

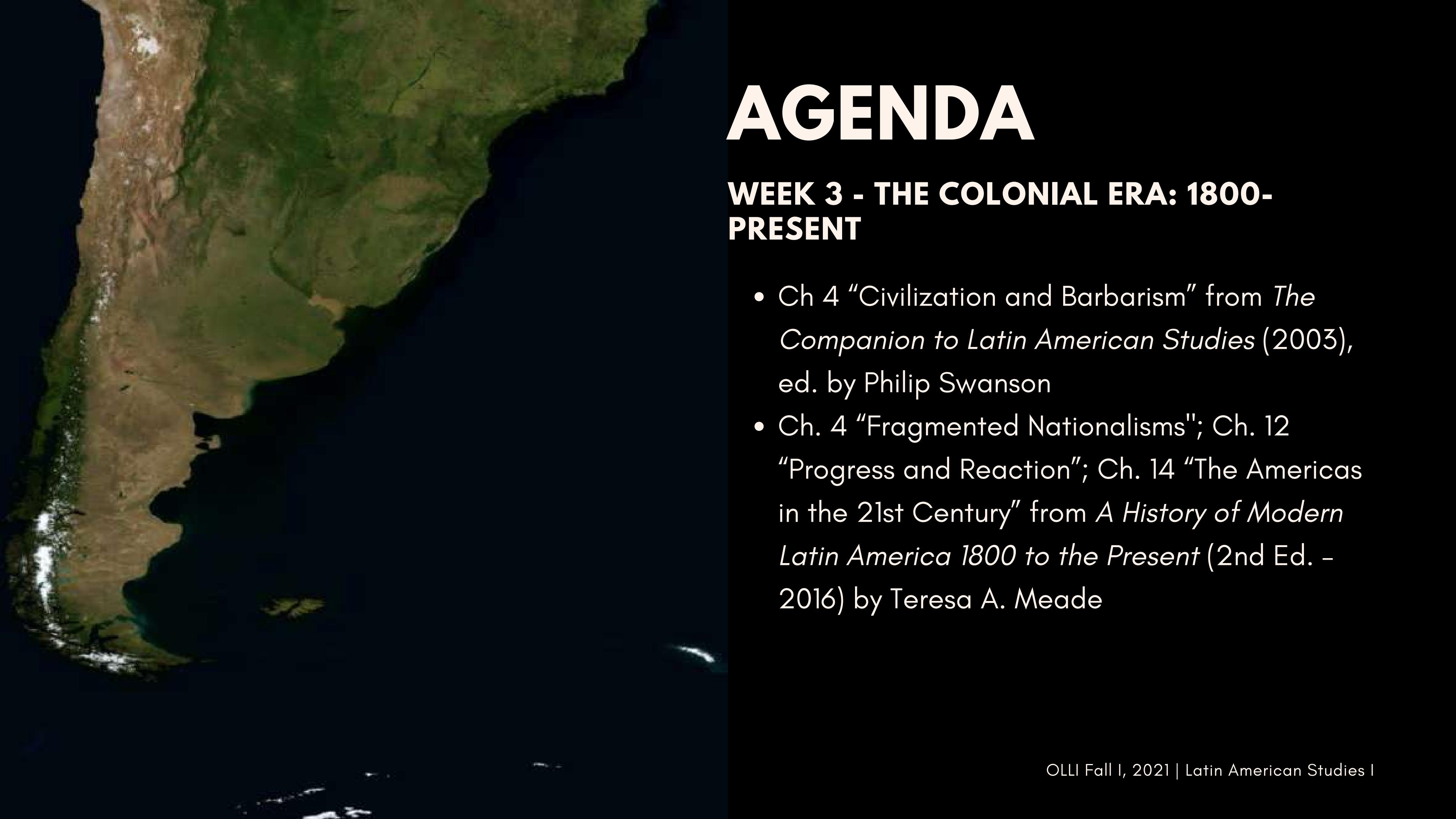


OSHER LIFELONG LEARNING INSTITUTE
FALL 1 - 2021

Latin American Studies I

©Preston Taylor Stone





AGENDA

WEEK 3 - THE COLONIAL ERA: 1800-PRESENT

- Ch 4 “Civilization and Barbarism” from *The Companion to Latin American Studies* (2003), ed. by Philip Swanson
- Ch. 4 “Fragmented Nationalisms”; Ch. 12 “Progress and Reaction”; Ch. 14 “The Americas in the 21st Century” from *A History of Modern Latin America 1800 to the Present* (2nd Ed. - 2016) by Teresa A. Meade

WEEK 1

WHAT IS LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES (LAS)?:
DISCIPLINARY INTRODUCTION,
HISTORY, AND CONCERNS

WEEK 4

NATIONALISM AND THE
AFTERLIVES OF COLONIAL
VIOLENCE

COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK 2

THE COLONIAL ERA:
CONTACT TO 1800

WEEK 3

THE COLONIAL ERA:
1800-PRESENT

WEEK 5

LAS APPROACHES TO THE
CARIBBEAN

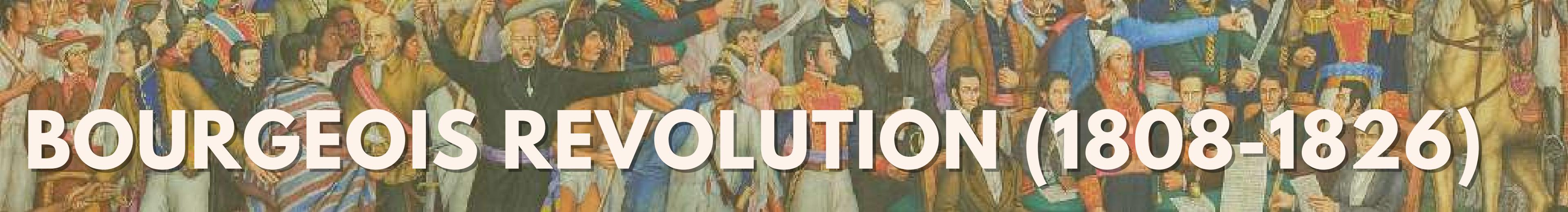
WEEK 6

LAS APPROACHES TO
LITERARY AND VISUAL ARTS

<https://prestontaylorstone.com/2021/07/17/las1/>



*WOMAN WITH AN EARRING (1850) & DEATH OF
GENERAL SANTANDER (1841)*
LUIS GARCIA HEVIA



BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION (1808-1826)

- **bourgeois revolution** – the change from a feudalist (read: colonial) politico-economic structure toward the establishment of a bourgeois government, which is to say the establishment of a classed/hierarchical meritocracy where 'merit' is often race-based, gender-based, and in some cases based on the previous (familial) association one may have with aristocracy
- **criollo** – American-born Spanish descendants who had developed their own sense of 'American' pride and wished to part from the Iberian empires; they become the de facto ruling class after the bourgeois revolutions (antonym of criollo is *peninsular* - Spaniard born in Spain)
- **caudillismo** – a system of political-social domination, based on the leadership of a strongman, that arose in Latin America to describe the leaders of the wars of independence from Spain (1810-1826)

1795: Spanish crown allies with French

1799: Napoleon seizes power, becomes Emperor of France

1807: Charles IV grants Napoleon free passage through Spain to invade Portugal, whose Prince Regent flees to Brazil

1808: Napoleon turns on the Spanish and jails Charles IV and his heir, Ferdinand

1810: Spanish Parliament (Cortes) make colonies part of Spain, but without equal representation

1814: Ferdinand VII re-establishes Spanish monarchy, making American regions into colonies again

1820: Spanish soldiers angry over infrequent pay, bad food and poor quarters mutiny in Cádiz

THE SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT



- **Simón Bolívar**, a criollo born in Venezuela, led the independence movements in the middle of the Spanish American empire (what is today Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, and Panamá) from 1808-1821 while **José de San Martín**, a criollo born in modern-day Argentina, led the independence movements in Chile, Argentina, and southern Perú from 1812-1821. In 1822, Martín and Bolívar meet in Ecuador after which Martín steps down from leadership and moves to France for the remainder of his life and Bolívar becomes the sole Liberator of South America.

1811: Paraguayan Independence

1812: 1st Venezuelan Republic

1815: Re-Establishment of Viceroyalty

1816: Argentine Independence

1818: Chilean Independence

1819: Gran Colombia Independence

1822: Independent Ecuador joins Gran Colombia

1824: Peruvian Independence

1825: Uruguayan Independence

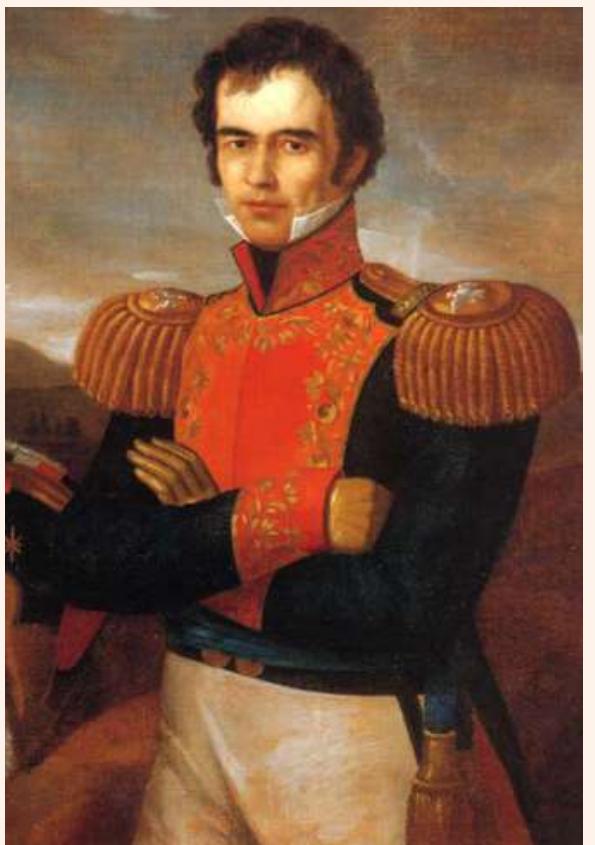


IMPERIAL BUENOS AIRES & BRAZIL



- **Dom Pedro I** and his family fled to Brazil in 1807 when Napoleon I invades Portugal. In 1821, Pedro's father João VI leaves Pedro in charge of Brazil to return to Portugal. After Portugal threatened to revoke Brazil's new-found autonomy was met with widespread anger, Pedro sides with the Brazilians and establishes an independent **Empire of Brazil** in 1822, which he ruled until 1831 when he abdicates the throne to his five-year-old son (who becomes Pedro II) in order to return to Portugal to rule.
- "Central authority proved unstable in the capital city of Buenos Aires. An early radical liberal government dominated by **Mariano Moreno** gave way to a series of triumvirates and supreme directors. More troubling still were the bitter rivalries emerging between Buenos Aires and other provinces. From the start Buenos Aires' intention of bringing all the former viceregal territories under its control set off waves of discord in the outlying provinces...**Criollo merchants of Buenos Aires, who initially sought the liberalization of colonial restraints on commerce in the region, subsequently tried to maintain their economic dominance over the interior**" (Brittanica Academic).
- In Uruguay, **José Gervasio Artigas** would gather thousands of gauchos to challenge imperialism from the Empire of Brazil and the many regimes in Buenos Aires.

THE NORTHERN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT



- Between 1808 and 1810, rejecting the notion of a congress that would address the question of governance in the absence of the Spanish king, leading *peninsulares* in Mexico City deposed the viceroy and persecuted *criollos*, then welcomed weaker viceroys whom they knew they could control.
- Between 1810 and 1820, two leaders from within the Catholic church mounted popular rebellions to local rule: **Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla**, whose supporters fought under the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the mestizo **José María Morelos y Pavón**, whose better organization and social and economic reform proposals grew the movement. Both of these movements, however, failed and both priests were executed.
- Between 1820-1821, the decision was made by the conservative ruling elite to become independent as they saw the 1820 mutiny of Spanish soldiers (and subsequent liberal gov't) as a threat to their consolidated power.
- Augustín de Iturbide and Vicente Guerrero devised the **Iguala Plan**, which focused independence plans around respect for the church and equality of *peninsulares* and *criollos*. By 1822, Iturbide became **Agustín I, Emperor of Mexico**, who afterward annexes the **Kingdom of Guatemala** (which included the other remaining Central American countries)
- The Empire of Mexico was short-lived, as one year later **Guadalupe Victoria** overthrows Iturbide and helps to establish *los Estados Unidos de México* of which he is elected the first president.
- The remainder of Central America becomes La República Federal de Centroamérica until 1838.



DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO

*Facundo:
Civilización y
Barbarie (1845)*

«Las razas fuertes exterminan a las débiles, los pueblos civilizados suplantan en la posesión de la tierra a los salvajes. No debieran nuestros escritores insistir sobre la crueldad de los españoles para con los salvajes de América, ahora como entonces, nuestros enemigos de raza, de color, de tendencias, de civilización. Quisiéramos apartar de toda cuestión social americana a los salvajes, por quienes sentimos, sin poderlo remediar, una invencible repugnancia... no son más que unos indios asquerosos, a quienes habríamos hecho colgar y mandaríamos colgar ahora, si reapareciesen en una guerra.» — Sarmiento, *Obras Completas*

- "The term 'civilization and barbarism' essentially encapsulates an anxiety about the state and direction of the relatively newly independent Latin American nations as they sought to consolidate a precarious sense of order, progress and modernity (usually associated with the emerging urban metropolises) in the face of a perceived threat of instability from the supposedly wild, untamed, chaotic, native masses (associated largely with the undeveloped interior)." (Swanson)
- "a key driving force behind [independence], and more especially behind its consolidation, was the desire for privilege on the part of the criollo or European-descended creole elite. In a sense, independence was about securing the authority of the creole (as opposed to European) elites in their own land, to put control of wealth and trade in the hands of an American-born ruling class. And so, societal structures did not necessarily change with independence – the break with the Spanish crown did not mean a complete break with tradition. The discourse of freedom held only limited significance in a region still characterized by extreme social hierarchy, near-feudal agrarian systems, racial division and even, in some parts, slavery. Not surprisingly, instability and conflict quickly became the offshoot of independence" (Swanson)

POST-OCCIDENTALISM & ORIENTALISM

"For five hundred years, universal history was told from the perspective of one local history, that of Western civilization, an aberration, indeed, that passed for the truth. Ontology served philosophy well as it granted the Western invention of universal history the status of truth without parenthesis. In fact, Western civilization had constructed its own history, had assumed that the history of the planet was its property too and that it was the point of arrival in an ascending history of the human species. Not only were the histories of other civilizations, coexisting with the Western one, relegated to the past of world history and to their localities, but by being placed in the past and being local they were also deprived of their own claim to universality. Western civilization managed to have the epistemic privilege of narrating its own local history and projecting it onto universal history, which in most modern times was the global history of preexisting and, since the Renaissance, coexisting civilizations."

—Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (2012 Preface)

"No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting-points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental. Yet just as human beings make their own history, they also make their cultures and ethnic identities. No one can deny the persisting continuities of long traditions, sustained habitations, national languages, and cultural geographies, but there seems no reason except fear and prejudice to keep insisting on their separation and distinctiveness, as if that was all human life was about... It is more rewarding - and more difficult - to think concretely and sympathetically, contrapuntally, about others than only about 'us.' But this also means not trying to rule others, not trying to classify them or put them in hierarchies, above all, not constantly reiterating how 'our' culture or country is number one (or not number one, for that matter)."

—Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*



THE SECOND MODERNITY

- "Postindependence should be understood then as (economic, political, epistemological) rearrangements of the coloniality of power, and the emergence of new projects in conflictive tension with global design...At the beginning of the nineteenth century, 'America' was appropriated by intellectuals of the emerging states as different from Europe but still within the West...the 'Americas,' contrary to Asia and Africa, were constituted as part of the modern/colonial world system." – Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs* (2000)
- "The independence in Latin America...was not achieved by 'indigenous' Amerindians but by 'indigenous' Creoles, the population of Spanish descent born and raised in continental South America." – Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs* (2000)
- "All the historical examples of conquests and racial invasions are, one could say, uniform in their final results. The invading and triumphant race appropriated and divided the land and the descendants of this race constituted themselves as sovereign of this land...There is in that phenomenon, one could say, an identification between the conqueror and the conquered land. In the Spanish conquest, particularly, it happened that the dominant race governed, administered, exploited, but not as if all these things were their own or belonged to their own country, but—on the contrary—as something that it was not theirs and that they could lose in any moment...Therefore, America was not considered as a territorial addition but as exploitation...There was a deep difference between those born Spanish and those born Americans, even when the latter descended from the former. The situations is completely different in India with the children of the British population. They are British, not Asiatic." – Francisco Bilbao, *Evangelio Americano* (1864)
- "The privilege of liberalism in Europe was anchored in colonial and neocolonial authoritarianism, despite the self-righteousness and moral superiority claimed over much of the rest of the world" (Meade)

LATIFUNDOS

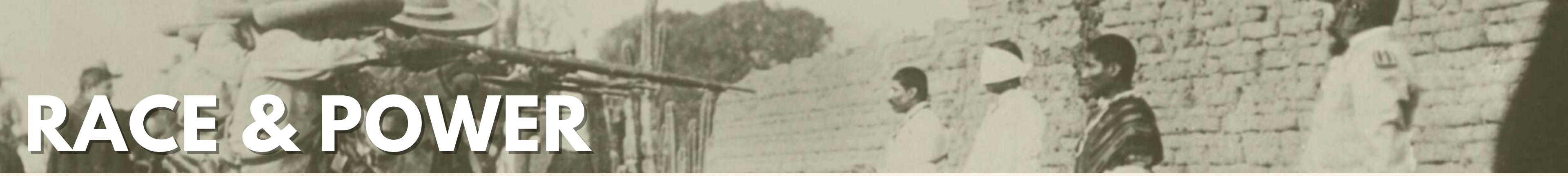


- "Wealthy landowners became a fixture on the Latin American landscape, ruling entire provinces through their own personal armies, enforcing their own laws, and collecting taxes from rural peasants who were tied to the land, in debt, illiterate, and ignorant of any rights that distant constitutions might have won for them. The caudillos ruled as patriarchs, making all decisions, dispensing "justice," and determining what was produced, when, and by whom. These immense estates became self-contained enclaves employing carpenters, blacksmiths, bakers, seamstresses, candle-makers, mechanics, and even their own priest or estate chaplain. Most workers on plantations and estates did not leave that world their entire lives. They never saw a government official, a city, a church outside the chapel on the estate; never went to school or learned the basic rights of citizenship. Even those who had been freed as payment for serving in the independence armies were confined in a status close to enslavement in Bolivia, Colombia, and rural areas of Argentina once the revolution ended. The majority were bound to the land by virtue of debt to the patrón, lack of education, inability to converse in Spanish, and ignorance of life away from the estate, as well as the absence of marketable skills that would allow a worker and his family to make a living in the city." (Meade)
- "There are no circulating libraries in Mexico. Books are at least double the price that they are in Europe. There is no diffusion of useful knowledge amongst the people; neither cheap pamphlets nor cheap magazines written for their amusement or instruction; but this is less owing to want of attention to their interests on the part of many good and enlightened men, than to the unsettled state of the country; for the blight of civil war prevents the best systems from ripening." (de la Barca, *Life in Mexico*)



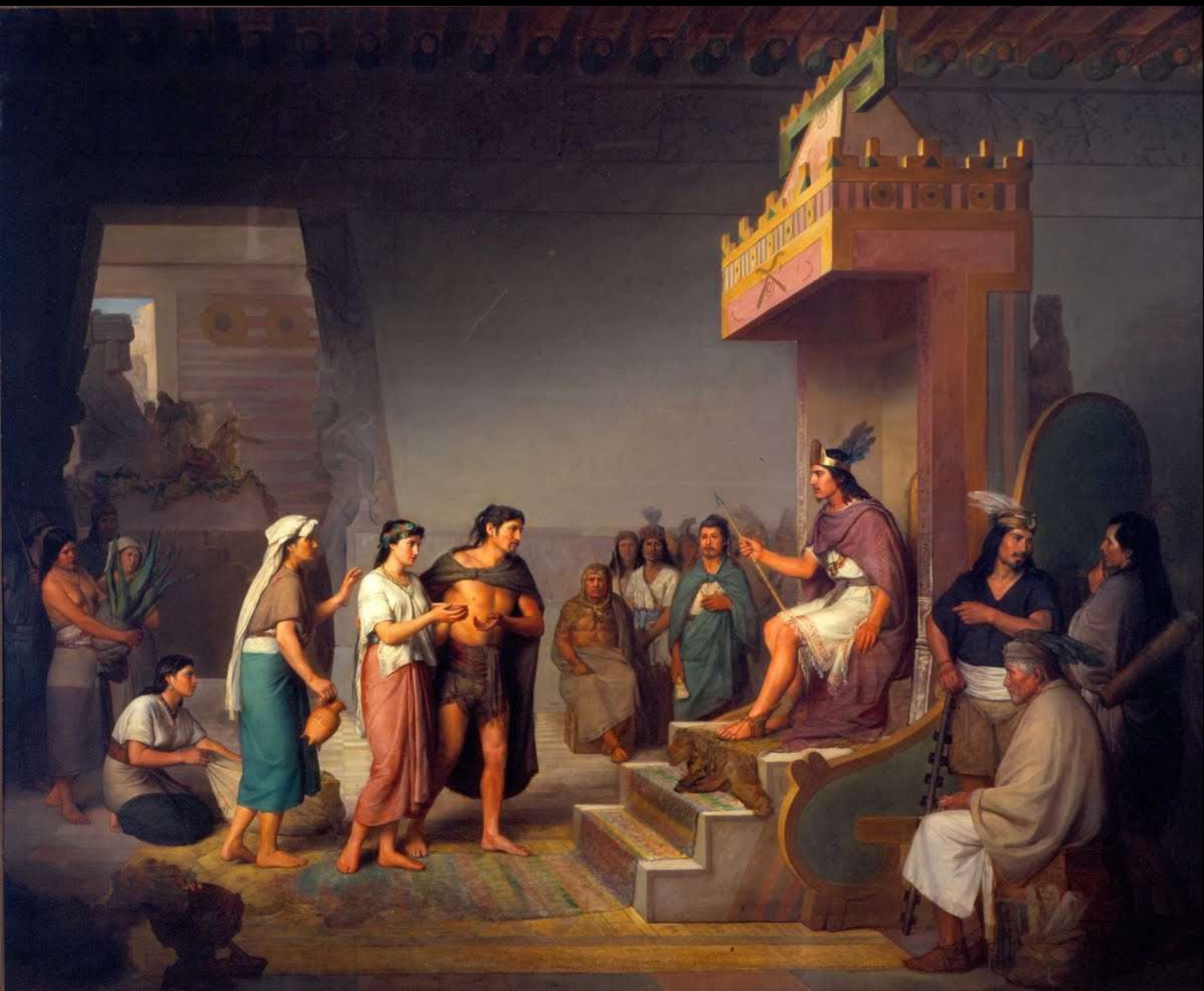
AUTHORITARIAN CAUDILLISMO

- "Our independence from Spanish domination did not put us beyond the reach of madness. General Antonio Lopez de Santana, three times dictator of Mexico, held a magnificent funeral for the right leg he had lost in the so-called Pastry War. General Gabriel García Moreno ruled Ecuador for sixteen years as an absolute monarch; at his wake, the corpse was seated on the presidential chair, decked out in full-dress uniform and a protective layer of medals. General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, the theosophical despot of El Salvador who had thirty thousand peasants slaughtered in a savage massacre, invented a pendulum to detect poison in his food, and had streetlamps draped in red paper to defeat an epidemic of scarlet fever. The statue to General Francisco Morazán erected in the main square of Tegucigalpa is actually one of Marshal Ney, purchased at a Paris warehouse of second-hand sculptures." (Márquez, Nobel Lecture)
- "Caudillismo filled the political vacuum after colonial rule, serving as a bridge between raw military and economic power, on the one hand, and personal, kinship-based cultural arrangements, on the other. The best of the **populist caudillos**, the "good patriarch," claimed prestige and obtained the trust of followers on the basis of his willingness to confront outsiders and anyone he perceived as endangering or exploiting the village, the region, or the entire nation (depending on the extent of his influence)...Caudillismo existed hand in hand with **regionalism**, manifested in the persistence of isolated, parochial local rule. Historians speak of the *republiquetas*, or "little republics," that punctuated the continental landscape in the nineteenth century, transforming large estates into politically autonomous entities. Geographically dispersed settlements allowed local strongmen to evolve into national leaders." (Meade)
- In succeeding generations the single patriarch/caudillo, immortalized in the writings of Gabriel García Márquez, Miguel Asturias, Isabel Allende, Rosario Ferré, and other novelists, gave way to a **restructured patriarchy in which social institutions - the economy, politics, religion, and rules governing social behavior - persisted under masculine authority**. The post-independence world combined rigid patriarchy in the countryside with the emerging rule of the more modern "brotherhood of men" in urban areas.

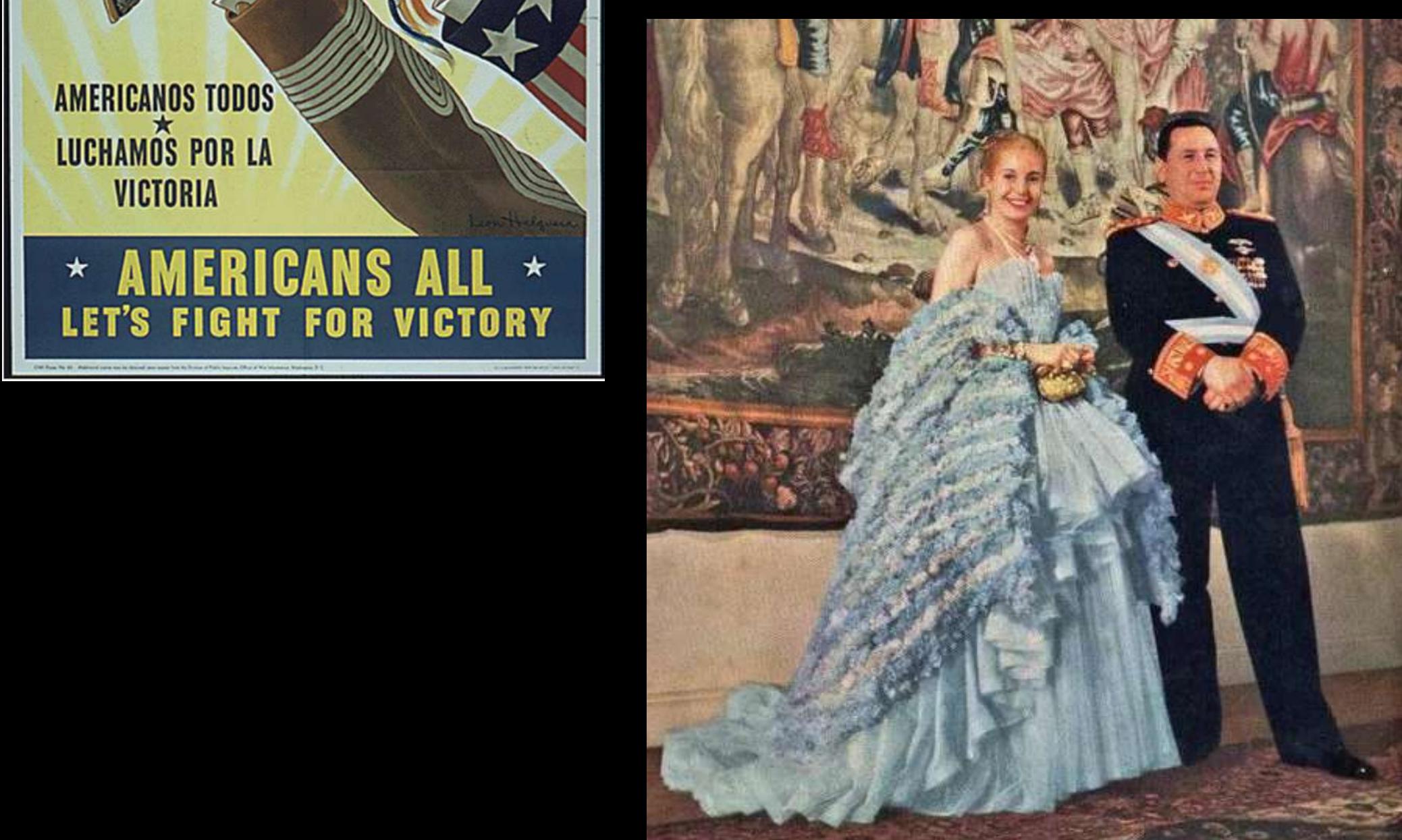
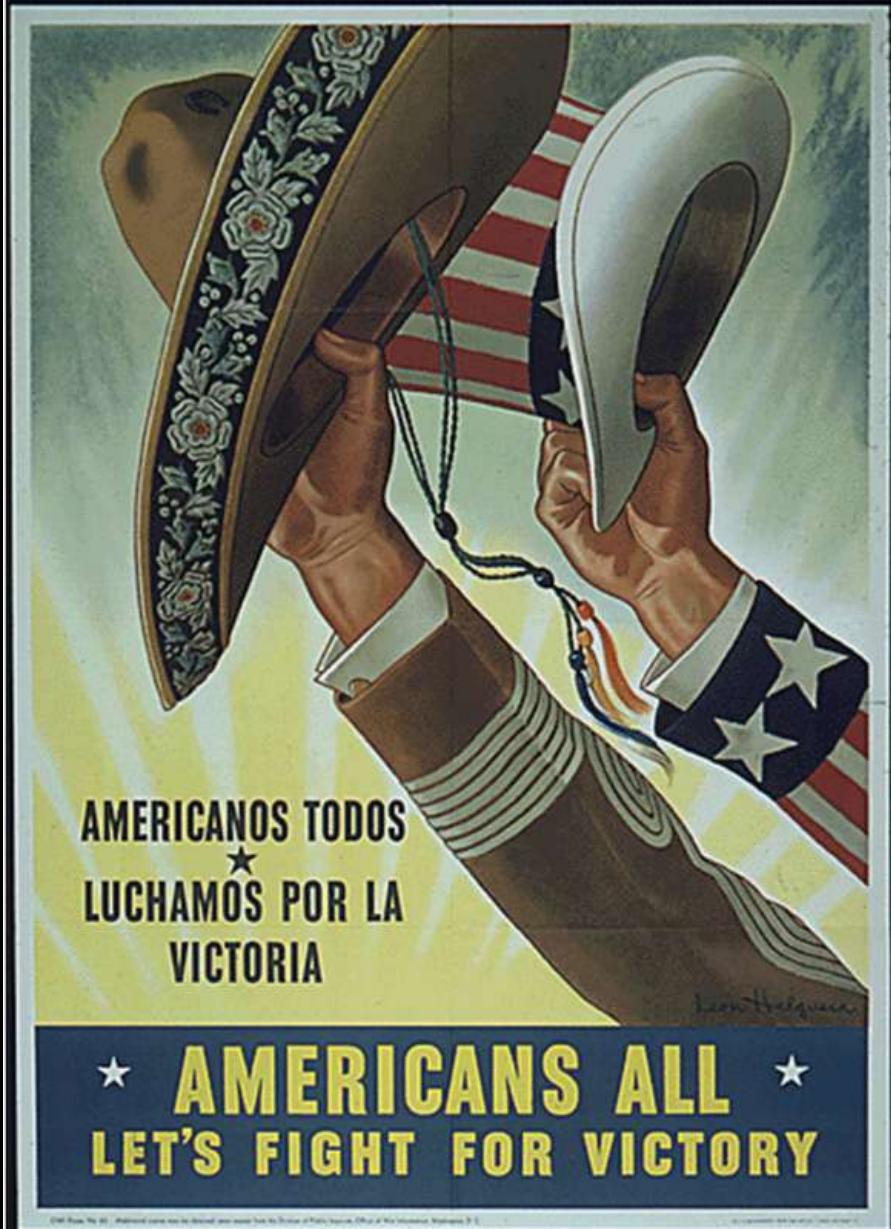


RACE & POWER

- "The nineteenth century was a formative era in the development of new theories of race, most of which were extensions and variations on pre-existing notions and thus carried with them the prejudices and values used to explain difference since the beginning of time. The liberal patriots who promoted independence envisioned citizenship in the hands of the men of property and standing: educated, freeborn, and white. Although the wealth and education of some men (but never women) of color qualified them for inclusion in the upper echelon of society, commonly the new leaders were of European heritage, with little or no non-white ancestry. "
- "The new ruling elite took for granted their privileged status, championing individualism and the benefits of unfettered free trade, separation of Church and state, an end to the traditional protection of Indian lands, and the abolition of slavery. "
- "For indigenous communities, however, the effect of free-market individualism was to deprive Indians of their claims to the land. Liberals heralded individual self-sufficiency, democracy, secularism, and the progressive free market as the road to prosperity and a modern economy, and claimed that Indian communal lands were an impediment to the forward march of progress. Many even considered Indians, as a people, to be an obstacle to the development of a modern state. Under the banner of liberalism, thousands of Indians were turned off their land and forced to fend for themselves in a world that made no attempt to understand their languages, disdained their culture, and offered only the most menial employment. In the name of progress, landowners laid claim to Indian lands – sometimes legally, often not. Independence was in most ways a disaster for the indigenous people of Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, where they were most heavily concentrated."
- "The racist premises that triumphed after independence and were integral to liberal individualism eliminated the little protection Indians had managed to hold onto for the first 350 years after the arrival of Europeans. The Indian population declined in the post-independence era, while European and mixed-race populations increased, both through waves of immigrants arriving in every country (especially Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile) and as a result of continued race mixture."



ABOVE: Giotto and Cimabue (1857)
& LEFT: THE DISCOVERY OF PULQUE (1869) JOSÉ MARÍA OBREGÓN



NEXT CLASS...

WEEK 4 - NATIONALISM AND THE AFTERLIVES OF COLONIAL VIOLENCE

- Ch. 8-10, 12 & 14 from *A History of Modern Latin America 1800 to the Present* (2nd Ed. – 2016) by Teresa A. Meade

Supplemental/Further Reading:

- Intro from *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (1991) by Nancy Leys Stepan



LEFT: *THE ARSENAL, FROM BALLAD OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION* (1928)
ABOVE: *MAN, CONTROLLER OF THE UNIVERSE* (1934)
DIEGO RIVERA



ABOVE: *A CUCA* (1924) AND
LEFT: *MORRO DA FAZENDA* (1945)
TARSILA DO AMARLA