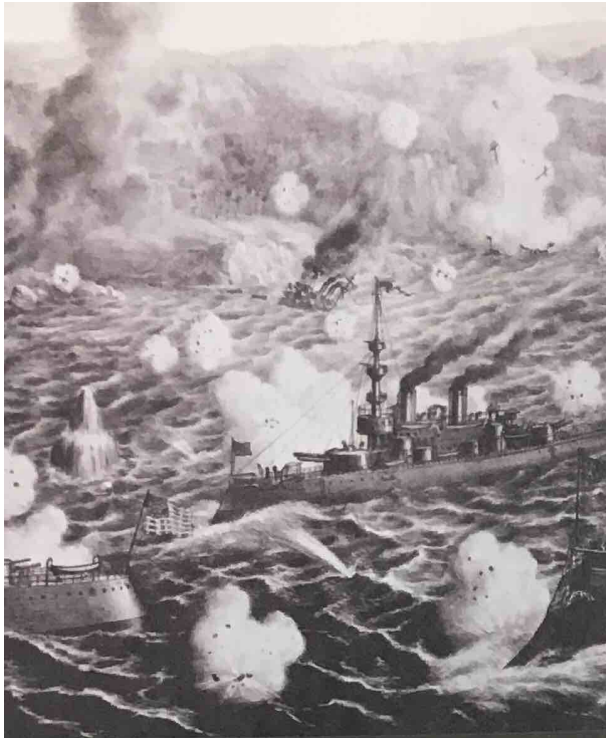


After the wars of independence in the early 1800s, Latin American nations hoped to build democratic governments. That dream soon faded as power struggles erupted across the region. During the Age of Imperialism, Latin American economies became increasingly dependent upon those of more developed countries. Britain, and later the United States, invested heavily in Latin America.



>> Check Understanding The United States helped Cuba fight Spain in the Spanish-American War. The U.S. Navy destroyed a Spanish fleet off Santiago de Cuba in 1898. What did the United States gain after the war?



Interactive Flipped Video

>> Objectives

Identify the political problems faced by new Latin American nations.

Describe Mexico's struggle to achieve stability.

Explain why Latin America entered a cycle of economic dependence.

Analyze the influence of the United States on Latin America, including the opening of the Panama Canal.

Analyze how Canada achieved self-rule.

>> Key Terms

regionalism
caudillo
Benito Juárez
La Reforma
peonage
Monroe Doctrine
Panama Canal
confederation
dominion
métis

The Americas in the Age of Imperialism

Political Problems Linger

Simón Bolívar had hoped to create a single Latin American nation. After all, the people shared a common language, religion, and cultural heritage. But feuds among leaders, geographic barriers, and local nationalism shattered that dream of unity. In the end, 20 separate nations emerged.

These new nations wrote constitutions modeled on that of the United States. They set up republics with elected legislatures. During the 1800s, however, most Latin American nations were plagued by revolts, civil war, and dictatorships.

The Legacy of Colonialism Many problems facing the new nations had their origins in colonial rule. Spain and Portugal had kept tight control on their colonies, giving them little experience with self-government. The wars of independence barely changed the colonial social and political hierarchy. Creoles simply replaced *peninsulares* as the ruling class. The Roman Catholic Church kept its privileged position and still controlled huge amounts of land.

For most people—mestizos, mulattoes, blacks, and Indians—life did not improve after independence. The new constitutions

guaranteed equality before the law, but deep-rooted inequalities remained. Voting rights were limited. Racial prejudice was widespread, and land remained in the hands of a few. Owners of haciendas ruled their great estates, and the peasants who worked them, like medieval European lords.

The Rise of Dictators With few roads and no tradition of unity, the new nations were weakened by **regionalism**, or loyalty to a local area. Local strongmen, called **caudillos** (kow THEE yohs), assembled private armies to resist the central government.

At times, popular caudillos, sometimes former military leaders, gained national power. They looted treasuries and ignored constitutions. Supported by the military, they ruled as dictators.

Power struggles among competing strongmen led to frequent revolts that changed little except the name of the leader. In the long run, power remained in the hands of a privileged few who had no desire to share it.

Conservatives and Liberals As in Europe, the ruling elite in Latin America were divided between conservatives and liberals. Conservatives defended the traditional social order, favored press censorship, and strongly supported the Catholic Church. They wanted to maintain the current social order, fearing that change would bring chaos and disorder.

Liberals backed Enlightenment ideas of liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty. They supported laissez-faire economics, religious toleration, and freedom of the press. They wanted to weaken the power of the Catholic Church by breaking up its vast landholdings and ending its monopoly on education. Liberals saw themselves as enlightened supporters of progress but often showed little concern for the needs of the majority of the people.

2 IDENTIFY CAUSE AND EFFECT What political obstacles to democracy were caused by lingering effects of colonial rule in Latin America?

Mexico's Search for Stability

During the 1800s, each Latin American nation followed its own course. Mexico provides an example of the challenges facing many Latin American nations.

In the years after independence, large landowners, army leaders, and the Catholic Church dominated Mexican politics. Deep social divisions separated

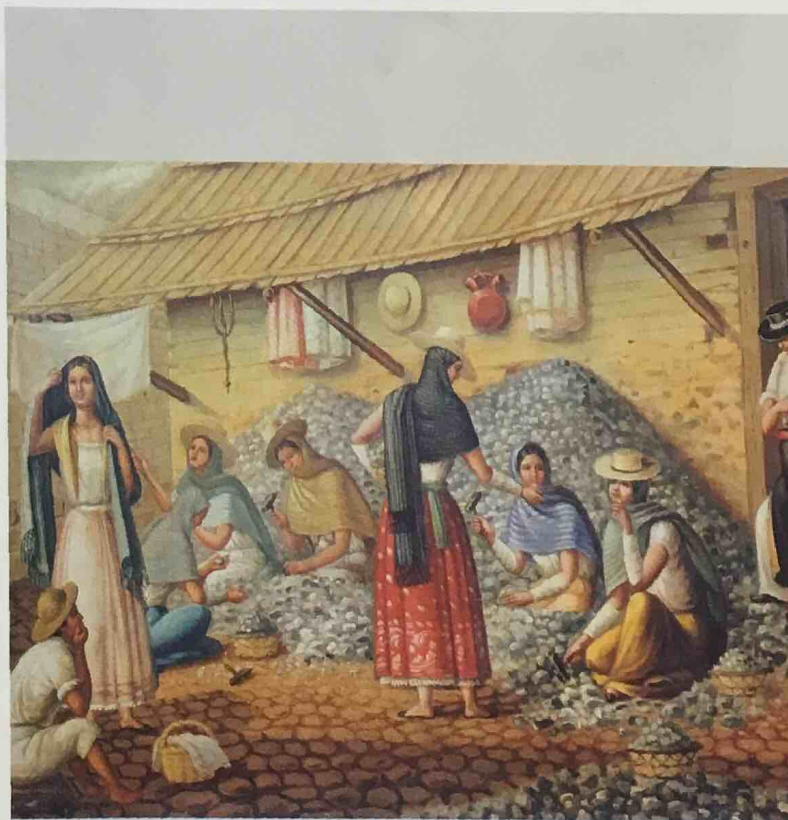
wealthy creoles from mestizos and Indians who lived in desperate poverty. Bitter battles between conservatives and liberals led to revolts and the rise of dictators.

Santa Anna and War With the United States

Between 1833 and 1855, an ambitious and cunning **caudillo**, Antonio López de Santa Anna, gained and lost power many times. Allied with Spain during Mexico's war of independence, Santa Anna switched sides when he saw that Spain was losing. Following a similar pattern as president, he first posed as a liberal reformer. Then, after critics opposed his reforms, he reversed his stand. When in power, Santa Anna ruled as a dictator.

Settlers in Mexico's northern territory of Texas took advantage of the chaos in Mexico to seek independence in 1835. Many settlers had moved to Texas from the United States and wanted to ensure a stable government. Santa Anna marched north to crush the rebels. Although he overwhelmed Texas forces at the Alamo, he was soon defeated and captured. In 1836, he was forced to recognize the independent Republic of Texas.

Santa Anna returned to Mexico in disgrace, but reemerged as a hero in a brief conflict with France. In 1846, after the United States annexed Texas, war broke out between Mexico and the United States. Santa



>> Life did not improve for many Latin Americans after they gained independence. Here, peasant women process crops grown on a hacienda in Mexico in the 1800s.

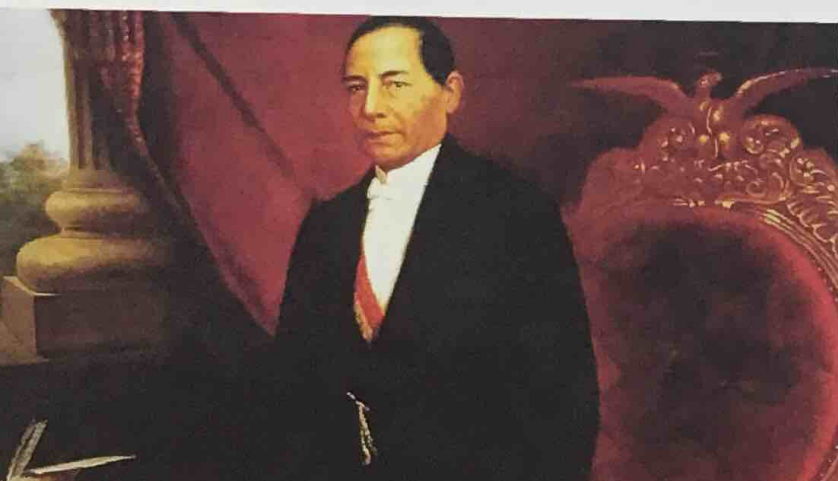
Anna took command of Mexican forces, but was again defeated.

In the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which ended the war in 1848, Mexico lost almost half its territory to the United States. The humiliating defeat forced Santa Anna into exile and triggered new violence between conservatives and liberals in Mexico.

La Reforma Brings Changes to Mexico In 1855, **Benito Juárez** (WAHR ez) and other liberals gained power and opened an era of reform known as **La Reforma**.

Juárez, of Zapotec Indian heritage, offered hope to the oppressed people of Mexico. He and his fellow reformers revised the Mexican constitution to strip the military of power and end the special privileges of the Church. They ordered the Church to sell unused lands to peasants.

Conservatives resisted La Reforma, unleashing a disastrous civil war. Juárez was elected president in 1861 and expanded his reforms. Conservative opponents turned to Europe for help. Mexico owed large debts to several European countries, including France. In 1863, Napoleon III sent troops to Mexico and set up Austrian archduke Maximilian as emperor.



For four years, Juárez's forces battled against Mexican conservatives and French forces. When France withdrew its troops, Maximilian was captured and shot. In 1867, Juárez returned to power and tried to renew reform, but opponents resisted. Juárez died in office in 1872 never achieving all the reforms he envisioned. He did, however, bring mestizos into politics, separate church and state, and help to unite Mexico.

A Dictator's Order, Progress, and Oppression

After Juárez died, General Porfirio Díaz, a hero of the war against the French, used the military to seize power. From 1876 to 1880 and 1884 to 1911, he ruled as a dictator. In the name of "Order and Progress," he strengthened the army, local police, and central government. Any opposition was brutally crushed.


Under his harsh rule, Mexico made impressive economic advances. It built railroads, increased foreign trade, developed some industry, and expanded mining. Growth, however, had a high cost. Capital for development came from foreign investors, to whom Díaz granted special rights. He also let wealthy landowners buy up Indian lands.

The rich prospered, but most Mexicans remained poor. Many Indians and mestizos fell into **peonage** to their employers. In the peonage system, hacienda owners would give workers advances on their wages and require them to stay on the hacienda until they had paid back what they owed. Wages remained low, and workers were rarely able to repay the hacienda owner.

Most Mexicans lived in desperate poverty even as they worked on haciendas or in the new factories. Many children died in infancy. Other children worked 12-hour days and never learned to read or write.

? SUMMARIZE What reforms did Juárez achieve to help Mexico attempt a more stable government and society?

By 1910, the dictator Porfirio Díaz had ruled Mexico for almost 35 years, winning re-election as president again and again. On the surface, Mexico enjoyed peace and economic growth. Díaz welcomed foreign investors who developed mines, built railroads, and drilled for oil.



>> Peasants joined the Mexican revolution in the hopes of improving their lives. Most were untrained and had few supplies, but they continued to fight for social, political, and economic change.



Interactive Flipped Video

>> Objectives

Identify causes and effects of the Mexican Revolution.

Analyze the effects of economic and political nationalism on Latin America.

Trace the changing relationship between Latin America and the United States.

>> Key Terms

Porfirio Díaz
 hacienda
 Emiliano Zapata
 Venustiano Carranza
 nationalization
 Lázaro Cárdenas
 economic
 nationalism
 cultural nationalism
 Good Neighbor
 Policy

Revolution and Nationalism in Latin America

The Mexican Revolution

Seeds of Discontent However, underneath the surface, discontent rippled through Mexico. The country's prosperity benefited only a small group. The majority of Mexicans were mestizos or Indian peasants who lived in desperate poverty. Most of these peasants worked on **haciendas**, or large plantations, controlled by the landowning elite.

Some peasants moved to cities, where they found jobs in factories, or worked in mines. Everywhere, they earned meager wages. In Mexican cities, middle-class liberals, who embraced the ideals of democracy, opposed the Díaz dictatorship.

The unrest boiled over in 1910 when Francisco Madero, a liberal reformer from an elite family, demanded free elections. After being imprisoned by Díaz, he hoisted the flag of revolution. Soon, revolutionaries all across Mexico joined Madero's cause. Faced with rebellion in several parts of the country, Díaz resigned in 1911.



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A Complex Struggle Madero became president of Mexico, but he turned out to be too liberal for conservatives and not radical enough for the revolutionaries. In 1913, he was murdered by one of his generals, Victoriano Huerta. Huerta ruled as a military dictator, but was quickly faced with rebellion.

During a long, complex power struggle, several radical leaders emerged. They sometimes joined forces but then fought each other. In southern Mexico, **Emiliano Zapata** led a peasant revolt. Zapata, an Indian peasant farmer, understood the misery of peasant villagers. The battle cry of the Zapatistas, as these rebels were called, was "Tierra y libertad!" which means "land and freedom."

Francisco "Pancho" Villa, a hard-riding rebel from the north, fought mostly for personal power but won the intense loyalty of his peasant followers. Villa and Zapata formed an uneasy coalition with **Venustiano Carranza**, a rich landowner who wanted political reform but opposed social change.

Fighting flared across Mexico for a decade, killing as many as a million Mexicans. Peasants, small farmers, ranchers, and urban workers were drawn into the violent struggle. Soldaderas, women soldiers, cooked, tended the wounded, and even fought alongside men.

During the revolution, President Woodrow Wilson of the United States twice sent troops to Mexico. In 1914, U.S. forces helped depose, or remove, Huerta. In 1916, they tried to hunt down Pancho Villa, whose raid into New Mexico had killed 16 Americans. After the overthrow of Huerta, Carranza turned on Villa and Zapata and defeated them. In 1917, Carranza was elected president of Mexico. That year, he reluctantly signed a new constitution.

? SEQUENCE EVENTS Explain the events of the Mexican Revolution in order.

Economic and Social Reforms

Venustiano Carranza had called for a new constitution during the Mexican Revolution. But he did not like the one he had reluctantly signed in 1917 and did not institute its reforms. In 1920, rival revolutionaries arranged for his assassination. The constitution, however, survived. With some revisions, it is still in effect today.

The Constitution of 1917 The Constitution of 1917 addressed three major issues: land, religion, and labor. The constitution strengthened government control over the economy. It permitted the breakup of large estates,



>> Francisco Madero served as president for less than two years before he was overthrown. Though he accomplished little, he remained an inspiration to revolutionaries.



Interactive Gallery



>> During the Constitutional Convention in Querétaro, Venustiano Carranza chaired the committee that drafted the Constitution of 1917. The Congress approved it on February 5, 1917.

placed restrictions on foreigners owning land, and allowed **nationalization**, or government takeover, of natural resources. Church land was made "the property of the nation." The constitution set a minimum wage and protected the workers' right to strike.

Although the constitution gave suffrage only to men, it did give women some rights. Women doing the same job as men were entitled to the same pay. In response to women activists' efforts to change the Mexican government, Carranza also passed laws allowing married women to draw up contracts, take part in legal suits, and have equal authority with men in spending family funds.

The PRI Takes Control In 1929, the government organized what later became the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). The PRI made political choices to accommodate many groups in Mexican society, including business and military leaders, peasants, and workers. Its leaders backed social reform, even while it kept power in its own hands and suppressed political opposition. It also boosted Mexican industry. Over time, the PRI brought stability to Mexico and carried out many desired reforms. The PRI dominated Mexican politics until 2000.

Social and Economic Reforms At first, the Constitution of 1917 was just a set of goals to be achieved in the future. But in the 1920s and 1930s, as

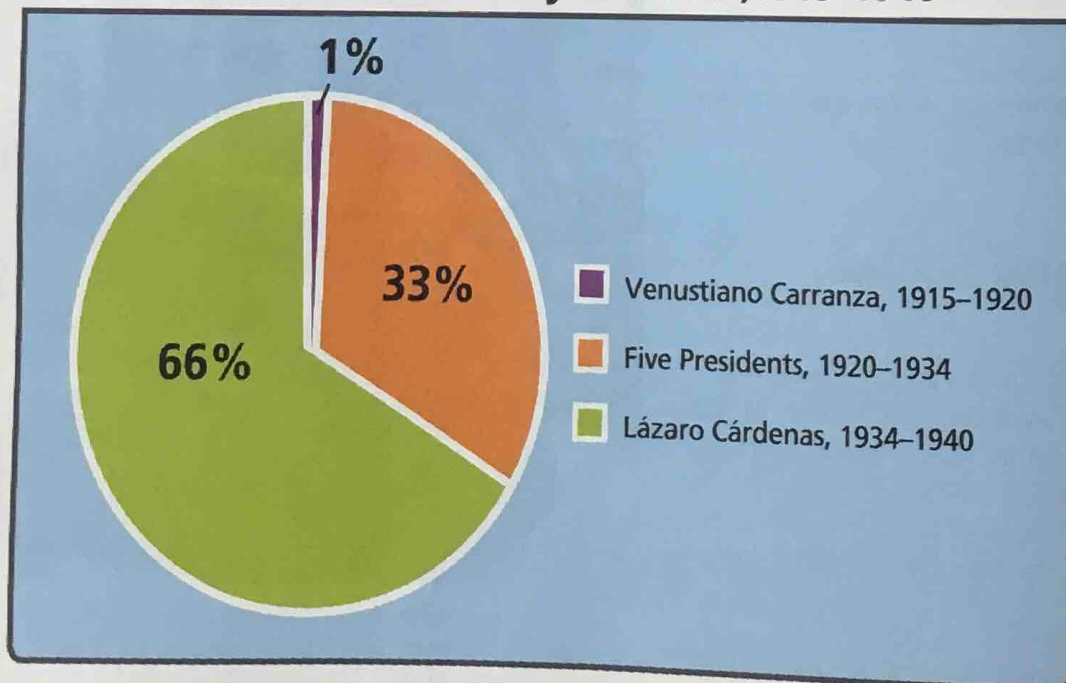
the government finally restored order, it began to carry out reforms.

In the 1920s, the government helped some Indian communities regain lands that had been taken from them. In the 1930s, President **Lázaro Cárdenas** made the decision to redistribute millions of acres of land to peasants under a communal land program. The government supported labor unions and launched a massive effort to combat illiteracy. Schools and libraries were set up. For the first time, Mexicans in rural areas who grew up speaking various Indian languages learned Spanish.

Dedicated teachers, often young women, worked for low pay. While they taught basic skills, they also spread ideas of nationalism that began to bridge the gulf between the regions and the central government. As the revolutionary era ended, Mexico became the first Latin American nation to pursue real social and economic reforms for the majority of its people.

Under the PRI, the government also took a strong role in directing the economy. In 1938, labor disputes broke out between Mexican workers and the management of some foreign-owned petroleum companies. In response, President Cárdenas nationalized Mexico's oil resources. American and British oil companies resisted Cárdenas's decision, but eventually accepted compensation for their losses. Mexicans felt that they

Land Distributed in Mexico by President, 1915–1940



>> Analyze Graphs Between 1915 and 1940, nearly 75 million acres of land were distributed to Mexico's people, fulfilling one goal of the constitution. Which president redistributed the most land?

were at last gaining economic independence from foreign influence.

? IDENTIFY CENTRAL IDEAS How did the PRI accommodate many groups in Mexican society while keeping power for itself?

