



# NATIONS & NATION BUILDING IN THE AMERICAS 1787-1867

IB History of the Americas | Bishop | 7-1-2015

# NEW PROBLEMS

- Border Conflicts from Canada to Argentina
- Different forms of Gov't:
  - Canada – Parliamentary Confederation under G.B.
  - US – Republican form of federal gov't
  - Brazil – Constitutional Monarchy
  - Mexico – dictatorship → constitutional monarchy → republican



Introduction

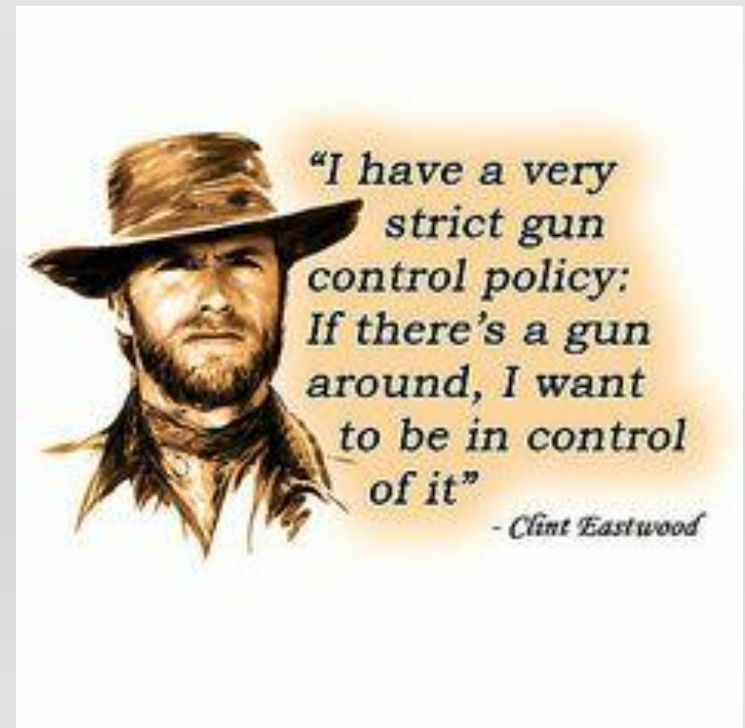
# US & CANADA = SIMPLISTIC COMPARED TO LATIN AMERICA

- Spanish Viceroyalties replaced by new nations
- Portuguese Brazil became Monarchy
- French colonies (except Haiti) remained French
- Spanish Colonies seized by G.B and Dutch remain until 20<sup>th</sup> century and today
- Political Issues throughout N. and S. Amer:
  - Who gets power and how to distribute it
  - Who to exclude: Slaves, Native Amer., Mestizos, immigrants, women, poor, illiterate???
  - Traditional Colonial Values and Beliefs: like race, religion, Social Class



# TUG OF WAR

- Liberals:
  - Influenced by The Enlightenment & US Revolution
  - Espoused free trade economy
  - Republicanism, Rule of law, hierarchical & limited civil right
  - Limit the power of the church
- Conservatives:
  - Keep link of Church & State
  - Reform slowly
  - Ensure traditional colonial institutions and structures to benefit the advantaged positions of elites



Introduction

# SLAVES AND NATIVES?

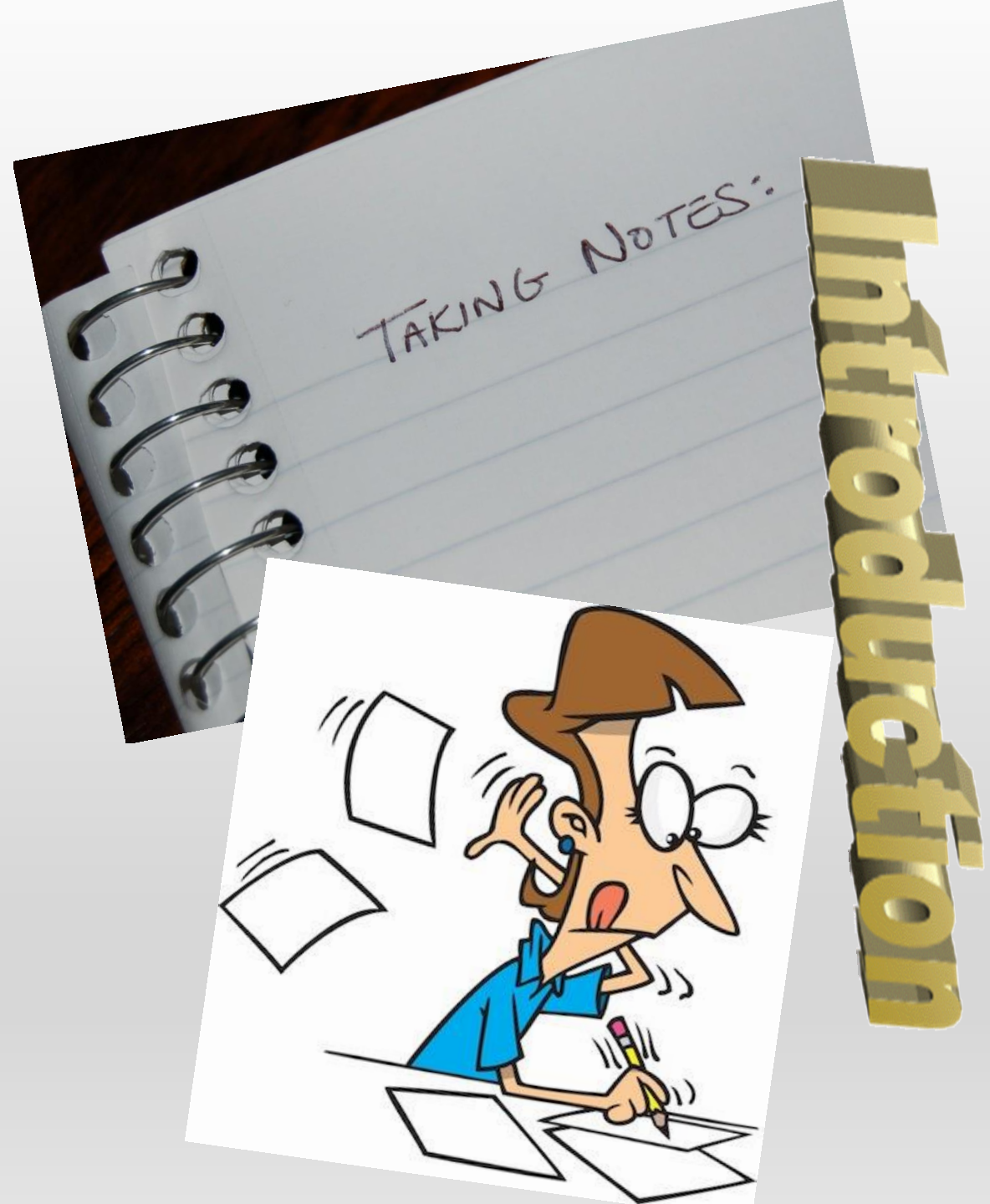
- Slaves
  - 11 Latin American nations freed slaves from 1824-69
    - Removed early where not economically entrenched
  - Later in US, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil
- Natives and Mixed
  - Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Bolivia, Peru (all large native populations) kept disenfranchised until 20<sup>th</sup> Century
  - Argentina, Chile, U.S., engaged in open warfare with natives
  - Large Mestizo population nations (Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Ecuador) incorporate them into political body, but social restrictions remained.
  - Most all nations excluded: of any color
    - poor
    - Landless
    - Illiterate



Introduction

# UNIT FOCUS

- Challenges/problems of independence
- Important developments 1787-1867
- Political Map/Border establishment
- New Nations experiments of Gov't, constitutions, domestic stability, etc.
- Countries included: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, United States



# BY THE END OF THE UNIT: SWBAT...

1. Understand the philosophical underpinnings, major compromises, & changes in the US political system embodied in the Articles of Confederation 1783 and the Constitution 1787
2. Assess challenges to the establishment of political systems in Latin America through analyzing the conditions of the rise and impact of *Caudillos*
3. Address the causes and impact of the war of 1812 on British North America and the U.S.
4. Explain the causes and effects on the region of the U.S.-Mexican War, 1846-48
5. Assess the causes, challenges, events, and leaders in the period 1837-67 the resulted in Canada's confederation; the 1837 rebellions in Canada, the implications of the Durham Report 1839 challenges to the confederation; the British North America Act of 1867: and the effects of various compromises, unresolved issues and regionalism
6. Evaluate the impact of nation-building on the social position and living conditions of Native Americans, mestizos, and immigrants in the new nations during this time period

# INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED

- 13 COLONIES INDEPENDENT BY 1783
- New Challenge:
  - Create a constitutional gov't embracing life, liberty, pursuit of happiness
- Attempt #1
  - The Articles of Confederation – lasted only 5 years
  - The problem?
    - Determining an acceptable division between the power of the Federal Gov't and the 13 States
    - **Define: Federal System of Government**
      - **IB Text – A division of powers between a central government and local (state or provincial) governments**



## Powers Granted to Government under the Articles of Confederation

- Declare war and make peace
- Make treaties with foreign countries
- Establish an army and navy, but had to ask states to do so
- Appoint high-ranking military officials
- Requisition, print, and borrow money
- Establish weights and measures
- Hear disputes among the states related to trade or boundaries

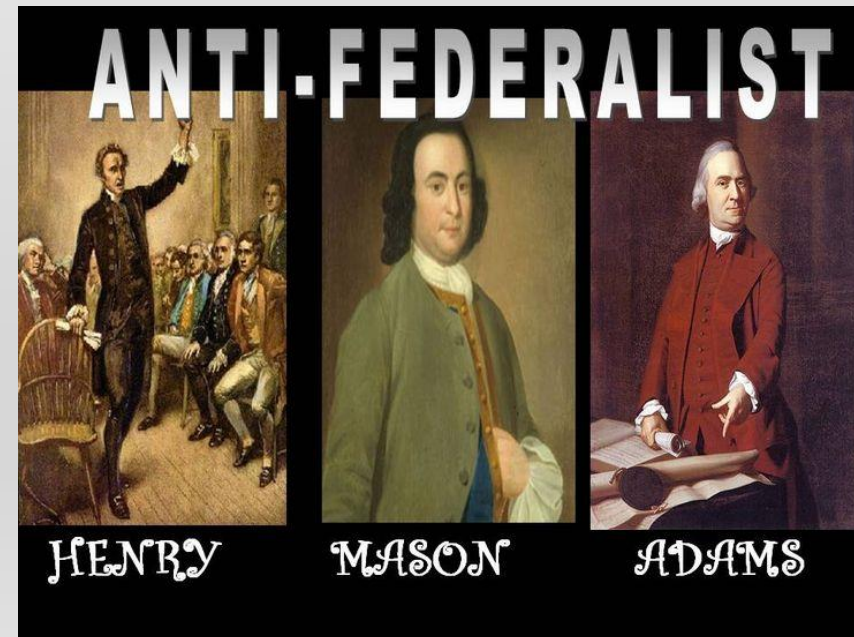


# TWO CAMPS

- Federalists:
  - Strong central gov't
  - Reduced power of the states
  - Opposed a Bill of Rights
- Anti-Federalists
  - Opposed strong central gov't
  - Believed states must hold the balance of power
  - Promoted a bill of rights



- Federalists: championed a strong Federal Gov't with an elected congress and protection of states' rights in the senate.
- Anti-Federalists: wanted the states to control the federal gov't and an entrenched bill of rights.



# THE BIG PICTURE OF

- Articles of Confederation ratified -
- The Great Compromise
  - Bill of Rights added
  - New Constitution ratified by all 13 states
- An energetic period ensued:
  - Economic prosperity
  - Industrialization
  - Immigration
  - Westward expansion
- Thomas Jefferson – Louisiana Purchase
  - Allowed settlement in Mississippi Basin
  - Cotton, tobacco, wheat
- 40 years later-
  - Oregon boundary settlement with G.B.
- Annexation of Texas (1845)
  - Started unpopular war with Mexico
  - Eventually Added New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, California, Colorado, and part of Wyoming
  - US territory up significantly, Mexico down by half



# EUROPEAN INDEPENDENCE NOT THE SAME EVERYWHERE...

- Puerto Rico & Cuba
  - Remained Colonies until end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century
  - Haven for royalist fleeing other S. Amer. Nations
    - Like the Dutch Colony of Curacao, holding Venezuelan Exiles
- Today's Dominican Republic
  - Occupied by Haiti until 1843
  - Became Spanish Colony again, until 1865



# FORMER SPANISH COLONIES



- Independence Wars lead to 18 countries
  - Lack of clear borders, geographical imperatives, population groups, power elites
    - Results in growth to 23 nations
- Venezuela, Uruguay, Mexico
  - Destruction in war caused major setbacks
- Mex, Uruguay, Argentina
  - Regional disputes and power factions lead to uprisings and battles

# TWO IDEOLOGICAL GROUPS EMERGE

- Liberals:
  - Championed Revolutionary ideals of Enlightenment
    - Liberty, fraternity, equality (theory, if not practice)
  - Republican Gov't
  - Free Trade
  - Market economy
  - Separation church/state
  - Rule of law
  - Limited franchisement(voting rights)
- Conservatives:
  - Colonial ways
  - Ties between state and Roman Catholic Church
  - Elite privilege
  - Hierarchical social structure
  - Tariffs to protect local economic power
  - Colonial landholding laws
- NOTE: most of this took place amongst the elites (10%) of the population



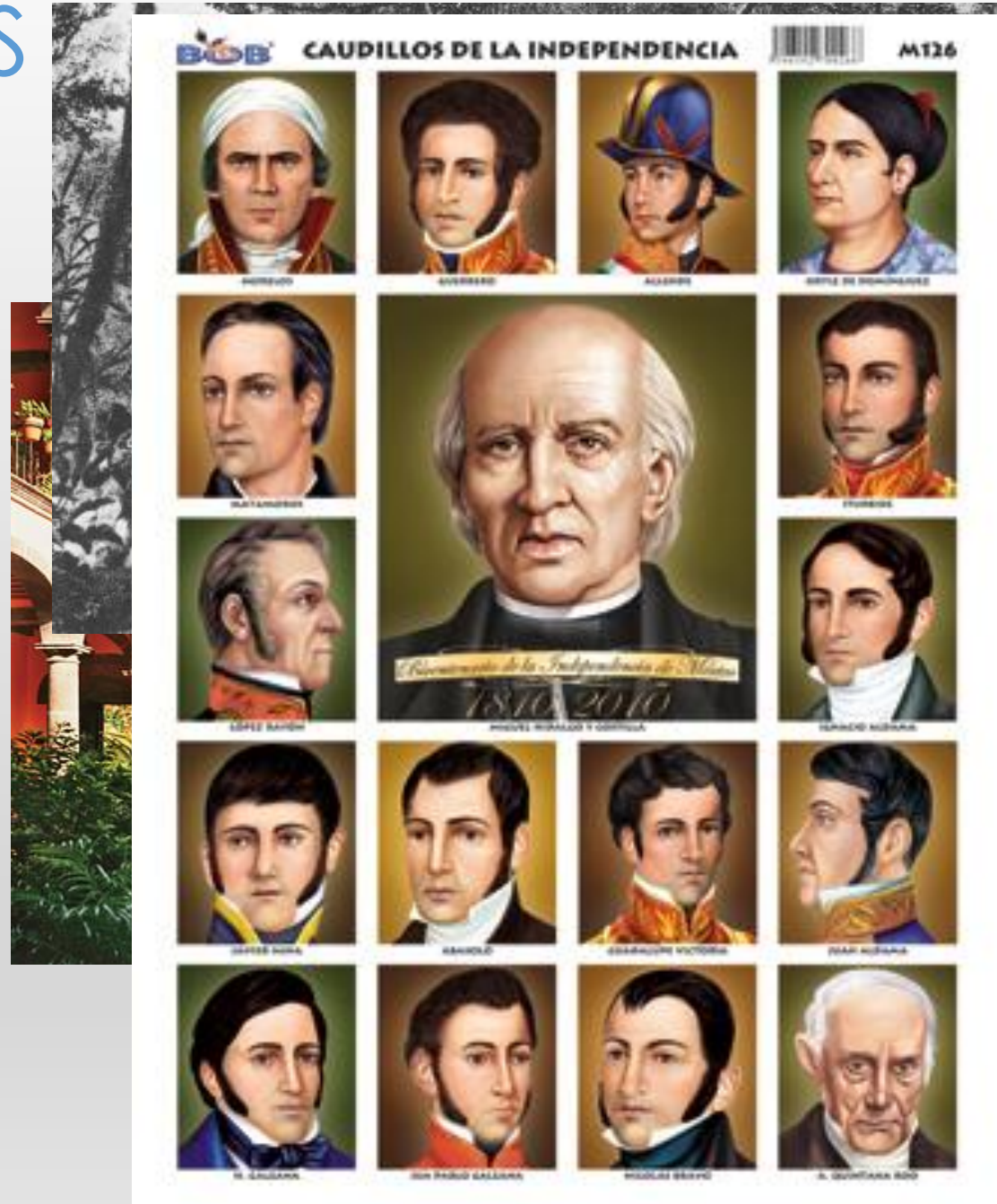
# LIBERAL PHILOSOPHIES DON'T ERASE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

- Former Spanish and Portuguese Colonies...
  - American born Creole replace Iberian-born elites
  - Set up Laissez-Faire economics.
    - Huh?
  - Republican governments (w/parliaments and a strong executive)
- Former British Colonies...
  - Democracy did not include the lower class (poor, rural, indigenous, African, landless, women)



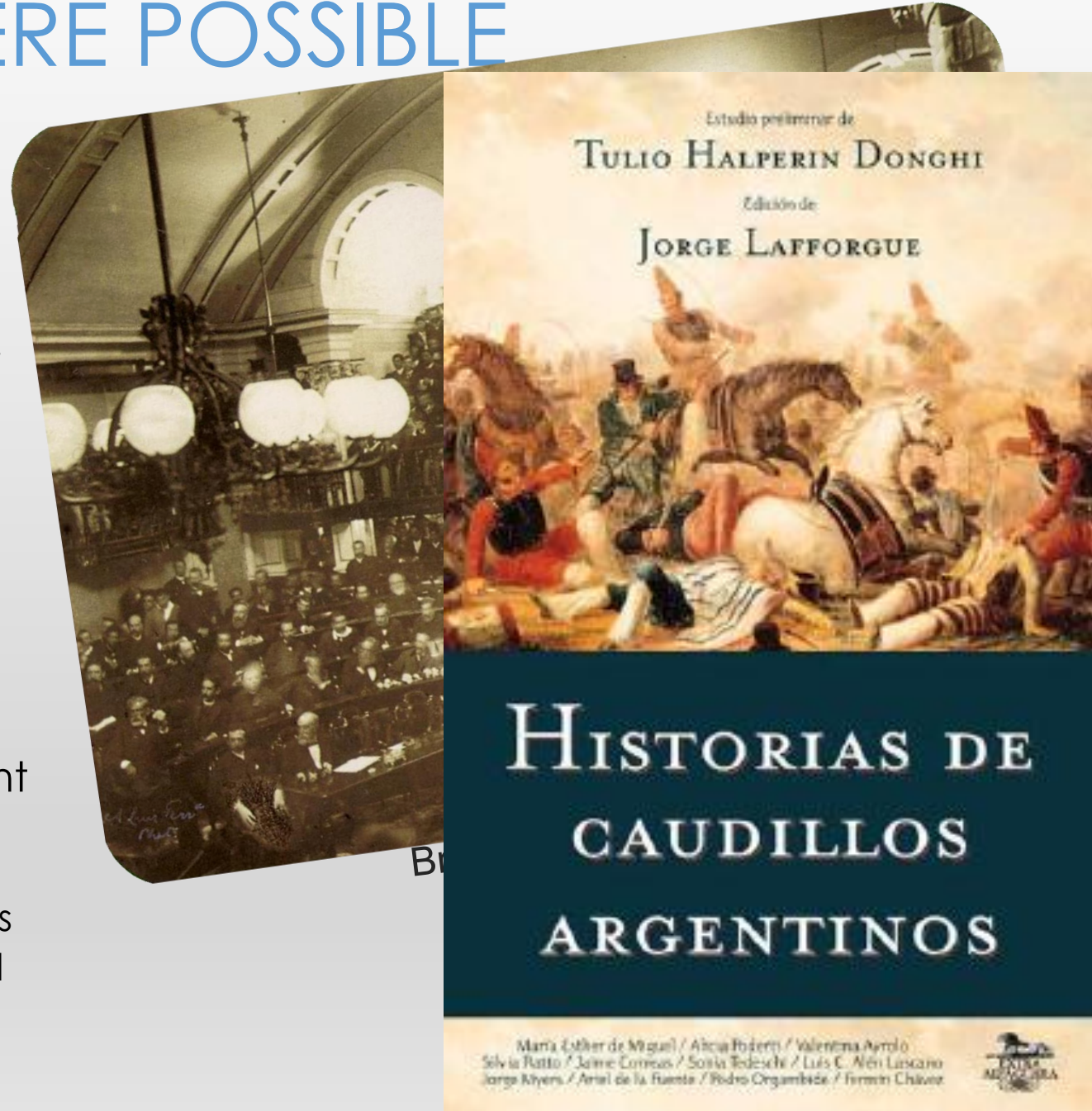
# EXAMPLES OF DIFFERENCES

- Ecuador and Mexico
  - Rural uprisings against Feudal **Hacienda System**
- Jamaica, Brazil, Cuba:
  - Slave rebellions
- Argentina And Uruguay
  - Promise of order and stability created a new category of leader...
  - **Caudillos:**
    - **IB Definition:** Local Strongmen who emerged in many countries of Latin America after the wars of Independence. With military backing, popular support, and ruthless dictatorial measures, they ruled for varying time spans, from short periods of months to decades.



# STABLE SUCCESSES WERE POSSIBLE

- Brazil, Costa Rica, Chile
  - Liberal and Conservative confrontations were in parliamentary and constitutional debates
  - Resulted in Landholder and mercantile elite consensus in 1840s & 50s.
  - Like US and Canada 1870s
- Uruguay and Argentina –
  - Republican Gov't failed
  - Due to provincial conflicts
  - Allowed Caudillos to take control at different intervals
    - Strong, charismatic,
    - Power and money to command private armies
    - Some were revolutionaries, most were regional elites





# CAUDILLOS

1. Rafael Carrera in Guatemala (18yrs)
  2. Juan Manuel de Rosas in Argentina (23yrs)
  3. Manuel Isidoro Belzu in Bolivia (7yrs)
  4. Jose Artigas in Uruguay
  5. Jose Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia in Paraguay (26yrs)
- Key to power:
    - Control of all or part of parliamentary forces
    - Co-opting part or all of the nations army
    - Caudillos crop up in history throughout 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> Century



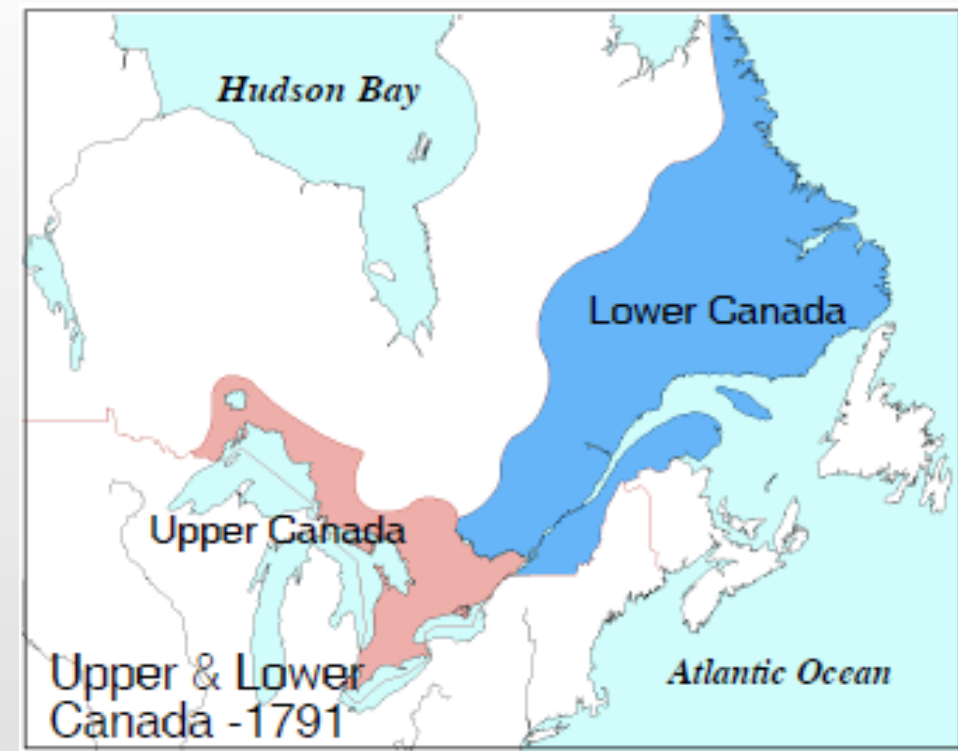
# CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

- Through extensive Liberal vs. Conservative discussion
  - Peru changed its constitution 8 times
  - Colombia 6 times
  - Ecuador 9 times
- Constitutions which endured were highly compromised by liberals
  - Featured strong executives
  - Curtailed power and participation
- The Church:
  - Liberals felt it perpetuated class hierarchy
  - Conservatives: preserving traditional values and social order
  - Ingrained at all levels of society from calendar to farming to families, could not be ignored



# THEN THERE'S CANADA...

- Nationhood was evolutionary
  - Not Revolutionary
- British N. America = 6 colonies
  - “upper Canada” 5 English speaking and Protestant (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Upper Canada (Ontario))
  - “lower Canada” French Speaking and Roman Catholic – Quebec
- After US invaded (Rev. War and 1812) Brits feared loyalties of transplanted Americans in the provinces.
  - Proved unfounded – most were neutral or fought US invaders



# HOLDING IT TOGETHER:

- Conservative British Political Elites
  - Known as the “Family Compact” in Upper Canada
  - Known as “Chateau Clique” in Lower Canada
  - Controlled the colonial governments
- Refused to grant “responsible government” to politically astute middle class who:
  - Paid taxes, w/ no voice in distribution of monies
- 1830s:
  - Radical leaders and protests grew
- 1837:
  - Armed rebellion broke out
  - Brits made short work of rebels and it ended in 1838
- Brits then sent diplomat Lord Durham to sort the mess

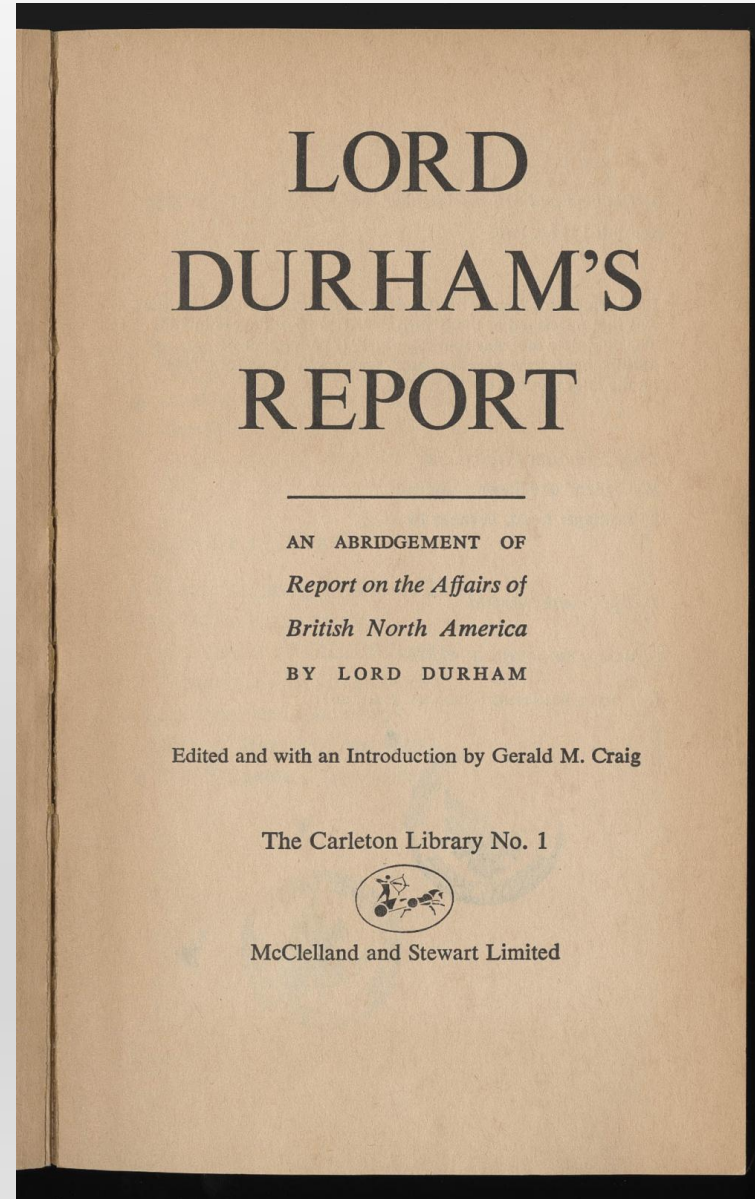
**Responsible Government:** Parliamentary term, requires that the executive (government) in power is responsible to the elected members of the legislature. It must maintain their confidence to be able to raise and distribute tax revenue. If confidence is lost the executive must resign.

The term is now used to simply reference accountable government.



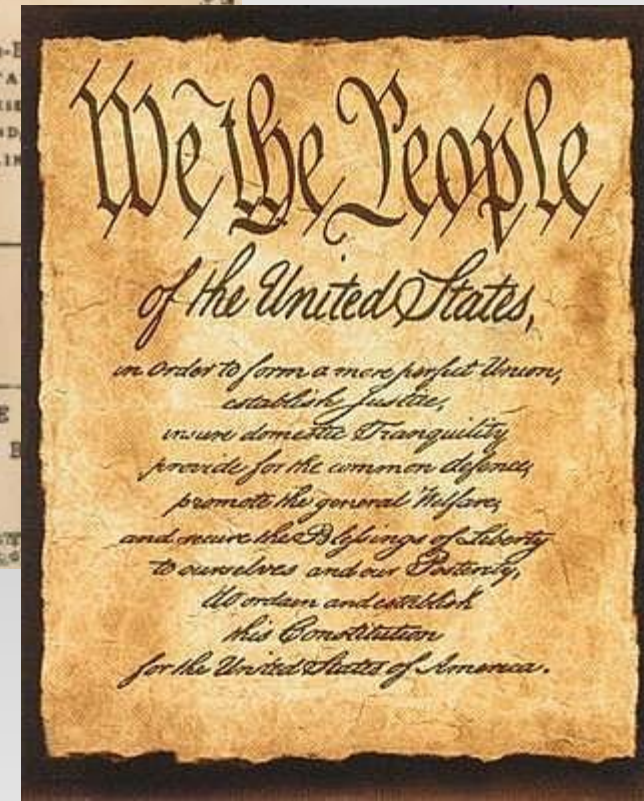
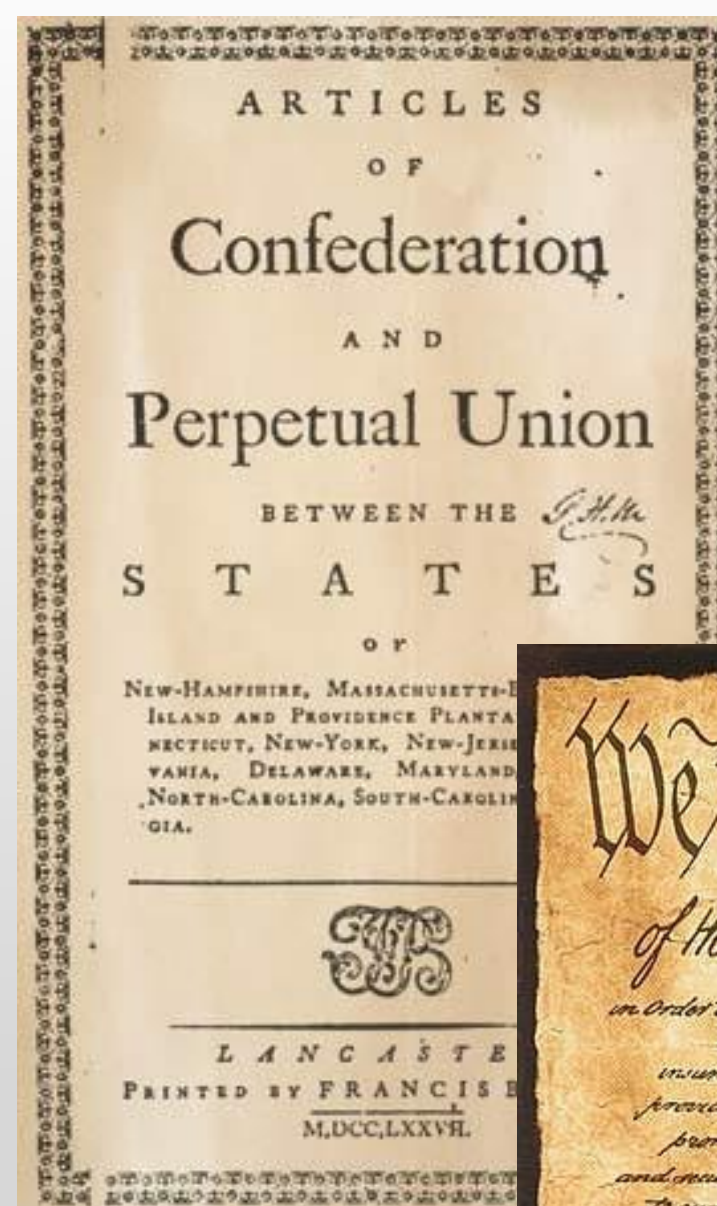
# THE DURHAM REPORT

- Granted Responsible Government
  - A key rebel demand
- He recommended French-speaking lower Canada be “assimilated” with the rest
- The report set British North America on the road to Nationhood.
- July 1, 1867
  - Canada became an independent dominion with the British Empire



# ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION & THE US CONSTITUTION

- 1783 – Revolution is over
- 1<sup>st</sup> order of business: choose a gov't
  - Biggest point of friction- those who want strong Fed. Gov't vs. those who want strong state gov'ts
  - Agreed to a system of divided power between state and federal
    - w/ no monarchy or system of royalty
  - Political power and legitimacy from the electorate, not ancient birthright
- Difficult part:
  - How to divide the power



# SHAYS REBELLION

- Daniel Shay
  - Farmer, Patriot, Continental Army officer
  - Returned home to Massachusetts to find it bankrupt, needing \$ to pay war debts
- New Property Taxes hit farmers hardest
  - Those unable to pay were tried in court
  - Farmers were foreclosed, farmers sent to debtors prison
  - This was not his soldiers had fought and died for.
  - Thought this was worse than the British



# AUTUMN 1786

- Shay led 1000 followers (Shayites) carrying pitchforks and the “liberty tree”.
- Marched to the debtors court
- More a protest than a rebellion
  - No blood was spilled
- 6 months, roamed Mass. Shutting down the debtor courts
- February 1787 – approached the federal arsenal at Springfield
  - 2 cannon shots, killed 2, wounded 20
- Shay had gone unchecked because the Articles took so long to muster state militias and the new republic didn't have an army worth mentioning
- Shay and his officers were captured and tried
  - Many received death sentences, but most received amnesty and Shay was eventually forgotten



# GEORGE WASHINGTON...

- Argued the insurrection was a direct threat to Life, liberty, property.
- Believed a political remedy necessary/amend the Articles
- Articles of Confederation were approved by congress and states' assemblies in 1781
  - Contained 13 articles to set out division of power
  - Fearful a federal government would trample states rights, the articles clearly kept the states in control
    - Federal government was virtually powerless w/ limited taxation powers
    - The Nations army and navy were non-existent
- Washington and "The Virginians" Alexander Hamilton and James Madison-
  - Led the "federalists" arguing the Fed Gov't didn't have adequate powers
  - Wanted to rewrite the articles
- Thomas Jefferson: disagreed
  - Thought Shay was trivial and Articles were working
  - Anti-Federalists
- Washington's followers/views prevailed
  - Shay led to major changes

WEAKNESSES	OUTCOME
Congress had no power to levy or collect taxes.	The government was always short of money.
Congress had no power to regulate foreign trade.	Quarrels broke out among states and trading with other countries was difficult.
Congress had no power to enforce its laws.	The government depended on the states for law enforcement.
Approval of nine states was needed to enact laws.	It was difficult to enact laws.
13 states needed to approve amendments to the Articles.	There was no practical way to change the powers of government.
The government had no executive branch.	There was no effective way to coordinate the work of government.
There was no national court system.	The central government had no way to settle disputes among the states.

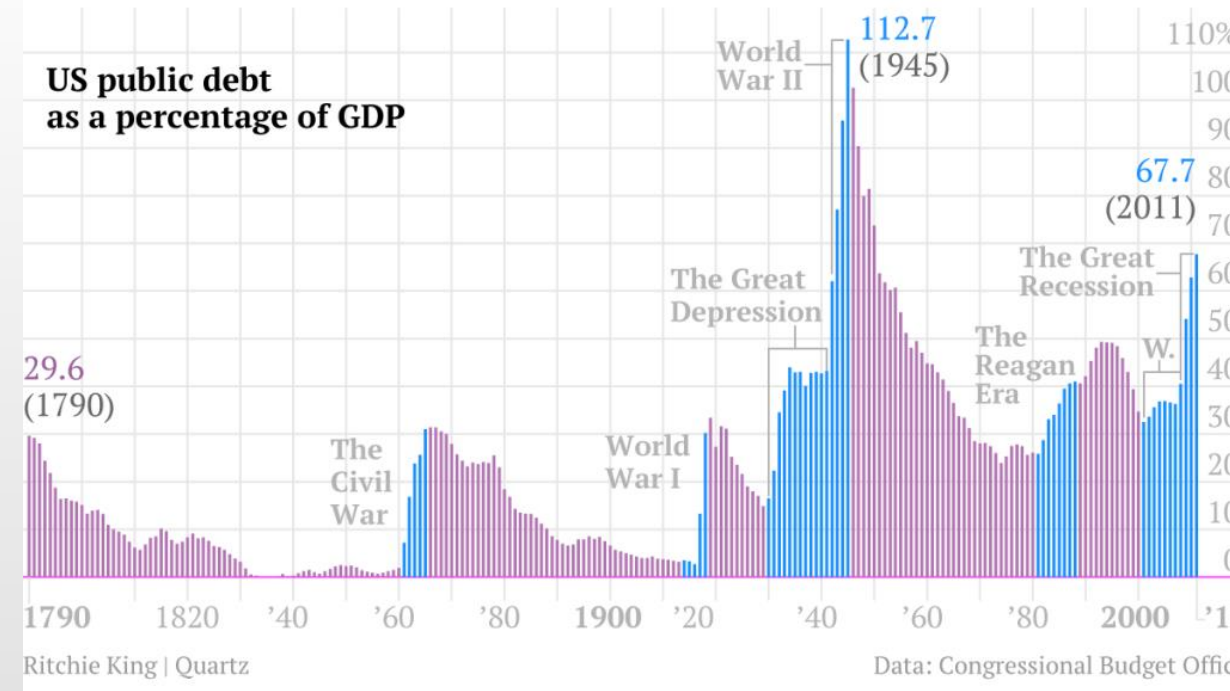
# JAMES MADISON (VIRGINIA) ALEXANDER HAMILTON (NY) TAKE CENTER STAGE

- Organize an All-States Convention (Jan. 1787)
- 5 of 13 states attended
  - Minor revision made, but no headway until Shay
- Next National Convention: Philadelphia
  - Spring, every state sent its best delegate
  - Hamilton wrote convention would take steps to make the constitution of the federal government “adequate to the requirements of the union”



# PHILADELPHIA, MAY 1787

- Problems:
  - Finances a mess
    - Many believed the only resolution was a strong Fed. Gov't to enact its will on states and individuals
  - Owed Europe
    - France owed the most, could not win Rev. w/o them.
    - Can't afford to lose them as an ally
  - Articles did not have mechanism to raise funds for debts or to run the country
  - The articles "requisitioned" the states for money
    - With no authority to enforce payment
    - Voluntary taxation
    - States rarely paid in full, if at all
  - Result: foreign debts in arrears, army in shambles (reduced to 80 soldiers at one point)
  - No money, no guns, no security
  - Navy the same. Coast states fought pirates/smugglers with own ships



# MORE PROBLEMS TO SOLVE

- Trade war between the states
  - NY taxed ships to use waterways to trade in New Jersey and Connecticut
  - Same story up and down the coast
- Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, Jay, and Washington...
  - Feared they were watching the devolution of the nation into semi-autonomous states
  - They knew they needed ratification of a new, stronger federal government to prevent it



# FEDERALISTS VS. ANTI-FEDERALISTS

- All the delegates had chosen a side before arriving
- Federalists believed:
  - Require a strong federal gov't to protect the revolution
  - Levy taxes
  - Protect borders and recruit and army & navy
  - Apposed "Bill of Rights"
    - Argued a list could never cover all rights to be protected
    - some would be hindered by omission (right to Privacy?)
    - better left to the courts as in Britain
- Anti-Federalists
  - Wanted an increased power of Fed to be incremental
    - Feared a fed who could tax, create military, and undermine the states
  - Wanted states to retain balance of power
    - w/ Bill of Rights to enshrine in the Const. and protect the "inalienable" rights of individuals

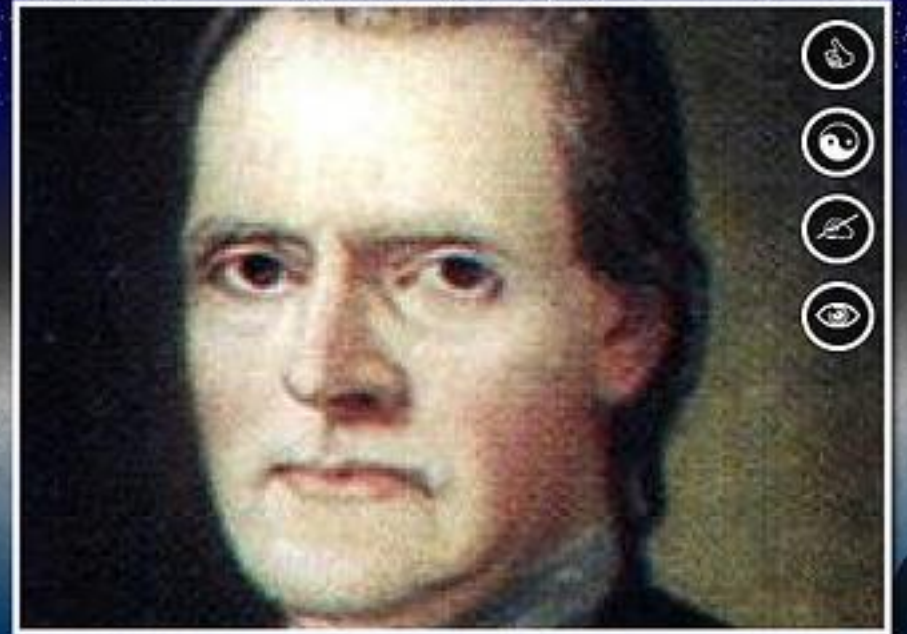


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# 4 LONG MONTHS...

- May-Sept. 1787
- The main debate:
  - Would there be equal representation in both houses of gov't or would there be "proportional representation" in both the upper and lower chambers
  - The smaller states (like [Connecticut's Roger Sherman](#)) refused the latter and a compromise was reached.
  - 7 weeks of debate on this issue

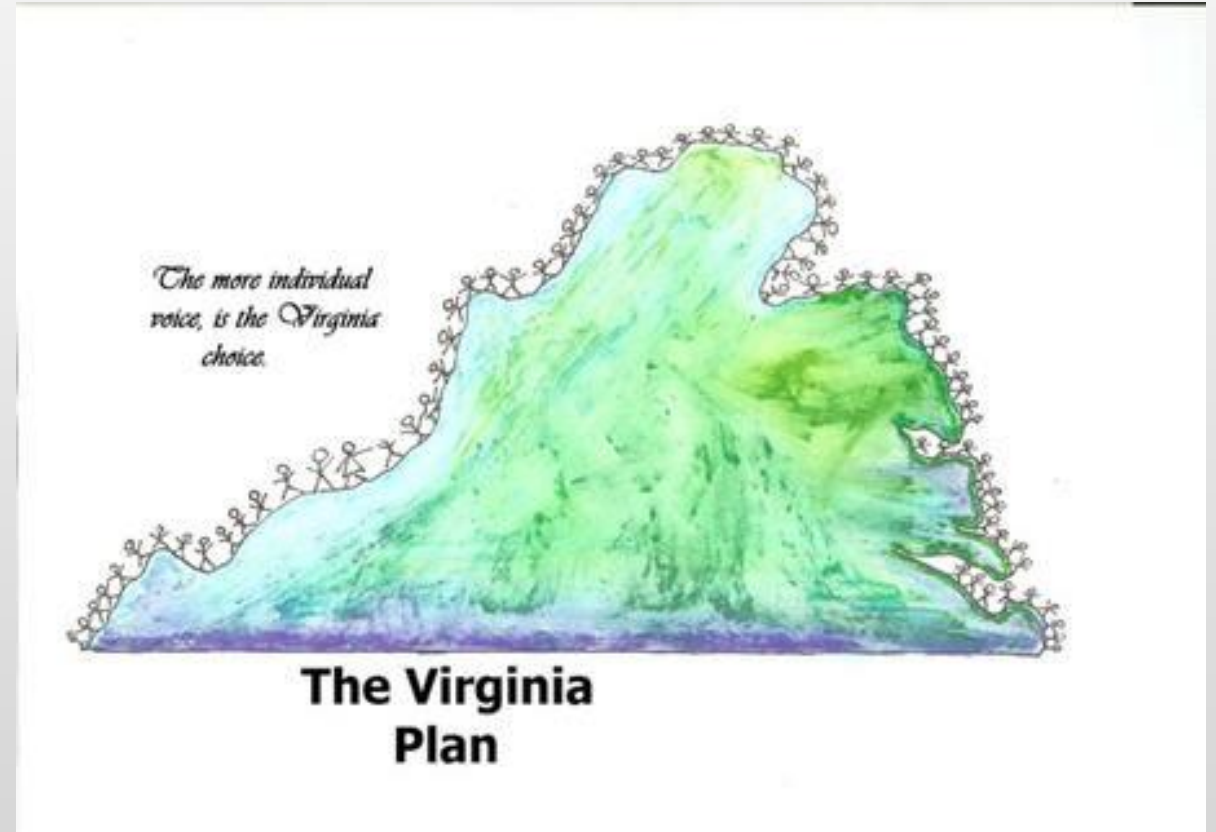
Roger Sherman



The Great Compromiser

*Roger Sherman (1721-1793) of Connecticut was a member of the committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence, was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention where he proposed "The Great Compromise," and served as a congressman and senator.*

# TWO OPTIONS...



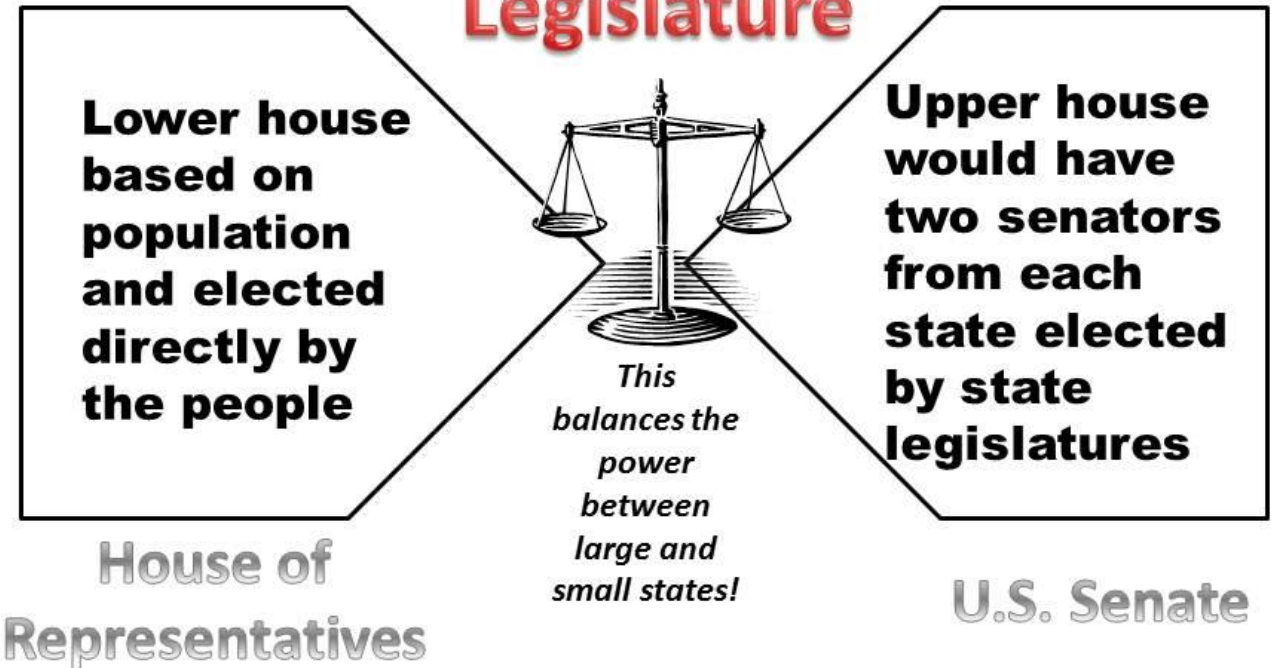
# CONNECTICUT COMPROMISE

- Now known as the “Great Compromise”
- Presented July 16, 1787
- Connecticut delegation proposed:
  - Bicameral Leg. (one lower, one upper)
  - Like Virginia Plan, lower house would be selected by electorate with representatives based on population of 30,000 to 1.
  - Each state legislature would elect 2 members in the upper house.
- After 11 days, it passed 5-4

## The “Great Compromise”

- Sometimes called the Connecticut Compromise because it was proposed by Roger Sherman

### Bicameral Legislature






- Two subcommittees wrote the constitution
  - finishing touches by Madison, Sherman, Hamilton
- What about Slaves?
  - how should slaves be counted when determining population for the lower house.
    - The 5 Southern – wanted to count all
    - The North – Slaves were property, not count at all
      - With slaves not allowed to vote, this would make a vote in a slave state more valuable than a non-slave state

- “3/5 Compromise”
  - Each slave would count as 3/5 of a free person
  - Thus 50,000 slaves would equal 30,000 and earn 1 more Representative for that state
  - The compromise was accepted and slavery was politically shelved for 20 years

1 ISSUE  
REMAINS

**SOUTHERN STATES**

WE DEMAND TO HAVE SLAVES COUNTED AS PART OF THE POPULATION TO GAIN REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BUT WE DO NOT WANT THE SLAVES TO COUNT FOR TAXATION.




**THE 3/5 COMPROMISE**

FOR BOTH SIDES IN THE ARLIEMENT TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT, THE SLAVES WERE COUNTED AS 3/5 OF A PERSON TO BOTH POPULATION AND TAXATION.



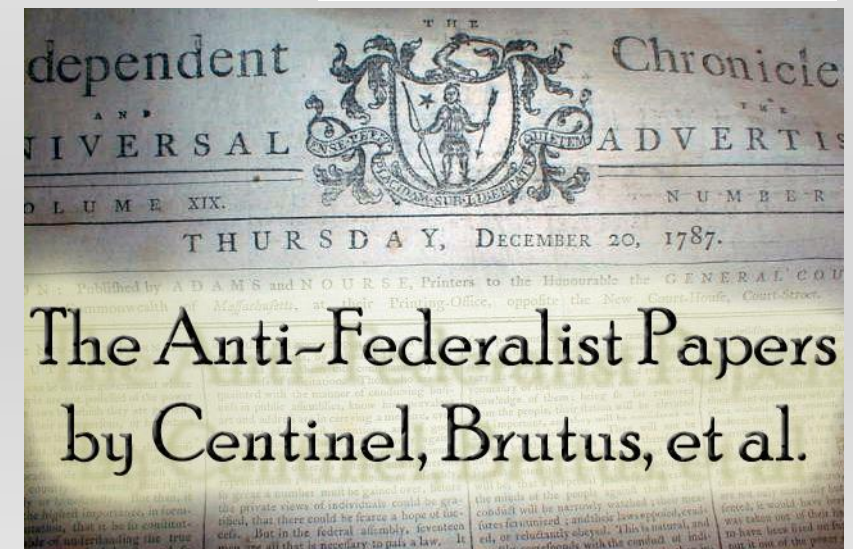
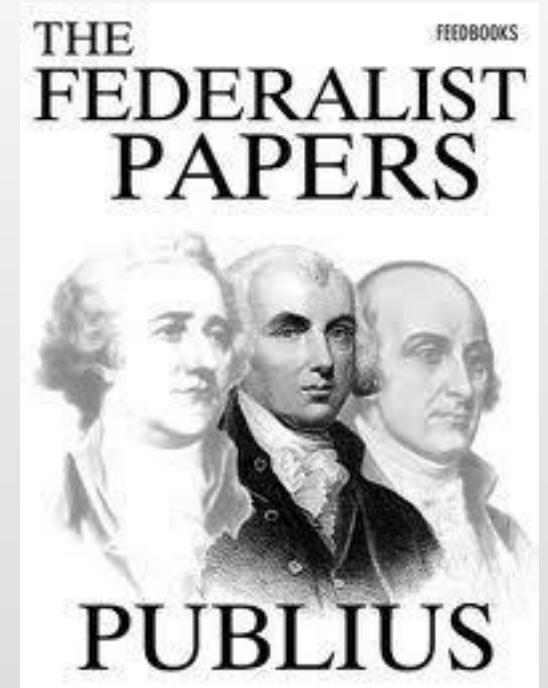
**NORTHERN STATES**

WE FAVOR HAVING SLAVES TO DETERMINE TAXATION, ALSO, WE DO NOT WANT THE SLAVES TO COUNT AS POPULATION BECAUSE THE WOULD GIVE THE SOUTHERN STATES AN UNFAIR SAYING IN THINGS.



# RATIFICATION AND THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

- Constitution's language was to be simple, precise, elegant.
- The opener explains it all... "In order to form a more perfect union..."
- The delegates went back to their states to form "Ratification Conventions"
  - Only Rhode Is. Refused
- NY governor Henry Clinton opposed the constitution.
  - Without NY, all would be for not
  - Hamilton, Madison, & John Jay wrote 85 essays, known as the "Federalist Papers" to convince NY to ratify (under the name Publius)
  - Anti-Federalist responded under the name Brutus and "Farmer" & others
- NY eventually ratified because the other states did, not necessarily because of the papers.



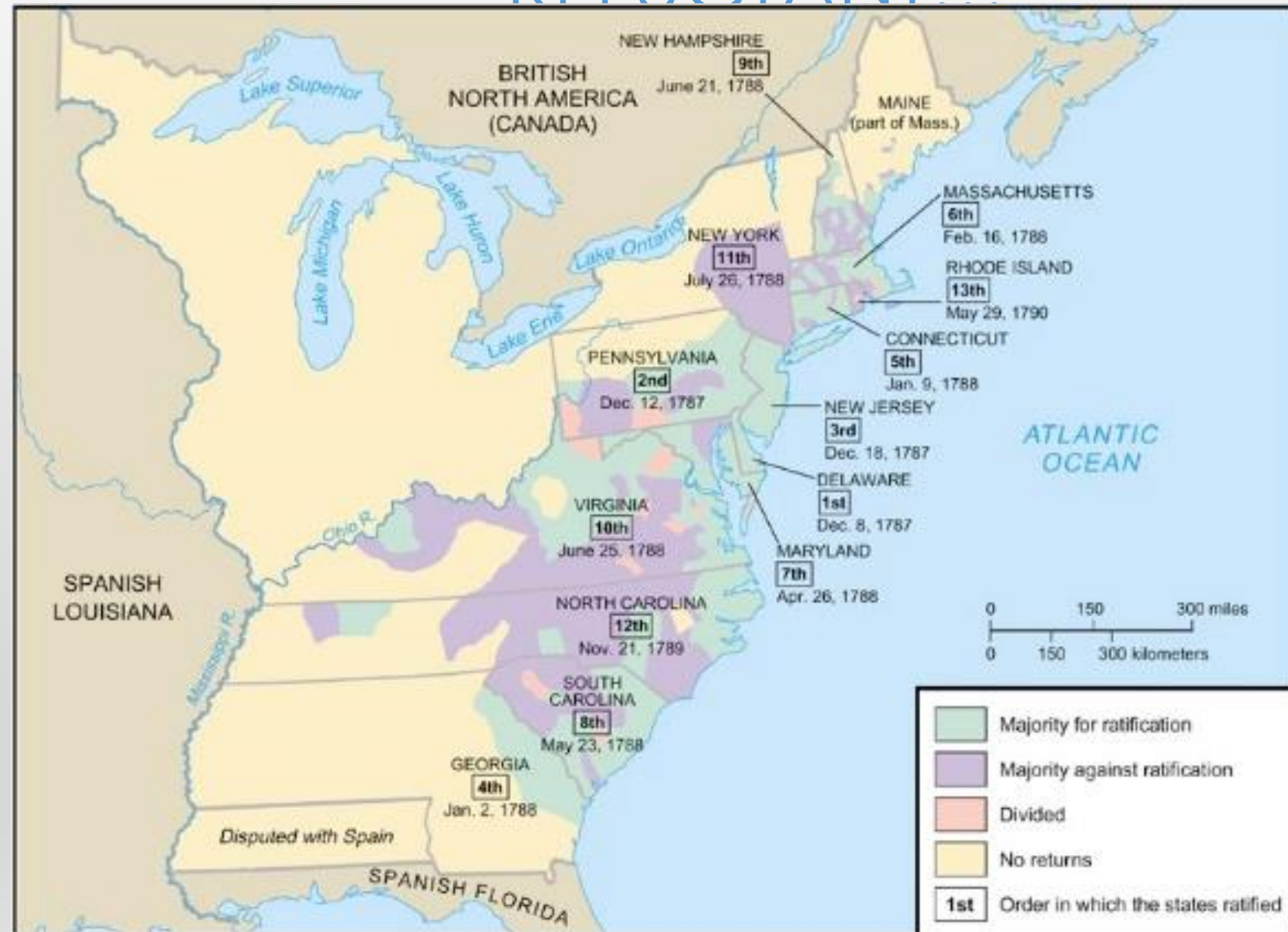
- Thomas Jefferson was assured by James Madison that a Bill of Rights would be attached later.

- It was in 1791

- Why then do Historians and Drasky care so much about the Federalist Papers and their influence?

- Historians believe the influence is more historical than contemporary (shows the thoughts of the time)
- Ratification came through compromise and the Bill of Rights (to satisfy Anti-Feds)

## VIRGINIA ALSO RELUCTANT



RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

# DEC. 1787 → SUMMER 1789

- 11 of 13 states ratified the new constitution
- Fed Elections held in fall
  - GW elected 1<sup>st</sup> Prez.
- Spring 1790
  - Last state, RI, ratify
- 1791
  - Bill of Rights added
- Slavery?
  - Put on hold for 20 years
  - Other issues, westward expansion, and others would cause issue as well



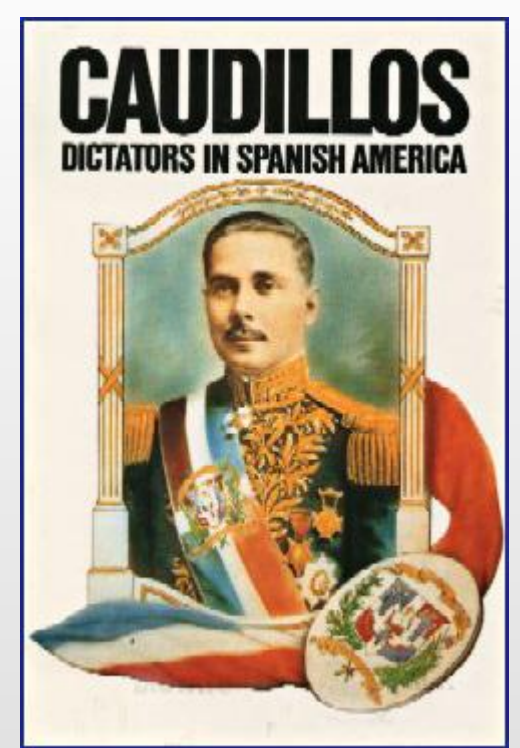
A SLAVE AUCTION AT THE SOUTH—FROM AN ORIGINAL PAINTED BY THOMAS H. DAVIS—(See Page 41.)

# HANDOUT 7-8

- Handout 7
  - Class Discussion
    - Comparing the Articles to the Constitution
- Handout 8
  - Federalist Papers
    - Read and complete chart & questions

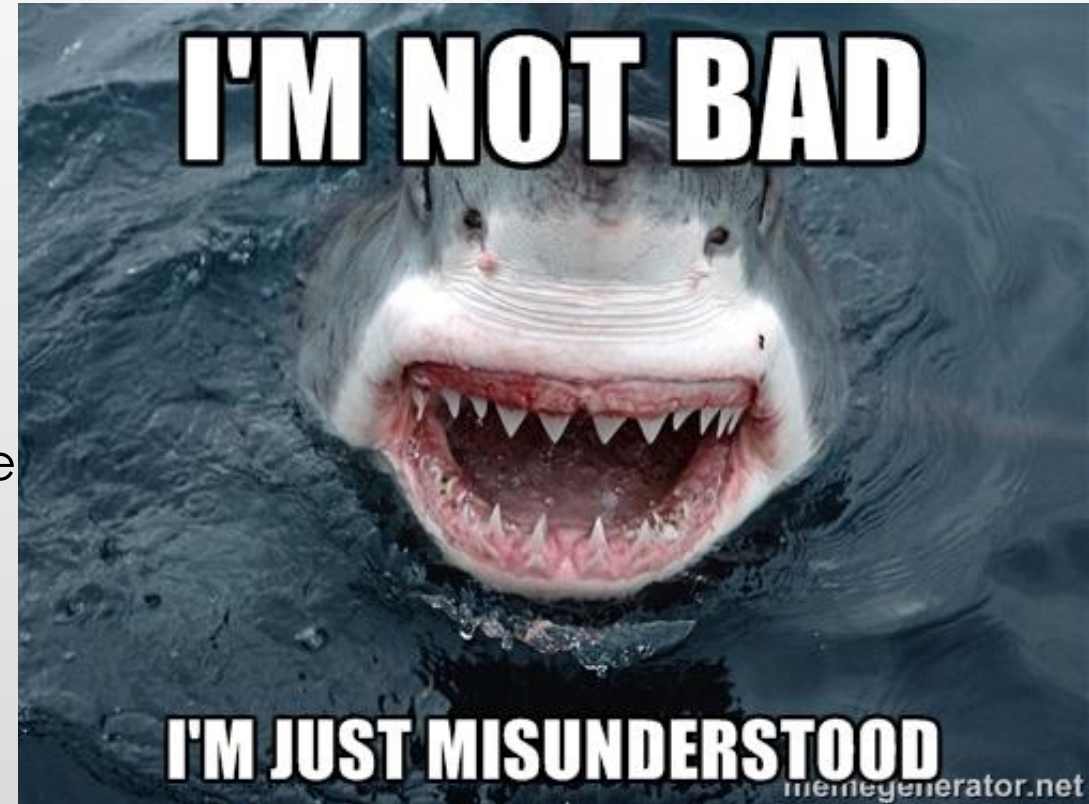
# THE RISE AND RULE OF THE CAUDILLOS IN LATIN AMERICA

- Revisionist history...
  - <https://www.google.com/search?q=revisionist+history&ie=&oe=#safe=active&q=define+revisionist+history>
- Caudillos: Good, Bad, or murky middle ground?
- Were Caudillos...
  - Strongmen taking advantage of political chaos to usurp power?
  - Strong personalities in the face of fragmented vicerealties, federalism, foreign influence?
  - Trying to join disparate interest groups who varied greatly between Mexico, Central Amer., S. Amer.?
- These complex social, political, economic issues created a context for strong leaders as social actors in building new nations.



# MODERN REVISIONISM: CAUDILLOS

- Originating w/ Federica Morelli...
- Not just power hungry traitors to democracy, as typical history shows
- Believes that: rural charism, militarism, violent aura has obscured the liberalism and republican institutions they help found within their new governments
- New research shows many countries expanded suffrage
  - Except for Chile and Ecuador, most extended to Indians and illiterate males
- New Research focuses on petitions, local revolts, other grass-roots political practices
- Lawyers and Jurists created the legal backbone in the states at this time
  - Including Constitutions, codes of law, business and market regulations, penal codes
- Caudillos also had to negotiate w/...
  - Salons, literary circles, political clubs, assemblies, congresses, Masonic Lodges, and the military
  - Social Actors – elites, municipal leaders, peasants, natives, former slaves



# PEONS



- Peon
  - Generally describes someone of low social origins. Often in servitude or debt bondage
- Local Peons and Former Soldiers formed the armies of Caudillos
- Caudillos were mostly former military leaders, who would distribute military justice to maintain authority



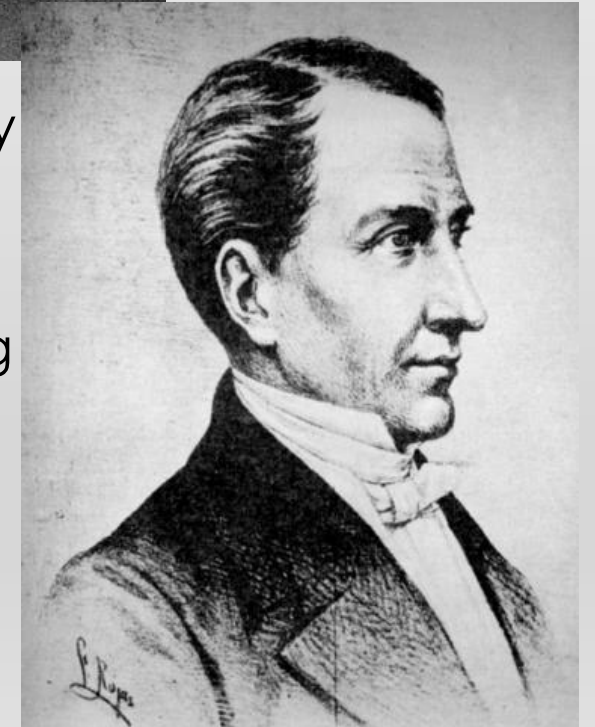
# IN GUATEMALA...

- Rafael Carrera used Liberal vs, Conservative hostilities to rise to power
- The Liberal Gov't passed reforms to limit the Church's power
  - Expelled the Jesuits and Dominicans
  - Abolished **Tithes**
  - Recognized civil marriage and divorce
  - Tolerated other religions
- Traditional colonial Cabildos (councils) disagreement with the anti-church stance aided Carrera's rise in 1838
  - He repealed the anti-church laws, but kept religious tolerance
  - He urged the return of Dominicans for educational reasons
  - 1852 signed a concordat with the Vatican making it the only religion and only doctrine taught in schools (lasted until Liberal Revolution in 1871)



# CHILE 1830S

- A little different...
  - Businessman Diego Portales
    - Not President/Caudillo
    - Minister of Interior, then War, then Navy
    - Contributor and commentator in the press
      - Tried to control the political anarchy of the gov't
    - Stressed defense of rule of law and social obedience to authority
    - Maintained the privileges of elite and Catholic Church
    - Strong Central Gov't, strong judiciary to curb abuses
    - Believed that Democracy was the future, but not before a strong system of law and order was enforced to create social control required for business to progress
    - Landholders, businessmen, mine owners prospered
      - The majority of Chileans did not



# CAUDILLOS AS NATION BUILDERS

- 1820s-1870
- Important at the time, but not the only people enacting (or stifling) change
- Kingdom of Brazil – conservative elites exerted power to maintain privileges
  - Monopoly of commerce
  - Institution of slavery
  - Etc.
    - Caudillos were used in strong states (Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Minas)
- Countess de Barral, 1850
  - Most powerful woman of the era
  - Influenced the abolitionist movement
    - Declared her slaves' children free in 1860s, freed all her slaves in 1880
  - Protested Catholic Bishop imprisonments
  - Travelled to Brazilian court to advise Pedro II
  - Her *Salon* was frequented by Conservative and liberal alike



# JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS - ARGENTINA

- Ruled for 23 years
  - **In office**  
7 March 1835 – 3 February 1852
- A tyrant
  - 1-an absolute ruler unrestrained by law or constitution
  - **2-** a usurper of sovereignty
  - <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tyrant>
- Refused to build republican institutions or a constitution
- Never took any public funds for himself (died in poverty)
  - Had started out as a rich conservative landowner
- Ruled with iron hand, curtailed freedom of speech Supported the Church
- 1835-
  - New customs laws to try to enhance agriculture, ranchers, manufacturing
- Anti-native – sought containment, not inclusion

