of gold; when they have become more interested in the acquisition of knowledge than in the winning of prizes and more concerned about having done a disgraceful thing than about the loss of their favorite playthings and games—then he will have laid the firm foundations of our society. For he will have found the spur wherewith to inspire in youth a noble daring, with the strength of mind with which to defy the allurements of idleness and to engage in hard work. Youth will then make unprecedented progress in the arts and sciences.

Fortunately, our society today is engaged in this progress. Children are concerned with the studies; they speak only of what they have learned, and they are unhappy the day that school closes.

Rewards and moral punishments are the proper motivations for rational beings who are maturing; sternness and the rod should only be used on beats. The former method develops elevation of mind, heightening of sentiments, and decency in behavior. It contributes greatly to the formation of man's moral standard of values, creating within him this inestimable treasure and enabling him to be just, generous, humane, gentle, modest, in short, a man of principles.

Like the director, the pupil must possess certain qualifications at the time he enters the community; to wit, a physical and moral disposition to receive instruction and at least two suits of clothes, a necktie, a hat, and a schoolbook.

Teaching is nothing more, we might say, than the training of a body of troops, except that soldiers are trained physically, and children both physically and morally. And even as the former are drilled from morning until night, giving regularity, precision, order, and timing to their movements and labors so as to achieve a perfect unity, so, too, must the child be instructed and keep on learning at every hour of the day.

The first habit to be inculcated in children is cleanliness. If the results of the observance of this practice by the commu-

nity are examined, its importance is obvious. Nothing is more pleasing to the eye than a person with clean teeth, hands, face, and clothing. If unaffected grace of manner is linked with this quality, it is as if heralds had preceded us to prepare a favorable reception in people's minds. It will therefore be the director's first concern to make a daily inspection with a view to constant improvement in this regard. A prize or distinction rewarding this virtue will be sufficient motivation to cause it to be practiced with enthusiasm.

At the same time, practical instruction should be given in manners and in the ceremonies and the deference to be accorded all persons, in keeping with their station. This is not a trifling matter. It is of such practical importance that its neglect gives rise to quarrels, enmity, and grief. There are people so precise and sensitive respecting this matter, especially foreigners, that they will not forgive the slightest breach. I have seen a person censured for standing too near the table, for smoking at a gathering, or for having his hat on. This is not surprising: it is the feeling of educated men that they have suffered an offense when a breach of good manners occurs in their presence. What shall we say of our parties [*tertulias*] and banquets? What rudeness! What grossness! They should be called gatherings of swine rather than assemblies of rational men.

In this particular, however, one must avoid the opposite extreme of being over-scrupulous in the practice of the rules of behavior, for this produces an affectation that is as offensive as it is absurd, whereby some men seem rather to be ingrained in principles than to have the principles ingrained in them.

As words are the vehicle of instruction, it should be a primary concern of the director to see that diction is pure, clear, and correct, that barbarisms and solecisms are avoided, that due attention is paid to emphasis, and that things are called by their appropriate names and not by approximations.

Once the school community is assembled, it would be wise to divide it into classes, namely, first, second, and third, composed of the beginners, the intermediate, and the advanced, placing at the head of each class a child capable of directing it, who should be named the monitor. Monitors should be elected and should wear special insignia, so as to excite ambition in all the students. The children should be trained in taking part in orderly and impartial elections, in order to accustom themselves to restraint and justice and to the recognition of merit alone.

Children should address each other in the familiar form of *you* [*tú*] and should use *Sir* in addressing the director.

Quintilian preferred the public school to private instruction, because, in addition to the advantages of meeting and associating with persons of varied abilities, it is in the school, he says, that true friendships are made that endure for life. In following this line of thought, I would have each child freely choose another in his community with whom he would have more to do than with any other. The purpose of such an alliance might be that of mutual defense before the director and of mutual assistance in other ways, such as sharing possessions, correcting each other, and being constant companions.

The director should teach whatever time, his ability, and the capacity of the pupils permit. But the principal subjects should be reading, writing, the principles of religion, arithmetic, and geography. I think the easiest method of teaching reading is first to train children in the alphabet, then in the pronunciation of syllables, but without any spelling, and then go on to the reading of suitable books. This method should be accompanied by instruction in the rudiments of Castilian grammar.

For penmanship, I consider the Carver system superior to all others in its simplicity, ease, and beauty. Its practice should include the teaching of spelling and the reading of handwriting.

For the elements of religion and its history of the catechism of Fleurí and Father Astete can be used to advantage.

In arithmetic, the notebook in which the lessons are kept is sufficient.

For teaching universal geography and the geography of the particular country, a complete outline should be prepared. The lessons in the subjects should have a set hour, be simple in presentation, and should last for as long as the average capacity of the pupils permits. Specific tests and comprehensive examinations should be given at fixed intervals, and, finally, prizes should be awarded.

A man of ability, who understands the human heart and can guide it skillfully, and a simple system, with a clear and natural method, are the effective means by which a community can make extraordinary and brilliant progress in a short time. Lacking these prerequisites, precepts and labors may be multiplied in vain only to produce perplexity and confusion.

Children need play and recreation as well as food. Their physical and moral needs alike demand it. But his release must be channeled to some useful and worthwhile purpose. The director should therefore plan and, if possible, supervise all play. The following are known to be useful and constructive games: ball-playing, tennis, tenpins, kite-flying, balloon-tossing, checkers, and chess.

The winning of a prize or any unusual feat of industry, honor, and high sentiment must never allowed to fall into oblivion, but should on the contrary, be remembered forever. Accordingly, a record should be kept of the most outstanding achievements, the names of their authors, and the dates when they were accomplished. This record should be kept by a secretary who, elected by ballot, would enter and attest the facts in a book that should be property adorned and reverently kept in a visible place. On the principal national holidays, let the school community assemble with distinguished citizens present, and let the most eminent of them read aloud the glories and achievements of youth. Let a record of the ceremony be kept, and the cheers and acclamations be given for those whose names are inscribed in this precious register. This would be the day of the community, a day of fiesta and of rejoicing.

Source: Harold A. Bierck Jr., ed. *Selected Writings of Bolivar*, Vol. 2: 1823–1830, compiled by Vicente Lecuna, translated by Lewis Bertrand (New York: Colonial Press, 1951).

On Great Britain's Formal Recognition of Chile and Peru, 1830 (Excerpt)

Immediately after Latin American nations secured independence, businessmen and investors from Europe began working to establish trade networks throughout the former Spanish colonies, which had been kept under strict economic control during the colonial period. Those investors appealed to their leaders to recognize the new governments in Latin America so that economic ties could be formalized. In the following excerpt, the anonymous writer dismisses concerns of political instability in Peru and Chile and urges the British government to recognize the new nations.



Now to prove that it would be expedient to conclude treaties of amity and commerce with Peru and Chile, a few considerations, I think, will be sufficient.

In the first place, it must be considered that the greater part of the goods consumed in these countries are supplied by us. Their consumption is at present limited, but it cannot fail of increasing along with their population and wealth; and, at any rate, what cannot be denied and ought to be attended to, is the fact that we actually import from those countries from ten to fifteen millions of dollars in specie annually, for which we give in exchange the produce of our manufactures. Another fact which deserves attention, is, that we come into competition in those countries with the mercantile nations of Europe and with North America. Here I will state, I know that the idea of making some reduction of duties in favour of those countries which have recognized their independence has been repeatedly suggested in Peru and Chile. This suggestion, it is true, cannot be carried into effect; first of all, because it is in opposition to their own interest, and because it is also contrary to the disposition of the people, who, notwithstanding their complaint respecting our government, look upon England as their best connection. It is also true, that we have many decided advantages over our competitors in the markets of Peru and Chile. Notwithstanding all this, I think that we ought to remove any cause, however apparently remote or insignificant, which may injure or commerce with these countries. The diminution of the consumers of our manufactures is, unquestionably, one of the greatest causes of our present difficulties. We ought, then, to omit nothing that may tend to procure consumers, not only in those populous countries, which are certainly the only ones capable of affording extensive relief, but even in those new States, which, however small their consumption, still purchase something, and are, besides, two of the *very few* likely to remain for a considerable time entirely dependant on foreign manufactures. I say two of the *very few*, because we have taken so much pains in teaching other nations, that there is scarcely any one which does not even now pretend to be a manufacturing country.

In the second place, I think that the debt of these countries to England, amounting to three of four millions of

pounds, deserves some consideration. I am far from being sanguine in my expectations, (though in my opinion they will ultimately pay all their debts) respecting the immediate effects of their recognition, towards improving the situation of their creditor. It is self-evident, that if they have no money, or apply it to objects which, justly or unjustly, call their attention more forcibly, they cannot pay. What I mean is simply this,—that it is natural they should pay more attention to a debt contracted in a country whose government recognizes, and is in communication with them, than to one contracted in a country, the government of which appears not to know of their political existence.

Lastly, if we consider that numbers of our seamen and vessels are constantly entering the Ports of Chile and Peru, that many of our countrymen (with large sums of English capital) are employed in the mines, that many carry on commerce not only in the Ports but also in the interior, that many follow retail businesses, and some have even become possessed of landed property,—if we consider all this, I say, and reflect also that the greater the distance at which British subjects are placed, the greater is the need of affording them protection, it seems to me impossible not to perceive that our consular establishments in these countries ought to be rendered as consistent and free from objections as possible; and to accomplish this, the conclusion of treaties is indispensable.

Source: On the Formal Recognition of Chile and Peru (London: Effingham Wilson, 1830).

Antonio López de Santa Anna, The Texas Campaign, 1833–1836 (Excerpt)

Antonio López de Santa Anna was one of the most colorful and controversial leaders in 19th-century Mexico. He was the epitome of the 19th-century caudillo, and he led Mexico through some of the most turbulent times in the decades after independence. Santa Anna's memoirs have been published in Spanish and in English. In the following excerpt, the military leader discusses his approach to putting down the rebellion in Texas in 1835. The hints of patriotism and self-aggrandizement present in the document are characteristic Santa Anna's memoir as a whole.



In 1835, the colonists of Texas, citizens of the United States, declared themselves in open revolution and proclaimed independence from Mexico. These colonists were in possession of the vast and rich lands which an earlier Mexican Congress—with an unbelievable lack of discretion—had given them. In declaring themselves independent, they claimed that other favors, which they demanded, had not been granted them.

They had no difficulty in receiving aid from New Orleans, Mobile, and other parts of the United States. These filibusters combined in such great numbers that the commanding general

of Texas, Martin P. de Cos, found himself imperiled in San Antonio de Bexar and was forced to capitulate, leaving the colonists and filibusters in possession of the entire state.

I, as chief executive of the government, zealous in the fulfillment of my duties to my country, declared that I would maintain the territorial integrity whatever the cost. This would make it necessary to initiate a tedious campaign under a capable leader immediately. With the fires of patriotism in my heart and dominated by a noble ambition to save my country, I took pride in being the first to strike in my defense of the independence, honor, and rights of my nation. Stimulated by these courageous feelings, I took command of the campaign myself, preferring the uncertainties of war to the easy and much-coveted life of the palace.

Congress named General Miguel Barragan to the office of President *ad interim*, while I personally assembled and organized an expeditionary army of eight thousand men in Saltillo. A serious illness confined me to quarters for two weeks, but after my recovery, I resolved not to lose a day. The ox-carts carrying our equipment slowed us down considerably, and we were forced to ford rivers on rafts. Lack of provisions hindered us in our journey across the desert, and plants and wild animals provided the rations for our army. Nevertheless, there were no complaints on the part of the soldiers, and this army well deserves the gratitude of the nation.

Our army's crossing into Texas was the cause of great surprise on the part of the filibusters, for they believed that Mexican soldiers would not cross again into Texas. Frightened by our invasion, they ran into a fortress called the Alamo, a solid fortress erected by the Spaniards. A garrison of six hundred men under the command of Travis, a leader of some renown among the filibusters, mounted eighteen cannons of various calibers. Confident that aid would come, Travis replied to my proposition of surrender, "I would rather die than surrender to the Mexicans!"

The self-styled "General," Samuel Houston, said to the celebrated Travis in a letter we intercepted: "Take courage and hold out at all risks, as I am coming to your assistance with two thousand men and eight well-manned cannons." We did not hesitate to take advantage of this information that fell into our hands.

I felt that delay would only hinder us, and ordered an immediate attack. The filibusters, as was their plan, defended themselves relentlessly. Not one soldier showed signs of desiring to surrender, and with fierceness and valor, they died fighting. Their determined defense lasted for four hours, and I found it necessary to call in my reserve forces to defeat them. We suffered more than a thousand dead or wounded, but when the battle was over, not a single man in the Alamo was left alive. At the battle's end, the fort was a terrible sight to behold; it would have moved less sensitive men than myself. Houston, upon hearing of the defeat of the men at the Alamo, rapidly retreated.

General Jose Urrea's brigade utterly defeated Colonel Fancy [Fannin] near Goliad. Fancy had occupied Goliad and met Urrea with fifteen hundred adventurers and six cannons. Urrea hailed his triumph over Fancy in a dispatch, which ended: "As these filibusters entered Texas with arms to assist

the colonists in their revolt, they were judged outlaws and all prisoners have been shot.” This action was based on a law passed November 27, 1835, in compliance with which the war in Texas was waged “without quarter.”

Source: Ann Fears Crawford, ed. *The Eagle: The Autobiography of Santa Anna* (Austin: Pemberton Press, 1967).

Jamaica Royal Commission, Testimony on the Morant Bay Rebellion, 1866 (Excerpts)

In 1865, free blacks in Jamaica rebelled against the white population in the town of Morant Bay. Rebels objected to a series of British economic policies that exacerbated the struggle of the poor in Jamaica. They were also protesting long-standing local practices that prevented the free black population from enjoying political equality. The white militia in Jamaica violently put down the rebellion and hundreds were killed. In the following testimony given to the Jamaica Royal Commission, John Sotddart Gerard—medical doctor and resident of Morant Bay—provides his account of the violence.



Thursday, 25th January 1866

Dr. John Sotddart Gerard, sworn and examined

Q: What is your occupation?

A: A surgeon

Q: Where is your residence?

A: At Morant Bay, Saint Thomas in the East

Q: Were you at Morant Bay on the 11th October?

A: Yes.

... Q: While you were there, during the morning, did any information reach you with regard to the people approaching the Court-house in a hostile way?

A: They came almost immediately.

Q: Did you hear any noise or cry?

A: There were cries that they were coming.

Q: Did you go out in consequence of that and hear any sounds?

A: We went outside and saw them beating drums and blowing horns, and they were armed with cutlasses, pikes, guns, and some iron things put on pieces of wood, something like pikes, and bills on sticks.

... Q: In what way were they advancing, then?

A: They were brandishing their arms; branding their cutlasses, guns, and other instruments which they had taken from the police station, and those which they had brought themselves.

... Q: How many altogether in round numbers do you think you saw approaching?

A: I should think between 300 and 400 persons.

Q: What did they first do, according to what you saw, not what you have heard?

A: When we went to the front of the Court-house, we asked the Baron to read the Riot Act. The Volunteers were in order in front of the Court-house, facing the people—they came nearer and nearer to the Volunteers, and the Volunteers retreated until they were quite close to the Court-house—then the mob threw stones at the Volunteers, and that the Volunteers called on the Custos to read the Riot Act, and they fired.

... Q: When you got inside the Court-house, will you describe what happened to you and the others, as far as you noticed with your own eyes?

A: We barricaded the doors and rushed into the inner room and barricaded those, and the dead baron, Baron Alfred and myself put our hands to the door, and some other gentlemen began writing off despatches to the Governor. I attended some of the Volunteers who were wounded and were bleeding. The people were firing in at us, and some of the Volunteers were firing at them again—then they threw stones at us; any one that appeared at the window or any opening, they fired at, either with stones or with bullets.

... Q: Will you go on and tell us shortly, what to your knowledge happened after the building had been fired into, and stones had been thrown, and you had barricaded the doors?

A: Soon after it was discovered that the Court-house was on fire, we remained in it as long as we could.

Q: What o'clock was it when you first discovered that?

A: I think we must have left about 5, between 4 and 5 o'clock.

Q: Between 4 and 5, then, you found the Court-house in flames?

A: Yes, the roof was falling in on us, and we could not remain longer.

Q: What became of you then?

A: I got through the window and into the adjoining house where Mr. Price lived.

... Q: When you got into Mr. Price's house what took place?

A: The Baron the offered to go out himself to these people and give himself up to them, which would save the rest our lives; and to save him from that, I and some others asked Mr. Price to go, saying as he was a black man the people might listen to him.

... Q: Where did you go then?

A: As I came out I saw a whole mob of them, and one of the Volunteers clung to me, and they cut him away from me. The next person I saw was Captain Hitchins.

Q: What do you mean when you say they cut him away from you?

A: They knocked him away from me with cutlasses and sticks.

Q: You saw him killed then?

A: He was not killed, there was a man behind me kneeling down, his clothes were half torn from his body, and he was covered with blood, and there was one man still hacking at him, and he left him to see the new arrivals, and

when he saw who it was, he said, "Let go the doctor," and they chopped him away from me. I passed on, and Captain Hitchins crawled up to me and recognized me, he threw his arms over me, and said, "Doctor, I am weak, I cannot stand" and the fellows came back and chopped him up.

Q: You mean stabbed him?

A: Till he dropped from me.

Q: After he had done that did you go away?

A: No, I should state that when I came out I was seen by my servant, named William Donaldson, now a prisoner, he put his arm in mine and took me away. We passed a sentry, a very dark man, he took off my black hat, and said, "You are a doctor, are you not?" I said, "Yes;" he said, "If you had not been a doctor I would have chopped you up like the other people," and he kept his cutlass very near to me.

Source: British Parliamentary Papers: Minutes of Evidence and Appendix to the Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, 1866, Vol. 5: Colonies West Indies, Series (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).

Charles A. Washburn, Arrests and Conspiracy in Paraguay, 1871 (Excerpts)

Charles A. Washburn was a U.S. diplomat stationed in Asunción, Paraguay, from 1861 to 1868 during the dictatorship of Francisco Solano López. During his tenure, Washburn witnessed the repression and paranoia that came to characterize Solano López's administration. In his memoirs, Washburn describes seeing government officials and family members of the dictator go missing as Solano López feared that grand conspiracies were unfolding around him. Washburn also describes the interactions between the dictator and his mistress, Eliza Alicia Lynch.



Colonel Thompson gives the following account of the reward [General José María] Bruguez received for his fidelity and valor: "My room at Lopez's head-quarters was next to that of General Bruguez and he and I were very good friends. One evening, arriving from Fortin, I went into his room to see him, and found that all his things were gone, and other things in their place. There was a boy in the room, and I asked him for General Bruguez; he did not know. I then asked him if he had moved? 'Yes.' 'Where?' 'I don't know.' I then imagined that something must be wrong with him, and asked no further questions; I had asked too many already. Next day I dined with Lopez; Barrios, Bruguez, and the Bishop used always to dine with him, but Bruguez was not there. Lopez's little boy asked where he was, and they told him, with smiles, 'He is gone.' He was, I have since learned, bayoneted to death."

A cheerful prospect for the other guests! Two of those, Barrios and the Bishop, who told the boy with smiles that Bruguez was gone, were shortly after to follow him, and share his fate.

The cause of the sudden fall of Bruguez, I afterwards learned, was this: When Lopez first began torturing people to make them confess to having taken part in the conspiracy, his plan was to subject them to such misery that when they could endure it no longer they would in their agony admit anything. Having confessed their own guilt, the torture was afterwards reapplied to force them to expose their accomplices. As they had never known anything about the conspiracy, of course they could have no confederates; and as the torture was continued till they either denounced others or died, they would accuse at random.

... It was but a few days after the arrest of Bruguez that Barrios was put under arrest. What his offence had been will probably never be known. He had seen the most of those who but little before were highest in the confidence of their common master arrested and horribly tortured. He had known Lopez from a boy, and had been his willing accomplice and assistant long years before, and acted as pander at the time that he attempted an infamous outrage on the beautiful Pancha Garmednia. He had seen so many subjected to the torture, and in many cases had ordered its application, that, brave man as he was on the battle-field, his courage failed him when he was arrested, and he attempted to commit suicide. This was construed by Lopez as evidence of guilt, and he directed that he should be well treated till he could sufficiently recover to endure the *cepo* [stocks] and make confession. His wife, Doña Inocencia, the elder sister of Lopez, was thereupon immediately arrested and questioned as to what she knew of the conspiracy. She could only reply, as did everybody else when first questioned, that she knew nothing. She was then flogged like a felon. Like all the Lopez family she was very fleshy, and for a Paraguayan of very fair complexion.

For the work of flogging the strongest men were always selected and they were given withs or sticks of a very hard and heavy kind of wood, about four feet long, and an inch in diameter at the butt, and tapering to half the size at the other end. Their orders were to lay on with all their might, and, if one of them hesitated or faltered, he was immediately seized and subjected to the same treatment. The flogging of Doña Inocencia, as described by some of the witnesses, was such as to strike them, though familiar with such scenes, as peculiarly savage and brutal. Her endurance and resignation astonished them. Though the flesh was all cut away from her shoulders by the repeated blows, she never uttered a cry or a groan; and when they ceased for a moment, and she was importuned to confess, and thus win the clemency of the kind-hearted President, her reply was, "I know nothing; ask my husband."

... During the time that Lopez was perpetrating his most atrocious acts he affected to be very religious. He had a church built at San Fernando so that he might perform his devotions in public; and while his inquisitors and torturers were engaged in extorting false confessions by means of the *cepo* [stocks], the rack, and flogging, he would be in the church, frequently for four hours at a time, kneeling and mumbling and crossing himself, while between the genuflections the Bishop or Dean Bogado would tell the people of their duties towards him, as he was the anointed of the Lord, set to rule over them, and making devotion to him their first and only duty.

... Madam Lynch, for some purpose of her own, was always trying to increase the natural cowardice of Lopez. She had an abundance of that courage of which he was so greatly in want, and in time of battle would expose herself where the danger was greatest; and it is probably that her object in playing on his fears was to increase her influence over him. When he, at the first sound of a gun from the allied lines, would hasten to gain the shelter of his cave at Paso Pucu, she would move about unconscious of danger, as danger she knew there was none; yet at the same time she would counsel him not to expose to a chance shot his valuable life,—a life on which the hopes, the fortunes, and the liberty of all Paraguayans depended. She was also constantly advising him to greater precautions, telling him that his enemies were thick around him. She saw that such counsels pleased him and increased her own influence, and she would tell him that he was too good, too credulous, too kind-hearted, and too indifferent to danger for his own safety. With her at his side ever whispering in his ear that he was in great danger, that his enemies were plotting his destruction, it is not strange that he was constantly haunted with fear of treachery and assassination. No one else of those around him could venture to tell him that such fears were groundless, without a certainty of being suspected as a traitor and an accomplice of conspirators. To this bad, selfish, pitiless woman may be ascribed many of the numberless acts of cruelty of her paramour. That she was the direct cause of the arrest, torture, and execution of thousands of the best people in Paraguay there is no doubt, and it is equally certain that it was for her benefit and that of her children that so many hundreds were arrested and robbed of their property, and afterwards tortured as conspirators or traitors, and then executed, that they should never, by any contingency of war, survive to reclaim their own.

Source: Charles Ames Washburn. *The History of Paraguay: With Notes of Personal Observations and Reminiscences of Diplomacy under Difficulties*, vol. 2 (1871. Reprint, Boston: Elibron Classics, 2005).

Herbert H. Smith, *The Curupira*, 1879 (Excerpt)

Herbert H. Smith was an American naturalist and member of the American Geographical Society who traveled extensively in Brazil in the 1870s. He first published his observations in a series of articles in Scribner's Magazine. Those observations were later compiled and published in a traveler's account, Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast, in 1879. During his many travels, Smith collected numerous folklore tales that were common among the Amazonian Indians. The following tale is one version of the story of the famous curupira, who was believed to live in the forest and used trickery to lead people astray. Brazilian Natives Americans believed there were many curupiras with varying physical descriptions. One common belief was that the curupira's feet were turned backward so that those running away from him would be fooled into running toward him.



Everywhere on the Amazons one hears of the Curupira, who lives in the forest, and leads people astray that he may destroy them. He is a little, brown man, they say; his feet are turned backward, so that his tracks are reversed, and one who attempts to run away from him along his trail, will but run to destruction. Some say that the curupira is bald, that he has enormous ears, or green teeth; but in these points the descriptions vary. The Indians use the name generically, evidently believing that there are many curupiras, as there are many deer or monkeys.

Old Maria dos Reis, of Santarem, told me the following curupira story, one of many that are found among the Indians:

There was once a man who had a wife and one little child. One day this man went into the woods to hunt, and there he was killed by a curupira. The curupira cut out the man's heart and liver; then he took the man's clothes and put them on his own body, and, thus disguised, repaired to the house where the woman was waiting for her husband. Imitating the voice of the man, the curupira called:

"Old woman! Old woman! Where are you?"

"Here I am," said the woman; and the curupira went into the house.

At first the women took little notice of him, supposing that it was her husband. The curupira said:

"Here is some nice meat that I have brought you; go and cook it for me," and he gave her the heart and liver, which he had cut from her husband's body. She took them and roasted them over the fire; she brought mandioca-meal also, and spread the dinner on a mat, and the curupira sat down with the woman and child, and all ate heartily.

"Now," said the curupira, "I will go to sleep;" and he lay down in a hammock. Presently he called: "Bring the child and lay it with me in the hammock." So the woman brought the child, and laid it on the curupira's arm, and the curupira and child went to sleep.

After awhile the woman came to look at him, and then she discovered that it was not her husband, but a curupira. In great alarm, she began to make preparations to leave the house; she put all the clothes and household utensils into a basket; then softly taking the child from its resting-place, she placed a *pilão* (great wooden mortar) on the curupira's arm, and so ran off with the basket on her back, and the child astride of her hip.

She had run only a little way down the path, when the curupira awoke, and discovered the trick that had been played on him; jumping up, he ran down the path after the woman, calling loudly:

"Old woman! Old woman! Where are you?"

The woman saw the curupira coming, while he was yet a long way off: she ran still faster, but the curupira gained on her, at every step. There was a *munduí* bush by the path: the woman got under this and lay, trembling, until the curupira came up, calling:

"Old woman! Old woman! Where are you?"

There was an *acurão* bird on the branch overhead, and it called "*Munduí! Munduí!*" trying to tell the curupira where the woman was; but the curupira did not understand; so, after searching for awhile, he ran on down the path. Then the

woman got up and ran off through the forest by another road; but in the mean time the curupira had discovered his mistake, and he ran after her, calling:

“Old woman! Old woman! Where are you?”

The woman came to a great hollow tree, with an opening at the base of the branches; on this tree sat a frog, *Curucuná*, which makes a very thick and strong gum.

“O Curucuná!” cried the woman, “I wish that you were able to save me from this curupira!”

“I will save you,” said the frog; “the curupira shall not harm you.”

Then the frog let down a long rope of gum; the woman climbed up this rope into the tree, and the frog put her into the hollow.

The curupira came up, calling:

“Old woman! Old woman! Where are you?”

“Here she is,” said Curucuná.

Then the woman begged the frog not to let the curupira come up; but the frog answered: “Never fear: I will kill the curupira.” And he did as he said; for he had covered the tree-trunk all over with gum, and, when the curupira tried to climb up, he stuck fast, and there he died; and the woman got away with her child and went home.

Old Maria told me that I should take great care when walking alone in the woods, for often the curupira calls from the bushes; when one follows the sound he calls again, farther away, until the rambler is lost; then the curupira kills and eats him. He receives hunters in the same way, by imitating the note of an *inambú*, flying from bush to bush.

Source: Herbert H. Smith. “Myths of the Amazonian Indians.” In *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 561–564 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1879).

Herbert H. Smith, “The Story of Coffee,” 1879 (Excerpts)

The following is another of Herbert H. Smith’s series of articles first published in Scribner’s Magazine. Smith’s discussion of a Brazilian sugar plantation provides rich details of the sugar cultivation and production process as well as a vivid description of slavery in the late 19th century.



The breakfast—a very good one—is discussed amid much pleasant conversation. Two or three negro servants stand behind our chairs, but, like most Brazilian house-servants, they are more for show than for use. The dining-room is large and bare; at one side there is a writing-desk, with a few books, most Portuguese or French agricultural manuals, and government reports. Two or three unartistic pictures adorn the walls; the furniture is solid and angular, and badly matched. Retiring to the parlor to smoke our cigarettes, we find the latter apartment very little better. There is a piano, of course; the furniture is rich, but tasteless, and it is placed at right angles to the wall;

there is not a single book in the room, save the agricultural treatises, none are in the house. Our host was expensively educated in Brazil and Paris; he is naturally intelligent and progressive, but, like many other Brazilian planters, he is entirely absorbed in his plantation; beyond the coffee-trees, and the slaves, and the milreis [money] that he may gain from them, he has little interest in the world and its doings.

He discourses of the plantation, and of the improvements that he is introducing. This was one of the old-time estates, that had fallen into negligence and decay. Senhor S. had brought young vigor, and driving management to it; he has abandoned the old tracks, introduced new machinery and new ideas, and his neighbors are astonished to see the wonderful results which he has obtained from apparently worn-out land. There are four thousand acres in the estate, two thousand two hundred of which are under cultivation; the rest is virgin forest. The fields count four hundred thousand bearing coffee-trees, and our host is just planting as many more; large plots, also, are appropriated to corn, beans, etc., with which the two hundred slaves are fed.

In Southern Brazil, a coffee-field seldom lasts more than thirty years. The plantations are made on the fertile hillsides where the forest has been growing thick and strong. But the soil here is never deep; six or eight inches of mould is the utmost. In twenty-five or thirty years, the strong-growing coffee-trees eat it all up.

Most planters simply cut down the forest, and leave the trees to dry in the sun for six or eight weeks, when they are burned. S., more provident, lets the logs rot where they lie, which they do in a year or two; in this way, the ground gets a large accession to its strength.

Back of the house there are two yards, or small fields, together containing perhaps four acres. The ground is covered with earthen pots, set close together, leaving only little pathways at intervals. Each of the two hundred thousand pots contains a thriving young coffee-plant. The ground forms a gentle slope, and water is constantly running over it, so that it is always soaked. The pots, through orifices at the bottoms, draw up enough of the water to keep the roots moistened; the young plants are protected from the sun by mat screens, stretched on poles above the ground. All this system is a costly experiment of Senhor S. Most of the planters take root-shoots at random, from the old fields, and set them at once into unprepared ground. The experiment has probably cost Sr. S. twenty thousand dollars; the pots alone were eleven thousand dollars. But he will make at least fifteen thousand dollars by the operation. In the first place, he gains a good year, in the start that he gives to these young plants. Then, they are not put back in the transplanting; the pots are simply inverted, and the roots come out with the earth; they are set into mould or compost, which has been prepared in deep holes; the tender rootlets catch hold of this at once, and, in a day or two, the plant is growing as well as ever. Dark green and waving are the young plants; they rejoice in their generous fare, with all the fullness of plant joy; drink in the sunshine and the strong air, grow and thrive, and are ready to be generous in their turn.

The nurslings come from selected seeds of half a dozen varieties. Sr. S. has them planted, at first, in small pots. A dozen slaves are at work, transplanting the six-inch-high shoots to larger pots; little, tired children carry them about on their shoulders, working on as steadily as the old ones for they are well trained. Sr. S. wants to make his plants last fifty years; so he is careful and tender with them. The little blacks will be free in a few years; so his policy is to get as much work as possible from them, while he can.

. . . A large plantation, like that of Sr. S., is a little world in itself. There are smithies and workshops; machines for preparing mandioca [manioc, or cassava], a saw-mill, and a corn-mill, and a sugar-cane mill, and a still where the cane-juice is made into rum. At one end of the enclosure there is a brick-kiln, and near by a pottery, where most of the pots in the viveiro [nursery] were prepared. The machinery is moved, partly by a turbine-wheel, but principally by a large steam-engine, which Sr. S. shows with pardonable pride. From the machine-house, he takes us to his stock-yard, which though entirely a subsidiary affair, is by no means insignificant; there are eighty fine oxen, and nearly thirty mules, a hundred swine, and fifty sheep, with turkeys, fowls, guinea-hens, and pigeons—a feathered host. To crown all, there is a zebu ox from India, which Sr. S. bought in Paris, and imported for experiment.

Picturesque groups of washerwomen gather about the great stone basin, where their work is done. Every morning we hear the clatter of a chopping-machine, cutting up sweet cane-tops for the cattle. In the kitchen the slave rations are prepared in great kettles and ovens. Here a blacksmith is busy at his forge; there a carpenter is hammering or sawing. Among all we do not see an idle negro for even the white-haired octogenarians are employed in basket-weaving or other light work, and all children, except the merest babies, must go to the fields with the rest. Only on Sundays, a few of the weaker ones gather about the quarters and indulge in something like recreation.

The negroes are kept under a rigid surveillance, and the work is regulated as by machinery. At four o'clock in the morning all hands are called out to sing prayers, after which they file off to their work. At six coffee is given to them; at nine they breakfast on jerked beef, mandioca-meal, beans and corn-cake; at noon they receive a small dram of rum; at four o'clock they get their dinner, precisely like the breakfast, and like that, served in the field, with the slightest possible intermission from work. At seven the files move wearily back to the house, where they are drawn up to the sound of a bugle. From the tripod at one side a bright fire half illumines, half conceals, the dark figures, sending flashes over the walls beyond, and casting long shadows on the ground. The tools are deposited in a store-house, and locked up; two or three of the crowd, perhaps, advance timidly to make requests of the master; after that all are dispersed to household and mill-work until nine o'clock; then the men and women are locked up in separate quarters and left to sleep seven hours, to prepare for the seventeen hours of almost uninterrupted labor on the succeeding day. On Sunday there is a nominal holiday, which, practically, amounts to but three or

four hours; none of the Catholic holidays are celebrated here, and even Christmas is passed unnoticed.

The Brazilian system of gradual emancipation, however wise it may be in some respects, brings with it an inevitable evil. If a man has unrestrained control of his slave as long as the latter may live, he treats him well, as he would treat his horse well; he does not wish to diminish the value of his property. But if the slave is to be freed in ten or fifteen or twenty years, the policy of the master is to get as much service as possible out of him. A young, able-bodied negro, even if he is overworked and cruelly treated, may reasonably be expected to last twenty years. Humane masters look beyond that, and treat their slaves well; but the majority see the matter simply in a business light.

Source: Herbert H. Smith. "The Story of Coffee." In *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 514–527 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879).

José Martí, Letter to Gonzalo Quesada, October 29, 1889 (Excerpt)

José Martí was a Cuban writer and intellectual who became a fierce advocate of Cuban independence in the late 19th century. His writings often reflect a strong sense of nationalism and a disdain for colonialism. Martí was also known for cautioning against a close relationship between Cuba and the United States out of concern that on the island, one imperial power (Spain) would be replaced by another (the United States). In the following letter to fellow revolutionary Gonzalo Quesada, Martí urges a strategy that will protect Cuban sovereignty. Martí's writings inspired revolutionaries in Cuba throughout the 20th century, including Fidel Castro.



We must not judge this case by our feelings, however. It exists and must be seen for what it is. I believe the International Congress to be clearly dangerous to Our America, or at most useless. And for Cuba I can see only one advantage, considering the friendly relations, in official matters, between nearly all of the republics and Spain, and considering the reticence of this country and its hidden or poorly controlled desires regarding our homeland. It is the advantage of compelling the United States, by means of a skillful yet reasonable proposal, if it allows it to be compelled, to recognize that "Cuba must be independent." Because of my own inclinations, and the suspicion—in my opinion justified—with which I regard the Congress and all that tends to approach or politically identify this country with our Spanish American countries, I never would have thought of setting the precedent of subjecting our fate to discussion in a body where, because of its posture and its influence as a major nation, the United States must play a principal role. But personal preferences, which can stem from the emotions, should give way to general preference, except in matters of honor, so I soon realized that it was inevitable for the Cuban affair to be

presented before the Congress in one way or another, and what had to be decided was how to present it in the best way possible. To my mind no way is good unless it guarantees Cuba its absolute independence. We do not have to put forth any effort at all for the island to fall to North America, because if we fail to take advantage of the little time we have left in which to prevent it, it will become North American through its own disintegration. That is what this country is hoping, and that is what we must oppose. The result to be gained from the Congress, then, was a recommendation by the North American government that would carry a full-fledged recognition of our right to independence, and our capacity for it. But this government in all probability would object to recommending this, or to saying anything that might jeopardize for the future, or compromise because of previously expressed viewpoints, its right to dominate the island. Concerning the nations of Spanish America, we already know everything; our fortunes and freedom lie there. The nation we need to know more thoroughly is the United States, for it stands at our doorstep like an enigma, to say the least. A nation as anguished as ours must solve the riddle, must extract from anyone who might disregard the rights we have acquired through our own enterprise the promise to respect those rights. We need to know the position held by this avaricious neighbor who admittedly has designs on us before we rush into a war that appears to be inevitable, and might be futile, because of that neighbor's quiet determination to oppose it as a means of leaving the island in a state enabling it to lay hands on Cuba at a later date. Short of a political crime, ventured only through some kind of intrigue, it would not be able to throw it upon the island if there was a well-ordered life of freedom there. I bore all this in mind, counting on the fact that the Congress was not lacking in friends to help us clarify our problem, either through sympathy or pity. And since I planned to compose the exposition so well that all opinions would be included, I intended to have José Ignacio and Ponce and all those who truly love their country in various ways to go to the Congress empowered to present it with a petition so modest and skillfully worded that the United States would be forced to receive it, or at least be unable to find a decent way of denying it a definitive reply. Equipped with this power, I intended to fight with greater authority and out in the open. So I promised to obtain the following result from the Congress: the United States, in its own interests, would never again be the ally of Spain in a new Cuban war. I really do not expect anything, because in an open question such as this, which has the island's annexation as one of its goals, the United States will probably cast no vote that in any way runs counter to the objective it most desires. Yet my own goal is a possibility, and pursuing it an immediate political obligation given the difficult, desperate, and almost warlike situation on the island. I was determined to undertake it, and I am still wondering whether it is my duty to do so with others or alone.

Source: Philip S. Foner, ed. *Our America by José Martí: Writings on Latin America and the Struggle for Cuban Independence*, translated by Elinore Randall, Juan de Onís, and Roslyn Held Foner (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977).

John R. Spears, *The Gaucho at Home*, 1895 (Excerpt)

In the 1890s, John R. Spears traveled to the Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia in the far southern regions of South America to write a series of reports for the Sun in New York. He later published his observations in the traveler's account The Gold Diggings of Cape Horn, which provides descriptions of daily life and culture in regions of Latin America that saw few foreign travelers in the 19th century. In the excerpt below, Spears describes the gauchos of Patagonia.



My first view of a gaucho was had on Flores Island, the quarantine station of Uruguay, a place where nearly all the passengers bound on the English steamers for the River Plate, during the yellow fever season, are obliged to stop for disinfection and observation. We had been on the island a little over a day when a steer was butchered to renew the fresh meat supply. Nearly all the passengers went to see the beast suffer, among the rest a Brazilian naval officer, en route to a station in the Misiones. After a little time he came to my room, asked why I had not been at the killing, and added:

"It is now the best time to go. The killing was nothing—a gaucho put his knife into his throat and it bled to death—but now the gauchos will have an *asado*. Did you ever in your life see an *asado*? It is of the finest of meat. They will roast the ribs of the cow by the fire."

Near the buildings set aside for the use of the third-class passengers from Brazil we found a number of gauchos preparing to roast the ribs of beef over a small open fire—a fire so small that the coals and ashes occupied no more space on the ground than the ribs would have covered. The rib piece was threaded, so to speak, on a slender but stiff bar of steel five feet long. The bar was thrust into the ground so that the beef was inclined like a shelter tent above the blazing fire, and there it remained for about two hours, being turned occasionally by the gauchos.

Although this was the first time I had seen beef roasted in just that fashion, I was much more interested in the gauchos and certain other things they did than in their roast of beef. Had the officer not told me the men were gauchos I should have very likely have mistaken them for sailors. The Nantucket whaler, fresh from a three years' cruise in the Pacific never showed a sweeter roll in his gait, than did these South American cowboys as they fetched to alongside the fire or veered off in search of fuel to keep it burning. Nor was the resemblance in the gait alone, for every man of them wore a belt with a knife, the handle of which was just where the man's hand would find it in the shortest time. Then, too, the hats of the gauchos were of the nondescript sort, and all worn easily on what a sailor would call the northwest corner or some other corner of the head. The leg-gear, however, was by no means nautical. Jack always loved flowing trousers, but not flowing as these were. At first glance, the gauchos seemed to have brown zouave trousers with white leggings at the ankles, but a closer inspection showed that they

wore rather close-fitting cotton drawers in place of trousers, and that in addition their legs were clothed from the ankles up with a length—say three yards—of wide brown cotton goods. One end of this piece of goods was tucked up through the belt and spread out across the back. Then the other end was brought up between the legs, tucked up under the belt and spread out across the belly until its edges touched or even overlapped the edges of the rear end. That is all there was of it. The stuff bagged down between the legs in a fashion that made the wearer the most ridiculous looking man, in my judgment, on the continent. The nearest approach to it in North America can be found in the trousers with flaps in front, which the good farm wife used to make for her husband in the old days. It is true that the Yuma Indian of the Colorado desert wears a short length of cloth in something after the same fashion, but he draws the ends through the belt until they hang down before and behind, leaving the middle to fit close to the body, in which fashion he appears to be wearing a short skirt.

“What do they wear that cloth bagging between the legs for?” said I to the Brazilian.

“You are to remember,” he replied, “the gaucho lives on the plains where no tailors find themselves in order to make clothes *à la mode*, eh! And the gaucho cannot himself to make trousers and he cannot himself to put what you call them—the patches over the holes in the trousers where he sits in the saddle. But he can to buy cloth and to wear one end between him and the saddle today and the other end tomorrow and another part tomorrow—past tomorrow. Caramba! The cloth never can to wear out in much time, but it can to cover the holes behind in his trousers. Is it not true?”

Caramba is a Spanish word meaning in the American language “gosh.” It is in common use among South Americans of all classes, a fact worth mentioning, perhaps, for the reason that the gauchos have no more forcible word for use even under circumstances that would lead an American cowboy into the most sulphurous depths of profanity.

Source: John R. Spears. *The Gold Diggings of Cape Horn: A Study of Life in Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1895).

❖ GLOSSARY ❖

- caballerismo*** Governing tactics used by Bernardino Caballero and the Colorado Party in 19th-century Paraguay. These tactics generally included corruption, violations of individual liberties, and stifling democratic systems.
- cabildo*** Governing municipal body or town council in Spanish America during the colonial period and throughout much of the 19th century
- caco*** Black peasant farmers of the Haitian countryside
- caraqueño*** Resident of Caracas
- casta*** Person of mixed-race background
- caudillismo*** A system of political rule under a strongman, charismatic leader. Characteristic of many Latin American nations in the 19th century.
- cholo*** Primarily in 19th-century Bolivia, a person of mixed-race background
- cívico*** Faction within Paraguay's Liberal Party that advocated cooperation with the rival Colorado Party; also a member of this faction
- civilista*** Antimilitary faction within Uruguay's Colorado Party; also a member of this faction
- coparticipación*** Power-sharing system between Uruguay's Colorado Party and Blanco Party introduced in the 1870s
- creole*** Person of pure Spanish descent but born in the Americas
- egusquista*** Faction within Paraguay's Colorado Party that supported President Juan Bautista Egusquiza's policies of cooperation with the rival Liberal Party; also a member of this faction
- estancia*** A large landholding, such as a farm or ranch
- favela*** Urban slum, or shantytown, common throughout large Brazilian cities but typically associated with Rio de Janeiro
- fazenda*** Large landed estate in Brazil
- ley fuga*** Informal policy in late 19th-century Mexico during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz whereby prisoners could be shot in the back while supposedly trying to escape
- limeño*** Resident of Lima
- llanero*** Cowboy or livestock herder of mixed-race descent, typically associated with the plains (Llanos) of Venezuela and other regions in northern South America
- mameluco*** Person of mixed-race descent in Brazil
- mercantilism*** An economic system widely used in colonial Latin America whereby the economies of the American colonies were closely controlled by the "mother countries" in Europe. Generally, the colonies provided raw materials and mineral wealth to the European countries in exchange for finished goods.
- moderado*** Moderate faction of Mexico's Liberal Party; also a member of this faction
- paulista*** Resident of São Paulo
- pelucón*** Supporter of Bernardo O'Higgins in 19th-century Chile. The *pelucones* eventually formed the Conservative Party.
- peninsular*** Person of pure Spanish descent born in Spain
- pípiolo*** Member of a group of political leaders in 19th-century Chile who rejected the autocratic rule of Bernardo O'Higgins. The *pípiolos* eventually formed the Liberal Party.
- piquet*** Rural peasant in southern Haiti
- porteño*** Resident of Buenos Aires
- pronunciamiento*** Declaration of military revolt or a coup d'état, generally referring to government overthrows in 19th-century Mexico
- puro*** Member of the hardline faction of Mexico's Liberal Party, which advocated radical reform
- sertão*** The backlands or interior regions of northeastern Brazil

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