Guided Reading Questions on Latin America Reading pg 831-840

Please answer the following questions as you read. Each question is marked by the page number it appears on.

1. How were the Latin American wars revolutions? Wars for independence? Civil Wars? (831)
2. Define: Peninsulares, creoles, mestizos, mulattos and their relationship to each other. (831-832)
3. How did the Spanish colonies achieve a high degree of economic diversity and independence by the 17th century? (832)
4. How did Spanish Bourbons (royal family) reverse this economic independence? (832)
5. What was the effect of those policies on colonial manufacturing and the colonial economy? (833)
6. Why did the world seem "upside down" to the Creole elite? (833)
7. How did Madrid's tax reforms also aggravate discontent? (833)
8. What was the impact of the enlightenment and other global revolutions on the situation in Latin America? (833)
9. How did the complexities of race increase tensions in Latin America? (834)
10. How did Mit'a and repartimiento impacts Indians (natives) in Latin America? (834)
11. Define: Tupac Amaru II. What was the effect of his leadership and violent rebellion in Peru? (834)
12. Why did riots brake out in Socorro in March 1781? (836)
13. Why did revolt in New Granada fail to win self rule? (836)
14. What was the social structure of French Haiti? (837)
15. Why did mulattos revolt? Who led them? (837)
16. How did Haitians win independence by 1804? (837)
17. What else is so significant about the Haitian Revolution? (837)
18. Why did Napoleon's 1808 decision have an impact on Latin American Revolutions? (837)
19. What was the goal of the creoles? (837)
20. What was different about Latin American Revolutions from other revolutions? (837-838)
21. Who is Simon Bolivar and why is he important? (838)
22. What was unique about Brazil's quest for independence from Portugal? (838)
23. Who is Miguel Hidalgo? What was his impact on the Revolution in Mexico? (839)
24. What happened in 1820 that was significant?(839)
25. What was the impact of the Mexican Revolution? (839)
26. What evidence was there that after the Revolutions in Latin America there was political disorder and rule by generals and dictators? (840)
27. How did these revolutions affect the economy of Latin America? (840)
28. How did these revolutions affect slavery and social structure in Latin America? (840)

At the end of the eighteenth century, Canada and the countries of South America remained colonies. Their European mother countries looked on the democratic experiment of the infant United States with suspicion and scorn. The island continent of Australia, remote from Europe and economically undeveloped, served as a dumping ground for English criminals. By 1914 the Latin American states, Canada, and Australia were enjoying political independence and playing a crucial role in the world economy. The United States had become a colossus on which the Old World depended in the First World War.

Latin America, 1800–1929

In 1800 the Spanish Empire in the Western Hemisphere stretched from the headwaters of the Mississippi River in present-day Minnesota to the tip of Cape Horn in the Antarctic (see Map 26.1). According to the Kentucky statesman Henry Clay (1777–1852), "Within this vast region, we behold the most sublime and interesting objects of creation: the loftiest mountains, the most majestic rivers in the world; the richest mines of precious metals, the choicest productions of the earth." Spanish and Portuguese America was vast; British America was tiny. In addition to large regions of South America (the world's fourth-largest continent), the Spanish Empire included large parts of southwestern sections of the present-day United States, including California. Geographical barriers alone posed tremendous obstacles to political unity. Spain believed that the great wealth of the Americas existed for its benefit, and Spanish policies fostered bitterness and the desire for independence in the colonies. Between 1806 and 1825, the Spanish colonies in Latin America were convulsed by upheavals that ultimately resulted in their separation from Spain.

The Latin American wars were *revolutions* because the colonists were revolting against the domination of Spain and fighting for direct self-government. They were *wars of independence* because the colonies were seeking economic liberation and management of their own commercial affairs. They were *civil wars* because social and racial groups were fighting one another. The **Creoles**—people of Spanish descent born in America—resented the economic and political dominance of the **peninsulares**, as natives of Spain or Portugal were called. Peninsulares controlled the rich export-import trade, intercolonial

MAP 26.1 Latin America Before Independence
Consider the factors that led to the boundaries of the various Spanish and Portuguese colonies in North and South America.

Chronology

1770 Cook lands in Australia and claims land for British crown

1774 Quebec Act grants religious freedom to French Canadians

1778–1788 Height of Spain's trade with colonies

1780–1781 Tupac Amaru II leads rebellion in Peru

1786 British government establishes a penal colony at Botany Bay, Australia

1791 Constitution Act in Canada

1803 United States purchases Louisiana Territory from France

1804 Haiti achieves independence from France

1806–1825 Wars of independence in Latin America

1840–1905 Age of confederation in Canada

1845 First use of term *manifest destiny* in United States

1845 Texas and Florida admitted into United States

1861–1865 U.S. Civil War

1865–1877 U.S. Reconstruction

1867 Dominion of Canada formed

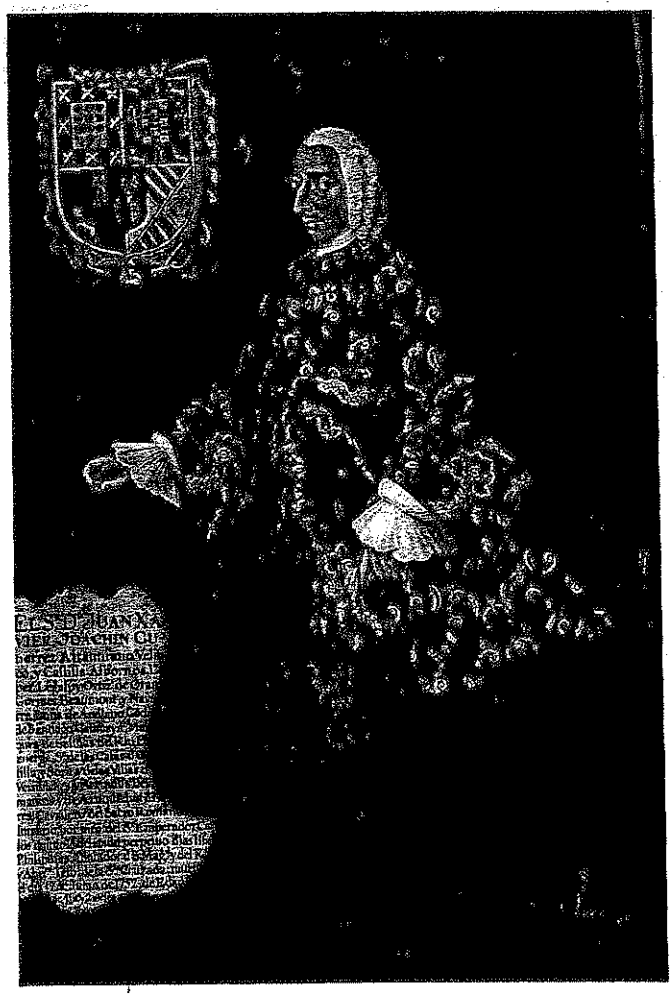
1883–1894 Mexican land laws put most land into the hands of a few individuals

1898 Spanish-American War

1901 Commonwealth of Australia formed

1904 United States takes control of Panama Canal

1914–1918 World War I



Don Juan Joachin Gutierrez Altamirano Velasco, ca 1752 In this painting by Miguel Cabrera, the pleated cuffs on Velasco's shirt, the richly embroidered and very expensive coat, the knee breeches, the tricorn hat, and the coat of arms on the wall all attest to the proud status of this member of the peninsulares, the most powerful element in colonial Mexican society. *(Miguel Cabrera, Mexican, 1695–1768, oil on canvas, 81⅝ x 53½. Brooklyn Museum of Art, Museum Collection Fund, and the Dick S. Ramsay Fund 52.166.1)*

trade, and mining industries. At the same time, *mestizos* of mixed Spanish and Indian background and *mulattos* of mixed Spanish and African heritage sought an end to their systematic subordination.

Between 1850 and the worldwide depression of 1929, the countries of Latin America developed into national states. The predominant factors in this evolution were the heritage of colonial exploitation, a neocolonial economic structure, massive emigration from Europe and Asia, and the fusion of Amerindian, Caucasian, African, and Asian peoples.

The Origins of the Revolutions

Because of regional, geographical, and racial differences, the Latin American movements for independence took different forms in different places. Everywhere, however, they grew out of recent colonial grievances. By the late seventeenth century, the Spanish colonies had achieved a high degree of economic diversity and independence. The Spanish crown, however, determined to control colonial trade for its financial benefit. Thus the Casa de Contratacion, or Board of Trade, set up in Cádiz in 1717, worked to strengthen Spain through greater commercial exploitation of the empire. The colonies, meanwhile, had become self-sufficient producers of foodstuffs, wine, textiles, and consumer goods. What was not produced domestically was secured through a healthy intercolonial trade that had developed independently of Spain, despite formidable geographical obstacles and colonial policies designed to restrict it.

In Peru, for example, domestic agriculture supported the large mining settlements, and the colony did not have to import food. Craft workshops owned by the state or by private individuals produced consumer goods for the working class; what was not manufactured locally was bought from Mexico and transported by the Peruvian merchant marine. By 1700 Mexico and Peru were sending shrinking percentages of their revenues to Spain and retaining more for public works, defense, and administration. The colonies lived for themselves, not for Spain.

The reforms of the Spanish Bourbons radically reversed this economic independence. Spain's humiliating defeat in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713) prompted demands for sweeping reform of all of Spain's institutions, including colonial policies and practices. To improve administrative efficiency, the enlightened monarch Charles III (r. 1759–1788) carved the region of modern Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador out of the vast viceroyalty of Peru; it became the new viceroyalty of New Granada with its capital at Bogotá. The Crown also created the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata (present-day Argentina) with its capital at Buenos Aires (see Map 26.1).

Far more momentous was Charles III's radical overhaul of colonial trade policies, to enable Spain to compete with Great Britain and Holland in the great eighteenth-century struggle for empire. The Spanish crown intended the colonies to serve as sources of raw materials and as markets for Spanish manufactured goods. Charles III's free-trade policies cut duties and restrictions drastically for Spanish merchants. In Latin America, these actions stimulated the production of crops in demand in Europe: coffee in Venezuela; sugar in Cuba and throughout the

Caribbean; hides, leather, and salted beef in the Rio de la Plata viceroyalty. In Mexico and Peru, production of silver climbed steadily in the last quarter of the century. The volume of Spain's trade with the colonies soared, possibly as much as 700 percent between 1778 and 1788.[1]

Colonial manufacturing, which had been growing steadily, suffered severely. Better-made and cheaper European goods drove colonial goods out of the marketplace. Colonial textiles, china, and wine, for example, could not compete with cheap Spanish products. For one thing, Latin American free laborers were paid more than European workers in the eighteenth century; this disparity helps explain the great numbers of immigrants to the colonies. Also, intercolonial transportation costs were higher than transatlantic costs. In the Rio de la Plata region, for example, heavy export taxes and light import duties shattered the wine industry. Geographical obstacles—mountains, deserts, jungles, and inadequate natural harbors—also frustrated colonial efforts to promote economic integration.

Having made the colonies dependent on essential Spanish goods, however, Spain found that it could not keep the sea routes open. After 1789 the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars isolated Spain from Latin America. Foreign traders, especially from the United States, swarmed into Spanish-American ports. In 1796 the Madrid government lifted the restrictions against neutrals trading with the colonies, thus acknowledging Spain's inability to supply the colonies with needed goods and markets. All these difficulties spelled disaster for colonial trade and industry.

At the end of the eighteenth century, colonists also complained bitterly that only peninsulares were appointed to the **audiencias**—the colonies' highest judicial bodies, which also served as councils to the viceroys—and to other positions in the colonial governments. According to the nineteenth-century Mexican statesman and historian Lucas Alamán (1792–1853),

This preference shown to Spaniards in political offices and ecclesiastical benefices has been the principal cause of the rivalry between the two classes; add to this the fact that Europeans possessed great wealth, which although it may have been the just reward of effort and industry, excited the envy of Americans and was considered as so much usurpation from them; consider that for all these reasons the Spaniards had obtained a decided preponderance over those born in the country; and it will not be difficult to explain the increasing jealousy and rivalry between the two groups which culminated in hatred and enmity.[2]

From 1751 to 1775, only 13 percent of appointees to the audiencias were Creoles.[3] To the Creole elite of Spanish America, the world seemed "upside down." Creoles hungered for political office and resented their successful Spanish rivals.

Madrid's tax reforms also aggravated discontent. In the 1770s and 1780s, the Spanish crown needed income to finance imperial defense. Colonial ports had to be fortified and standing armies built. Like Great Britain, Spain believed its colonies should bear some of the costs of their own defense. Accordingly, Madrid raised the prices of tobacco and liquor and increased the *alcabala* (a sales tax of Arabic origin) on many items. Improved government administration made tax collection more efficient. Creole business and agricultural interests resented the Crown's monopoly of the tobacco industry and opposed new taxes.

As in the thirteen North American colonies a decade earlier, protest movements in Latin America claimed that the colonies were being taxed unconstitutionally. Merchants in Boston and Philadelphia had protested taxation without representation; the Spanish colonies, however, had no tradition of legislative approval of taxes. Creole mercantile leaders argued instead that relations between imperial authorities and colonial interests stayed on an even keel through consultation and compromise and that when the Crown imposed taxes without consultation, it violated ancient constitutional practice.

The imperial government recognized the potential danger of the North American example. Although Spain had joined France on the side of the rebel colonies against Great Britain during the American Revolution, the Madrid government refused in 1783 to grant diplomatic recognition to the new United States. North American ships calling at South American ports had introduced the subversive writings of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson. For decades the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu had been trickling into Latin America. In 1794 the Colombian Antonio Nariño translated and published the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (Spanish authorities sentenced him to ten years in an African prison, but he lived to become the father of Colombian independence). By 1800 the Creole elite throughout Latin America was familiar with liberal Enlightenment political thought. The Creoles assumed, however, that the "rights of man" were limited, and they did not share such rights with Indians and blacks.

Race in the Colonial Period

The racial complexion of Latin American societies is one of the most complicated in the world. Because few European women immigrated to the colonies, Spanish men had relations with Indian and African women. African

men deprived of black women sought Indian women. The result was a population composed of every possible combination of Indian, Spanish, and African blood.

Spanish theories of racial purity rejected people of mixed blood, particularly those of African descent. A person's social status depended on the degree of European blood he or she possessed or appeared to possess. Peninsulares and Creoles reinforced their privileged status by showing contempt for people who were not white. Coupled with the Spaniards' aristocratic disdain for manual labor, a three-hundred-year tradition had instilled in the minds of Latin Americans the notion that dark skin and manual labor went together. Owners of mines, plantations, and factories had a vested interest in keeping blacks and Indians in servile positions. Racism and discrimination pervaded all the Latin American colonies.

Demographers estimate that Indians still accounted for between three-fifths and three-fourths of the total population of Latin America at the end of the colonial period, in spite of the tremendous population losses caused by the introduction of diseases in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The colonies that became Peru and Bolivia had Indian majorities; the regions that became Argentina and Chile had European majorities. Indians and black slaves toiled in the silver and gold mines of Mexico, Colombia, and Peru; in the wheat fields of Chile; in the humid, mosquito-ridden canebrakes of Mexico and the Caribbean; and in the diamond mines and coffee and sugar plantations of Brazil.

Nevertheless, nonwhites in Latin America did experience some social mobility in the colonial period, certainly more than nonwhites in North America experienced. In Mexico, decreasing reliance on slaves led to a great increase in manumissions. Once freed, however, Negroes (the Spanish term for "black persons" coined in 1555) immediately became subject to the payment of a money tribute, as were Indians. Freedmen also incurred the obligation of military service. A few mulattos rose in the army, some as high as the rank of colonel. The army and the church seem to have offered the greatest opportunities for social mobility. Many black slaves gained their freedom by fleeing to the jungles or mountains, where they established self-governing communities. Around the year 1800, Venezuela counted 2,400 fugitive slaves in a total population of 87,000.

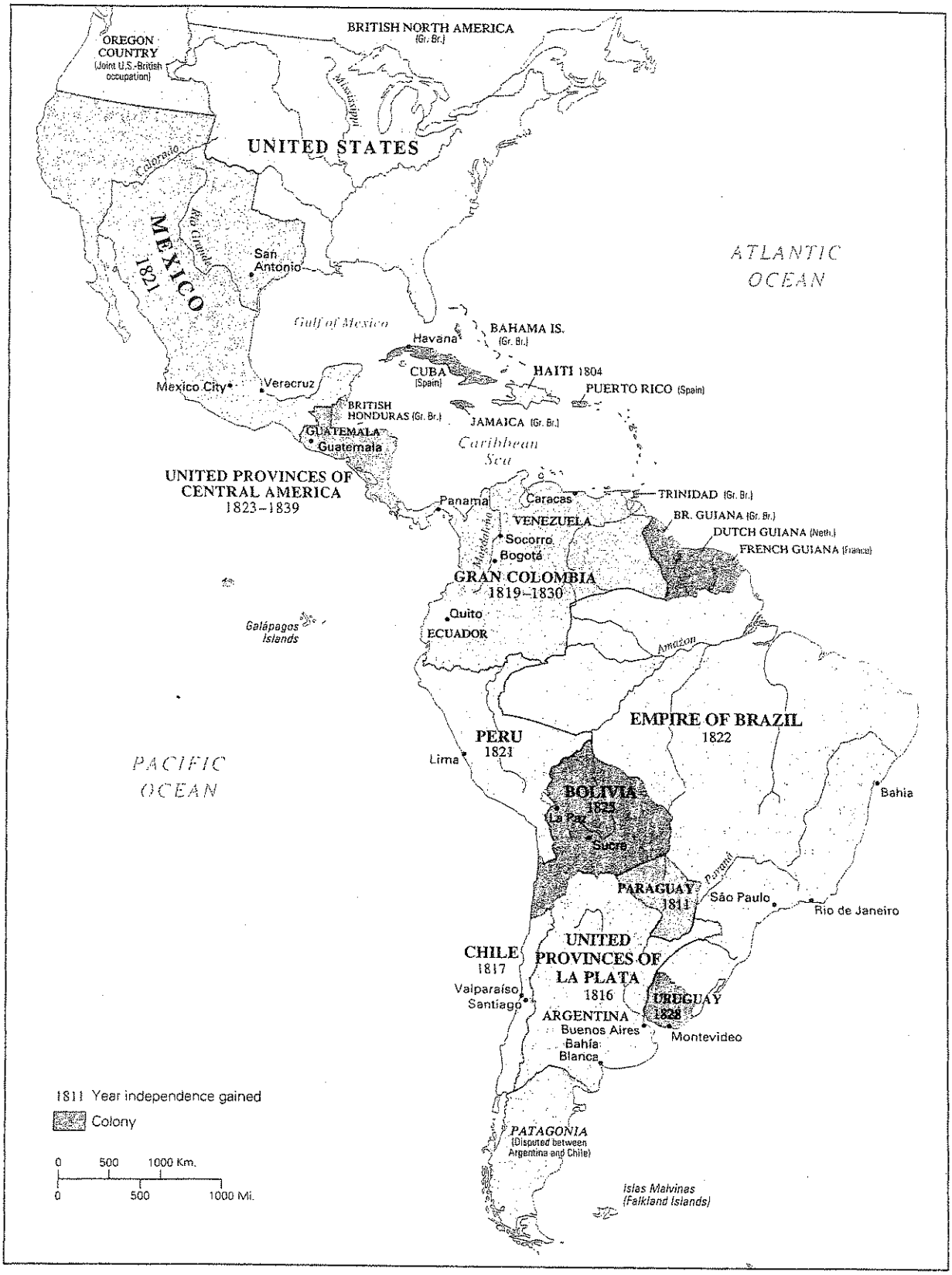
Many Indians were still subject to the *mit'a* and the *repartimiento. Mit'a* means a turn or rotation. The practice was that every seventh household in the region between Huancavelica and Potosí in the Andes took a turn working in the silver mines, with the duration of service varying. Some historians have called this forced labor. But the Indians took their wives and other family members, who pilfered on the side, usually were not caught, and often made a tidy income for themselves. The law of repartimiento required Indians to buy goods solely from local *corregidores,* officials who collected taxes. The new taxes of the 1770s and 1780s fell particularly heavily on the Indians. When Indian opposition to these taxes and to oppressive conditions exploded into violence, the Creoles organized the protest movements and assumed leadership of them.

Resistance and Rebellion

The middle years of the eighteenth century witnessed frequent Andean Indian rebellions against the Spaniards' harsh exploitation. Five uprisings occurred in the 1740s, eleven in the 1750s, twenty in the 1760s, and twenty in the 1770s. In 1780, under the leadership of José Gabriel Condorcanqui (1742–1781), who claimed descent from the Inca rulers and took the name Tupac Amaru II, a massive insurrection exploded. The *kurakas,* Indian chieftains from the Cuzco region, gathered a powerful force of Indians and *castas,* people of mixed race, including those of African ancestry. They wanted the redress of long-standing grievances. Rebellion swept across highland Peru, and many Spanish officials were executed. In 1781 an army sent from Lima put down the rebellions and captured and savagely executed Tupac Amaru II. Violent rebellion continued, however, and before peace was restored two years later, a hundred thousand people lay dead and vast amounts of property were destroyed. Although these movements failed militarily, the government abolished the repartimiento system and established an audiencia in Cuzco. By raising elite fears of racial and class warfare, these revolts served to buttress Creole loyalty to the Spanish crown, which delayed the drive for Peru's independence.

News of the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II trickled northward, where it helped stimulate revolution in the New Granada viceroyalty. Disorders occurred first at Socorro in modern Colombia (see Map 26.2). Throughout

MAP 26.2 Latin America in 1830 By 1830 almost all of Central America, South America, and the Caribbean islands had won independence. Note that the many nations that now make up Central America were unified when they first won independence from Mexico. Similarly, modern Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador were still joined in Gran Colombia.


OREGON COUNTRY (Joint U.S.-British occupation)
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA (Gr. Br.)
Mississippi
UNITED STATES
Colorado
Rio Grande
MEXICO 1821
San Antonio
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
Havana
BAHAMA IS. (Gr. Br.)
CUBA (Spain)
HAITI 1804
PUERTO RICO (Spain)
Mexico City
Veracruz
BRITISH HONDURAS (Gr. Br.)
JAMAICA (Gr. Br.)
GUATEMALA
Guatemala
Caribbean Sea
UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA 1823–1839
Panama
Caracas
TRINIDAD (Gr. Br.)
VENEZUELA
BR. GUIANA (Gr. Br.)
DUTCH GUIANA (Neth.)
FRENCH GUIANA (France)
Magdalena
Socorro
Bogotá
GRAN COLOMBIA 1819–1830
Quito
ECUADOR
Galápagos Islands
Amazon
EMPIRE OF BRAZIL 1822
PERU 1821
Lima
PACIFIC OCEAN
BOLIVIA 1825
La Paz
Sucre
Bahia
Paraná
PARAGUAY 1811
São Paulo
Rio de Janeiro
CHILE 1817
UNITED PROVINCES OF LA PLATA 1816
Valparaíso
Santiago
URUGUAY 1828
ARGENTINA
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
Bahía Blanca
1811 Year independence gained
Colony
0 500 1000 Km.
0 500 1000 Mi.
PATAGONIA (Disputed between Argentina and Chile)
Islas Malvinas (Falkland Islands)

the eighteenth century, Socorro had prospered. Sugar cane, corn, and cattle flourished because of its exceptionally fertile soil. Large cotton crops stimulated the production of textiles, mostly in a primitive cottage industry worked by women. Socorro's location on the Suarez River made it an agricultural and manufacturing center and an entrepôt for trade with the hinterland. Hard-working Spanish immigrants had prospered and often intermarried with the Indians.

When the viceroy published new taxes on tobacco and liquor and reorganized the alcabala, riots broke out in Socorro in March 1781 and spread to other towns. Representatives of peasants and artisan groups from many towns elected a *comun*, or central committee, to lead the insurrection. Each town elected its local comun and the captain of its militia. Known as the Comunero Revolution, the insurrection in New Granada enjoyed broad-based support and good organization.

An Indian peasant army commanded by Creole captains marched on Bogotá. Government officials, lacking adequate military resources, sent a commission to play for time by negotiating with the comuneros. On June 4, the commission agreed to the rebels' terms: reduction of the alcabala and of the Indians' forced tribute, abolition of the new taxes on tobacco, and preference for Creoles over peninsulares in government positions. The joyful Indian army disbanded and went home. What the Indians did not know was that the commission had already secretly disclaimed the agreement with the rebels on the grounds that it had been achieved by force. Having succeeded in dispersing the Indians, the government at Bogotá won over the Creole leaders with a promise of pardons and then moved in reserve troops, who captured large numbers of rebels. When the last rebel base—that of José Antonio Galan—had been captured, a kangaroo court tried Galan and condemned him

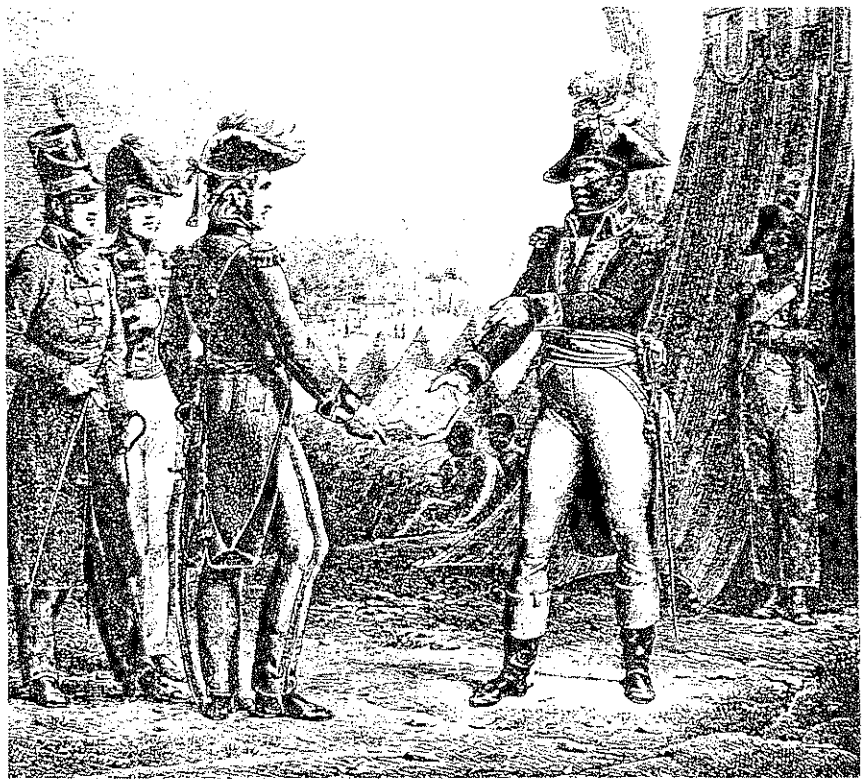
> *to be taken out of jail, dragged and taken to the place of execution where he will be hung until dead, that his head be removed from his dead body, that the rest of his body be quartered, that his torso be committed to flames for which purpose a fire shall be lit in front of the platform. . . . All his descendants shall be declared infamous, all his property shall be confiscated by the royal treasury, his home shall be burnt, and the ground salted, so that in this fashion his infamous name may be forgotten.*[4]

Thus ended the revolt of the comuneros in New Granada. They failed to win self-rule, but they forced the authorities to act in accordance with the spirit of the "unwritten constitution," whose guiding principle was consultation and compromise.

Much more than the Peruvian and Colombian revolts, the successful revolution led by Toussaint L'Ouverture (ca 1744–1803) in Haiti aroused elite fears of black revolt and class warfare. The Arawaks, Native Americans of the region, gave the name "Haiti" (land of mountains) to the

Latin America, ca 1760–1900

1764–1780	Charles III of Spain's administrative and economic reforms
1781	Comunero Revolution in New Granada
1810–1825	Latin American wars of independence against Spain
1822	Proclamation of Brazil's independence by Portugal
1825–ca 1870	Political instability in most Latin American nations
1826	Call by Simón Bolívar for Panama conference on Latin American union
ca 1870–1929	Latin American neocolonialism
1876–1911	Porfirio Díaz's control of Mexico
1880–1914	Massive emigration from Europe and Asia to Latin America
1888	Emancipation of slaves in Brazil; final abolition of slavery in Western Hemisphere
1898	Spanish-American War End of Spanish control over Cuba Transfer of Puerto Rico and the Philippines to the United States



Toussaint L'Ouverture, Haitian Patriot The freed slave Toussaint L'Ouverture joined the slave rebellion in 1791 and quickly became its leader and organizing genius. A man of enormous strength and determination, L'Ouverture devoted his life to freedom for his people. He is shown here negotiating with French officials during the war with Britain. *(Getty Images)*

western third of the island of Hispaniola, because most of it is mountainous. Haiti was a haven for French and English pirates in the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth century, French settlers established sugar plantations there and imported African slaves to work them. Haiti soon became France's most prosperous colony and the world's chief producer of sugar and coffee. Unable to maintain its claim to the region, Spain ceded Haiti to France.

The French maintained a rigid social stratification of French, Creoles, freed blacks, and black slaves. When the Creoles refused the mulattos representation in the local assemblies and in the French National Assembly of 1789, the mulattos revolted. Blacks formed guerrilla bands under the self-educated freed slave Toussaint L'Ouverture. In 1793, as part of their campaign against Napoleon, the British invaded Haiti and took all of its coastal cities. As the recognized leader of the revolt, L'Ouverture had widespread support and retook the cities. In 1801 he also conquered Santo Domingo (which Spain had also ceded to France), declared himself emperor of the entire island of Hispaniola, abolished slavery, and instituted reforms. Napoleon dispatched a large army to restore French control, but the French could not take the interior. U.S. president Thomas Jefferson, fearing that the French would use the island to invade Louisiana, aided the rebels. Weakened by yellow fever, the French withdrew. L'Ouverture negotiated peace with France, but French officials tricked him and took him to France, where he died in prison. In 1804 Haiti became the second nation (after the United States) in the Western Hemisphere to achieve independence. The revolt was also the first successful uprising of a non-European people against a colonial power. The establishment of a legitimate black nation in Latin America sent waves of fear through the upper classes.

Independence

In 1808, as part of his effort to rule Europe, Napoleon Bonaparte deposed the Spanish king Ferdinand VII and placed his own brother on the Spanish throne (see page 682). In Latin America, the Creoles subsequently seized the opportunity. Since everything in Spanish America was done in the name of the king, the Creoles argued that the removal of the legitimate king shifted sovereignty to the people—that is, to themselves. In 1810 the small, wealthy Creole aristocracy used the removal of the Spanish king as justification for their seizure of political power and their preservation of that power.

The Creoles who led the various movements for independence did not intend a radical redistribution of property or reconstruction of society. They merely rejected the authority of the Spanish crown. A distinguished scholar has described the war for independence as

a prolonged, confused, and in many ways contradictory movement. In Mexico it began as a popular social movement and ended many years later as a conservative uprising against a liberal Spanish constitution. In Venezuela it came to be a war unto the death; in other places it was a war between a small Creole minority and the Spanish authorities. It was not an organized movement with a central revolutionary

directorate. It had no Continental Congress. . . . If there was no central direction, no centrally recognized leadership, likewise there was no formally accepted political doctrine. . . .

In Latin America each separate area went its own way. Central America broke way from Mexico and then splintered into five separate nations. Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia separated themselves from Argentina, Chile from Peru, and [Simón] Bolívar's attempt to federate the state of Greater Colombia (Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador) with Peru and Bolivia under a centralized government broke down.[5]

The great hero of the movement for independence was Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), a very able general who is considered the Latin American George Washington. (See the feature "Listening to the Past: Simón Bolívar's Speculation on Latin America" on pages 868–869.) Bolívar's victories over the royalist armies won him the presidency of Gran (Greater) Colombia in 1819. He dreamed of a continental union and in 1826 summoned a conference of the American republics at Panama. The meeting achieved little. Bolívar organized the government of Bolivia and became the head of the new state of Peru. The territories of Gran Colombia splintered, however, and a sadly disillusioned Bolívar went into exile, saying, "America is ungovernable. Those who served the revolution plowed the seas." The failure of Pan-Americanism isolated individual countries, prevented collective action, and later paved the way for the political and economic intrusion of the United States and other powers.

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Primary Source: The Jamaica Letter

Brazil's quest for independence from Portugal was unique: Brazil won its independence without violent upheaval. When Napoleon's troops entered Portugal, the royal family fled to Brazil and made Rio de Janeiro the capital of the Portuguese Empire. The new government immediately lifted the old mercantilist restrictions and opened Brazilian ports to the ships of all friendly nations. Under popular pressure, King Pedro I (r. 1822–1831) proclaimed Brazil's independence in 1822 and published a constitution. Pedro's administration was wracked by factional disputes between Portuguese courtiers and Brazilian Creoles, a separatist movement in the Rio Grande do Sul region, and provincial revolts. His successor, Pedro II (r. 1831–1889), restored order and laid the foundations of the modern Brazilian state. The reign of Pedro II witnessed the expansion of the coffee industry, the beginnings of the rubber industry, and massive immigration.

Departure of the Emperor Pedro II In 1889, the Brazilian army overthrew the emperor Pedro II, forced him into exile, and proclaimed a republic. In this allegorical painting Pedro, holding the crown in his right hand, passes the staff of state to the seated female figure personifying the republic. *(Courtesy of Fundacao Maria Luisa e Oscar Americano, São Paulo)*

Mexico Ends Spanish Rule

In most Latin American countries, creoles led the revolutionary movements. But in Mexico, ethnic and racial groups mixed more freely. There, Indians and mestizos played the leading role.

A Cry for Freedom In 1810, Padre Miguel Hidalgo (mee•GEHL ee•THAHL•goh), a priest in the small village of Dolores, took the first step toward independence. Hidalgo was a poor but well-educated man. He firmly believed in Enlightenment ideals. On September 16, 1810, he rang the bells of his village church. When the peasants gathered in the church, he issued a call for rebellion against the Spanish. Today, that call is known as the *grito de Dolores* (the cry of Dolores).

The very next day, Hidalgo's Indian and mestizo followers began a march toward Mexico City. This unruly army soon numbered 80,000 men. The uprising of the lower classes alarmed the Spanish army and creoles, who feared the loss of their property, control of the land, and their lives. The army defeated Hidalgo in 1811. The rebels then rallied around another strong leader, Padre José María Morelos (moh•RAY•lohs). Morelos led the revolution for four years. However, in 1815, a creole officer, Agustín de Iturbide (ah•goos•TEEN day ee•toor•BEE•day), defeated him.

Mexico's Independence Events in Mexico took yet another turn in 1820 when a revolution in Spain put a liberal group in power there. Mexico's creoles feared the loss of their privileges in the Spanish-controlled colony. So they united in support of Mexico's independence from Spain. Ironically, Agustín de Iturbide—the man who had defeated the rebel Padre Morelos—proclaimed independence in 1821.

Before the Mexican revolution, Central America was part of the viceroyalty of New Spain. It had been governed by the Spanish from the seat of colonial government in Mexico. In 1821, several Central American states declared their independence from Spain—and from Mexico as well. However, Iturbide (who had declared himself emperor), refused to recognize the declarations of independence. Iturbide was finally overthrown in 1823. Central America then declared its absolute independence from Mexico. It took the name the United Provinces of Central America. The future countries of Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica would develop in this region.

The Consequences of Independence

The wars of independence ended around 1825. What effects did they have on Latin American societies, governments, and national development? Because the movements for independence differed in character and course in different regions and countries, generalizations are likely to be misleading. Significant changes did occur, however, throughout Latin America.

The newly independent nations did not achieve immediate political stability when the wars of independence ended. The Spanish crown had served as a unifying symbol, and its disappearance left a power vacuum. Civil disorder typically followed. The Creole leaders of the revolutions had no experience in government, and the wars left a legacy of military, not civilian, leadership. Throughout the continent, idealistic but impractical leaders proclaimed republics governed by representative assemblies. In practice, the generals ruled.

In Argentina, Juan Manuel de Rosas (r. 1835–1852) assumed power amid widespread public disorder and ruled as dictator. In Mexico, liberals declared a federal republic, but incessant civil strife led to the rise of the dictator Antonio López de Santa Anna in the mid-nineteenth century. Likewise in Venezuela, strongmen, dictators, and petty aristocratic oligarchs governed from 1830 to 1892. Some countries suffered constant coups d'état. In the course of the century, Bolivia had sixty and Venezuela fifty-two. The rule of force prevailed almost everywhere. Enlightened dictatorship was the typical form of government.

Although isolated territories such as Paraguay and much of Central America suffered little damage, the wars of liberation disrupted the economic life of most Latin American countries. The prosperity that many areas had achieved toward the end of the colonial period was destroyed. Mexico and Venezuela in particular lost large percentages of their populations and suffered great destruction of farmland and animals. Even areas that saw relatively little violence, such as Chile and New Granada, experienced a weakening of economic life. Armies were frequently recruited by force, and when the men were demobilized, many did not return home. The consequent population dislocation hurt agriculture and mining. Guerrilla warfare disrupted trade and communications. Forced loans and the seizure of private property for military use ruined many people.

Brazil, which had a large slave population, did not free its slaves until 1888. Spain abolished slavery in its Cuban colony in a series of measures between 1870 and 1886; Cuba itself became independent in 1903, a consequence of the Spanish-American War. Elsewhere, however, independence accelerated the abolition of slavery. The destruction of agriculture in countries such as Mexico and Venezuela caused the collapse of the plantation system, and fugitive slaves could not be recaptured. Also, the royalists and patriot generals such as Bolívar offered slaves their freedom in exchange for military service. Most of the new independent states adopted republican constitutions declaring the legal equality of all men. For Indians and blacks, however, these noble words were meaningless, for the revolution brought about no redistribution of property, nor could long-standing racist attitudes be eliminated by the stroke of a pen.

Although the edifice of racism persisted in the nineteenth century, Latin America experienced much more assimilation and offered Negroes greater economic and social mobility than did the United States. As a direct result of their heroic military service in the wars of independence, a substantial number of Negroes improved their social status. Some even attained political heights: the Mexican revolutionary Vicente Guerrero served as president of his country in 1829; Antonio Guzmán governed Venezuela as a benevolent dictator (r. 1870–1888); Ramón Castilla, a mestizo, served as president of Peru (r. 1845–1851 and 1855–1862) and made great improvements in state financing.

What accounts for the relative racial permeability of Latin America in contrast with the severe segregation in the United States? The Creole elite in Latin America had a "whitening" ideology—that is, they viewed race mixture as a civilizing process that diminished and absorbed the dark and "barbarous" blood of Africans and Indians. Legally and socially, Latin American societies classified people as white, mestizo, mulatto, Negro, *indigena* (native), and *asiatico* (Asiatic). Supposedly, this system measured bloodlines and racial origins. When linked to social class, lightness of skin helped social mobility, but a nonwhite person could not completely shed the absence of *pureza de sangre,* "purity of blood." In contrast, the United States evolved a simple two-tiered racial edifice. Anyone who was not "pure" white was classified as Negro or black (see pages 852–853).

Latin American elites' definition of *whiteness* and perception of physical beauty also seem to have been broader than the definition and perception of the white majority in the United States. Nevertheless, the advantages of assimilation did not (and do not) apply to dark-skinned people in Latin America. Substantial numbers of light-skinned colored people rose economically and socially, but the great mass of dark-skinned blacks continued to experience all the consequences of systematic and insistent racism.

40

SIMÓN BOLÍVAR

A Constitution for Venezuela

As we have seen, the Enlightenment principles of reason, human rights, and equality ignited revolutions on both sides of the Atlantic. In Europe, these revolutions overturned kings and tyrannies, marshaling national citizen armies and creating parliamentary democracies. In the American colonies, the revolutions took shape as anticolonial struggles for independence. Sometimes the effort to create both an independent nation *and* a democracy proved overwhelming.

Simón Bolívar* (1783–1830), called "the Liberator," successfully led the Latin American revolution for independence from Spain between 1810 and 1824. (See Map 6.1.) In 1819, he became president of Venezuela and of what is today Colombia, Ecuador, and Panama, and he gave the speech on the Constitution of Venezuela that follows.

What does Bolívar see as the difference between the independence of Spanish-American colonies and that of the American colonies? What does he mean when he says that Latin Americans have been denied "domestic tyranny"? Would you call Bolívar a "democrat"? Is he more or less democratic than the French or North American revolutionaries? What kind of society do you think would result from the constitution he envisions?

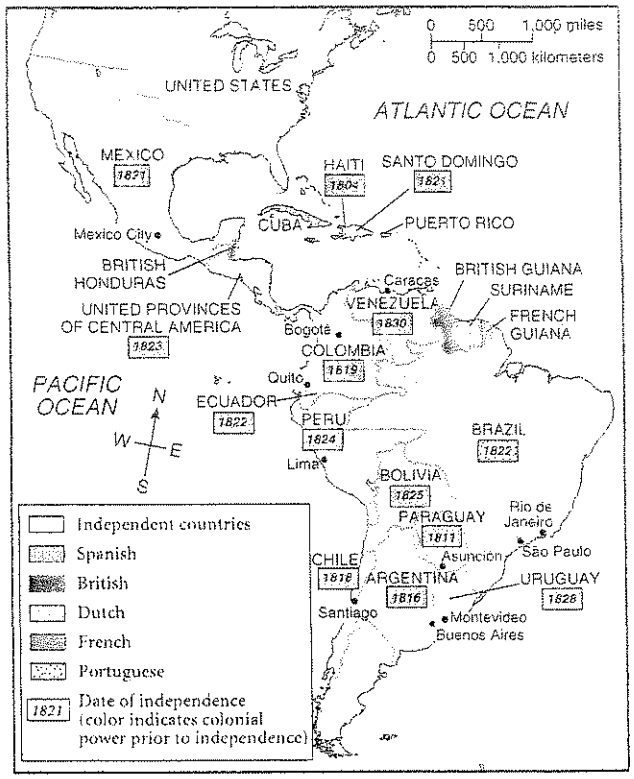
Thinking Historically

How does Bolívar characterize the revolutionary population of South America? How does he think this population differs from the North American revolutionaries? What do you think accounts for this difference?

In what ways did the revolutionaries of South America, North America, and France see their problems and needs differently? How did Bolívar propose to solve what he perceived to be the unique problems of South America? What do you think of his solution?

*see MOHN boh LEE vahr

Selected Writings of Bolívar, comp. Vincent Lecuna, ed. Harold A. Bierck Jr., 2 vols. (New York: Colonial Press, 1951), 175–91.



Map 6.1 Latin American Independence, 1804–1830

Let us review the past to discover the base upon which the Republic of Venezuela is founded.

America, in separating from the Spanish monarchy, found herself in a situation similar to that of the Roman Empire when its enormous framework fell to pieces in the midst of the ancient world. Each Roman division then formed an independent nation in keeping with its location or interests; but this situation differed from America's in that those members proceeded to reestablish their former associations. We, on the contrary, do not even retain the vestiges of our original being. We are not Europeans; we are not Indians; we are but a mixed species of aborigines and Spaniards. Americans by birth and Europeans by law, we find ourselves engaged in a dual conflict: We are disputing with the natives for titles of ownership, and at the same time we are struggling to maintain ourselves in the country that gave us birth against the opposition of the invaders. Thus our position is most extraordinary and complicated. But there is more. As our role has always been strictly passive

and political existence nil, we find that our quest for liberty is now even more difficult of accomplishment; for we, having been placed in a state lower than slavery, had been robbed not only of our freedom but also of the right to exercise an active domestic tyranny. Permit me to explain this paradox.

In absolute systems, the central power is unlimited. The will of the despot is the supreme law, arbitrarily enforced by subordinates who take part in the organized oppression in proportion to the authority that they wield. They are charged with civil, political, military, and religious functions; but, in the final analysis, the satraps of Persia are Persian, the pashas of the Grand Turk are Turks, and the sultans of Tartary are Tartars. China does not seek her mandarins in the homeland of Genghis Khan, her conqueror. America, on the contrary, received everything from Spain, who, in effect, deprived her of the experience that she would have gained from the exercise of an active tyranny by not allowing her to take part in her own domestic affairs and administration. This exclusion made it impossible for us to acquaint ourselves with the management of public affairs; nor did we enjoy that personal consideration, of such great value in major revolutions, that the brilliance of power inspires in the eyes of the multitude. In brief, Gentlemen, we were deliberately kept in ignorance and cut off from the world in all matters relating to the science of government.

Subject to the three-fold yoke of ignorance, tyranny, and vice, the American people have been unable to acquire knowledge, power, or [civic] virtue. The lessons we received and the models we studied, as pupils of such pernicious teachers, were most destructive. We have been ruled more by deceit than by force, and we have been degraded more by vice than by superstition. Slavery is the daughter of darkness: An ignorant people is a blind instrument of its own destruction. Ambition and intrigue abuse the credulity and experience of men lacking all political, economic, and civic knowledge; they adopt pure illusion as reality; they take license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and vengeance foı justice. This situation is similar to that of the robust blind man who beguiled by his strength, strides forward with all the assurance of onı who can see, but, upon hitting every variety of obstacle, finds himsel unable to retrace his steps.

If a people, perverted by their training, succeed in achieving thei liberty, they will soon lose it, for it would be of no avail to endeavor tı explain to them that happiness consists in the practice of virtue; tha the rule of law is more powerful than the rule of tyrants, because, as th laws are more inflexible, every one should submit to their beneficen austerity; that proper morals, and not force, are the bases of law; anı that to practice justice is to practice liberty. Therefore, Legislators, you work is so much the more arduous, inasmuch as you have to reeducat men who have been corrupted by erroneous illusions and false incer

tives. Liberty, says Rousseau, is a succulent morsel, but one difficult to digest. Our weak fellow-citizens will have to strengthen their spirit greatly before they can digest the wholesome nutriment of freedom. Their limbs benumbed by chains, their sight dimmed by the darkness of dungeons, and their strength sapped by the pestilence of servitude, are they capable of marching toward the august temple of Liberty without faltering? Can they come near enough to bask in its brilliant rays and to breathe freely the pure air which reigns therein? . . .

The more I admire the excellence of the federal Constitution of Venezuela, the more I am convinced of the impossibility of its application to our state. And to my way of thinking, it is a marvel that its prototype in North America endures so successfully and has not been overthrown at the first sign of adversity or danger. Although the people of North America are a singular model of political virtue and moral rectitude; although the nation was cradled in liberty, reared on freedom, and maintained by liberty alone; and — I must reveal everything — although those people, so lacking in many respects, are unique in the history of mankind, it is a marvel, I repeat, that so weak and complicated a government as the federal system has managed to govern them in the difficult and trying circumstances of their past. But, regardless of the effectiveness of this form of government with respect to North America, I must say that it has never for a moment entered my mind to compare the position and character of two states as dissimilar as the English-American and the Spanish-American. Would it not be most difficult to apply to Spain the English system of political, civil, and religious liberty? Hence, it would be even more difficult to adapt to Venezuela the laws of North America. Does not *L'Esprit des Lois* state that laws should be suited to the people for whom they are made; that it would be a major coincidence if those of one nation could be adapted to another; that laws must take into account the physical conditions of the country, climate, character of the land, location, size, and mode of living of the people; that they should be in keeping with the degree of liberty that the Constitution can sanction respecting the religion of the inhabitants, their inclinations, resources, number, commerce, habits, and customs? This is the code we must consult, not the code of Washington! . . .

Venezuela had, has, and should have a republican government. Its principles should be the sovereignty of the people, division of powers, civil liberty, proscription of slavery, and the abolition of monarchy and privileges. We need equality to recast, so to speak, into a unified nation, the classes of men, political opinions, and public customs.

Among the ancient and modern nations, Rome and Great Britain are the most outstanding. Both were born to govern and to be free and both were built not on ostentatious forms of freedom, but upon solid institutions. Thus I recommend to you, Representatives, the study of

the British Constitution, for that body of laws appears destined to bring about the greatest possible good for the peoples that adopt it; but, however perfect it may be, I am by no means proposing that you imitate it slavishly. When I speak of the British government, I only refer to its republican features; and, indeed, can a political system be labelled a monarchy when it recognizes popular sovereignty, division and balance of powers, civil liberty, freedom of conscience and of press, and all that is politically sublime? Can there be more liberty in any other type of republic? Can more be asked of any society? I commend this Constitution to you as that most worthy of serving as model for those who aspire to the enjoyment of the rights of man and who seek all the political happiness which is compatible with the frailty of human nature.

Nothing in our fundamental laws would have to be altered were we to adopt a legislative power similar to that held by the British Parliament. Like the North Americans, we have divided national representation into two chambers; that of Representatives and the Senate. The first is very wisely constituted. It enjoys all its proper functions, and it requires no essential revision, because the Constitution, in creating it, gave it the form and powers which the people deemed necessary in order that they might be legally and properly represented. If the Senate were hereditary rather than elective, it would, in my opinion, be the basis, the tie, the very soul of our republic. In political storms this body would arrest the thunderbolts of the government and would repel any violent popular reaction. Devoted to the government because of a natural interest in its own preservation, a hereditary senate would always oppose any attempt on the part of the people to infringe upon the jurisdiction and authority of their magistrates. It must be confessed that most men are unaware of their best interests, and that they constantly endeavor to assail them in the hands of their custodians — the individual clashes with the mass, and the mass with authority. It is necessary, therefore, that in all governments there be a neutral body to protect the injured and disarm the offender. To be neutral, this body must not owe its origin to appointment by the government or to election by the people, if it is to enjoy a full measure of independence which neither fears nor expects anything from these two sources of authority. The hereditary senate, as a part of the people, shares its interests, its sentiments, and its spirit. For this reason it should not be presumed that a hereditary senate would ignore the interests of the people or forget its legislative duties. The senators in Rome and in the House of Lords in London have been the strongest pillars upon which the edifice of political and civil liberty has rested.

At the outset, these senators should be elected by Congress. The successors to this Senate must command the initial attention of the government, which should educate them in a *colegio* designed especially to train these guardians and future legislators of the nation. They ought to

learn the arts, sciences, and letters that enrich the mind of a public figure. From childhood they should understand the career for which they have been destined by Providence, and from earliest youth they should prepare their minds for the dignity that awaits them.

The creation of a hereditary senate would in no way be a violation of political equality. I do not solicit the establishment of a nobility, for as a celebrated republican has said, that would simultaneously destroy equality and liberty. What I propose is an office for which the candidates must prepare themselves, an office that demands great knowledge and the ability to acquire such knowledge. All should not be left to chance and the outcome of elections. The people are more easily deceived than is Nature perfected by art; and, although these senators, it is true, would not be bred in an environment that is all virtue, it is equally true that they would be raised in an atmosphere of enlightened education. Furthermore, the liberators of Venezuela are entitled to occupy forever a high rank in the Republic that they have brought into existence. I believe that posterity would view with regret the effacement of the illustrious names of its first benefactors. I say, moreover, that it is a matter of public interest and national honor, of gratitude on Venezuela's part, to honor gloriously, until the end of time, a race of virtuous, prudent, and persevering men who, overcoming every obstacle, have founded the Republic at the price of the most heroic sacrifices. And if the people of Venezuela do not applaud the elevation of their benefactors, then they are unworthy to be free, and they will never be free.

A hereditary senate, I repeat, will be the fundamental basis of the legislative power, and therefore the foundation of the entire government. It will also serve as a counterweight to both government and people; and as a neutral power it will weaken the mutual attacks of these two eternally rival powers. In all conflicts the calm reasoning of a third party will serve as the means of reconciliation. Thus the Venezuelan senate will give strength to this delicate political structure, so sensitive to violent repercussions; it will be the mediator that will lull the storms and it will maintain harmony between the head and the other parts of the political body.

REFLECTIONS

The Enlightenment and its political legacies — secular order and revolutionary republicanism — were European in origin but global in impact. In this chapter, we have touched on just a few of the crosscurrents of what some historians call an "Atlantic Revolution." A tide of revolutionary fervor swept through France, the United States, and Latin

America, found sympathy in Russia in 1825, and echoed in the Muslim heartland, resulting in secular, modernizing regimes in Turkey and Egypt in the next century.

The appeal of the Enlightenment, of rationally ordered society, and of democratic government continues. Elements of this eighteenth-century revolution — the rule of law; regular, popular elections of representatives; the separation of church and state, of government and politics, and of civil and military authority — are widely recognized ideals and emerging global realities. Like science, the principles of the Enlightenment are universal in their claims and often seem universal in their appeal. Nothing is simpler, more rational, or easier to follow than a call to reason, law, liberty, justice, or equality. And yet every society has evolved its own guidelines under different circumstances, often with lasting results. France had its king and still has a relatively centralized state. The United States began with slavery and still suffers from racism. South American states became free of Europe only to dominate Native Americans, and they continue to do so. One democratic society has a king, another a House of Lords, another a national church. Are these different adaptations of the Enlightenment ideal? Or are these examples of incomplete revolution, cases of special interests allowing their governments to fall short of principle?

The debate continues today as more societies seek to realize responsive, representative government and the rule of law while oftentimes respecting conflicting traditions. Muslim countries and Israel struggle with the competing demands of secular law and religion, citizenship and communalism. Former communist countries adopt market economies and struggle with traditions of collective support and the appeal of individual liberty.

Perhaps these are conflicts within the Enlightenment tradition itself. How is it possible to have both liberty and equality? How can we claim inalienable rights on the basis of a secular, scientific creed? How does a faith in human reason lead to revolution? And how can ideas of order or justice avoid the consequences of history and human nature?

The great revolutionary declarations of the Enlightenment embarrass the modern skeptic with their naïve faith in natural laws, their universal prescriptions to cure all ills, and their hypocritical avoidance of slaves, women, and the colonized. The selections by Diderot, Toussaint, and Wollstonecraft, however, remind us that Enlightenment universalism was based not only on cool reason and calculation and the blind arrogance of the powerful. At least some of the great Enlightenment thinkers based their global prescription on the *felt* needs, even the sufferings, of others. For Diderot, Toussaint, and perhaps especially Wollstonecraft, the recognition of human commonality began with a capacity for empathy that the Enlightenment may have bequeathed to the modern world.

Haiti's Former Slaves Defend Their Freedom In this representation, a veteran army sent by Napoleon to reassert French control in Haiti battles with Haitian forces in a tropical forest. The combination of Haitian resistance and yellow fever defeated the French invasion. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Revolutions led to a new round of struggles for independence. News of revolutionary events in France destabilized the colonial regime in Saint Domingue (present-day Haiti), a small French colony on the western half of the island of Hispaniola, and resulted in the first successful slave rebellion. In Europe, however, the spread of revolutionary fervor was checked by reaction as monarchs formed an alliance to protect themselves from further revolutionary outbreaks.

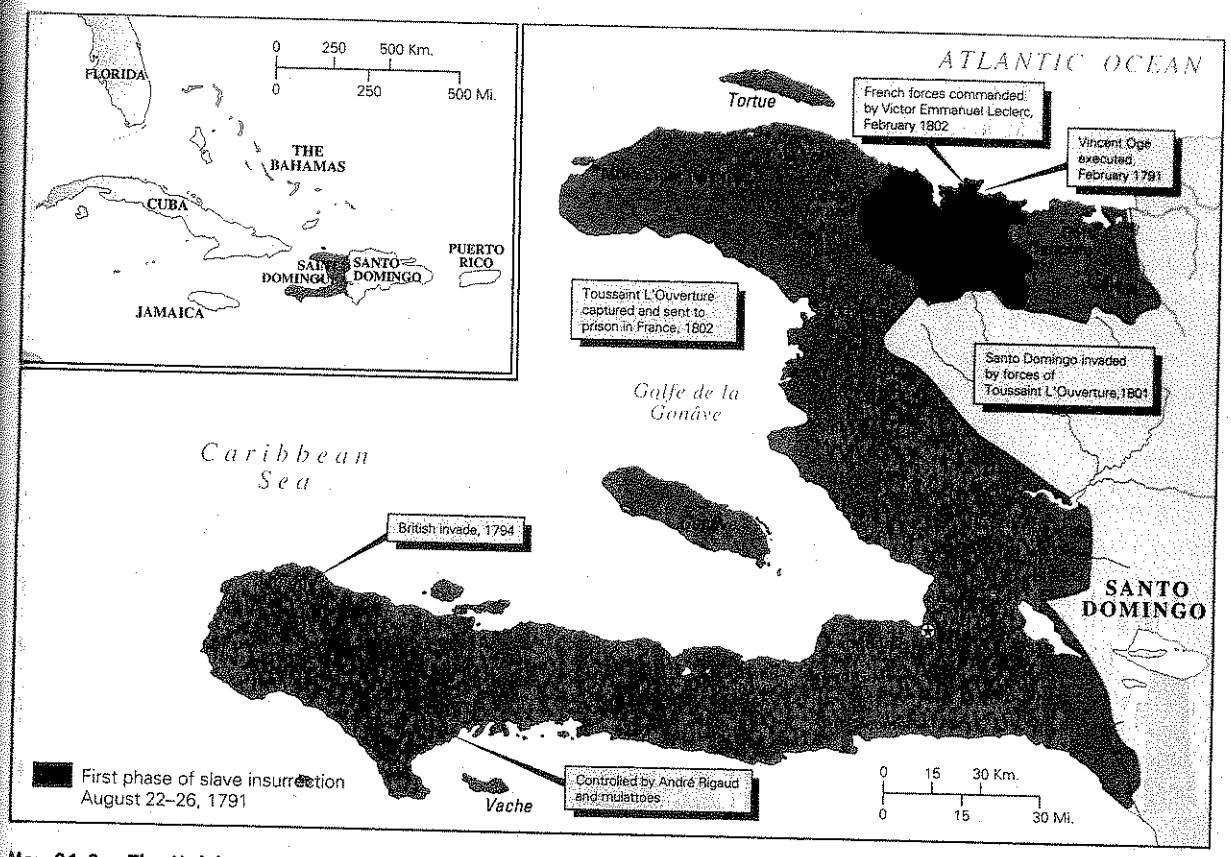
The Haitian Revolution, 1789–1804

In 1789 the French colony of Saint Domingue was among the richest European colonies in the Americas. Its plantations produced sugar, cotton, indigo, and coffee. The colony accounted for two-thirds of France's tropical imports and generated nearly one-third of all French foreign trade. This impressive wealth depended on a brutal slave regime. Saint Domingue's harsh punishments and poor living conditions were notorious throughout the Caribbean. The colony's high mortality and low fertility rates created an insatiable demand for African slaves. As a result, in 1790 the majority of the colony's 500,000 slaves were African-born.

In 1789, when news of the calling of France's Estates General arrived on the island, wealthy white planters sent a delegation to Paris charged with seeking more home rule and greater economic freedom for Saint Domingue. The free mixed-race population, the ***gens de couleur***°, also sent representatives. These nonwhite delegates were mostly drawn from the large class of slave-owning small planters and urban merchants. They focused on ending race discrimination and achieving political equality with whites. They did not seek freedom for slaves; the most prosperous gens de couleur were slave owners themselves. As the French Revolution became more radical, the gens de couleur forged an alliance with sympathetic French radicals, who came to identify the colony's wealthy planters as royalists and aristocrats.

The political turmoil in France weakened the ability of colonial administrators to maintain order. The authority

gens de couleur (zhahn deh koo-LUHR)



Map 21.3 The Haitian Revolution On their way to achieving an end to slavery and gaining national independence, the Haitian revolutionaries were forced to defeat British and French military interventions as well as the local authority of the slave masters.

of colonial officials was no longer clear, and the very legitimacy of slavery was being challenged in France. In the vacuum that resulted, rich planters, poor whites, and the gens de couleur pursued their narrow interests, engendering an increasingly bitter and confrontational struggle. Given the slaves' hatred of the brutal regime that oppressed them and the accumulated grievances of the free people of color, there was no way to limit the violence once the control of the slave owners slipped. When Vincent Ogé°, leader of the gens de couleur mission to France, returned to Saint Domingue in 1790 to organize a military force, the planters captured, tortured, and executed him. This cruelty was soon repaid in kind.

By 1791 whites, led by the planter elite, and the gens de couleur were engaged in open warfare. This breach between the two groups of slave owners gave the slaves an opening. A slave rebellion began on the plantations of the north and spread throughout the colony (see Map 21.3). Plantations were destroyed, masters and overseers killed, and crops burned. An emerging rebel leadership that combined elements of African political culture with revolutionary ideology from France mobilized and directed the rebelling slaves.

The rebellious slaves eventually gained the upper hand under the leadership of **François Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture**, a former domestic slave, who created a disciplined military force. Toussaint was politically strengthened in 1794 when the radical National Convention in Paris abolished slavery in all French possessions. He overcame his rivals in Saint Domingue, defeated a British expeditionary force in 1798, and then led an invasion of the neighboring Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, freeing the slaves there. Toussaint continued to assert his loyalty to France but gave the French government no effective role in local affairs.

Ogé (oh-ZHAY)

As reaction overtook revolution in France, both the abolition of slavery and Toussaint's political position were threatened. When the Directory contemplated the reestablishment of slavery, Toussaint protested:

> Do they think that men who have been able to enjoy the blessing of liberty will calmly see it snatched away? They supported their chains only so long as they did not know any condition of life more happy than slavery. But today when they have left it, if they had a thousand lives they would sacrifice them all rather than be forced into slavery again.[3]

In 1802 Napoleon sent a large military force to Saint Domingue to reestablish both French colonial authority and slavery (see Map 21.3). At first the French forces were successful. Toussaint was captured and sent to France, where he died in prison. Eventually, however, the loss of thousands of lives to yellow fever and the resistance of the revolutionaries turned the tide. Visible in the resistance to the French were small numbers of armed women. During the early stages of the Haitian Revolution, very few slave women had taken up arms, although many had aided Toussaint's forces in support roles. But after a decade of struggle and violence, more Haitian women were politically aware and willing to join the armed resistance. In 1804 Toussaint's successors declared independence, and the free republic of Haiti joined the United States as the second independent nation in the Western Hemisphere. But independence and emancipation were achieved at a terrible price. Tens of thousands had died; the economy was destroyed; and public administration was corrupted by more than a decade of violence. Political violence and economic stagnation were to trouble Haiti throughout the nineteenth century.

The Congress of Vienna and Conservative Retrenchment, 1815–1820

In 1814–1815 representatives of Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, along with representatives of other nations, met as the **Congress of Vienna** to reestablish political order in Europe. While they were meeting, Napoleon escaped from Elba and then was defeated at Waterloo. The French Revolution and Napoleon's imperial ambitions had threatened the very survival of Europe's old order. Ancient monarchies had been overturned and dynasties replaced with interlopers. Long-established political institutions had been tossed aside, and long-recognized international borders had been ignored. The very existence of the nobility and church had been put at risk. Under the leadership of the Austrian foreign minister, Prince Klemens von Metternich* (1773–1859), the allies worked together in Vienna to create a comprehensive peace settlement that they hoped would safeguard the conservative order.

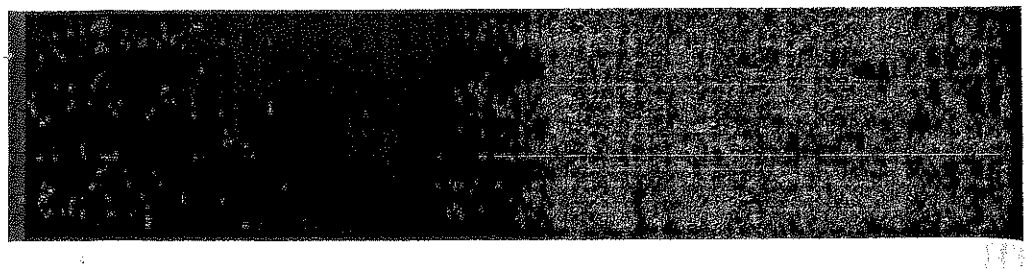
The central objective of the Congress of Vienna was to roll back the clock in France. Because the participants believed that a strong and stable France was the best guarantee of future peace, the French monarchy was reestablished, and France's 1792 borders were recognized. Most of the continental European powers received some territorial gains, for Metternich sought to offset French strength with a balance of power. In addition, Austria, Russia, and Prussia formed a separate alliance to more actively confront the revolutionary and nationalist energies that the French Revolution had unleashed. In 1820 this "Holy Alliance" acted militarily to defeat liberal revolutions in Spain and Italy. By repressing republican and nationalist ideas in universities and the press, the Holy Alliance also attempted to meet the potential challenge posed by subversive ideas. Metternich's program of conservative retrenchment succeeded in the short term, but powerful ideas associated with liberalism and nationalism remained a vital part of European political life throughout the nineteenth century.

Nationalism, Reform, and Revolution, 1821–1850

Despite the power of the conservative monarchs, popular support for national self-determination and democratic reform grew throughout Europe. Greece had been under Ottoman control since the fifteenth century. In 1821 Greek patriots launched an independence movement. Metternich and other conservatives opposed Greek independence, but European artists and writers enamored with the cultural legacy of ancient Greece rallied political support for intervention. After years of struggle, Russia, France, and Great Britain forced the Ottoman Empire to recognize Greek independence in 1830.

Louis XVIII, brother of the executed Louis XVI, had been placed on the throne of France by the victorious allies in 1814. He ruled as a constitutional monarch until his death in 1824 and was followed to the throne by his brother Charles X. Charles attempted to rule in the prerevolutionary style of his ancestors, repudiating the constitution in 1830. Unwilling to accept this reactionary challenge, the people of Paris rose up and forced Charles

Metternich (MET-uhr-nik)



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TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE

Letter to the Directory

When the French revolutionaries proclaimed the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in 1789, the French colony of Saint-Domingue[1] (now Haiti) contained a half million African slaves, most of whom worked on the sugar plantations that made France one of the richest countries in the world. Thus, the French were confronted with the difficult problem of reconciling their enlightened principles with the extremely profitable, but fundamentally unequal, institution of slavery.

French revolutionaries remained locked in debate about this issue when in 1791, the slaves of Saint-Domingue organized a revolt that culminated in establishing Haiti's national independence twelve years later. François Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture,* a self-educated Haitian slave, led the revolt and the subsequent battles against the French planter class and French armies, as well as the Spanish forces of neighboring Santo Domingo, now the other half of the island known as the Dominican Republic and the antirevolutionary forces of Britain, all of whom vied for control of the island at the end of the eighteenth century.

At first Toussaint enjoyed the support of the revolutionary government in Paris; in the decree of 16 Pluviôse (1794) the National Convention abolished slavery in the colonies. But after 1795, the revolution turned on itself and Toussaint feared the new conservative government, called the Directory, might send troops to restore slavery on the island.

In 1797 he wrote the Directory the letter that follows. Notice how Toussaint negotiated a difficult situation. How did he try to reassure the government of his allegiance to France? At the same time, how did

1 san doh MANG Santo Domingo was the Spanish name for the eastern half of Hispaniola (now the Dominican Republic). Saint-Domingue was the French name for the western half of the island, now Haiti. San Domingo, which is used in the text, is a nineteenth-century abbreviation for Saint-Domingue. To further complicate matters, both the Spanish and French sometimes used their term for the whole island of Hispaniola. Spain controlled the entire island until 1697 when the Spanish recognized French control of the west. [Ed.]

*too SAN loo vehr TUR

Toussaint L'Ouverture, "Letter to the Directory, November 5, 1797," in *The Black Jacobins*, C. L. R. James (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 195–97.

he attempt to convince the Directory that a return to slavery was unthinkable?

Thinking Historically

Notice how the author is torn between the ideals of the French Revolution and the interests of the people of Saint-Domingue. Where did Toussaint's true loyalty lie? At the time he wrote this letter events had not yet forced him to declare the independence of Saint-Domingue (Haiti); this would not happen until January 1, 1804. But, according to the letter, how and why did Toussaint regard the principles of the French Revolution as more important than his loyalty to France?

. . . The impolitic and incendiary discourse of Vaublanc has not affected the blacks nearly so much as their certainty of the projects which the proprietors of San Domingo are planning: insidious declarations should not have any effect in the eyes of wise legislators who have decreed liberty for the nations. But the attempts on that liberty which the colonists propose are all the more to be feared because it is with the veil of patriotism that they cover their detestable plans. We know that they seek to impose some of them on you by illusory and specious promises, in order to see renewed in this colony its former scenes of horror. Already perfidious emissaries have stepped in among us to ferment the destructive leaven prepared by the hands of liberticides. But they will not succeed. I swear it by all that liberty holds most sacred. My attachment to France, my knowledge of the blacks, make it my duty not to leave you ignorant either of the crimes which they meditate or the oath that we renew, to bury ourselves under the ruins of a country revived by liberty rather than suffer the return of slavery.

It is for you, Citizens Directors, to turn from over our heads the storm which the eternal enemies of our liberty are preparing in the shades of silence. It is for you to enlighten the legislature, it is for you to prevent the enemies of the present system from spreading themselves on our unfortunate shores to sully it with new crimes. Do not allow our brothers, our friends, to be sacrificed to men who wish to reign over the ruins of the human species. But no, your wisdom will enable you to avoid the dangerous snares which our common enemies hold out for you. . . .

I send you with this letter a declaration which will acquaint you with the unity that exists between the proprietors of San Domingo who are in France, those in the United States, and those who serve under the English banner. You will see there a resolution, unequivocal and carefully constructed, for the restoration of slavery; you will see there that

their determination to succeed has led them to envelop themselves in the mantle of liberty in order to strike it more deadly blows. You will see that they are counting heavily on my complacency in lending myself to their perfidious views by my fear for my children. It is not astonishing that these men who sacrifice their country to their interests are unable to conceive how many sacrifices a true love of country can support in a better father than they, since I unhesitatingly base the happiness of my children on that of my country, which they and they alone wish to destroy.

I shall never hesitate between the safety of San Domingo and my personal happiness; but I have nothing to fear. It is to the solicitude of the French Government that I have confided my children. . . . I would tremble with horror if it was into the hands of the colonists that I had sent them as hostages; but even if it were so, let them know that in punishing them for the fidelity of their father, they would only add one degree more to their barbarism, without any hope of ever making me fail in my duty. . . . Blind as they are! They cannot see how this odious conduct on their part can become the signal of new disasters and irreparable misfortunes, and that far from making them regain what in their eyes liberty for all has made them lose, they expose themselves to a total ruin and the colony to its inevitable destruction. Do they think that men who have been able to enjoy the blessing of liberty will calmly see it snatched away? They supported their chains only so long as they did not know any condition of life more happy than that of slavery. But to-day when they have left it, if they had a thousand lives they would sacrifice them all rather than be forced into slavery again. But no, the same hand which has broken our chains will not enslave us anew. France will not revoke her principles, she will not withdraw from us the greatest of her benefits. She will protect us against all our enemies; she will not permit her sublime morality to be perverted, those principles which do her most honour to be destroyed, her most beautiful achievement to be degraded, and her Decree of 16 Pluviôse which so honours humanity to be revoked. *But if, to re-establish slavery in San Domingo, this was done, then I declare to you it would be to attempt the impossible: we have known how to face dangers to obtain our liberty, we shall know how to brave death to maintain it.*

This, Citizens Directors, is the morale of the people of San Domingo, those are the principles that they transmit to you by me.

My own you know. It is sufficient to renew, my hand in yours, the oath that I have made, to cease to live before gratitude dies in my heart, before I cease to be faithful to France and to my duty, before the god of liberty is profaned and sullied by the liberticides, before they can snatch from my hands that sword, those arms, which France confided to me for the defence of its rights and those of humanity, for the triumph of liberty and equality.

AN

Historical Account

OF THE

BLACK EMPIRE OF HAYTI:

COMPREHENDING A VIEW OF

THE PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS IN THE REVOLUTION

OF

SAINT DOMINGO;

WITH

ITS ANTIENT AND MODERN STATE.

BY

MARCUS RAINSFORD, Esq.

LATE CAPTAIN THIRD WEST-INDIA REGIMENT,

&c. &c.

"Tros, Tyriusve, mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

VIRGIL.

——— "On peut dire avec vérité qu'il y a peu de traits de barbarie qui puissent leur *(les noirs)* être imputés."

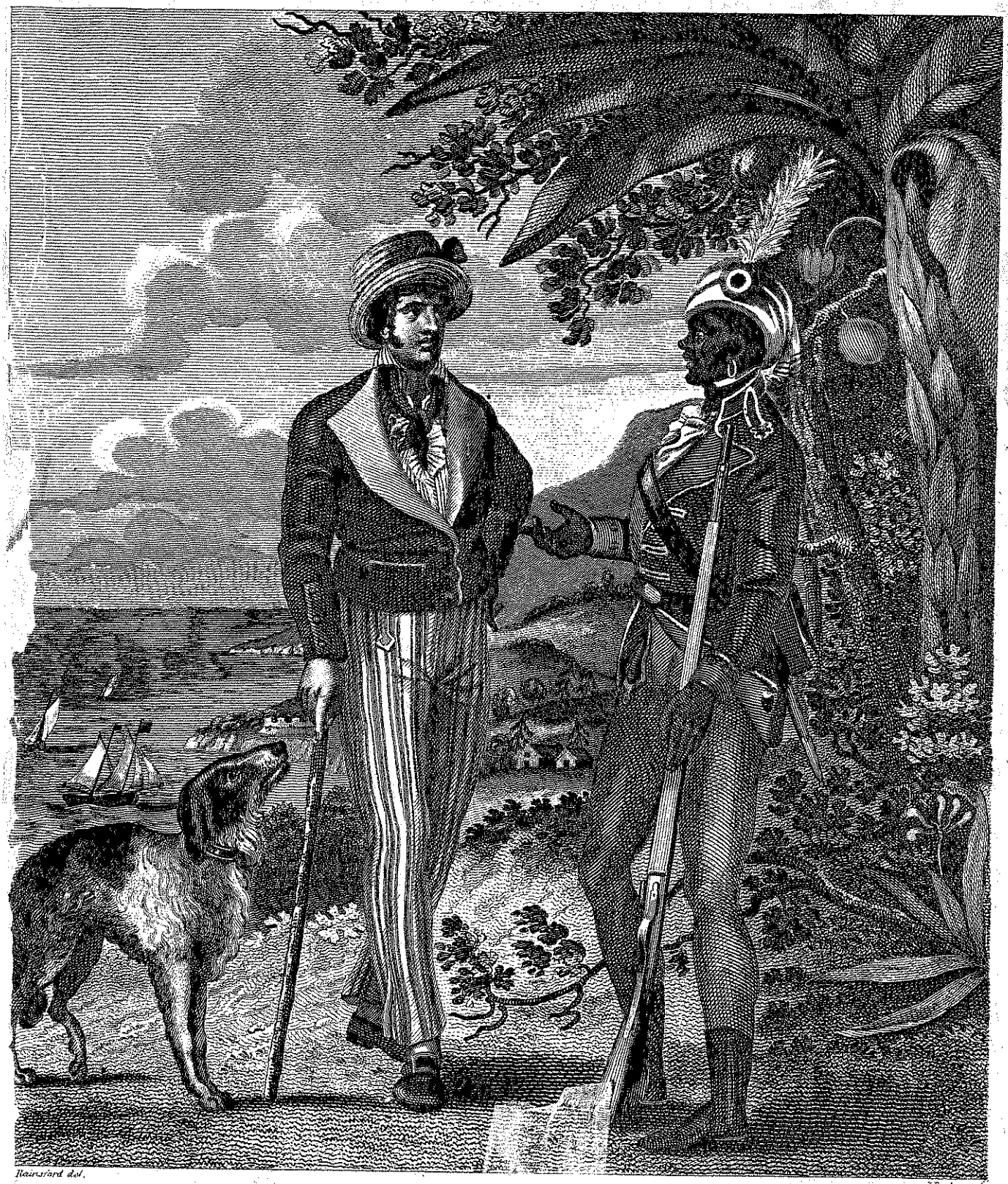
DE CHARMILLY.

ALBION PRESS PRINTED:

PUBLISHED BY JAMES CUNDEE, IVY-LANE, PATERNOSTER-ROW;

AND SOLD BY C. CHAPPLE, PALL MALL.

1805.



Hearsard del. J. Barlow sculp.

The Author in Conversation with a private Soldier of the Black Army on his Excursion in St. Domingo.

No. VII.

Letter of Toussaint to Admiral Smith.

No. VII.

(Referring to Page 264),

Documents illustrative of the Character and Manners of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

IT is always pleasing to trace the interchanges of civility in war between two great and benevolent minds; the following letter has been selected as a specimen of Toussaint's familiar intercourse from a variety of other papers of a similar description.

LIBERTY. EQUALITY.

At Cape François, the 5th January, 7th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, to Edward Tyrrel Smith, Esq. Captain of his Britannic Majesty's Ship Hannibal.*

SIR,

LIEUTENANT STOVIN has performed the commission with which you charged him. As I was at the Cape when he arrived, he was conducted to me, and has brought me your letters of the 3d and 5th January, although addressed to the commandant of this place. I perceive that you have on board sixty-four French prisoners, which you propose to me to exchange, and which I would not have hesitated to do instantly if I had had the same number of prisoners here.

* Now Admiral Smith.

As

No. VII.
Letter of Toussaint.

As my principles of humanity correspond perfectly with those you manifest, I shall be obliged to you to release the French prisoners. I shall send you eight English prisoners, the whole that are here, with the exception of one, who, having had his thigh broken, remains at the hospital for it to be set. I will give you letters for Port Paix and the Mole, and I shall give the necessary orders that you may be furnished with the prisoners that will be coming to you; if it should happen that they do not complete the number, I promise you on my word of honor, that they shall be at your disposal whenever the fortune of war shall place them at my command.

In case that you should not be satisfied with the letters I give you for the Mole and Port Paix, you then can carry the French prisoners you have made to those places where they may be exchanged. I wait your answer to govern me.

Although the porter, the rum, and the ham which you have had the civility to address to the Chief of this City, were not particularly addressed to me, I cannot omit to return you my thanks. I wish there may be any thing here agreeable to you, and you shall receive it. I have given your servant permission to make any provision for which you may have occasion.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most humble and

Obedient Servant,

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

Liberté. *Egalité.*

Au Cap français le 16 nivose l'an septième de la Republique française, une et indivisible.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE,

Général en chef de l'Armée de Saint-Domingue,

A Monsieur Edward Byl Smith Commandant pour S. M. B. le Vaisseau l'Annibal.

Monsieur le Commandant

Le Lieutenant Porter a rempli la mission dont vous l'avez chargé. Comme je me suis trouvé au Cap, il m'a été amené et m'a remis vos deux Lettres des 3 & 5 Janvier, quoique adressées au Commandant de cette Place. Je vois que vous avez à votre Bord 64 Prisonniers français, que vous me proposez Néchanger, ce que je n'ai pas balancé de faire de suite. Si j'avais eu ici le même nombre de prisonniers

Mais mes principes m'honorant répondant parfaitement à ceux que vous me manifestez je vous ~~[illegible]~~ serai obligé de relâcher les prisonniers français, je vous enverrai huit prisonniers anglais les plus qui soient ici, à l'exception d'un qui ayant été la cause cassé se trouve à l'hospital pour le surplus je vous donnerai des lettres pour le Cont de Paris et le Mole ou je donnerai ordre de vous faire les revues des prisonniers que vous reviendront. Et si par cas on ne pouvait compléter ce nombre, je vous engage ma parole d'honneur de les remettre à votre disposition, lorsque le sort en la guerre en remettra à la raison.

Dans le cas que vous ne feriez pas conformé dans les lettres que je vous

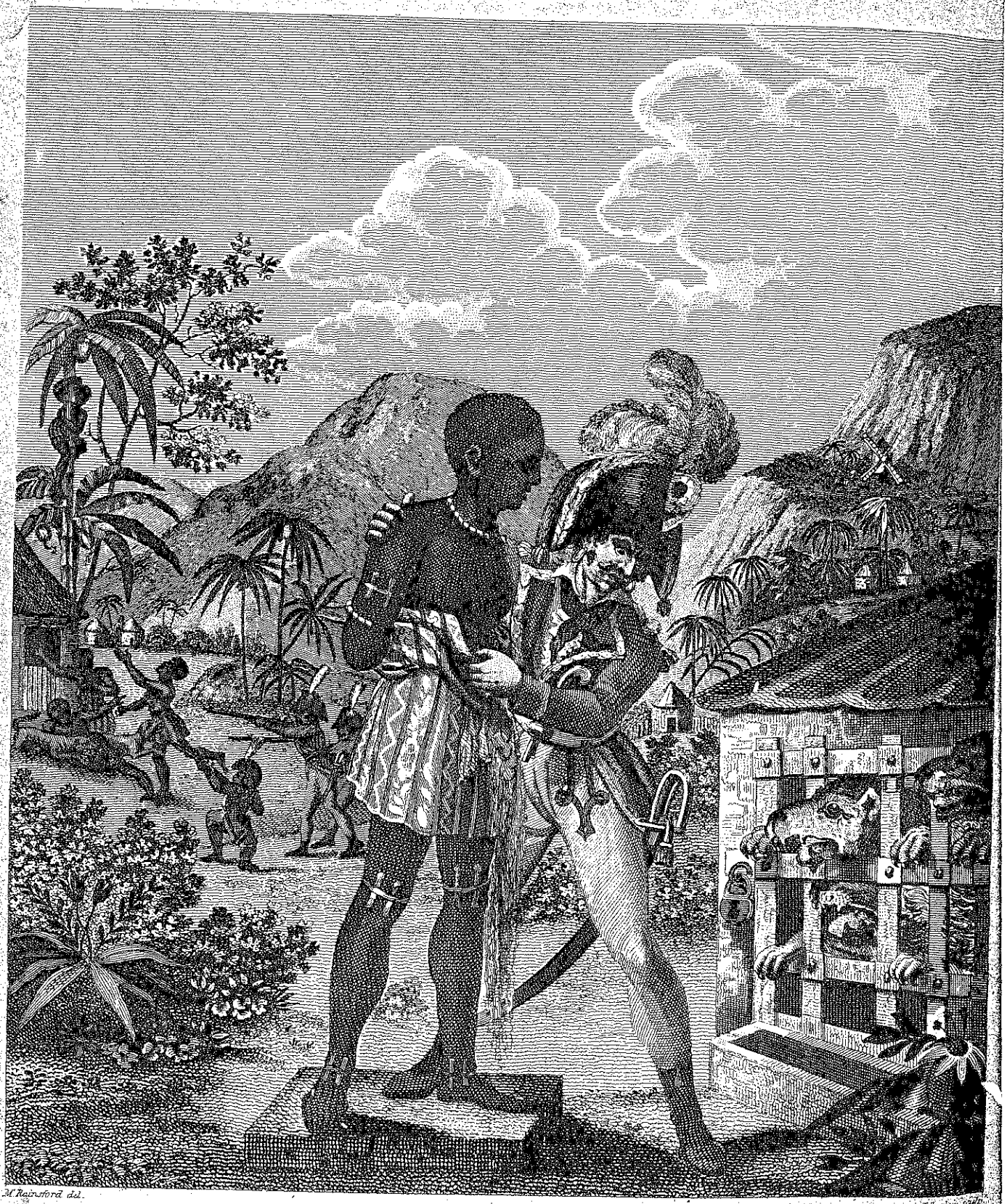
donnerai pour le mole et le Cap et prier
alors vous pourrez transporter les prisonniers
français que vous avez fait dans un endroit
où ils pourront être échangés. J'attendrai
votre réponse pour me servir des Gouverneur.

Quoique le Porter, le Rhum et le
Jambon que vous avez eu la Civilité d'adresser
au chef de cette ville ne me soit pas
particulièrement adressé je ne laisse pas que je voudrais
de vous en faire mes Remerciemens, je voudrais
avoir ici quelque chose qui puit vous être
agréable, vous le recevrez je permets à
votre Domestique de faire la provision
dont vous pourrez avoir besoin

J'ai l'honneur d'être
Monsieur le Commandant,

Votre très humble et
obéissant serviteur

Toussaint Louverture

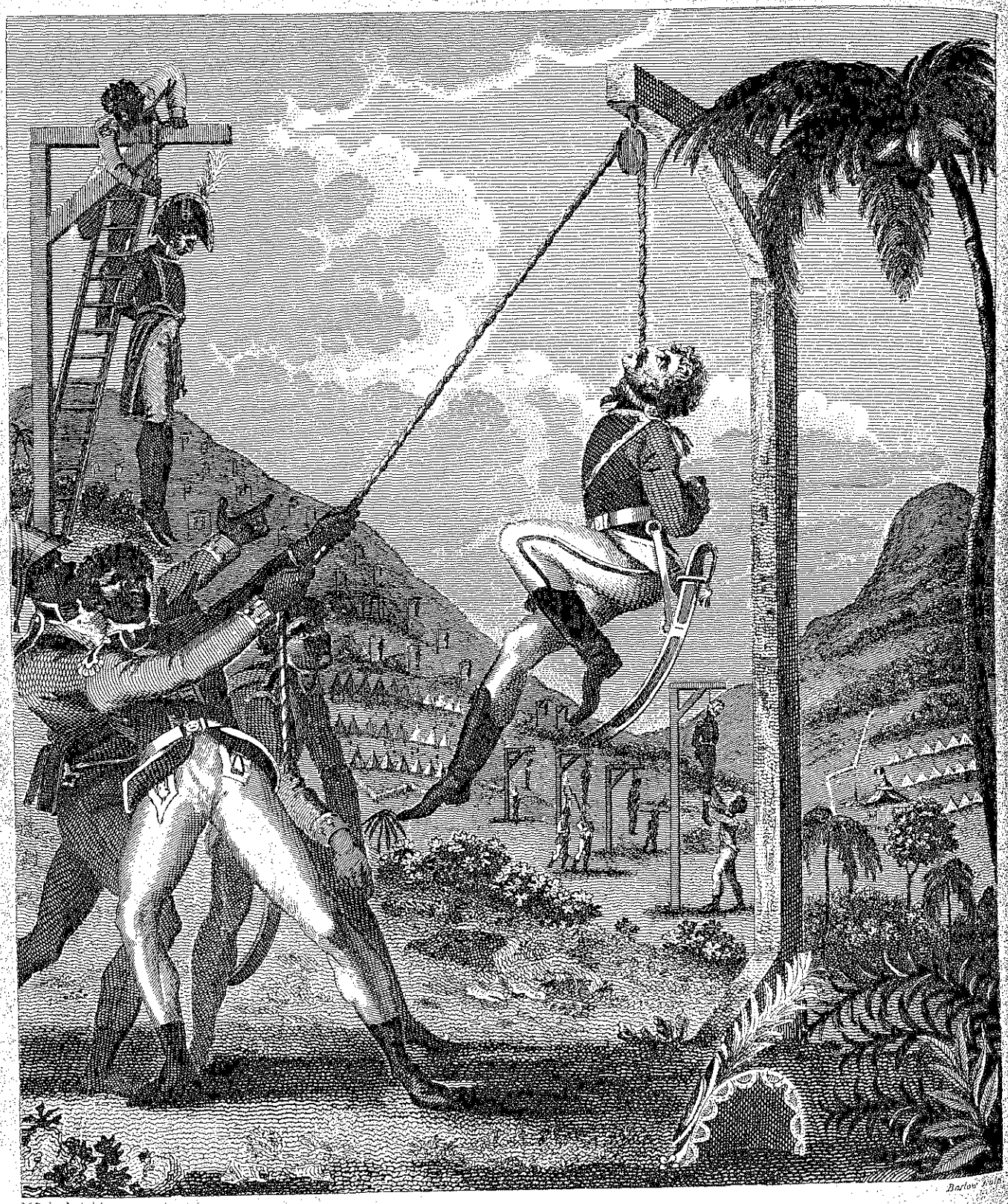


M Rainsford del. T Barlow sculp.

The mode of training Blood Hounds in St. Domingo, and of exercising them in Chaleurs

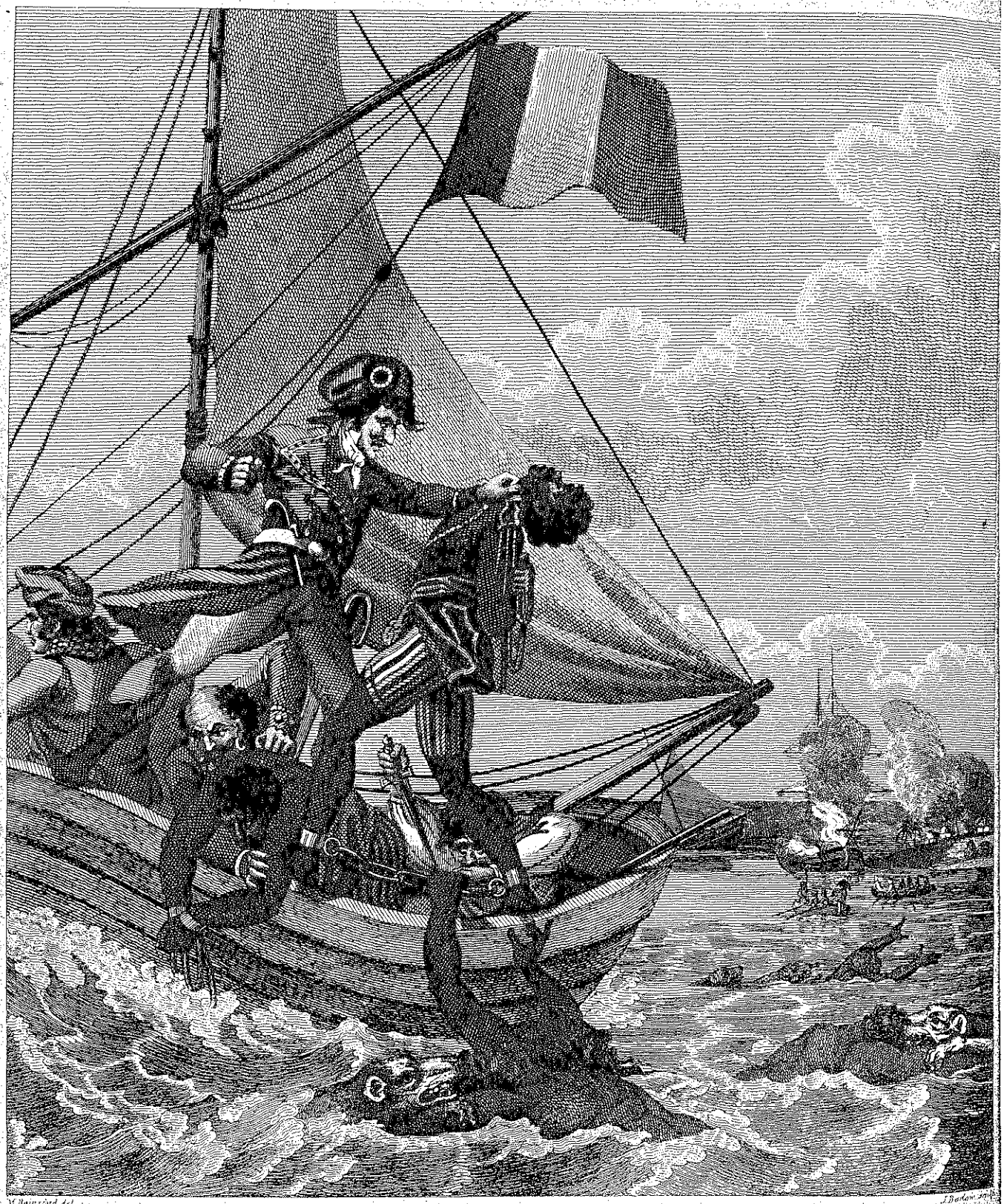
W. Rainsford del.

Blood Hounds attacking a Black Family in the Woods.



M. Rainsford del. Barlow Sculp.

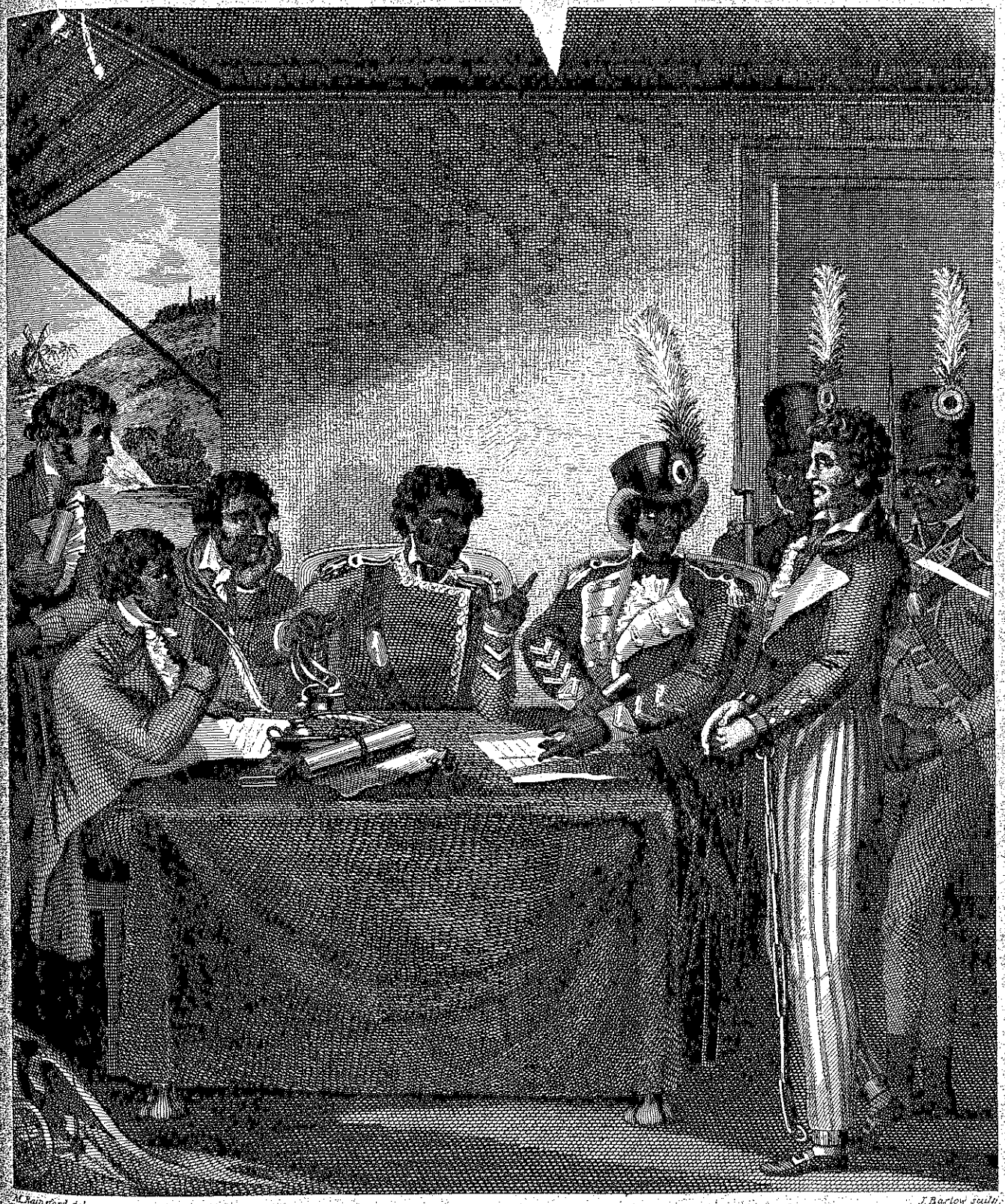
Revenge taken by the Black Army for the Cruelties practised



The Mode of exterminating the Black Army, as practised by the French

M. Rainsford del. Bar

The Author when under sentence of Death relieved by a benevolent Female of Colour.

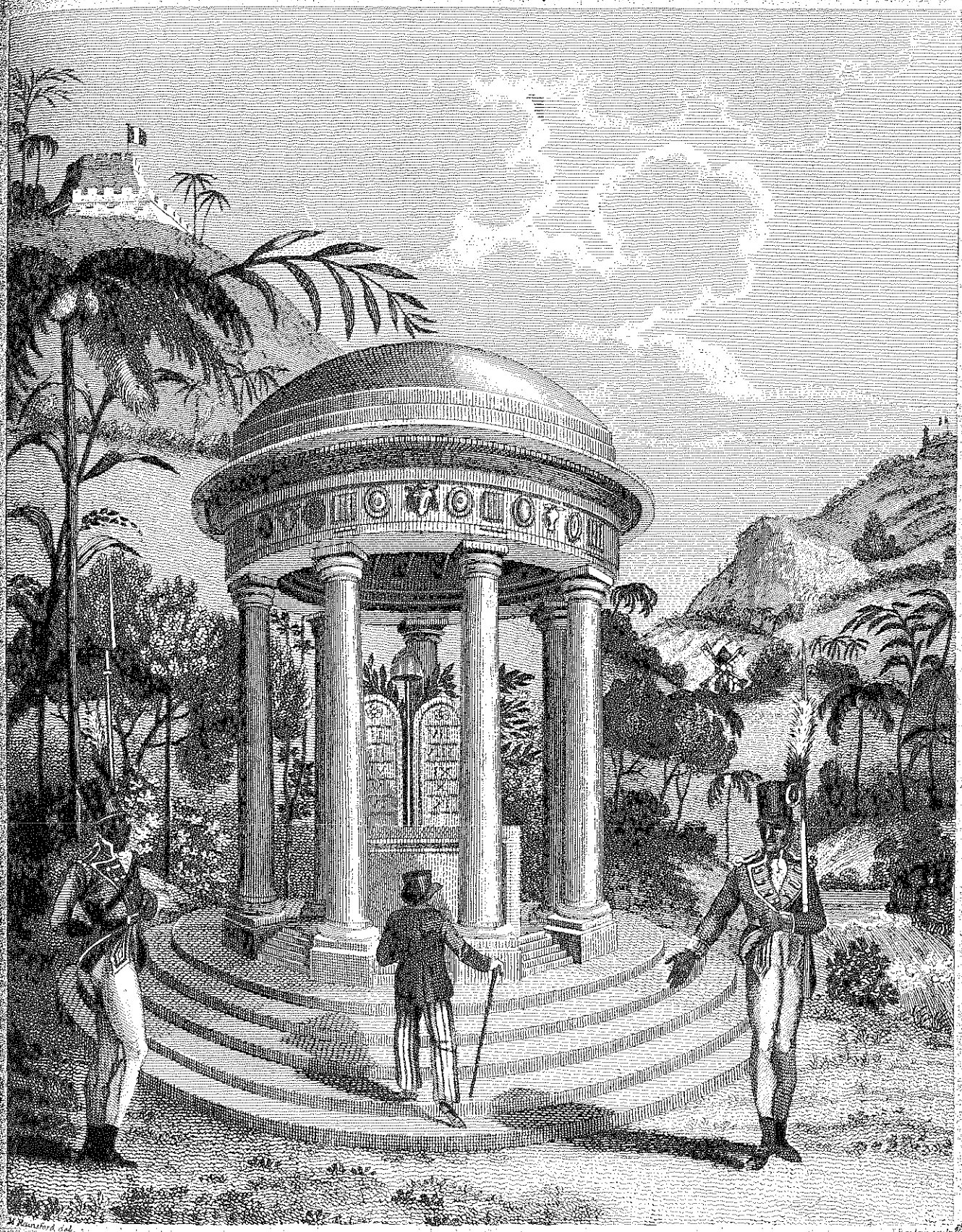


M. Rainsford del. J. Barlow sculp.

The Court Martial which sentenced the Author to Death.

General Christophe President.

Published as the Act directs, July 1st 1805, by Jas Cundee, Ivy Lane Paternoster Row.



W. Beauford del. J. Barlow sculp.

View of a Temple erected by the Blacks to commemorate their Emancipation.

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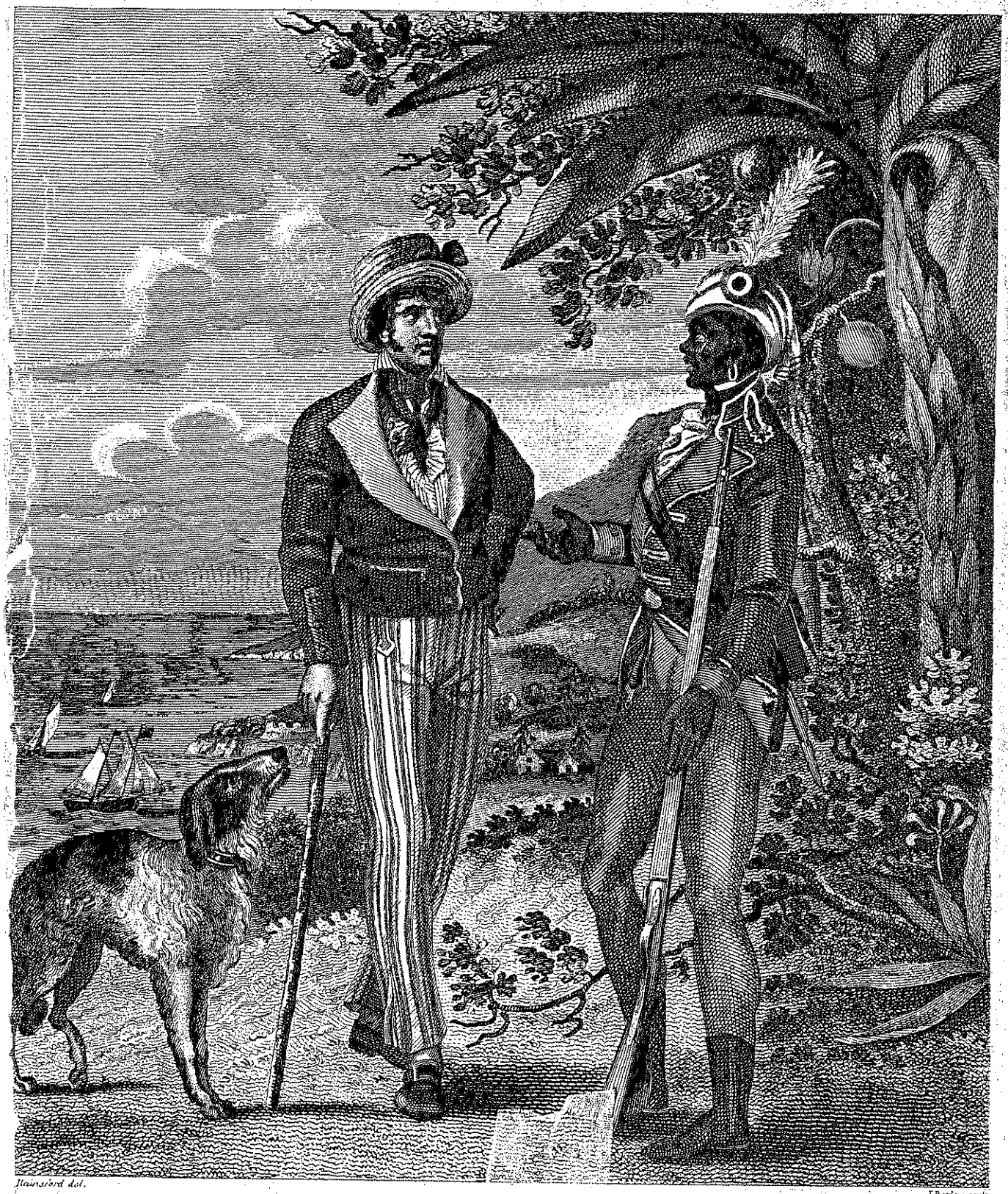

Hainsford del. J. Barlow sculp.

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