The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race

MICHEL GOBAT

WITH THE PUBLICATION OF Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* in 1983, it has become commonplace among scholars to view nations no longer as things natural but as historical inventions.[1] Far less ink has been spilled concerning the formation of larger geopolitical entities such as continents. Many still take their origins for granted. Yet as some scholars have shown, the terms "Africa," "America," "Asia," and "Europe" resulted from complex historical processes.[2] The concept of the continent emerged in ancient Greece and guided Europeans in their efforts to dominate other areas of the world, especially from the fourteenth century onward. Non-European societies certainly conceptualized their own geopolitical spaces, but the massive spread of European imperialism in the nineteenth century ensured that the European schema of dividing the world into continents would predominate by the twentieth century.[3]

The invention of "Latin America" nevertheless reveals that contemporary continental constructs were not always imperial products. True, many scholars assume that French imperialists invented "Latin America" in order to justify their country's occupation of Mexico (1862–1867).[4] And the idea did stem from the French concept of a "Latin race," which Latin American émigrés in Europe helped spread to the other side of the Atlantic. But as Arturo Ardao, Miguel Rojas Mix, and Aims

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[1] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

[2] For a synthetic overview, see Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

[3] Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 2010), 129–154; Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, 33; and Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World* (Cambridge, 2011), 13.

[4] The most influential study that locates the origins of "Latin America" in the French occupation of Mexico is John Leddy Phelan, "Pan-Latinism, French Intervention in Mexico (1861–1867) and the Genesis of the Idea of Latin America," in Juan A. Ortega y Medina, ed., *Conciencia y autenticidad históricas: Escritos en homenaje a Edmundo O'Gorman* (Mexico City, 1968), 279–298.

McGuinness have revealed, the term "Latin America" had already been used in 1856 by Central and South Americans protesting U.S. expansion into the Southern Hemisphere.[5] Less known is the fact that these resisting Latin Americans also feared European intervention, albeit to a lesser extent. Such fears involved not only French designs on Mexico but also Spain's efforts to regain territories it had lost with the Spanish American wars of independence. Opposition to U.S. and European imperialism thus underpinned the idea of Latin America. This anti-imperial impulse helps explain why "Latin America" lives on, in contrast to the concept "Latin Africa," which was developed by French imperialists in the late nineteenth century but adopted by few Africans.[6] The staying power of "Latin America" in today's age of unprecedented globalization underscores Sugata Bose's claim concerning the continuing significance of entities located between the national and the global—especially to advance anti-imperial projects.[7]

That "Latin America" became a lasting concept had everything to do with the little-known trigger behind the 1856 protest against U.S. expansion: the decision by U.S. president Franklin Pierce to recognize the "piratical" regime recently established in Nicaragua by William Walker and his band of U.S. filibusters.[8] Pierce's act shocked foreign governments. On both sides of the Atlantic, it led to talk of war between the United States and the European powers in the Caribbean (Great Britain, Spain, and France). Below the Río Grande, it eventually led governments to forge the largest anti-U.S. alliance in Latin American history. Such an alliance had been demanded by politicians and intellectuals throughout the region immediately

[5] Arturo Ardao, *Génesis de la idea y el nombre de América latina* (Caracas, 1980); Miguel Rojas Mix, "Bilbao y el hallazgo de América latina: Unión continental, socialista y libertaria," *Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Luso-Brasilien-Caravelle* 46 (1986): 35–47; and Aims McGuinness, "Searching for 'Latin America': Race and Sovereignty in the Americas in the 1850s," in Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), 87–107. The centennial of the War of 1898 produced various studies that similarly stressed the Latin American origins of "Latin America." See Paul Estrade, "Del invento de 'América Latina' en París por latinoamericanos (1856–1889)," in Jacques Maurice and Marie-Claire Zimmerman, comps., *París y el mundo ibérico e iberoamericano: Actas del XXVIIIo Congreso de la Sociedad de Hispanistas Franceses, Paris, 21, 22 y 23 de marzo de 1997* (Paris, 1998), 179–188; Mónica Quijada, "Sobre el origen y difusión del nombre 'América Latina': O una variación heterodoxa en torno al tema de la construcción social de la verdad," *Revista de Indias* 58, no. 214 (1998): 595–616; Frank Ibold, "Die Erfindung Lateinamerikas: Die Idee der *Latinité* im Frankreich des 19. Jahrhunderts und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Eigenwahrnehmung des südlichen Amerika," in Hans-Joachim König and Stefan Rinke, eds., *Transatlantische Perzeptionen: Lateinamerika-USA-Europa in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1998), 77–98; and Vicente Romero, "Du nominal 'latin' pour l'Autre Amérique: Notes sur la naissance et le sens du nom 'Amérique latine' autour des années 1850," *Histoire et sociétés de l'Amérique latine* 7 (1998): 57–86.

[6] On the genesis of "Latin Africa," see Patricia M. E. Lorcin, "Rome and France in Africa: Recovering Colonial Algeria's Latin Past," *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 2 (2002): 295–329. Perhaps the most important African proponent of "Latin Africa" was Barthélemy Boganda, who died in 1959, just before he was to serve as the first president of the Central African Republic. Believing that Africa's newly independent nations were too weak to stand on their own, he called for the creation of a "United States of Latin Africa," consisting of the former French, Portuguese, and Belgian colonies of Central Africa. See Pierre Kalck, *Historical Dictionary of the Central African Republic*, 3rd ed., trans. Xavier-Samuel Kalck (Lanham, Md., 2005), 27.

[7] Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

[8] "Filibuster" was the label given in the 1850s to the thousands of U.S. citizens who invaded Latin American states with which the United States was officially at peace. On U.S. filibusterism, see Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002).

after they heard about Pierce's decision to recognize the Walker regime. And it was their transnational campaign on behalf of this alliance that caused the idea of Latin America to spread throughout the continent. The rise of "Latin America" was perhaps the most enduring outcome of one of the first anti-U.S. moments in world history.

The anti-imperial genesis of "Latin America" suggests that the concept cannot be reduced to what some scholars call "coloniality," and thus to the politics of exclusion. Since the concept continues to have political weight, much is at stake in understanding its origins. This is the case even within the United States, where the idea has shaped the ongoing debate over whether Latina/o is an identity associated with whiteness or multiracialism.[9] An influential proponent of "Latin America" as a product of coloniality is Walter Mignolo, who defines coloniality as "the logical structure of colonial domination underlying the Spanish, Dutch, British and U.S. control of the Atlantic economy and politics."[10] For Mignolo and others, the idea of Latin America stymies efforts by peoples of indigenous and African descent to democratize the region. "Latin America" was indeed long identified by elites with whiteness, even though most Latin Americans were—and are—non-white. Still, elites embraced the idea not only to maintain their power but also to prevent the North Atlantic powers from destroying what the Panamanian Justo Arosemena called, in July 1856, "Latin-American democracy"—a democracy directed by white "Latin" elites, yet one that granted greater rights to the non-white masses.[11] A tension between inclusion and exclusion marked the idea of Latin America from the very start.

But why did "Latin America" emerge in 1856 and not in 1848, when the U.S. victory over Mexico resulted in the greatest loss of Latin American territory to the "northern colossus"? The answer has much to do with four changes that occurred during those eight years: the rise of U.S. overseas expansion, the democratic opening in various Latin American nations that led to greater non-elite participation in electoral politics, the squashing of Europe's liberal revolutions of 1848, and the transatlantic spread of racial ideologies that gave new force to the politics of whiteness. Together these changes led elites of Mexico, Central America, and South America to imagine a continental community rooted in the European idea of a "Latin race," a concept that drew more on cultural than on biological criteria. Print media, as Benedict Anderson would have predicted, were crucial to the formation of this entity.[12] Yet just as important was the role of actors who are usually overlooked in

[9] Cf. Ian Haney López, "White Latinos," *Harvard Latino Law Review* 6 (2003): 1–7; Eric M. Gutiérrez, "'White Latino' Leaders: A Foregone Conclusion of a Mischaracterization of Latino Society," *The Modern American* 3, no. 2 (2007): 62–65; Arlene Dávila, *Latino Spin: Public Image and the Whitewashing of Race* (New York, 2008); Immanuel Wallerstein, "Latin@s: What's in a Name?," in Ramón Grosfoguel, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, and José David Saldívar, eds., *Latin@s in the World-System: Decolonization Struggles in the Twenty-First Century U.S. Empire* (Boulder, Colo., 2006), 31–39; Reanne Frank, Ilana Redstone Akresh, and Bo Lu, "Latino Immigrants and the U.S. Racial Order: How and Where Do They Fit In?," *American Sociological Review* 75, no. 3 (2010): 378–401.

[10] Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Malden, Mass., 2005), 7.

[11] Argelia Tello Burgos, ed., *Escritos de Justo Arosemena* (Panama City, 1985), 258.

[12] Anderson has been criticized by Latin Americanists for exaggerating the strength of the Latin American press on the eve of independence; see, e.g., Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen, eds., *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Baltimore, 2003). By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the press had clearly expanded its presence

studies of imagined communities: diplomats. Thanks to their efforts to create an anti-imperial alliance of all independent states south of the Río Grande, a racial identity—the Latin race—was transformed into the name of a continent: Latin America.

Charting the rise of "Latin America" can help us better understand why certain geopolitical constructions thrive while others fade away. Like other such constructs, "Latin America" owed its existence to imperialism and race as well as to the notion of a common culture or "civilization."[13] Another force deemed crucial to the creation of geopolitical entities was the spread of capitalism. For example, the consolidation of the idea of "Asia" during the nineteenth century owed much to the expansion of European colonial trade, which intensified preexisting commercial links among regions between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.[14] While the goal of economic integration motivated elites to imagine "Latin America," economic conditions were not conducive to such integration at the time, as many countries had stronger trade connections with North Atlantic nations than with each other. Far more important to the rise of "Latin America" were political factors, including local struggles for and over democracy.[15] As with the remaking of "Asia" in the early twentieth century, "Latin America" resulted above all from the transnational mobilization of an imperial concept—the Latin race—for anti-imperial ends.[16]

TO UNDERSTAND HOW A "RACE" BECAME the basis for a geopolitical entity, we first need to explore why Latin American elites came to identify themselves with the Latin race. What did it mean to be "Latin"? As various scholars have shown, the term emerged in Europe in the early nineteenth century, when the rise of romantic nationalism and scientific racism led Europeans to identify their nations with races and languages.[17] The Latin race was first linked with countries where much of the population spoke a Romance language and practiced Catholicism (those nations in turn formed "Latin Europe"). In the 1830s, French intellectuals popularized the term to refer to peoples living in the former Iberian colonies of the Western Hemisphere.[18] They sought to

throughout the continent. In Bolivia, for example, at least fifty-two newspapers appeared during the 1850s; eighteen of them were published in the capital of Sucre, twelve in La Paz, eleven in Potosí, ten in Cochabamba, and one in Oruro (information based on newspapers held in the Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia).

[13] Yet Latin Americans did not truly speak of a "Latin American civilization" until the twentieth century; see Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, *Argucias de la historia: Siglo XIX, cultura y "América latina"* (Mexico City, 1999).

[14] E.g., Prasenjit Duara, "Asia Redux: Conceptualizing a Region for Our Times," *Journal of Asian Studies* 69, no. 4 (2010): 963–983, here 963–968.

[15] Cf. Wang Hui, *The Politics of Imagining Asia*, ed. Theodore Huters (Cambridge, Mass., 2011).

[16] For Asia, see Rebecca Karl, "Creating Asia: China in the World at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 4 (October 1998): 1096–1118; Duara, "Asia Redux," 969–973; and Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals Who Remade Asia* (New York, 2012).

[17] Paul Edison, "Latinizing America: The French Scientific Study of Mexico, 1830–1930" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1999); and Käthe Panick, *La Race Latine: Politischer Romanismus im Frankreich des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 1978). Although Europe was seen to have numerous races, it came to be associated primarily with three races: the Latin, Slavic, and Germanic (which included Anglo-Saxons).

[18] Phelan, "Pan-Latinism, French Intervention in Mexico (1861–1867) and the Genesis of the Idea

justify France's imperial ambitions in the New World by stressing that Mexicans, Central Americans, and South Americans, as members of the Latin race, had a natural affinity with the French; and that the Latin races on both sides of the Atlantic were locked in a global struggle against the expansionist Anglo-Saxons of Great Britain and the United States.

In the early nineteenth century, however, elites in the Southern Hemisphere rarely identified themselves and the continent with the Latin race. Initially, their preferred terms were *americanos* and *América*. As John Chasteen shows, these centuries-old terms became prevalent in the 1810s and 1820s, when the region waged wars of independence against Spain.[19] With this struggle, *americano* took on an anticolonial meaning and no longer encompassed only people of European descent, but also those of indigenous, African, and mixed-race descent. As U.S. expansionists began to threaten Mexico in the 1830s, elites in Central and South America increasingly adopted the term *Hispano-América* to differentiate their societies from the United States, which was claiming "America" all for itself.[20] They also came to identify themselves with the "Hispanic American race," which was constructed primarily against the U.S. "Anglo-Saxon race." This was a two-way process, as U.S. expansion into Mexico (especially Texas) led U.S. citizens to use "Anglo-Saxon" in a racial sense and to denigrate Spanish Americans as "mongrels."[21] But if the U.S. belief in an innately superior Anglo-Saxon race invoked a more biological definition of race and was associated with whiteness, Spanish American elites tended to identify the Hispanic American race with a shared cultural heritage so that it could include Spanish-speaking non-whites. For this reason, some also constructed Hispano-América against Portuguese-speaking Brazil.[22] Ever since independence, Spanish American relations with the South American hegemon had been tense. This was not just because of cultural differences but also due to Brazil's expansionist policy and its adherence to monarchical rule, which clashed with the republicanism of Spanish America.[23]

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of Latin America"; and Edison, "Latinizing America." Prior to the 1830s, other Europeans had already used the term "Latin race" to refer to peoples living in the Western Hemisphere; see, e.g., Alexander von Humboldt and A. Bonpland, *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent, fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804*, 12 vols. (Paris, 1816–1826), 9: 137.

[19] John Charles Chasteen, *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence* (New York, 2008). See also "América/Americano," in Javier Fernández Sebastián, ed., *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano: La era de las revoluciones, 1750–1850* (Madrid, 2009), pt. 1. On the colonial roots of "América," see Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History* (Bloomington, Ind., 1961).

[20] Miguel Rojas Mix, *Los cien nombres de América: Eso que descubrió Colón* (Barcelona, 1991), 63–85; and Aimer Granados García, "Congresos e intelectuales en los inicios de un proyecto y de una conciencia continental latinoamericana, 1826–1860," in Aimer Granado García and Carlos Marichal, comps., *Construcción de las identidades latinoamericanas* (Mexico City, 2004), 39–69.

[21] Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

[22] One of the earliest such constructions appears in an 1825 pamphlet written by the Argentine-born Bernardo Monteagudo, who closely collaborated with independence hero Simón Bolívar; see his "Ensayo sobre la necesidad de una federación jeneral entre los estados hispano-americanos," in José Victorino Lastarria, Alvaro Covarrubias, Domingo Santa María, and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, eds., *Colección de ensayos i documentos relativos a la unión i confederación de los pueblos hispano-americanos publicada a espensas de la "Sociedad de la Unión Americana de Santiago de Chile"* (Santiago de Chile, 1862), 159–175.

[23] Luís Cláudio Villafañe G. Santos, *O Brasil entre a América e a Europa* (São Paulo, 2004), 24–29,

Spanish American unity was undermined by the formation of nation-states. Still, the idea of Hispano-América was upheld by the region's intellectuals who highlighted their common culture. They had good reason to stress this commonality, for three centuries of Spanish colonialism had transformed the region, as José Moya argues, into "the largest contingent area in the world bound by similar legal practices, language, religion, naming patterns, and the arrangement of urban space."[24] Perhaps the most famous proponent of Hispano-América was the Venezuelan-Chilean Andrés Bello, who in 1847 published a study of Spanish grammar intended for "the inhabitants of Hispano-América . . . as a providential means of communication and a fraternal link."[25] In addition, the idea was reinforced by efforts to forge a continental alliance against European intervention and to contain conflicts among Spanish American states—which could, in turn, facilitate European expansion.[26] The first major undertaking occurred in 1826, when independence hero Simón Bolívar convened in Panama a congress of "all the representatives of America."[27] Although this event failed to produce a lasting alliance, the repeated calls for a similar congress in subsequent decades underscore how the threat of external intervention kept alive Bolívar's call for continental unity. Not until 1847–1848 was a second American Congress convened, this time in Peru. And although the congress took place during the U.S. invasion of Mexico, its main concern continued to be European intervention.

It was also in the late 1840s that elites in the Southern Hemisphere began to identify themselves with the Latin race. Among the first were liberal émigrés in Paris, who were influenced by French utopian-socialist proponents of the idea. One such émigré was the Chilean Francisco Bilbao, who during his Parisian sojourn of 1844–1850 befriended Félicité Robert de Lamennais.[28] This leading figure of the French Revolution of 1848 exhorted Bilbao to promote the unity of South America with

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86–87, 100–102, 131–140; Ron Seckinger, *The Brazilian Monarchy and the South American Republics, 1822–1831: Diplomacy and State Building* (Baton Rouge, La., 1984), 25–39; Maria Ligia Coelho Prado, "O Brasil e a distante América do sul," *Revista de Historia* 145 (2001): 127–149, here 128–139; Georg Wink, *Die Idee von Brasilien: Eine kulturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung der Erzählung Brasiliens als vorgestellte Gemeinschaft im Kontrast zu Hispanoamerika* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009), 188–193; and Leslie Bethell, "Brazil and 'Latin America,' " *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42, no. 3 (2010): 457–485, here 460–464.

[24] José C. Moya, "Introduction," in Moya, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Latin American History* (New York, 2010), 1–24, here 18.

[25] Andrés Bello, *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* (1847; repr., Paris, 1898), vii. On how Bello and other leading Spanish American intellectuals of his era championed the idea of an "original" Hispanic-American culture, see Leopoldo Zea, *The Latin-American Mind*, trans. James H. Abbott and Lowell Dunham (1949; repr., Norman, Okla., 1963), 99–103.

[26] On these efforts, see Granados, "Congresos e intelectuales en los inicios de un proyecto y de una conciencia continental latinoamericana"; Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, "El pacto de familia: Intentos mexicanos para la integración hispano-americana, 1830–1847," *Revista de Indias* 51, no. 193 (1991): 545–570; and Rosa Garibaldi, *La política exterior del Perú en la era de Ramón Castilla: Defensa hemisférica y defensa de la jurisdicción nacional* (Lima, 2003).

[27] Simón Bolívar, *El Libertador: Writings of Simón Bolívar*, trans. Frederick H. Fornoff, ed. David Bushnell (New York, 2003), 169.

[28] On Bilbao's links with Lamennais, see James A. Wood, "The Republic Regenerated: French and Chilean Revolutions in the Imagination of Francisco Bilbao, 1842–1851," *Atlantic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2006): 7–23; and Alberto Varona, *Francisco Bilbao, revolucionario de América: Vida y pensamiento* (Panama City, 1973).

Europe's "Latin nations."[29] Thanks to émigrés such as Bilbao, the concept of the Latin race spread quickly across the Atlantic. As Tomás Pérez Vejo notes, the term was used in Spanish America as early as 1845, when the editors of Mexico's *El Siglo XIX* stressed that they belonged to the Latin race after a rival paper had charged that they were nothing but "apaches, comanches or lipanes."[30] By 1853 the term had even made its way to the Bolivian city of Sucre, perhaps the most isolated capital in the hemisphere.[31] The concept of the Latin race was also circulating in Brazil by the early 1850s. This reflected the belief of elite Brazilians that their country was "destined to be the France of South America."[32] Yet some also used the concept to highlight their affinity with Spanish Americans.[33]

While the term appealed to elites across the political spectrum, it meant different things to different people. Most constructed the Latin race in opposition to U.S. "Anglo-Saxons" and believed that it could include the non-white masses as long as they were Catholic and Spanish/Portuguese speakers. This belief in cultural assimilation was weaker among those who explicitly identified the Latin race with whiteness.[34] A famous exponent was the Argentine intellectual Juan Bautista Alberdi, who claimed that "in America, everyone who is not *Latin* or *Saxon*, that is, *European*, is a barbarian."[35] Alberdi's anti-assimilationist stance reflected the efforts of Argentine liberals to build, as Nicolas Shumway argues, an "ideological framework for a political system that would exclude, persecute, dispossess, and often kill the 'racially inferior' gauchos, Indians, and mixed-bloods"—a process that would culminate in Argentina's genocidal "Conquest of the Desert" of the 1870s.[36] These Argentines were hardly outliers, as their views were shared by proponents of the Latin race hailing from other regions. The Cuban Francisco Muñoz del Monte, for example, claimed in an influential essay that the New World could dispense with the non-white races, "the indigenous and African, whose physical and intellectual inferiority inherently subordinates them to the more powerful and civilizing action" of the "Latin" and "Anglo-German" races.[37]

[29] Romero, "Du nominal 'latin' pour l'Autre Amérique," 77–78.

[30] Tomás Pérez Vejo, *España en el debate público mexicano, 1836–1867: Aportaciones para una historia de la nación* (Mexico City, 2008), 155.

[31] "Cuál es la situación actual de las repúblicas del Centro y del Sud América," *Eco de la Opinión*, July 23, 1853.

[32] Roderick J. Barman, *Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825–91* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 162.

[33] E.g., P. da Silva, "Duas palabras sobre a navegação do Rio Amazonas a propósito da obra do Sr. Pedro de Angelis, publicada en Montevideo e intitulada *De la navigation de l'Amazone* 1854," *Correio Mercantil*, December 1, 1854; Miguel Maria Lisboa to Brazilian Foreign Minister, Rio de Janeiro, July 9, 1855, *Cadernos do CHDD* 8, no. 14 (2009): 426–446, here 432, 445; and "Estados-unidos e Brasil," *Jornal da Commercio*, December 24, 1856.

[34] On the emergence of the concept of whiteness in Spanish America during the late eighteenth century, see Sinclair Thomson, "Was There Race in Colonial Latin America? Identifying Selves and Others in the Insurgent Andes," in Laura Gotkowitz, ed., *Histories of Race and Racism: The Andes and Mesoamerica from Colonial Times to the Present* (Durham, N.C., 2011), 72–91, here 80–81; and Rossana Barragán, "The Census and the Making of a Social 'Order' in Nineteenth-Century Bolivia," ibid., 113–133, here 120–121.

[35] Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Escritos póstumos*, 16 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1895–1901), vol. 4: *Del Gobierno en Sud-América según las miras de su revolución fundamental*, 115.

[36] Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 144.

[37] Francisco Muñoz del Monte, "España y las repúblicas hispano-americanas," *Revista Española de Ambos Mundos* 1 (1853): 257–280, here 265.

Elites' varied views concerning cultural assimilation reflected the clash between two racial theories that held sway in the North Atlantic: monogenism, which was rooted in the Christian belief that all human beings originated from the same species and posited that racial differences were a product of the environment; and the new "scientific" theory of polygenism, which stressed that racial differences were biologically fixed and thus questioned the viability of cultural assimilation.[38] Polygenism, which emerged most powerfully in the United States and France, helped shape the Latin American scientific racism that reigned at the turn of the twentieth century.[39] In the 1850s, however, its influence in the Southern Hemisphere was more limited. Ultimately, whether or not elite advocates of a Latin race believed in cultural assimilation mattered little, for most identified the Latin race with whiteness.[40] Nearly all sought to strengthen their young nations via the massive influx of white migrants, especially from Latin Europe. This concern with whiteness would shape the way "Latin America" was initially defined.

WHY, THEN, DID SPANISH AMERICAN ELITES come to prefer the term "Latin race" over "Hispanic American race"? Most embraced it not because they supported French imperialism, but rather out of concern about the post-1848 turn in U.S. expansionism toward the Southern Hemisphere. In the Caribbean basin, this change was noticeable in the proliferation of U.S. filibuster expeditions. In South America, U.S. expansion was more varied. In addition to filibuster invasions, there were attempts to annex Peru's valuable guano islands, plans to create settler colonies in the Amazon basin, and an 1854 effort to turn Ecuador into a U.S. protectorate. Underpinning this expansion was the belief that it was the "manifest destiny" of Anglo-Saxons to dominate the "inferior" races of the hemisphere.[41] In consequence, Spanish American intellectuals, politicians, and diplomats increasingly viewed their relations with the United States in terms of a race war. If they had already associated the United States with an aggressive Anglo-Saxon race, they now came to identify their own continent with a besieged Latin race.

But some elites still maintained a favorable view of U.S. expansionism, believing that it involved mainly the spread of U.S. entrepreneurialism, technology, and de-

[38] See Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (London, 1982); and George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, N.J., 2002).

[39] On the strength of polygenism in the United States and France, see Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, chaps. 7–8; George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (1971; repr., Middletown, Conn., 1987), chap. 3; and Martin S. Staum, *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race and Empire, 1815–1848* (Montreal, 2003). For Mexico, see Pérez, *España en el debate público mexicano*, 206–207. On how "the racism inherent in polygenism proved compatible in practice if not in theory" with the kind of Social Darwinism that permeated Latin American scientific racism of the late nineteenth century, see Charles A. Hale, "Political and Social Ideas," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Latin America: Economy and Society, 1870–1930* (Cambridge, 1989), 225–300, here 256.

[40] Even a radical liberal such as Francisco Bilbao, who wrote favorably about Chile's indigenous people, claimed that *indios* and *negros* were "primitive races." The anti-indigenous views of elite Chileans intensified in the 1850s partly because of efforts by state and local elites to usurp land held by the Mapuche, Chile's largest indigenous group; see Jorge Pinto Rodríguez, "Del antiindigenismo al proindigenismo en Chile en el siglo XIX," in Leticia Reina, ed., *La reindianización de América, siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1997), 137–157.

[41] On the role of race in U.S. Manifest Destiny expansion, see Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*.

mocracy.[42] This belief reflected the longstanding U.S.-based idea of a Western Hemisphere, which posited that North and South Americans shared a political culture that was democratic, republican, and anticolonial—one constructed against European tyranny, monarchism, and colonialism.[43] This ideal of hemispheric unity shaped the Monroe Doctrine and found many adherents in the Southern Hemisphere.[44] They included Nicaraguan liberals, who justified their embrace of William Walker's band by claiming that they and the filibusters were "the children of a common mother—republican America."[45]

Proponents of a Latin race had to work hard to explain the perils of U.S. expansion, especially when it was carried out under the banner of democracy promotion (this warning would be echoed decades later by Asian activists who denounced European imperialism as "bearing the false name of democracy").[46] Consider the arguments made by the Chilean Juan Manuel Carrasco in a speech that exhorted South American governments to form an alliance against U.S. expansion.[47] This liberal had long admired the United States for its democratic development. By 1855, however, he concluded that its democratic institutions were pushing the "Anglo-Saxon race" to conquer "Latin" peoples living as far south as Chile. His newfound fear of U.S. democracy clearly stemmed from the rise of filibusterism. But it also resulted from the way U.S. citizens increasingly defined democracy, in the words of George Fredrickson, "as racial in origin and thus realizable perhaps only by people with certain hereditary traits"—traits assumed to be held chiefly, if not exclusively, by Anglo-Saxons.[48] Carrasco thus criticized South Americans who continued to maintain that the region could only benefit from being absorbed by the "Anglo-American giant." He was just one of many Spanish Americans who maintained that, as a Costa Rican paper put it, the "rapacious Yankee democracy" was bent on "exterminating our weak nations."[49]

This U.S. threat helps explain why Spanish American elites embraced the concept of a Latin race. Some did so because they believed that their states could resist U.S. expansion only with the help of the world's main Latin power: France.[50] Yet many more feared that Napoleon III was seeking to restore colonial or monarchical rule

[42] E.g., "La raza española y la raza anglo-sajona," *La Democracia* (Quito), February 14, 1854, U.S. National Archives microfilm T-50 (Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Ecuador, 1848–1906).

[43] On the origins of this idea in the late eighteenth century, see Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Western Hemisphere Idea: Its Rise and Decline* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1954).

[44] On Latin America's close connections with the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, see James Dunkerley, *Americana: The Americas in the World, around 1850* (London, 2000).

[45] Fermin Ferrer to William Cazneau, New York, November 29, 1856, *New York Herald*, December 1, 1856.

[46] Quote from the 1924 speech made in Japan by the Indian anti-imperialist Rabindranath Tagore, the first non-European to win the Nobel Prize for Literature, cited in Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire*, 239.

[47] Juan Manuel Carrasco, "Memoria presentada ante la Facultad de leyes de la Universidad de Chile por don Juan Manuel Carrasco Albano, en el mes de marzo de 1855, sobre la necesidad i objetos de un Congreso Sud-Americano," in Lastarria, Covarrubias, Santa María, and Mackenna, *Colección de ensayos i documentos relativos a la unión*, 257–274.

[48] Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*, 101.

[49] Carrasco, "Memoria presentada ante la Facultad de leyes de la Universidad de Chile por don Juan Manuel Carrasco Albano," 271; "Nuestros Intereses," *Eco de Irazú*, November 10, 1854.

[50] E.g., Muñoz del Monte, "España y las repúblicas hispano-americanas."

to the Southern Hemisphere.[51] They preferred to forge an anti-U.S. alliance consisting exclusively of the states below the Río Grande. And because they wanted to include the region's hegemon, Brazil, it made sense that diplomats, politicians, and intellectuals would call for the solidarity of the continent's Latin race rather than that of Hispanic Americans. Such calls resonated in Brazil, for the rise of U.S. overseas expansion pushed it closer to Spanish America. Above all, Brazilian officials worried about recent efforts by U.S. naval expeditions to "open" river navigation in South America.[52] These expeditions fueled Brazilian fears that the United States was seeking to colonize the Amazon basin.[53] In reaching out to their Spanish American counterparts, Brazilian envoys invoked the concept of the Latin race.[54] They even indicated that their government planned to populate the Amazon basin with colonists from the region's "Latin race," who were to serve as a "barrier against the aggressive spirit of the Anglo-Saxon."[55]

Strategic concerns alone did not push Spanish American elites to identify their societies with the Latin race. They also adopted the concept to counter the racist views undergirding U.S. expansionism. An influx of U.S. travelers during the California Gold Rush brought U.S. racism to the Southern Hemisphere in dramatic ways.[56] In seaports, U.S. travelers displayed their racial prejudices, provoking brawls with local inhabitants and, at times, full-scale riots.[57] But most Spanish Americans learned about U.S. racism from local newspapers that reported on U.S. racial biases. Especially influential were the horrifying accounts about violence committed by "Anglo-Saxons" against Spanish Americans working in the California goldfields.[58]

Three powerful reasons help explain why Spanish American elites preferred to combat U.S. racist views with the concept of a Latin race. First, it allowed them to

[51] The best-known example is Mexico, where the French occupation of 1862–1867 led to the creation of the Second Mexican Empire, headed by the Austrian archduke Ferdinand Maximilian. Yet already in the early 1850s Mexican conservatives were seeking to establish monarchical rule via French military intervention; see Nancy Nichols Barker, *The French Experience in Mexico, 1821–1861: A History of Constant Misunderstanding* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 143.

[52] Amado Luiz Cervo and Clodoaldo Bueno, *História da política exterior do Brasil*, 3rd ed. (Brasília, 2008), 102–107; and John H. Schroeder, *Shaping a Maritime Empire: The Commercial and Diplomatic Role of the American Navy, 1829–1861* (Westport, Conn., 1985), chap. 6.

[53] Such fears were not unfounded; see Donald Marquand Dozer, "Matthew Fontaine Maury's Letter of Instruction to William Lewis Herndon," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 28, no. 2 (1948): 212–228.

[54] E.g., Miguel Maria Lisboa to Brazilian Foreign Minister, Paris, June 26, 1854, and Rio de Janeiro, July 9, 1855, *Cadernos do CHDD* 8, no. 14 (2009): 352, 432, 445. On Brazil's diplomatic missions to neighboring states, see Luís Cláudio Villafañe Gomes Santos, *O império e as repúblicas do Pacífico: As relações do Brasil com Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Equador e Colômbia* (Curitiba, 2002), 75–82.

[55] Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú, CC 39, Peruvian Minister to the U.S. to Peruvian Minister of Foreign Relations, Washington, March 31, 1854.

[56] In 1849 and 1850 alone, more than 75,000 gold rushers took the sea route via the Nicaraguan or Panamanian transit, or around the tip of South America; J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York, 1981), 297, 354.

[57] Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge, 2005); and Brian Roberts, " 'The Greatest and Most Perverted Paradise': The Forty-Niners in Latin America," in Kenneth Owens, ed., *Riches for All: The California Gold Rush and the World* (Lincoln, Neb., 2002), 71–89.

[58] Chile was the South American country that sent the largest number of emigrants to California. By 1856, an estimated 70,000 Chileans—about 7 percent of the country's population—had joined the Gold Rush. See Mario Barros Van Buren, *Historia diplomática de Chile, 1541–1938* (Santiago de Chile, 1970), 211; and Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York, 2000), 59.

counter more effectively the U.S. expansionists' claim that their Catholic-based societies were backward, since the concept highlighted links with France, which was widely regarded as a modern power. The term "Latin race" fit with the efforts of modernizing liberals to disassociate their societies from Spain, which they deemed hopelessly backward.[59] Second, elites were aware that U.S. citizens tended to view them as belonging to a lower white race—the allegedly indolent and effeminate "Spanish" race—or even as being entirely non-white. They were perturbed because many themselves espoused racial hierarchies that held whites to be superior to non-whites. In all likelihood, then, Spanish American elites embraced the concept of a modern, stronger, and perhaps more masculine Latin race in order to better defend their whiteness against U.S. racism.[60]

But the concept of a Latin race also helped elites separate their class from the non-white masses within their own societies. This partly explains why some of the strongest advocates of the Latin race came from regions where non-white groups were fiercely challenging the power of local elites, who were identified as white. At times, the challenge was economic. This was the case even in Cuba, where elites benefited greatly from the sugar boom. As George Reid Andrews writes, in 1854 the governor of Havana criticized "the continuing 'ambitious pretensions' of the free blacks and 'the propensity of this race to excel the white' in economic and professional achievement."[61] More threatening to elite power were popular uprisings such as the Caste War of Mexico (1847–1855). For a leading Mexican newspaper, this indigenous revolt confirmed that "the colored race seeks to attack the white race whenever the occasion presents itself."[62] Anti-elite rebellions elsewhere in the region similarly targeted the "white race," such as in Venezuela, where black and mulatto insurgents went to battle crying "Death to the whites!"[63] Powerful challenges also came from anti-oligarchic military rulers who enjoyed strong support among the lower classes. The regime of Bolivian president Manuel Belzu (1848–1855), for example, waged a crusade against an allegedly white "aristocracy" in the name of non-whites, especially urban *cholos* of indigenous descent.[64]

Perhaps the most sustained threat to elite power came when the mobilization of urban artisans and peasants forced various governments to open the political system

[59] Few articulated this belief more succinctly than Francisco Bilbao, who claimed that "progress consists in de-Hispanizing oneself." See Carlos M. Rama, *Historia de las relaciones culturales entre España y la América Latina: Siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1982), 101.

[60] While scholars have examined the gendered dimensions of U.S. racism against Latin Americans in the antebellum era, we know little about the gendered nature of Latin American ideologies of Latinity. For the U.S. case, see Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*.

[61] George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000* (New York, 2004), 109.

[62] *El Monitor Republicano*, July 9, 1848, as cited in Pérez, *España en el debate público mexicano*, 200. On the prevalence of large-scale rural revolts in mid-nineteenth-century Mexico, which, unlike those of the late colonial era, "were aggressive, rather than defensive," see John H. Coatsworth, "Patterns of Rural Rebellion in Latin America: Mexico in Comparative Perspective," in Friedrich Katz, ed., *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 21–62, here 55.

[63] Winthrop R. Wright, *Café con Leche: Race, Class, and National Image in Venezuela* (Austin, Tex., 1990), 34–36; and Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, 97.

[64] On how *cholos* were deemed "people of Indian roots or parentage whose culture, demeanor, and lifeways took on a more mestizo cast," see Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810–1910* (Cambridge, 2004), 128. On the Belzu regime, see Andrey Schelchkov, *La utopía social conservadora en Bolivia: El gobierno de Manuel Isidoro Belzu, 1848–1855* (La Paz, 2011).

to the non-white masses. This democratic opening represented in many ways a more successful counterpart to the short-lived European revolutions of 1848. Although the opening lasted for only a decade or so, it engendered far-reaching change, including the abolition of African slavery in most of Spanish America.[65] Nowhere was the opening more dramatic than in New Granada (present-day Colombia and Panama), where in 1853 the activism of the lower classes produced a constitution that established universal male suffrage with no exclusions based on property, literacy, or color.[66]

Given these challenges, Spanish American elites often sought to defend their power by claiming that "white" people were better fit for republican rule than those of color. Such a "republican racism" was strongly espoused by liberal proponents of a Latin race.[67] However loudly these elites supported democracy, they tended to believe that the reins of power should remain in the hands of the "white race." Thus a leading promoter of the Latin race, Mexico's *El Siglo XIX*, asserted that the "white race" was "destined to rule on earth."[68] To these liberals, the concept of a Latin race surely represented a clearer mark of whiteness than did the idea of a Hispanic American race. If the former highlighted "blood" ties with modern white Europeans, the latter implied racial mixing with allegedly inferior non-white groups. Elites' growing concern with whiteness was also noticeable in the way they stopped identifying their nations with pre-conquest indigenous cultures, such as the Aztec and Inca empires.[69]

[65] Mexico, Central America, Chile, and the Dominican Republic had abolished slavery in the 1820s, while Uruguay did so in 1842. Next were Ecuador (1851), New Granada (1852), Argentina (1853), Peru (1854), Venezuela (1854), Bolivia (1861), and Paraguay (1869). Slavery did not disappear from Spanish America until its abolition in Spanish Puerto Rico (1873) and Cuba (1886). The last American state to abolish slavery was Brazil (1888). Dates taken from Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, 57.

[66] See James E. Sanders, *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham, N.C., 2004); Eduardo Posada-Carbó, "New Granada and the European Revolutions of 1848," in Guy Thomson, *The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Americas* (London, 2002), 217–240; Margarita Pacheco, *La fiesta liberal en Cali* (Cali, 1992); David Sowell, *The Early Colombian Labor Movement: Artisans and Politics in Bogotá, 1832–1919* (Philadelphia, 1992); and Aims McGuinness, *Path of Empire: Panama and the California Gold Rush* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2008). Similarly liberal constitutions were promulgated in Peru (1856) and Mexico (1857). On popular mobilization in Peru and Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century, see Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Peter F. Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800–1857* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); and Vincent C. Peloso, "Liberals, Electoral Reform, and the Popular Vote in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Peru," in Vincent C. Peloso and Barbara A. Tenenbaum, eds., *Liberals, Politics, and Power: State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Athens, Ga., 1996), 186–211.

[67] The term "republican racism" comes from Laurent Dubois, "Inscribing Race in the Revolutionary French Antilles," in Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall, eds., *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France* (Durham, N.C., 2003), 95–107, here 96. Some elite conservatives who opposed the democratic opening in Latin America also embraced the concept of the Latin race. But while these conservatives often included non-whites in their definition of the Latin race, they followed conservative French proponents of the concept in claiming that the Latin race was not suited for democratic rule and that "Latin" nations thus required authoritarian rule. For Mexico, see Pérez, *España en el debate público mexicano*, 159; for Bolivia, see "España y las Repúblicas Hispano-Americanas," *La Epoca*, July 24, 1857; for Chile, see "Cual es la situación actual de las repúblicas del Centro y del Sud América," *Eco de la Opinion* (Sucre, Bolivia), July 23 and 27, 1853 (originally published in *El Mercurio* of Valparaiso, Chile).

[68] Cited in Pérez, *España en el debate público mexicano*, 203.

[69] According to Rebecca Earle, an elite-based "indianesque nationalism," which valorized pre-Columbian cultures but not contemporary Indians, reigned supreme in much of Spanish America from independence to the 1840s. Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham, N.C., 2007).

In sum, fear of U.S. expansion alone did not push elites to embrace the identity of a Latin race. They were also driven by their own fragile sense of whiteness.

What remains unclear is whether this concern was shaped by a similar sense of fragility affecting white peoples of the North Atlantic. European concerns had mainly to do with the fear of racial mixing, which stemmed from the recent creation of European settler colonies in regions with large non-white populations, especially Algeria and Australia.[70] In consequence, Europeans intensely debated the benefits and perils of miscegenation.[71] While Spanish American elites also discussed the effects of racial mixing, their fear of miscegenation was not as prevalent.[72] Nevertheless, the European debate might have led some proponents of a Latin race to share the growing French scorn for mixed races.[73] The "crisis of whiteness" in the United States in turn resulted primarily from the mass immigration of non-Anglo-Saxon Europeans (especially Catholic Irish and Germans) during the 1840s and 1850s.[74] This influx led U.S. nativists to imagine a new hierarchy of white races, with Protestant Anglo-Saxons deemed superior to the recent European arrivals. Such a fragmentation of whiteness did not occur in Spanish America. Still, elites' preference for the Latin race over the Hispanic American race might have been influenced by the new U.S. scheme of hierarchically ordered white races. More needs to be learned about this concern with whiteness across the Atlantic world. But we can safely say that it did not have to do with drawing a "global color line," as was the case at the turn of the twentieth century, when a transcontinental network sought to defend white supremacy.[75] In mid-nineteenth-century Spanish America, elite concerns with whiteness had more to do with upholding a hemispheric divide.

For the "Latin race" to become the basis of a geopolitical entity—Latin America—would take an extraordinary act: the decision by the U.S. government to recognize William Walker's filibuster regime in May 1856. This decision occurred after a long series of well-publicized incidents that Spanish Americans deemed acts of U.S. aggression. The most recent was the riot that drunken U.S. travelers had provoked in Panama City in April 1856.[76] Given the volatile state of U.S.-Latin American relations, an event other than U.S. recognition of the filibuster regime in Nicaragua might have triggered the rise of "Latin America." Yet it is no coincidence that this

[70] Christian Geulen, *Geschichte des Rassismus* (Munich, 2007), 69–75.

[71] E.g., Claude Blanckaert, "Of Monstrous Métis? Hybridity, Fear of Miscegenation, and Patriotism from Buffon to Paul Broca," in Peabody and Stovall, *The Color of Liberty*, 42–70, here 48; Staum, *Labeling People*; and Gregory D. Smithers, *Science, Sexuality, and Race in the United States and Australia, 1780s–1890s* (New York, 2009).

[72] E.g., Frank Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress: Elite Attitudes and the Indian in Colombia, 1750–1870," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 71, no. 1 (1991): 1–33, here 20–32.

[73] Edison, "Latinizing America," 162.

[74] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); the "crisis of whiteness" is mentioned on p. 38.

[75] Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge, 2008).

[76] On this riot, see McGuinness, *Path of Empire*; and Mercedes Chen Daley, "The Watermelon Riot: Cultural Encounters in Panama City, April 15, 1856," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (1990): 85–108.

recognition so profoundly impacted Spanish Americans, for it posed an unprecedented threat to the sovereignty of their nation-states.

Now a minor figure in U.S. history, Walker was in the 1850s perhaps the world's best-known agent of Manifest Destiny. Like other U.S. expansionists, he was attracted to Central America because the Gold Rush had turned the isthmus into a major transit for North Americans navigating between the two U.S. coasts. He also shared the belief of Napoleon III and others that the isthmus was destined to become the center of global trade.[77] In April 1855, Walker and fifty-seven filibusters sailed from San Francisco at the behest of Nicaragua's Liberal Party, which was embroiled in a civil war against the ruling Conservatives.[78] Within five months, his group had seized control of the country. This was the first—and only—time a U.S. filibuster expedition succeeded in Latin America. Walker's exploits electrified the U.S. public and were celebrated onstage from New York to San Francisco—in the Broadway musical *Nicaragua, or General Walker's Victories* and in the minstrel show *Nicaraguan State Secrets*.[79] The U.S. press deemed his conquest a testimony to Anglo-American racial superiority. In reality, Walker's men triumphed because they were supported by many ordinary Nicaraguans who viewed them as harbingers of "democracy" and "progress."[80] Once in power, Walker did not seek Nicaragua's annexation to the United States. Instead, he and his men went about building a self-styled empire that would be independent of the United States but controlled by U.S. settler colonists. They also sought to expand their empire by waging war against the other Central America states.

Since Walker believed that he could win this war only by securing recruits from the United States, he desperately sought U.S. diplomatic recognition. Such recognition would allow his regime to circumvent the Neutrality Act of 1818, which prohibited the recruitment of filibusters on U.S. soil. Yet President Pierce long resisted public pressure to legitimize a government led by what his attorney general called a "monomaniac buccaneer, robber and pirate."[81] Like other U.S. presidents, he deemed filibusterism an unruly force that undermined his administration's expansionist designs.[82] Eventually, the Democratic president yielded in a failed effort to secure his party's nomination for the upcoming presidential election. On May 14,

[77] "Nicaragua—Her Probabilities," *El Nicaraguense*, July 26, 1856. In 1846, the future French emperor Napoleon III claimed that "Nicaragua can become, better than Constantinople, the necessary route for the great commerce of the world"; see E. Bradford Burns, *Patriarch and Folk: The Emergence of Nicaragua, 1798–1858* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 161.

[78] On the Walker episode, see May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*; Burns, *Patriarch and Folk*, chap. 4; Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*; Alejandro Bolaños Geyer, *William Walker, el predestinado* (Managua, 1999); Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham, N.C., 2005), chap. 1; and Víctor Hugo Acuña Ortega, ed., *Filibusterismo y destino manifiesto en las Américas* (San José, 2010).

[79] May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, 71.

[80] On Walker's popular support in Nicaragua, see Michel Gobat, "Reflexiones sobre el encuentro de los nicaragüenses con el régimen filibustero de William Walker, 1855–1856," *Revista de Historia* 20–21 (2006): 71–87.

[81] Caleb Cushing as cited in John M. Belohlavek, *Broken Glass: Caleb Cushing and the Shattering of the Union* (Kent, Ohio, 2005), 267.

[82] On the U.S. government's ambivalent relationship with filibusterism, see Robert May, "The United States as Rogue State: Gunboat Persuasion, Citizen Marauders, and the Limits of Antebellum American Imperialism," in Lawrence Sondhaus and A. James Fuller, eds., *America, War and Power: Defining the State, 1775–2005* (New York, 2007), 29–63.

1856, Pierce officially received Walker's envoy, the Nicaraguan priest Agustín Vijil, in the White House. Although the administration's relations with Walker soured soon thereafter, the president never revoked his recognition, even once the filibuster regime had fallen apart after Central American armies captured Walker's capital of Granada in December 1856 (Walker and his men would hold out in Nicaragua for another five months).[83] When Pierce's successor, James Buchanan, took office in March 1857, few Spanish American governments believed that the new administration would end U.S. support for Walker. On the contrary, many feared that it could not be anything but a "filibuster government."[84]

Pierce's recognition of the Walker regime consolidated foreign views that the United States had become, to cite the British prime minister, a nation of "rogues."[85] Since governments in Europe and Latin America deemed filibusterism a flagrant violation of international law, they were outraged by Pierce's decision to embrace it as a legitimate form of U.S. expansion.[86] But they were even more concerned about Walker's popular support in the United States. "The people, the newspapers, the meetings," warned the Guatemalan foreign minister, "they all are for Walker, and they all talk about dispossessing the Indians and other races that people these countries in order to establish a North American government."[87] Many foreign observers rightly surmised that Walker's movement had become a national phenomenon. As Walker hoped, U.S. recognition of his regime swelled the flow of U.S. colonists to Nicaragua, with the majority coming from the North.[88] A U.S. shipping agent claimed that his company transported about 12,000 emigrants (including women and children) to Walker's realm.[89] This massive exodus underscored to Spanish Amer-

[83] After Vijil's return to Nicaragua on June 24, 1856, Walker nominated several envoys as his successor, but none of them were officially received by the Pierce administration. And then in October 1856, the State Department recalled the pro-Walker U.S. minister to Nicaragua, John Wheeler. Despite these acts, Pierce never officially nullified his recognition of the filibuster regime, and until the end of Walker's rule the Central American envoys in Washington repeatedly urged "the *non*-recognition of Walker as President of Nicaragua." See "Protest against Recognizing Walker," *New York Tribune*, December 5, 1856.

[84] Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica [hereafter ANCR], Relaciones Exteriores, caja 29, no. 12, Exp.: Correspondencia Luis Molina, Molina to Costa Rican Foreign Minister, February 19, 1857.

[85] Lord Palmerston to British Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon, Broadlands, December 31, 1857, reprinted in *Journal of Modern History* 3, no. 3 (1961): 290.

[86] On the international campaign against filibusterism, see Janice E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1994).

[87] Archivo General de Centro América, legajo 2499, Exp. 55376, Guatemalan Foreign Minister to Vice President of El Salvador, Guatemala City, June 19, 1856. The largest pro-Walker meeting took place in New York City on May 23, when a crowd of up to 20,000 gathered at City Hall Park to express their support for U.S. recognition of the filibuster regime; "The Nicaraguan Flag Unfurled," *New York Herald*, May 24, 1856.

[88] According to Alejandro Bolaños Geyer, Walker drew approximately the same number of followers from the South and the North: 48 percent of his men departed from New Orleans, while about 27 percent departed from New York and 24 percent from San Francisco; Bolaños Geyer, *William Walker: The Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny*, 5 vols. (St. Charles, Mo., 1988–1991), 5: 419. These figures underestimate the number of northern emigrants, for many of those who departed from New Orleans were northerners who had arrived there via the Mississippi River. That was true of at least a quarter of the 735 individuals registered by the New Orleans agency of Walker's emigration company in the fall of 1856; see Callender I. Fayssoux Collection of William Walker Papers, Tulane University, microfilm reel 2, folder 93.

[89] See U.S. National Archives, Record Group 76, Costa Rican Claims Convention of July 2, 1860, entry 436, box 1, claim 1 (Accessory Transit Co.), testimony of Joseph N. Scott, April–May 1861, 102.

ican observers how filibusterism had become a "social cancer" affecting the entire United States.[90]

South American officials worried above all that Pierce's recognition had intensified U.S. calls to invade their own countries. Many feared that the southward march of U.S. expansion by sea would not stop until, as the Peruvian foreign minister said, "the New World would be left with only one nation—the *American Union*."[91] Since Democrats vehemently supported southward expansion, their sweeping victory in the U.S. elections of November 1856 only intensified South American fears. So it was not Pierce's recognition of the Walker regime per se but rather filibusterism's mass appeal in the United States that led South American politicians and intellectuals to identify with Central Americans' plight and demand the creation of a continental alliance against U.S. expansion.

By pushing Spanish Americans to seek such an alliance, President Pierce helped them discover "Latin America." The term had actually been coined before Pierce recognized the Walker regime. In February 1856, a Costa Rican paper had denounced Walker as a threat to the entire "Latin-American race."[92] But in this case "Latin America" was used as an adjective, to identify a "race." Only after Pierce's recognition did Spanish Americans begin to use the term as a noun to denote a geopolitical entity. One such individual was the Chilean Francisco Bilbao, who invoked "Latin America" in a speech he gave in Paris on June 22, 1856, to South Americans protesting U.S. recognition of the Walker regime.[93] The term had already been mentioned a week earlier by the French journalist Félix Belly in a Paris-based journal, in which he demanded that the European powers respond to Pierce's act by actively supporting the Central American struggle against the filibusters.[94] Belly defined "Latin America" as a Latin entity because its population was Catholic and spoke a Romance language. But he also echoed European prejudices about Spanish America by claiming that Spanish colonialism had produced a population that was anti-entrepreneurial and incapable of democratic rule, and thus in need of European supervision. Belly's article had little resonance in Spanish America, though it might have introduced the term to Bilbao. If so, the Chilean transformed Belly's meaning of "Latin America" by valorizing the democratic virtues of Spanish Americans. Perhaps this helps explain why his speech had such a strong impact: it was published immediately in Paris and within several months appeared in Spanish American newspapers.[95]

Bilbao firmly linked the idea of Latin America with the call for a continental

[90] The Costa Rican envoy in Washington (Luis Molina) had deemed U.S. filibusterism a "social cancer" in December 1855. See William R. Manning, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831–1860*, 12 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1932–1939), 4: 498.

[91] Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú, Correspondencia B.7.4.1, caja 99, carpeta: 5–3, Peruvian Foreign Minister to Peruvian Minister to the U.S., Lima, July 11, 1856.

[92] "Centro América," *El Boletín*, February 9, 1856. Its author was most likely the editor of the paper, Lorenzo Montúfar, a Guatemalan émigré who became the foreign minister of Costa Rica in October 1856. The article was reprinted in the March 11, 1856, issue of Peru's leading newspaper, *El Comercio*. On Montúfar, see Víctor Hugo Acuña Ortega, "La historiografía liberal centroamericana: La obra de Lorenzo Montúfar (1823–1898)," *Historia y Sociedad* 12 (2006): 29–59.

[93] Rojas, "Bilbao y el hallazgo de América latina."

[94] Félix Belly, "Du conflit anglo-américain et de l'equilibre du nouveau-monde," *Revue contemporaine* 26 (June 15, 1856): 121–155, here 153.

[95] Bilbao's speech ("Iniciativa de la América: Idea de un Congreso Federal de las Repúblicas") was

alliance against U.S. and European expansionism. Like other South American liberals, he had long admired the United States. But once U.S. filibusterism received the backing of the White House, Bilbao deemed it a menacing "colossus" bent on exterminating the "Latin-American race."[96] His speech echoed a key change in the dominant South American view of Walker: the filibuster no longer represented a small, crazed group but instead embodied the expansionist spirit of the U.S. people. As he exclaimed, "Walker is the invasion, Walker is the conquest, Walker is the United States." Bilbao also attacked Europe. He warned of European designs on the Southern Hemisphere and denounced the post-1848 fall of democratic governments in the "Old World."[97] In his mind, Europe's reactionary turn made the Americas the world's vanguard of democratic republicanism. He thus insisted that Latin America disassociate itself from Europe as a whole—and not just from "backward" Spain. For Bilbao, the difference between the continent and both the United States and Europe was perhaps best marked by joining the terms "Latin" and "America."

Bilbao was hardly the only Spanish American to use the idea of Latin America to condemn U.S. recognition of the Walker regime. About the same time that he spoke in Paris, others were giving similar addresses across the Atlantic at public meetings calling for an alliance against the United States. The most prominent was the New Granadan Manuel Murillo Toro, presidential candidate of the Liberal opposition. In Bogotá on July 20, 1856, Murillo invoked the term "Latin-American race" to denounce "the extravagant ambition of the Anglo-American race."[98] Another important speaker was the Liberal senator Justo Arosemena.[99] Although he did not mention "Latin America" in his speech, he used the term nine days later in an article that attacked Pierce's recognition of the Walker regime. Arosemena emphasized that the Central American war against Walker formed part of a broader struggle of the "Latin race" to prevent the expansionist "Saxon race" and Europe's colonial powers from destroying what he called "Latin-American democracy."[100]

As the speeches of Bilbao, Torres, and Arosemena underscore, "Latin America" was linked to the idea of a continental democracy. This explains why initial proponents of the concept tended to be liberals who claimed to be waging a pro-democracy crusade against the "aristocratic" conservatives controlling many of the continent's governments. Yet Latin American liberalism of the era was anything but uniform, and it was shaped by regional peculiarities as well as by class and race.[101] It is thus striking that Bilbao, Arosemena, and others tended to define democracy

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republished in Peru's *El Comercio* on September 3, 1856; in Argentina's *El Nacional Argentino* on October 14, 1856; and in Mexico's *El Siglo XIX* on November 20, 1856.

[96] All quotes are from the version of the speech reprinted in Lastarria, Covarrubias, Santa María, and Mackenna, *Colección de ensayos i documentos relativos a la unión*, 275–299.

[97] Bilbao's fear of European imperialism was not unfounded; U.S. recognition of the Walker regime led the French ambassador in Mexico (Viscount Jean Alexis Gabriac) to propose that French and British troops help Mexican Conservatives establish a pro-European monarchy that would serve as a barrier to U.S. expansion. See Barker, *The French Experience in Mexico*, 151–154; and Lilia Díaz, ed., *Versión francesa de México: Informes diplomáticos (1853–1858)* (Mexico City, 1963), 328–342.

[98] This talk was reproduced in *El Comercio* (Lima), September 17, 1856.

[99] Tello, *Escritos de Justo Arosemena*, 254.

[100] "La cuestión americana i su importancia," *El Neogranadino* (Bogota), July 15 and 29, 1856, reprinted in Tello, *Escritos de Justo Arosemena*, 247–263; the term "Latin-American" appears in the issue of July 29. See also McGuinness, "Searching for 'Latin America,' " 99–102.

[101] E.g., Iván Jaksić and Eduardo Posada Carbó, eds., *Liberalismo y poder: Latinoamérica en el siglo*

in similar terms: universal male suffrage, republicanism, separation of church and state, the rule of law, federalism, and—in stark contrast to U.S. democracy—the abolition of slavery.

These liberals had good reason to underscore the anti-slavery bent of "Latin America," for the idea emerged at a critical moment in the history of slavery. On the one hand, slavery was abolished in many Spanish American countries in the early 1850s, a feat that allowed Arosemena, Bilbao, and other liberals to identify "Latin America" not just with democracy but also with the myth of racial equality that had been forged during the Spanish American wars of independence.[102] On the other hand, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 ensured that the United States became even more strongly identified with slavery. While this act spoke to southern efforts to spread slavery to the U.S. West, Latin Americans feared that it would facilitate the expansion of slavery to the Southern Hemisphere.

Yet what most perturbed Arosemena and other proponents of "Latin America" was U.S. expansion undertaken not in the name of slavery but under the banner of democracy, for the latter underpinned the most threatening form of U.S. expansion: filibusterism. True, scholars tend to associate filibusterism with U.S. efforts to expand slavery to Latin America.[103] At the time, however, many Latin Americans followed Juan Manuel Carrasco in believing that filibusterism sprang from the democratic institutions of the non-slaveholding U.S. North. And in fact, Walker long enjoyed strong support in the North. Only when his regime began to crumble did the filibuster embrace slavery. Up to that moment, even northern leaders of the Republican Party had valorized Walker as an anti-slavery expansionist.[104] Reinforcing this belief was the presence of "colored gentlemen" in the filibuster government and Walker's support among Nicaraguan mulattos.[105]

The case of Arosemena also reveals how elite concerns over whiteness undergirded "Latin America." In his written work, he implied that non-whites could form part of his Latin American polity—but only, as McGuinness argues, if they were "properly civilized and did not forget their place."[106] Arosemena's fear of non-whites was reinforced by the uprising of September 1856 in his hometown of Panama City. Unlike the more famous incident of April 1856, the September unrest targeted not

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XIX (Santiago de Chile, 2011); and Javier Fernández Sebastián, ed., *La aurora de la libertad: Los primeros liberalismos en el mundo iberoamericano* (Madrid, 2012).

[102] See, in particular, Marixa Lasso, *Myths of Harmony: Race and Republicanism during the Age of Revolution, Colombia, 1795–1831* (Pittsburgh, 2007).

[103] On slavery and filibusterism, see especially Robert E. May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854–1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 1973).

[104] As Senator James Doolittle from Wisconsin later admitted, he and other Republican leaders initially considered Walker to be "opposed to the institution of slavery," as the filibuster "had labored in California to make that a free-State, and to resist the introduction of slavery there." See *Congressional Globe*, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., February 11, 1858, 967.

[105] Julius Froebel, "The Nicaragua Question: Relative Values of Slave and Free Labor—Slavery Unsuited to Nicaragua," *New York Times*, March 7, 1856. On Walker's support among Nicaraguan mulattos, see Justin Wolfe, " 'The Cruel Whip': Race and Place in Nineteenth-Century Nicaragua," in Lowell Gudmundson and Justin Wolfe, eds., *Blacks and Blackness in Central America: Between Race and Place* (Durham, N.C., 2010), 177–208.

[106] McGuinness, *Path of Empire*, 163. See also Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress," 24, for how New Granadan elites of the era typically believed that sedentary Indians and Afro-Colombians could be "civilized." On Arosemena's elitist views, see Nils Castro, "Justo Arosemena, antiyanqui y latinoamericanista," in Castro, ed., *Justo Arosemena: Patria y federación* (Havana, 1977), 7–67, here 33–36.

U.S. expansionists but local elites. According to McGuinness, the uprising was instigated by poor people of color affiliated with Arosemena's Liberal Party who were seeking to prevent the ruling Conservatives from denying them an electoral victory.[107] Yet local elites, whether Conservative or Liberal, deemed the uprising not a defense of democracy but a race war of "blacks" against "whites." Not by chance, then, did Arosemena begin to use the term "Latin America" precisely when nonwhites were challenging the power of his class under the banner of democracy. To tame popular wrath against white elites like himself, Arosemena maintained that democratic development had to be led by the Latin race—a belief succinctly expressed in his use of the term "Latin-American democracy."

Ultimately, however, it was the call for a continental alliance against U.S. expansion that mainly motivated Spanish Americans on both sides of the Atlantic to imagine "Latin America" as a geopolitical community. This call was first heard in mid-1856 and became louder as more and more South Americans denounced their governments for their apparent refusal to join the Central American struggle against Walker. This refusal, a Chilean newspaper warned, only facilitated U.S. efforts "to obliterate the language and nationality of South Americans."[108] In reality, South American officials had been secretly hatching two plans for an alliance against U.S. expansion. The first—led by Chile, Peru, and Ecuador—produced the Continental Treaty of September 1856, which called for an anti-U.S. alliance of all South American states, including Brazil.[109] The second, more ambitious project was designed by Central and South American diplomats in Washington, D.C. These envoys began to plot their alliance in February 1856, when it became clear that Walker was striving to conquer the rest of Central America. On November 9, 1856, the envoys signed a treaty that called for an alliance among all states south of the Río Grande.[110] Its immediate objective was to secure South American aid for the war against Walker; its larger goal was to create a confederation strong enough to resist U.S. expansion into any part of the continent.[111]

This projected confederation initially included South America's main counterweight to U.S. expansion: Brazil.[112] And Brazil's envoy in Washington quickly became a leading participant in the secret meetings that culminated in the November treaty. Yet his superiors in Rio de Janeiro refused to support the alliance.[113] Al-

[107] McGuinness, *Path of Empire*, 164–172.

[108] *El Ferrocarril* (Santiago de Chile), quoted in "Sumario," *El Nacional Argentino*, October 9, 1856.

[109] On this treaty, see Gustave A. Nuermberger, "The Continental Treaties of 1856: An American Union 'Exclusive of the United States,' " *Hispanic American Historical Review* 20, no. 1 (1940): 32–55; Edmundo A. Heredia, "Intervencionismo, unidad latinoamericana y pensamiento liberal: La Liga Continental, 1856–1862," *Ciclos* 3, no. 4 (1993): 75–102; and Garibaldi, *La política exterior del Perú en la era de Ramón Castilla*, chap. 12.

[110] The treaty's original signatories represented all the Spanish American states with an envoy in Washington: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, New Granada, Peru, and Venezuela.

[111] The treaty also called for the creation of a continental congress, equal legal treatment of all citizens of member nations, and greater economic integration via the standardization of currency, legal documents, customs laws, and taxes. For a copy of the treaty, see Alberto Ulloa, ed., *Congresos Americanos de Lima*, 2 vols. (Lima, 1938), 1: 632–635.

[112] The envoys even wanted the Brazilian capital, Rio de Janeiro, to be the seat of the future Pan-Latin American Congress; see ANCR, Relaciones Exteriores, caja 27, no. 7, Exp.: Correspondencia de Luis Molina, Molina to Costa Rican Foreign Minister, New York, November 6, 1856.

[113] Brazilian Foreign Minister to Brazil's Minister to the United States, Rio de Janeiro, July 12, 1856, *Cadernos do CHDD* 1, no. 2 (2003): 409.

though the Brazilian empire still feared U.S. expansion into the Amazon basin, its leaders could not overcome their prejudice that the Spanish American republics were inherently unstable.[114] They also feared that any multilateral gathering would weaken Brazil's regional influence.[115] Because of Brazil's refusal to join the treaty, the Washington envoys had to change the name of their projected entity from the Confederation of the Independent States of Spanish and Portuguese America to the Confederation of All Hispanic-American States.[116]

The tenacious, if failed, effort of the Washington envoys to include Brazil indicates how the concept of a Latin race came to inform their geopolitical vision. Although the Washington treaty does not mention the term, its architects viewed the alliance as a defense of the region's Latin race. Not coincidentally did the Brazilian envoy in Washington invoke the concept of a Latin race in his attempt to have his superiors endorse the alliance.[117] Among the concept's strongest supporters was the envoy who spearheaded the Washington treaty: the Costa Rican Luis Molina. Although Molina had long idealized the United States as a "model republic," Pierce's recognition of the Walker regime and the filibuster's soaring popularity led him to conclude that the United States had become "a monstrous nation" bent on annihilating the Latin race.[118]

Key to the spread of "Latin America," then, was the realization by diplomats, politicians, and intellectuals of the region that much of the U.S. public backed what Guatemala's official paper called Walker's "work of extermination."[119] But just as important was South American support for the Central American war against Walker. This support was highly unusual: similar forms of transnational solidarity do not seem to have marked other anti-imperial struggles of the era, such as the 1857 Indian rebellion against British rule.[120]

Following the signing of the Washington treaty in November 1856, governmental and non-governmental actors in Central and South America undertook a diplomatic and public campaign on behalf of the anti-Walker alliance. This now-forgotten campaign consolidated the idea of Latin America throughout the hemisphere, for it was one thing to call for an anti-U.S. alliance, and another to realize it. Above all, the

[114] ANCR, Relaciones Exteriores, caja 27, Exp.: Correspondencia Luis Molina, Molina to Costa Rican Foreign Minister, Washington, November 19, 1856. See also José Marques Lisboa to Brazilian Foreign Minister, Paris, April 2, 1856; and João da Costa Rego Monteiro to Brazilian Foreign Minister, Valparaiso, May 26, 1856, *Cadernos do CHDD* 1, no. 2 (2003): 340–343, 343–349. This prejudice was shared by Brazil's leading newspaper; see "Retrospecto político do anno de 1856: América," *Jornal do Commercio*, January 2, 1857.

[115] E.g., Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen to Brazilian Foreign Minister, Madrid, September 24, 1856, *Cadernos do CHDD* 1, no. 2 (2003): 357–358. On Brazil's aversion to multilateralism, see Santos, *O Brasil entre a América e a Europa*.

[116] On the confederation's original name, see Molina to Costa Rican Foreign Minister, March 9, 1856, *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales de Costa Rica* 20, no. 1–6 (1956): 53.

[117] Francisco Xavier da Costa Aguiar d'Andrada to Brazilian Foreign Minister, Washington, March 17, 1856, *Cadernos do CHDD* 1, no. 2 (2003): 337–340.

[118] ANCR, Relaciones Exteriores, caja 29, Correspondencia Luis Molina, Molina to Costa Rican Foreign Minister, February 19, 1857.

[119] "Estados Unidos," *Gaceta de Guatemala*, July 5, 1856.

[120] On anti-imperial wars in mid-nineteenth-century Asia and Africa, see C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, Mass., 2004), 148–169.

envoys needed the legislatures in their own countries to ratify the Washington treaty. The envoys—and their superiors—also sought to strengthen the alliance by reaching out to South American states without a representative in Washington. Central American officials, in turn, wanted to ensure that ratification would lead South American governments to provide them with concrete support for the war against Walker.

The alliance remained a pressing issue for about a decade after Walker's 1857 expulsion from Nicaragua. This was partly because he clung to his imperial dreams until 1860, when the filibuster's third attempt to restore his tropical empire ended with his execution in Honduras. Yet it was also because U.S. expansion continued to threaten the Southern Hemisphere right up to the outbreak of the Civil War. The greatest act of aggression occurred in 1858–1859, when the largest U.S. fleet at the time (entailing nineteen warships and more than 2,000 troops) sailed up the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers to demand exaction from the Paraguayan government for an 1855 skirmish involving a U.S. Navy survey ship.[121] And if the Civil War put a temporary end to U.S. overseas expansion, it only intensified European intervention in the region. Not until the French occupation of Mexico ended in 1867 did Latin American interest in a continental alliance truly abate.

The diplomatic campaign on behalf of the anti-Walker alliance was promoted by governments throughout the region. Yet that of Costa Rica was far more active than the rest. Having spearheaded the war against Walker, Costa Ricans desperately sought South American aid in the form of cash, arms, warships, and troops. They also hoped that South Americans would join them in creating "military colonies" composed of "colonists from the Latin race" as a buffer against U.S. incursions.[122] As soon as it became clear that the Washington treaty would be finalized, Costa Rica sent two envoys to Peru and Chile—the major Pacific powers of the region—to promote the anti-Walker alliance.

Their mission was nothing less than "the defense of the Latin race that inhabits the New World."[123] The Costa Rican envoys met with local officials and congressmen, while reaching out, via letters, to all other governments in South America, including Brazil.[124] They also published articles in the local press that were reproduced elsewhere in South America. These articles raised the ire of U.S. diplomats, who attacked the Costa Ricans for stirring up "prejudices" against the United States.[125] The envoys obtained less economic aid than hoped, and only Chile sent a warship to Central America, which did not arrive until a month after Walker's surrender.[126] In addition, Brazil and Argentina refused to join the alliance, even

[121] José Fernández and Jennifer Zimnoch, "Paraguay and Uruguay: On the Periphery II," in Thomas M. Leonard, ed., *United States–Latin American Relations, 1850–1903: Establishing a Relationship* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1999), 226–249, here 228–233.

[122] ANCR, Relaciones Exteriores, caja 29, Exp.: Correspondencia de Luis Molina (folder 12), Molina to Costa Rican Foreign Minister, January 18, 1857.

[123] ANCR, Archivo Nacional #873, Costa Rican Foreign Minister to Foreign Ministers of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, San José, October 28, 1856.

[124] ANCR, Relaciones Exteriores, caja 28, no. 7, Exp.: Costa Rica, Toledo to Costa Rican Foreign Minister, San José, April 20, 1857.

[125] The publication of the views of the Costa Ricans in a Bolivian newspaper provoked the U.S. minister to write a letter denouncing their "calumnies"; see Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, 2: 48–59.

[126] Archivo Nacional de Chile, Fondo: Ministerio de la Marina, vol. 22, Chile's Foreign Minister to

though they shared the anti-U.S. sentiments that animated it.[127] Still, the Costa Rican envoys succeeded in adding Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador to the Washington treaty.[128] More important, they helped popularize the notion that Mexicans, Central Americans, and South Americans had a common identity as a besieged Latin race.[129] Underscoring their success, a U.S. envoy reported that "the dominant idea of all Spanish America is the preservation of the dominion and ascendancy of what they are pleased to call the 'raza latina' or latin race. It is the burden of all their official papers, almost the sole topic of their gazettes, [and] the moving cause of the spasmodic efforts . . . to form a union."[130]

If diplomats helped strengthen the idea of the Latin race throughout the Southern Hemisphere, those primarily responsible for spreading "Latin America" were liberal intellectuals and politicians campaigning on behalf of the anti-Walker alliance. The key role that these liberals played had much to do with the pro-democracy sentiments undergirding "Latin America." If many diplomats hoped to combat U.S. filibusterism with the help of Europe's Latin powers, most liberal proponents of a Latin race rejected an alliance with the anti-democratic regimes of monarchical Spain and imperial France. So even though diplomats eventually adopted the term "Latin America," non-state actors had already popularized its use. The key role that Spanish American intellectuals and politicians played in spreading "Latin America" echoes Rebecca Karl's account of how Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Filipino, and Vietnamese anti-imperialists sought to remake "Asia" in the early twentieth century.[131] Yet unlike their Asian counterparts, the Spanish Americans tended not to question the nation-state; nor did they link "Latin America" to the plurality of cultures in their region. On the contrary, they sought to defend their nation-states via the creation of a continental confederation and identified "Latin America" with one culture (Latinity).

This idea of Latin America first circulated among intellectuals and politicians of the nations that felt most threatened by U.S. expansion, that is, the Pacific states and those of the Caribbean rim. The concept was quickly picked up by their counterparts on the Atlantic seaboard of South America, and later by those in the interior.[132] At

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Minister of the Navy, Santiago, August 14, 1857. In December 1856, Peruvian warships were also ready to sail for Central America but ended up not going because of an anti-government revolt.

[127] For Argentina, see "Tratado de unión, y alianza entre Chile, Perú y Ecuador," *El Orden*, December 31, 1856, and "La Unión Sur Americana," *El Nacional Argentino*, May 4, 1857; for Brazil, see "Retrospecto político do anno de 1856: América," *Jornal do Commercio*, January 2, 1857. The Argentine government justified its refusal by claiming that U.S. expansion would be best countered through bilateral, not multilateral, means; see Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto (Argentina), Confederación, Libros Copiadores, Gobiernos extranjeros y cartas autógrafas, año 1856 al 1861, Argentine Foreign Minister to Venezuelan Foreign Minister, Paraná, May 20, 1857.

[128] Eventually Honduras and post-Walker Nicaragua joined this alliance. In the end, it included Mexico and all the Central and South American states except for Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

[129] Brazilian envoys, in rejecting the Costa Rican initiative, nonetheless acknowledged that Brazilians formed part of the "same Latin race"; see João da Costa Rego Monteiro to Toledo, Valparaiso, January 10, 1857, *Cadernos do CHDD*, 1, no 2 (2003): 392.

[130] William Carey Jones to U.S. Secretary of State, Realejo (Nicaragua), January 30, 1858, in Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, 4: 649.

[131] Karl, "Creating Asia."

[132] E.g., the term appeared in the Argentine press by October 1856 and in Bolivian papers by May 1857.

the same time, it made its way from Mexico to the United States, where it first appeared in Spanish-language newspapers that championed continental unity against U.S. expansion.[133] By the end of 1857, the idea of Latin America had spread throughout most of the hemisphere.[134] A key exception was Brazil, where the term likely did not appear until the early 1860s.[135] The concept of "Latin America" circulated largely via the press, usually in the form of articles promoting the anti-U.S. alliance, but also in the lines of poems that celebrated the new entity. The most famous such poem was "Las dos Américas," published in Paris by the New Granadan émigré José María Torres Caicedo.[136]

The concept of Latin America that took hold among Spanish American elites was defined mainly in opposition to a Protestant "Anglo-Saxon America" perceived to be bent on exterminating its Latin neighbors. Some elites also echoed French pan-Latinists by claiming that "Latin America" exuded a noble spiritualism against the crass materialism and individualism that allegedly imbued "Anglo-Saxon America"—a contrast that would be echoed later by José Enrique Rodó in his influential book *Ariel* (1900).[137] But "Latin America" also stood for a form of democratic republicanism perceived to be threatened by European imperialism. This explains why most Spanish American elites of the mid-nineteenth century did not consider the American colonies of Spain and France (Cuba, Puerto Rico, French Guiana, Martinique, and Guadeloupe) to be part of "Latin America." Finally, as Torres Caicedo's "Las dos Américas" underscores, the idea of Latin America was driven not just by fear of North Atlantic imperialism, but also by positive emotions such as Spanish Americans' pride in their struggle for independence, their admiration for the region's landscape, and their deep attachment to a "common language, religion . . . [and] traditions."[138]

Fear of imperial domination led some elites to identify "Latin America" as an economic unit that needed to defend its natural resources and artisanal industries

[133] Such was the case with *El Clamor Público* (Los Angeles) when it stated on June 13, 1857, "we vehemently desire, with the general interests of Latin America in mind, that in next December the Hispanic American Congress be inaugurated." The term first appeared in this newspaper three months earlier: "La actual situación—Sonora—Baja California—Ambición de la América del Norte, &c," *El Clamor Público*, March 21, 1857. On the paper's opposition to U.S. expansion into the Southern Hemisphere, see Nicolás Kanellos, "*El Clamor Público*: Resisting the American Empire," *California History* 84, no. 2 (2006/2007): 10–18.

[134] According to the Readex database of Latin American newspapers, the term did not appear in Cuba until 1859; see "Sr. Director del Diario de la Marina," *Diario de la Marina*, February 5, 1859. It remains unclear when it first appeared in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.

[135] Conclusion based on analysis of the era's Brazilian newspapers included in the Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira of the National Library of Brazil. One of the first Brazilian newspapers to mention the term "Latin America" was *Diario de Rio de Janeiro* in its issue of January 19, 1863.

[136] Published on February 15, 1857, by *El Correo de Ultramar*, Torres Caicedo's poem spread so quickly across the Atlantic that it appeared in Bolivia only three months later: see *La Epoca*, May 7, 1857. It was reprinted in Ardao, *Génesis de la idea y el nombre de América Latina*, 175–185. The poem is best known for stating that "the race of Latin America" was confronted with its "mortal enemy," the "Saxon race," which was "threatening to destroy its liberty." It suggests that Pierce's recognition of Walker's "piratical" regime turned the United States into a "perfidious nation." This betrayal, the poet insists, was even more hurtful for Latin Americans because they had long viewed the "giant of the North" as their "model." The poem also echoes prevailing Latin American fears that the European powers were "watching insidiously for the chance to extend [their] despotism" over the Southern Hemisphere. In the face of these external threats, Torres Caicedo stressed the urgency of a continental alliance.

[137] José Enrique Rodó, *Ariel* (Montevideo, 1900).

[138] Ardao, *Génesis de la idea y el nombre de América latina*, 184.

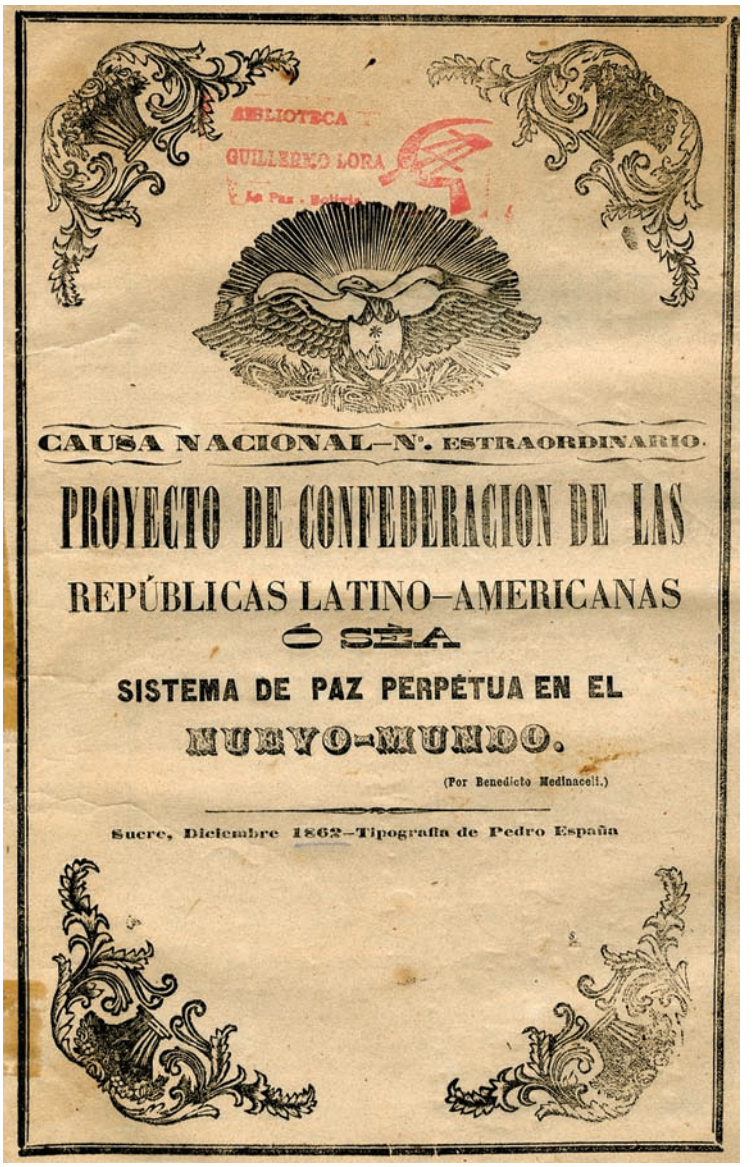

FIGURE 1: Title page of Benedicto Medinaceli, *Proyecto de confederación de las repúblicas latino-americanas, ó sèa, Sistema de paz perpétua en el Nuevo-Mundo* (Sucre, 1862), one of the first books to include "Latin America" in its title. The condor pictured just above the title is from the coat of arms that Medinaceli designed for his projected confederation, which he called La Unión Latino-Americana. The hammer and sickle emblem that is stamped (in red) at the top of the page indicates that this copy of the book once belonged to Guillermo Lora, a prominent Bolivian Trotskyist. Courtesy of the Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia (ABNB).

from the "rapacious" capitalists of the North Atlantic. An early proponent of this view was the Bolivian newspaper editor Benedicto Medinaceli, who published one of the first books to include "Latin America" in its title.[139] Like other promoters of the anti-Walker alliance, Medinaceli demanded the creation of a continental con-

[139] Benedicto Medinaceli, *Proyecto de confederación de las repúblicas latino-americanas, ó sèa, Sistema de paz perpétua en el Nuevo-Mundo* (Sucre, 1862). This book was based on five articles collectively titled

federation to defend Latin American democracy against U.S. and European expansion.[140] Above all, however, he attacked the North Atlantic powers for flooding Latin America with their manufactured goods and thus stymieing its industrialization. Articulating a geopolitical vision that presaged dependency theory, Medinaceli stressed that no "law of physics" exists in which "a territory in the Southern Hemisphere has to be dependent on another territory located in the Northern Hemisphere." In his mind, Latin America could break this dependency only via a protectionist policy of economic integration. For Medinaceli, then, "Latin America" was a community primarily because its inhabitants sought "commercial emancipation" from the North Atlantic powers. His economistic view of regional unity was rooted in the intense debate that protectionists had waged with local advocates for free trade.[141] Perhaps because protectionists lost this debate, their economistic views had a limited influence on elite conceptions of "Latin America," which was defined instead in cultural, political, and racial terms.

That most elites of the era associated "Latin America" not just with a Latin-based culture but also with democracy and whiteness is apparent in the way the concept was attacked by other Spanish Americans. Among the fiercest critics of the ideas animating "Latin America" were the Cuban exiles who participated in Walker's Nicaraguan enterprise in the hope that the filibuster would help liberate their island from Spanish rule.[142] Like Walker's Nicaraguan followers, these Cubans insisted that U.S. expansion only strengthened democracy in the Southern Hemisphere.[143] They rejected an emphasis on racial differences between North and South America. What really separated the two entities, they claimed, were competing political systems—popular democracy versus oligarchic despotism—that were rooted in distinct colonial legacies. For these Cubans, the "racial question" played up by Walker's Latin American foes represented a nefarious ploy on the part of monarchical Spain to block the spread of democracy in the Southern Hemisphere. The "racial question" undergirding the idea of Latin America also came under attack from South Americans who backed the anti-Walker alliance. The New Granadan intellectual José María Samper, for example, criticized many proponents of "Latin America" for linking democracy with whiteness. In his view, it was the "crossing" of the European, indigenous, and African races—not whiteness in the form of the Latin race—that made "Latin America" (a term he used sporadically) more democratic than it had

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"Gran proyecto de un congreso continental de las repúblicas Hispano-Americanas," which Medinaceli published in March and April 1857 in *El Celaje*.

[140] Medinaceli, *Proyecto de confederación de las repúblicas latino-americanas*, 54.

[141] On this debate, see, e.g., Ana María Lema, Rossana Barragán, Hans Huber, Iván Jiménez, Ximena Medinaceli, Seemin Qayum, and María Luisa Soux, eds., *Bosquejo del estado en que se halla la riqueza nacional de Bolivia con sus resultados, presentado al examen de la Nación por un Aldeano hijo de ella, año de 1830* (La Paz, 1994); Paul Gootenberg, *Imagining Development: Economic Ideas in Peru's "Fictitious Prosperity" of Guano, 1840–1880* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); and David Sowell, "Artisans and Tariff Reform: The Sociopolitical Consequences of Liberalism in Early Republican Spanish America," in Peloso and Tenenbaum, *Liberals, Politics, and Power*, 166–185.

[142] On pro-Walker Cubans, see Miguel Guzmán-Stein, "La guerra de Nicaragua y la independencia de Cuba (1855–1857)," *Revista semestral de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad de Costa Rica* 80 (2001): 121–139; and William O. Scroggs, "William Walker's Designs on Cuba," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 1, no. 2 (1914): 198–211.

[143] E.g., "Dos Palabras sobre las Repúblicas Hispano-Americanas," *El Nicaraguense*, June 14, 1856.

been in the past.[144] Samper was hardly the only Latin American intellectual of the era to defend a political project of racial mixture that came to be known as *mestizaje*.[145] Yet his views did not prevail among his peers, who typically identified "Latin America" with whiteness.[146]

The prevalent political, cultural, and racial definition of "Latin America" helps explain why it had both rigid and flexible boundaries.[147] This is especially evident in the distinct places occupied by Haiti and Brazil. Concern with whiteness led most Spanish American elites to steadfastly exclude Haiti from "Latin America," even though some Haitians considered themselves members of the Latin race.[148] An important exception was the Argentine jurist Carlos Calvo, who deemed Haiti a Latin American nation because of its French colonial heritage.[149] Early proponents of "Latin America" never explained their exclusion of Haiti—perhaps because it was all too obvious. After all, the specter of Haiti's anti-white revolution (1791–1804) continued to haunt elites in the 1850s. And this was not just in slaveholding Brazil, but also in countries where free peoples of African descent were challenging the power of white elites with their demands for equality.[150] As late as 1854, a priest from New Granada's Caribbean coast asserted that "the example of Haiti poses a constant threat to the white race."[151] This "threat" dissipated in subsequent decades, yet Spanish American elites continued to exclude the so-called black republic from "Latin America." Even in the early twentieth century, when the idea became less associated with whiteness, many still deemed Haiti "too black" for "Latin America."[152]

If Haiti highlights the rigid boundaries of "Latin America," the case of Brazil

[144] José María Samper, "España y Colombia," *La América* (Madrid), May 8, 1858. While this article mentions "Latin America," Samper's preferred term for what is now called Latin America was "Colombia." Samper's valorization of racial mixture did not preclude him from claiming that "whites" were superior to "Indians" and "Africans." In his opinion, the mixing of "whites" with peoples of color made the latter more white and thus more intelligent, entrepreneurial, and civilized. On Samper's views on race, see Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress"; Patricia D'Allemand, "Quimeras, contradicciones y ambigüedades en la ideología criolla del mestizaje: El caso de José María Samper," *Revista de Historia y Sociedad* 13 (2007): 45–63; and Larson, *Trials of Nation Making*, 75–87.

[145] For Mexico, see Pérez, *España en el debate público mexicano*, 208–212.

[146] This elite hostility toward "the ideal of racial fusion" was especially strong in the Andes (except for New Granada); see Larson, *Trials of Nation Making*, 66, 81–86. The rise of this ideal was also stymied by the weak identification of Andean non-whites with a mestizo identity; see Sarah C. Chambers, "Little Middle Ground: The Instability of a Mestizo Identity in the Andes, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in Appelbaum, Macpherson, and Rosemblatt, *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, 32–55.

[147] For a similar take on political boundaries, see Prasenjit Duara, *The Global and Regional in China's Nation-Formation* (New York, 2009), 111–115.

[148] For a Haitian official's claim that Haitians were "of the Latin race," see James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies; or, The Bow of Ulysses* (London, 1888), 280.

[149] Carlos Calvo, *Colección completa de los tratados, convenciones, capitulaciones, armisticios, y otros actos diplomáticos de todos los estados de la América latina*, 11 vols. (Paris, 1862–1869), 1: iii, xxxiii.

[150] João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, "Repercussions of the Haitian Revolution in Brazil, 1791–1850," in David Patrick Geggus and Norman Fiering, eds., *The World of the Haitian Revolution* (Bloomington, Ind., 2009), 284–313; Wright, *Café con Leche*, 37.

[151] Fray Joas Zeñey to Fray León Fajardo, Cartagena, March 2, 1854, *El Comercio* (Lima), May 23, 1854. On the political activism of African-descended peoples in the region of Cartagena during the early nineteenth century, see Aline Helg, *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770–1835* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004).

[152] In 1910 a Mexican newspaper had no qualms about excluding Haiti from Latin America; see "Carta de New York," *La Patria*, October 28, 1910. On the other hand, some of the era's most prominent proponents of "Latin America" did deem Haiti a Latin American nation; see, e.g., Manuel Ugarte, *El porvenir de la América latina* (Valencia, 1911), 100.

suggests that such boundaries could also be flexible. When the concept emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, most of its proponents excluded the South American hegemon.[153] Some did so because they identified "Latin America" with Spanish cultural heritage, whereas others considered Brazil "too black" for "Latin America."[154] Most, however, excluded Brazil because of its adherence to monarchical rule, for "Latin America" was deemed a republican entity.[155] Hence did Spanish American elites welcome Brazil into "Latin America" once it became a republic in 1889.[156] The 1890s were also the moment when elite Brazilians increasingly saw themselves as Latin Americans, with some linking the idea of Latin America with their efforts to whiten the Brazilian nation.[157] Nonetheless, their identification with "Latin America" remained weaker than that of Spanish American elites. This difference reflected the contradictory images that, as Ori Preuss shows, many elite Brazilians then held of Spanish America: while they came to admire the stability and prosperity achieved by "white" Argentina and Chile, they continued to abhor the "anarchy" of Spanish America's racially mixed nations.[158] Yet Brazil's weaker identification with "Latin America" was also rooted in the failure of its elites to embrace the idea in the late 1850s, when the campaign for an anti-Walker alliance had spread the idea throughout Spanish America.

Because the Brazilian empire sided with Europe's monarchical powers, its elites did not embrace "Latin America" in the 1860s, when the idea gained further strength with the upsurge in French and Spanish intervention.[159] To be sure, France's appropriation of "Latin America" to justify its imperial ambitions led Francisco Bilbao and other Spanish Americans to turn against the concept.[160] For them, "Latin America" had become, as Charles A. Hale notes, "a Napoleonic idea designed to restore 'absolutism' in the New World."[161] Still, the concept's original anti-imperial and democratic spirit not only endured but became more prevalent because of the threat posed by Europe's Latin powers. This was especially evident in Mexico, where the

[153] Some thought that Brazil should be included, but they were few and far between. See, e.g. Calvo, *Colección completa de los tratados, convenciones, capitulaciones, armisticios, y otros actos diplomáticos*, 1: iii, xxxiii (Calvo claimed that Latin America consisted of all American nations formerly colonized by Europe's "Latin" powers).

[154] For example, the Argentine intellectual Juan Bautista Alberdi proclaimed, "if the [white] Spanish of Latin America do not want to see their race gradually replaced with that of the Anglo-Saxons . . . neither do they want to . . . transform themselves into Luso-Americans with thick lips and dark skin." Alberdi, *Las disensiones de las Repúblicas del Plata y las maquinaciones del Brasil* (Montevideo, 1865), 26.

[155] E.g., Medinaceli, *Proyecto de confederación de las repúblicas latino-americanas*, 54.

[156] See, in particular, Ori Preuss, *Bridging the Island: Brazilians' Views of Spanish America and Themselves, 1865–1912* (Madrid, 2011), 47–48.

[157] Ibid., chaps. 2–3. A few elite Brazilians identified their country with "Latin America" well before 1889; see the note written by the Brazilian diplomat (and historian) Francisco Adolfo do Varnhagen to the Peruvian Foreign Minister in *El Peruano*, November 2, 1864; see also Preuss, *Bridging the Island*, 37–45.

[158] Preuss, *Bridging the Island*. This difference also reflected Brazil's stronger support for contemporary U.S. efforts to promote Pan-Americanism—a project of hemispheric unity that clashed with the anti-U.S. sentiments underpinning "Latin America"; see Wink, *Die Idee von Brasilien*, 246–250, and Bethell, "Brazil and 'Latin America,'" 465.

[159] France's principal imperialist act was to occupy Mexico (1862–1867), while Spain's main acts of aggression were to annex the Dominican Republic (1861–1865) and seize Peru's Chincha Islands (1864), which provoked a war with Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and Bolivia.

[160] Rojas, *Los cien nombres de América*, 367–368.

[161] Hale, "Political and Social Ideas," 228.

FIGURE 2: *Route Guide—Mexico/NY—Vicencio Marquez, 2003–2006* (Pedro Lasch, 2006). This image forms part of the *LATINO/A AMERICA* series by Pedro Lasch, a Mexican-born artist who has lived in the United States since the age of nineteen. In the fall of 2003, Lasch gave copies of his Latino/a America map of the Western Hemisphere to twenty Latin Americans planning to cross the Mexico-U.S. border. The travelers carried these pre-folded "Route Guides" with them throughout their journey to the United States. Upon reaching their final destination, the travelers mailed their worn and weathered maps back to Lasch, who subsequently displayed them in public exhibits. *Route Guide—Mexico/NY—Vicencio Marquez, 2003–2006* is the map carried by Vicencio Marquez. For Lasch, these well-traveled maps exemplify "a new 'Latinidad' that extends globally" and underscore how migratory flows between Latin America and the United States "are changing what 'America' means, and what it means to be 'American.' " See http://www.latinoaamerica.com/en. Courtesy of Pedro Lasch.

French occupation pushed liberal elites to increasingly identify with "Latin America."[162] And although the Civil War curbed U.S. expansionism, the Spanish American press continued to promote the idea of a Latin America constructed, as a Mexican paper stressed, "against the power of not only Europe but also the United States."[163] The French occupation even led some U.S. politicians to invoke the concept, albeit without acknowledging its anti-U.S. thrust. In perhaps the first mention of the term in the U.S. Congress, the chair of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs stated in 1864 that "the design of Europe extended to what is called Latin America" and insisted that the United States "meet this European influence in Latin America, not merely for the protection of commerce, but to preserve the Republican form of Government."[164]

The consolidation of "Latin America" in the 1860s was also evident in the publication of books by Spanish Americans who celebrated the original spirit of the concept. The most famous were those penned by South Americans in Paris.[165] Yet similar works appeared across the Atlantic. One example is Medinaceli's book from 1862. Another is a collection of poems that was published in Mexico by Manuel Corpancho, a Peruvian diplomat whose mission was to help local liberals resist the French occupiers.[166] Not coincidentally, Corpancho was a strong supporter of a "Latin American" confederation as envisioned by the 1856 treaty. The creation of such a confederation preoccupied delegates at the main regional gathering of the decade: the American Congress held in Lima in 1864–1865. Although the event took its name from the congress of 1847–1848, some of its leading proponents invoked "Latin America" to press their case for continental unity.[167] In the end, the congress failed to create a confederation of Latin American states. Still, the idea of Latin America became entrenched during this era of European expansionism (albeit without supplanting "América" and "Hispano-América")—and not only, as many scholars believe, with the post-1898 resurgence of U.S. intervention.

Yet the concept of "Latin America" remained highly elitist. This elitism was especially noticeable in the language the Costa Rican government used to rally the

[162] E.g., the leading Mexican liberal newspaper, *El Siglo XIX*, never mentioned the term "Latin America" in the year prior to the French invasion of late December 1861; in 1862 it mentioned the term at least fourteen times.

[163] "El Boletín Republicano," *Monitor Republicano*, November 6, 1867. Numerous Central and South American governments continued to fear U.S. expansion in the 1860s; see Robert Frazer, "The Role of the Lima Congress, 1864–1865, in the Development of Pan-Americanism," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 29, no. 3 (1949): 319–348, here 323–326.

[164] "XXXVIIIth Congress—First Session," *New York Tribune*, January 8, 1864; the chair who spoke these words was Henry Winter Davis, a Republican representative from Maryland.

[165] E.g., José María Torres Caicedo, *Unión Latino-Americana, pensamiento de Bolívar para formar una liga americana* (Paris, 1865); and Calvo, *Colección completa de los tratados, convenciones, capitulaciones, armisticios, y otros actos diplomáticos*.

[166] Manuel Nicolás Corpancho, *Flores del nuevo mundo: Tesoro del parnaso Americano: Compilación de poesías líricas de autores del presente siglo* (Mexico City, 1863). According to the *Monitor Republicano*, September 7, 1867, the book included an introduction by Corpancho on "lyrical poetry in Latin America." On Corpancho's mission to Mexico, see Garibaldi, *La política exterior del Perú en la era de Ramón Castilla*, chap. 16.

[167] Perhaps the most famous call was made by New Granada's president, Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, in September 1866, when he sent a circular to his counterparts elsewhere in the region; for a copy of this circular, see *Cadernos do CHDD* 2, no. 3 (2003): 257–259. Even Brazilian diplomats used the concept of Latin America in conjunction with the congress of 1864–1865; see "Legación Imperial del Brasil," *El Peruano*, November 2, 1864.

country's peasants, artisans, and indigenous communities to take up arms against Walker's filibusters. Even though Costa Rican officials were advocates of a Latin race and eventually of "Latin America," these were never the concepts they used to mobilize the masses—not even in 1860, in the face of the last major filibuster threat. Rather, they stressed the need to defend their nation's Catholicism against the Protestant "barbarians." And in fact, as was surely the case elsewhere in Spanish America, Catholic nationalism had greater appeal among the Costa Rican masses than the elitist concept of a Latin race. So although "Latin America" was linked with anti-imperialism and democracy, the concept gained widespread popularity only after it had shed its identification with whiteness. This did not occur until the early twentieth century, when the resurgence of U.S. interventionism led proponents of "Latin America" to increasingly associate the concept with the defense of the continent's mixed races.

Without President Pierce's recognition of the Walker regime and the subsequent Spanish American call for a continental alliance against U.S. overseas colonialism, the idea of Latin America might have met the same fate as the now-forgotten concept of Latin Africa. Both terms had racialized beginnings, yet only "Latin America" sprang from an anti-imperial impulse. This difference helps explain not only the staying power of "Latin America" but also why the idea has had global consequences, for example, in international law (especially the principle of non-intervention).[168] Another key factor is the pro-democracy discourse that underpinned "Latin America." True, the idea initially helped elites defend their fragile sense of whiteness and an exclusionary form of democracy. Hence they embraced the concept of Latin America and not that of a "*mestizo* America," which José Martí would invoke in his celebrated essay "Our America" (1891).[169] Yet the concept of Latin America was malleable enough that it eventually became identified with *mestizaje*, and thus with the myth of racial democracy. For much of the twentieth century, but especially after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, the concept was closely identified with leftist, anti-imperialist movements struggling for democracy and social justice.[170]

The history of "Latin America" suggests that geopolitical constructs can endure even in the absence of supranational polities, such as the confederation vainly called for by the proponents of the 1856 treaty. At the same time, it demonstrates that transnational anti-imperial solidarities can flourish in geopolitical spaces marked by nationalism. As Pankaj Mishra has shown for pan-Islamism in Asia and Bose for anticolonialism in the Indian Ocean, nationalism can complement ideologies of geopolitical unity directed against "Western" imperialism.[171] Still, "Latin America" was

[168] Jorge L. Esquirol, "Latin America," in Bardo Fassbender and Anne Peters, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of International Law* (Oxford, 2012), 553–577; and Greg Grandin, "The Liberal Traditions in the Americas: Rights, Sovereignty, and the Origins of Liberal Multilateralism," *American Historical Review* 117, no. 1 (February 2012): 68–91.

[169] On Martí's use of the term "*mestizo* America," see Susan Gillman, "*Ramona* in 'Our America,'" in Jeffrey Belnap and Raúl Fernández, eds., *José Martí's "Our America": From National to Hemispheric Cultural Studies* (Durham, N.C., 1998), 91–111.

[170] Rojas, *Los cien nombres de América*, 370–382.

[171] Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire*; Bose, *A Hundred Horizons*.

hardly "anti-Western," as Samuel Huntington and others would like us to think.[172] On the contrary, the idea of Latin America not only stemmed from a European concept but emerged in defense of an ideal that Huntington associates with the "West": democracy. Early proponents of "Latin America" perhaps drew on something akin to the "politics of anti-Westernism" that, according to Cemil Aydin, reshaped the meaning of "Asia" in the early twentieth century.[173] If so, they used such ideas not to attack the liberal values associated with the "West," but to counter the stubborn belief of North Atlantic ("Western") powers that other societies were incapable of becoming fully "civilized" on their own. Hence did these Latin Americans so adamantly denounce U.S. expansion undertaken in the name of democracy promotion.

If many Latin Americans still believe in the viability of "Latin America" as a democratic project for the twenty-first century, some take the opposite stance, claiming that the idea can never be freed from coloniality. As Walter Mignolo argues in an influential study, "'Latin' America carries . . . the weight of imperial ideology (Spanish, Portuguese, and French) as much as 'British' India carries the scar of the British Empire."[174] For this reason, Mignolo and others believe that the geopolitical entity "Latin America" needs to be reimagined in an entirely different way so that it can be truly decolonized and democratized. Following the lead of transnational indigenous movements, Mignolo has suggested that Latin America be remapped as "Abya-Yala," a Kuna Indian word that has been "adopted by the Indigenous people from Chile to Canada to mean 'Continent of Life.'"[175]

One way to decolonize Latin America might indeed be to erase the term from the global map. But it is also true that an anti-imperial and democratic ethos undergirded this geopolitical entity from the start. That this spirit is still alive is evident not just in the passionate *latinoamericanismo* of leftist leaders such as Venezuela's recently deceased Hugo Chávez, but also in the efforts of some Latina/o activists to remap the U.S.-Mexican borderlands—and perhaps the entire United States—as Latina/o America.[176] If nothing else, then, the current debate about the future of "Latin America" shows that geopolitical entities—just like nations—are historical constructs forged in the crucible of political struggle. Such entities are anything but static. Given the vast movement of Latina/os and Latin Americans between North and South America, perhaps it is not preposterous to imagine, as the image created by Pedro Lasch suggests, that one day the entire Western Hemisphere may be remapped as Latina/o America.

[172] According to Huntington, Latin America was not part of the "West"; see Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, 1996).

[173] Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York, 2007).

[174] Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, 146.

[175] Ibid., 166.

[176] E.g., José Quiroga, *Tropics of Desire: Interventions from Queer Latino America* (New York, 2000), 8.

Michel Gobat is Associate Professor of History at the University of Iowa. He is the author of *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Duke University Press, 2005). He is currently writing a book on Latin America's encounter with U.S. overseas settler colonialism during the mid-nineteenth-century era of global imperial expansion.