Key Events
As you read this chapter, look for the key events in the history of imperialism.
• Competition among European nations led to the partition of Africa.
• Colonial rule created a new social class of westernized intellectuals.
• British rule brought order and stability to India, but with its own set of costs.
• As a colonial power, the United States practiced many of the same imperialist policies as European nations.

The Impact Today
The events that occurred during this time period still impact our lives today.
• Rhodesia became the nation of Zimbabwe.
• India adopted a parliamentary form of government like that of Great Britain.
• The United States gave up rights to the Panama Canal Zone on December 31, 1999.

British family celebrating Christmas in India, c. 1900

1879  Zulu king meets with British ambassadors
1880  “New imperialism” begins
1884  France makes the Vietnam Empire a protectorate
1896  Britain and France agree to maintain Thailand as a buffer state
1898  The United States defeats Spain for control over the Philippines
1900  Virtually all of Southeast Asia is under European rule
1910  Emiliano Zapata leads peasant movement in Mexico

HISTORY

Chapter Overview
Visit the Glencoe World History Web site at wh.glencoe.com and click on Chapter 21–Chapter Overview to preview chapter information.
Livingstone in Africa

In 1841, the Scottish doctor and missionary David Livingstone began a series of journeys that took him through much of central and southern Africa. Livingstone was a gentle man whose goal was to find locations for Christian missions on behalf of the London Missionary Society. He took great delight in working with the African people.

Livingstone’s travels were not easy. Much of his journey was done by foot, canoe, or mule. He suffered at times from rheumatic fever, dysentery, and malaria. He survived an attack by armed warriors and a mutiny by his own servants.

Back in Great Britain, his exploits made Livingstone a national hero. His book Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa was a best-seller. People jammed into lecture halls to hear him speak of the beauty of Africa. As the London Journal reported, “Europe had always heard that the central regions of southern Africa were bleak and barren, heated by poisonous winds, infested by snakes . . . [but Livingstone spoke of] a high country, full of fruit trees, abounding in shade, watered by a perfect network of rivers.”

Livingstone tried to persuade his listeners that Britain needed to send both missionaries and merchants to Africa. Combining Christianity and commerce, he said, would achieve civilization for Africa.

Why It Matters

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Western colonialism spread throughout the non-Western world. Great Britain, Spain, Holland, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States competed for markets and raw materials for their expanding economies. By the end of the nineteenth century, virtually all of the peoples of Asia and Africa were under colonial rule. Although Latin America successfully resisted European control, it remained economically dependent on Europe and the United States.

History and You Territorial and trade dominance are among the primary goals of imperialist nations. Create a map of either Asia or Africa to help you understand how the various imperialists viewed those regions. Code the territories according to exports or European dominance.
In 1860, E. Douwes Dekker wrote a book on the Dutch colonial system on the island of Java. He said:

“The [Dutch government] compels [the Javanese farmer] to cultivate certain products on his land; it punishes him if he sells what he has produced to any purchaser but itself; and it fixes the price actually paid. The expenses of transport to Europe through a privileged trading company are high; the money paid to the chiefs for encouragement increases the prime cost; and because the entire trade must produce profit, that profit cannot be got in any other way than by paying the Javanese just enough to keep him from starving, which would lessen the producing power of the nation.”

—The World of Southeast Asia: Selected Historical Readings, Harry J. Benda and John A. Larkin, eds., 1967

Dekker, a Dutch colonial official, was critical of the havoc the Dutch had wreaked on the native peoples of Java.

The New Imperialism

In the nineteenth century, a new phase of Western expansion into Asia and Africa began. European nations began to view Asian and African societies as a source of industrial raw materials and a market for Western manufactured goods. No longer were Western gold and silver traded for cloves, pepper, tea,
and silk. Now the products of European factories were sent to Africa and Asia in return for oil, tin, rubber, and the other resources needed to fuel European industries.

Beginning in the 1880s, European states began an intense scramble for overseas territory. Imperialism, the extension of a nation’s power over other lands, was not new. Europeans had set up colonies in North and South America and trading posts around Africa and the Indian Ocean by the sixteenth century.

However, the imperialism of the late nineteenth century, called the “new imperialism” by some, was different. Earlier, European states had been content, especially in Africa and Asia, to set up a few trading posts where they could carry on trade and perhaps some missionary activity. Now they sought nothing less than direct control over vast territories.

Why did Westerners begin to increase their search for colonies after 1880? There was a strong economic motive. Capitalist states in the West were looking for both markets and raw materials, such as rubber, oil, and tin, for their industries. Europeans also wanted more direct control of the areas with the raw materials and markets.

The issue was not simply an economic one, however. European nation-states were involved in heated rivalries. As European affairs grew tense, states sought to acquire colonies abroad in order to gain an advantage over their rivals.

Colonies were also a source of national prestige. To some people, in fact, a nation could not be great without colonies. One German historian wrote that “all great nations in the fullness of their strength have the desire to set their mark upon barbarian lands and those who fail to participate in this great rivalry will play a pitiable role in time to come.”

In addition, imperialism was tied to social Darwinism and racism. Social Darwinists believed that in the struggle between nations, the fit are victorious. Racism is the belief that race determines traits and capabilities. Racists erroneously believe that particular races are superior or inferior. Racist beliefs have led to the use of military force against other nations. One British professor argued in 1900, “The path of progress is strewn with the wrecks of nations; traces are everywhere to be seen of the [slaughtered remains] of inferior races. Yet these dead people are, in very truth, the stepping stones on which mankind has arisen to the higher intellectual and deeper emotional life of today.”

Some Europeans took a more religious and humanitarian approach to imperialism. They argued that Europeans had a moral responsibility to civilize primitive people. They called this responsibility the “white man’s burden.”

These people believed that the nations of the West should help the nations of Asia and Africa. To some, this meant bringing the Christian message to the “heathen masses.” To others, it meant bringing the benefits of Western democracy and capitalism to these societies.

**Reading Check** Describing What were four primary motivations for the “new imperialism”?
Colonial Takeover in Southeast Asia

The new imperialism of the late nineteenth century was evident in Southeast Asia. In 1800, only two societies in this area were ruled by Europeans: the Spanish Philippines and the Dutch East Indies. By 1900, virtually the entire area was under Western rule.

Great Britain The process began with Great Britain. In 1819, Great Britain, under Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, founded a new colony on a small island at the tip of the Malay Peninsula called Singapore (“city of the lion”). In the new age of steamships, Singapore soon became a major stopping point for traffic going to or from China. Raffles was proud of his new city and wrote to a friend in England, “Here all is life and activity; and it would be difficult to name a place on the face of the globe with brighter prospects.”

During the next few decades, the British advance into Southeast Asia continued. Next to fall was the kingdom of Burma (modern Myanmar). Britain wanted control of Burma in order to protect its possessions in India. It also sought a land route through Burma into South China. Although the difficult terrain along the frontier between Burma and China caused this effort to fail, British activities in Burma led to the collapse of the Burmese monarchy. Britain soon established control over the entire country.

France The British advance into Burma was watched nervously by France, which had some missionaries operating in Vietnam. The French missionaries were persecuted by the local authorities, who viewed Christianity as a threat to Confucian doctrine. However, Vietnam failed to stop the Christian missionaries. Vietnamese internal rivalries divided the country into two separate governments, in the north and the south.

France was especially alarmed by British attempts to monopolize trade. To stop any British move into Vietnam, the French government decided in 1857 to force the Vietnamese to accept French protection.

The French eventually succeeded in making the Vietnamese ruler give up territories in the Mekong River delta. The French occupied the city of Saigon and, during the next 30 years, extended their control over the rest of the country. In 1884, France seized the city of Hanoi and made the Vietnamese Empire a French protectorate—a political unit that depends on another government for its protection.
In the 1880s, France extended protection over neighboring Cambodia, Annam, Tonkin, and Laos. By 1900, France included all of its new possessions in a new Union of French Indochina.

**Thailand—The Exception** After the French conquest of Indochina, Thailand was the only remaining free state in Southeast Asia. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, British and French rivalry threatened to place Thailand, too, under colonial rule.

Two remarkable rulers were able to prevent that from happening. One was King Mongkut (known to theatergoers as the king in *The King and I*), and the other was his son King Chulalongkorn. Both promoted Western learning and maintained friendly relations with the major European powers. In 1896, Britain and France agreed to maintain Thailand as an independent buffer state between their possessions in Southeast Asia.

**The United States** One final conquest in Southeast Asia occurred at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1898, during the Spanish-American War, United States naval forces under Commodore George Dewey defeated the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay.

Believing it was his moral obligation to “civilize” other parts of the world, President William McKinley decided to turn the Philippines, which had been under Spanish control, into an American colony. This action would also prevent the area from falling into the hands of the Japanese. In fact, the islands gave the United States a convenient jumping-off point for trade with China.

This mixture of moral idealism and desire for profit was reflected in a speech given in the Senate in January 1900 by Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana:

> “Mr. President, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever. And just beyond the Philippines are China’s unlimited markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not abandon an opportunity in [Asia]. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world.”

The Filipinos did not agree with the American senator. Emilio Aguinaldo (ah•gee•NAHL•doh) was the leader of a movement for independence in the Philippines. He began his revolt against the Spanish. When the United States acquired the Philippines, Aguinaldo continued the revolt and set himself up as the president of the Republic of the Philippines. Led by Aguinaldo, the guerrilla forces fought bitterly against the United States troops to establish their independence. However, the United States defeated the guerrilla forces, and President McKinley had his stepping-stone to the rich markets of China.

**Colonial Regimes in Southeast Asia**

Western powers governed their new colonial empires by either indirect or direct rule. Their chief goals were to exploit the natural resources of these lands and open up markets for their own manufactured goods. To justify their actions, they often spoke of bringing the blessings of Western civilizations to their colonial subjects.
**Indirect and Direct Rule** Sometimes, a colonial power could realize its goals most easily through cooperation with local political elites. In these cases, indirect rule was used. Local rulers were allowed to maintain their positions of authority and status in a new colonial setting.

In Southeast Asia, colonial powers, wherever possible, tried to work with local elites. This made it easier to gain access to the region’s natural resources. Indirect rule also lowered the cost of government, because fewer officials had to be trained. Moreover, indirect rule had less effect on local culture.

One example of indirect rule was in the Dutch East Indies. Officials of the Dutch East India Company allowed local landed aristocrats in the Dutch East Indies to control local government. These local elites maintained law and order and collected taxes in return for a payment from the Dutch East India Company.

Indirect rule, then, was convenient and cost less. Indirect rule was not always possible, however, especially when local elites resisted the foreign conquest. In such cases, the local elites were removed from power and replaced with a new set of officials brought from the mother country. This system is called direct rule.

In Burma, for example, the monarchy staunchly opposed colonial rule. As a result, Great Britain abolished the monarchy and administered the country directly through its colonial government in India.

In Indochina, France used both direct and indirect rule. It imposed direct rule on the southern provinces in the Mekong delta, which had been ceded to France as a colony after the first war in 1858 to 1860. The northern parts of Vietnam, seized in the 1880s, were governed as a protectorate. The emperor still ruled from his palace in Hue, but he had little power.

To justify their conquests, Western powers had spoken of bringing the blessings of advanced Western civilization to their colonial subjects. Many colonial powers, for example, spoke of introducing representative institutions and educating the native peoples in the democratic process. However, many Westerners came to fear the idea of native peoples (especially educated ones) being allowed political rights.

**Colonial Economies** The colonial powers did not want their colonists to develop their own industries. Thus, colonial policy stressed the export of raw materials—teak wood from Burma; rubber and tin from Malaya; spices, tea, coffee, and palm oil from the East Indies; and sugar from the Philippines. In many cases, this policy led to some form of plantation agriculture, in which peasants worked as wage laborers on plantations owned by foreign investors.

Plantation owners kept the wages of their workers at poverty levels in order to increase the owners’ profits. Conditions on plantations were often so unhealthy that thousands died. In addition, high taxes levied by colonial governments to pay for their administrative costs were a heavy burden for peasants.

Nevertheless, colonial rule did bring some benefits to Southeast Asia. It led to the beginnings of a modern economic system. Colonial governments built railroads, highways, and other structures that could benefit native peoples as well as colonials. The development of an export market helped to create an entrepreneurial class in rural areas. In the Dutch East Indies, for example, small growers of rubber, palm oil, coffee, tea, and spices began to share in the profits of the colonial enterprise. Most of the profits, however, were taken back to the colonial mother country.

**Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did colonial powers prefer that colonists not develop their own industries?

**Resistance to Colonial Rule**

Many subject peoples in Southeast Asia were quite unhappy with being governed by Western powers. At first, resistance came from the existing ruling class. In Burma, for example, the monarch himself fought Western domination. By contrast, in Vietnam, after
the emperor had agreed to French control of his country, a number of government officials set up an organization called Can Vuoug ("Save the King"). They fought against the French without the emperor’s help.

Sometimes, resistance to Western control took the form of peasant revolts. Under colonial rule, peasants were often driven off the land to make way for plantation agriculture. Angry peasants then vented their anger at the foreign invaders. For example, in Burma, in 1930, the Buddhist monk Saya San led a peasant uprising against the British colonial regime many years after the regime had completed its takeover.

Early resistance movements failed, overcome by Western powers. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a new kind of resistance began to emerge that was based on the force of nationalism. The leaders were often a new class that had been created by colonial rule: westernized intellectuals in the cities.

In many cases, this new urban middle class—composed of merchants, clerks, students, and professionals—had been educated in Western-style schools. They were the first generation of Asians to understand the institutions and values of the West. Many spoke Western languages and worked in jobs connected with the colonial regimes.

At first, many of the leaders of these movements did not focus clearly on the idea of nationhood but simply tried to defend the economic interests or religious beliefs of the natives. In Burma, for example, the first expression of modern nationalism came from students at the University of Rangoon. They formed an organization to protest against official persecution of the Buddhist religion and British lack of respect for local religious traditions. They protested against British arrogance and failure to observe local customs in Buddhist temples. Not until the 1930s, however, did these resistance movements begin to demand national independence.

**Reading Check**

Summarizing Explain three forms of resistance to Western domination.

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**SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

1. Define imperialism, protectorate, indirect rule, direct rule.

2. Identify King Mongkut, King Chulalongkorn, Commodore George Dewey, Emilio Aguinaldo.


4. Explain how the "new imperialism" differed from old imperialism. Also explain how imperialism came to be associated with social Darwinism.

5. List some of the benefits colonial rule brought to Southeast Asia. Do you think these benefits outweighed the disadvantages? Why or why not?

**Critical Thinking**

6. Making Inferences Why were resistance movements often led by natives who had lived and been educated in the West? Initially, what were the goals of these resistance leaders? How did their goals change over time?

7. Cause and Effect In a diagram like the one below, identify the effects of colonial rule on the colonies.

**Analyzing Visuals**

8. Describe the situation being endured by the Vietnamese prisoners in the photo above. Be specific in your description of their confinement. Based on your reading of the living conditions in Southeast Asian colonies at this time, do you think you would have risked this type of punishment if you had been in their position? Explain.

**Writing About History**

9. Expository Writing Use varied media to determine what the United States’s relationship is today with the Philippines and how Filipino political groups view this relationship. Write an essay based on your findings.
IN 1862, THE VIETNAMESE emperor granted three provinces in southern Vietnam to the French. In outrage, many patriotic Vietnamese military officers and government officials appealed to their fellow Vietnamese to rise up and resist the foreigners. The following lines were written in 1864.

“This is a general proclamation addressed to the scholars and the people. . . . Our people are now suffering through a period of anarchy and disorder. . . . Let us now consider our situation with the French today. We are separated from them by thousands of mountains and seas. By hundreds of differences in our daily customs. Although they were very confident in their copper battleships surmounted by chimneys, although they had a large quantity of steel rifles and lead bullets, these things did not prevent the loss of some of their best generals in these last years, when they attacked our frontier in hundreds of battles. . . . You, officials of the country, do not let your resistance to the enemy be blunted by the peaceful stand of the court, do not take the lead from the three subjected provinces and leave hatred unavenged. So many years of labor, of energy, of suffering—shall we now abandon all? Rather, we should go to the far ends of jungles or to the high peaks of mountains in search of heroes.

Rather, we should go to the shores of the sea in search of talented men. Do not envy the scholars who now become provincial or district magistrates [in the French administration]. They are decay, garbage, filth, swine. Do not imitate some who hire themselves out to the enemy. They are idiots, fools, lackeys, scoundrels.”

—An Appeal to Vietnamese Citizens to Resist the French

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. What do the writers of the quoted lines want their fellow Vietnamese to do?
2. What are the writer’s feelings toward those who worked with the French administration? How can you tell?
**Main Ideas**
- Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal placed virtually all of Africa under European rule.
- Native peoples sought an end to colonial rule.

**Key Terms**
- annex, indigenous

**People to Identify**
- Muhammad Ali, David Livingstone, Henry Stanley, Zulu

**Places to Locate**
- Suez Canal, Rhodesia, Union of South Africa

**Preview Questions**
1. What new class of Africans developed in many African nations?
2. What was the relationship between the Boers and the Zulu?

**Reading Strategy**

**Categorizing Information** Make a chart like the one below showing what countries controlled what parts of Africa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Controlling Country</th>
<th>Part of Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North Africa (including Egypt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Voices from the Past**

A southern African king, Lo Bengula, wrote a letter to Queen Victoria about how he had been cheated:

"Some time ago a party of men came to my country, the principal one appearing to be a man called Rudd. They asked me for a place to dig for gold, and said they would give me certain things for the right to do so. I told them to bring what they could give and I would show them what I would give. A document was written and presented to me for signature. I asked what it contained, and was told that in it were my words and the words of those men. I put my hand to it. About three months afterwards I heard from other sources that I had given by the document the right to all the minerals of my country."

—*The Imperialism Reader*, Louis L. Snyder, ed., 1962

Europeans did not hesitate to deceive native Africans in order to get African lands.

**West Africa**

Before 1880, Europeans controlled little of the African continent directly. They were content to let African rulers and merchants represent European interests. Between 1880 and 1900, however, fed by intense rivalries among themselves, Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal placed virtually all of Africa under European rule.
West Africa had been particularly affected by the slave trade, but that had begun to decline by 1800. By 1808, both Great Britain and the United States had declared the slave trade illegal. Other European countries eventually followed suit. Slavery was abolished in the United States in 1865 and in Cuba and Brazil within the next 25 years. By the 1890s, slavery had been abolished in all major countries of the world.

As slavery declined, Europe’s interest in other forms of trade increased. Europeans sold textiles and other manufactured goods in exchange for such West African natural resources as peanuts, timber, hides, and palm oil. Encouraged by this growing trade, European governments began to push for a more permanent presence along the coast. Early in the nineteenth century, the British set up settlements along the Gold Coast and in Sierra Leone.

The growing European presence in West Africa led to increasing tensions with African governments in the area. For a long time, most African states were able to maintain their independence. However, in 1874, Great Britain stepped in and annexed (incorporated a country within a state) the west coastal states as the first British colony of Gold Coast. At about the same time, Britain established a protectorate over...
warring groups in Nigeria. By 1900, France had added the huge area of French West Africa to its colonial empire. This left France in control of the largest part of West Africa. In addition, Germany controlled Togo, Cameroon, and German Southwest Africa (now Namibia) along the west coast.

**Reading Check**  
**Explaining** Why did the slave trade decline in the 1800s?

**North Africa**

Egypt had been part of the Ottoman Empire, but as Ottoman rule declined, the Egyptians sought their independence. In 1805, an officer of the Ottoman army named Muhammad Ali seized power and established a separate Egyptian state.

During the next 30 years, Muhammad Ali introduced a series of reforms to bring Egypt into the modern world. He modernized the army, set up a public school system, and helped create small industries in refined sugar, textiles, munitions, and ships.

The growing economic importance of the Nile Valley in Egypt, along with the development of steamships, gave Europeans the desire to build a canal east of Cairo to connect the Mediterranean and Red Seas. In 1854, a French entrepreneur, Ferdinand de Lesseps, signed a contract to begin building the Suez Canal. The canal was completed in 1869.

The British took an active interest in Egypt after the Suez Canal was opened. Believing that the canal was its “lifeline to India,” Great Britain sought as much control as possible over the canal area. In 1875, Britain bought Egypt’s share in the Suez Canal. When an Egyptian army revolt against foreign influence broke out in 1881, Britain suppressed the revolt. Egypt became a British protectorate in 1915.

The British believed that they should also control the Sudan, south of Egypt, to protect their interests in Egypt and the Suez Canal. In 1881, Muslim cleric Muhammad Ahmad, known as the Mahdi (“the rightly guided one,” in Arabic), launched a revolt that brought much of the Sudan under his control.

Britain sent a military force under General Charles Gordon to restore Egyptian authority over the Sudan. However, Gordon’s army was wiped out at Khartoum in 1885 by Muhammad Ahmad’s troops. Gordon himself died in the battle. Not until 1898 were British troops able to seize the Sudan.

The French also had colonies in North Africa. In 1879, after 150,000 French people had settled in the region of Algeria, the French government established control there. Two years later, France imposed a protectorate on neighboring Tunisia. In 1912, France established a protectorate over much of Morocco.

Italy joined in the competition for colonies in North Africa by attempting to take over Ethiopia, but Italian forces were defeated by Ethiopia in 1896. Italy now was the only European state defeated by an African state. This humiliating loss led Italy to try again in 1911. Italy invaded and seized Turkish Tripoli, which it renamed Libya.

**Reading Check**  
**Explaining** Great Britain was determined to have complete control of the Suez Canal. Why?

**Central Africa**

Territories in Central Africa were also added to the list of European colonies. Explorers aroused
Before 1850, the fear of disease was a major factor in keeping Europeans from moving into Africa. Especially frightening was malaria, an often fatal disease spread by parasites. Malaria is especially devastating in tropical and subtropical regions, which offer good conditions for breeding the mosquitoes that carry and spread the malaria parasites.

By 1850, European doctors had learned how to treat malaria with quinine, a drug that greatly reduced the death rate from the disease. Quinine is a bitter drug obtained from the bark of the cinchona tree, which is native to the slopes of the Andes in South America. The Indians of Peru were the first people to use the bark of the cinchona tree to treat malaria.

The Dutch took the cinchona tree and began to grow it in the East Indies. The East Indies eventually became the chief source of quinine. With the use of quinine and other medicines, Europeans felt more secure about moving into Africa.

The Role of Quinine

Read the passage and answer the following questions:

1. What fears do we have today that prevent or inhibit exploration or research?
2. What technological advances would be required to overcome those fears?

Examining

What effect did King Leopold II of Belgium have on European colonization of the Congo River basin?

East Africa

By 1875, Britain and Germany had become the chief rivals in East Africa. Germany came late to the ranks of the imperialist powers. At first, the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck had downplayed the importance of colonies. As more and more Germans called for a German empire, however, Bismarck became a convert to colonialism. As he expressed it, “All this colonial business is a sham, but we need it for the elections.”
In addition to its West African holdings, Germany tried to develop colonies in East Africa. Most of East Africa had not yet been claimed by any other power. However, the British were also interested in the area because control of East Africa would connect the British Empire in Africa from South Africa to Egypt. Portugal and Belgium also claimed parts of East Africa.

To settle these conflicting claims, the Berlin Conference was held in 1884. The conference gave official recognition to both British and German claims for territory in East Africa. Portugal received a clear claim on Mozambique. No African delegates were present at this conference, which carved up their continent.

Reading Check Evaluating What was significant about the Berlin Conference in 1884?

South Africa

Nowhere in Africa did the European presence grow more rapidly than in the south. By 1865, the total white population of the area had risen to nearly two hundred thousand people.

The Boers, or Afrikaners—as the descendants of the original Dutch settlers were called—had occupied Cape Town and surrounding areas in South Africa since the seventeenth century. During the Napoleonic Wars, however, the British seized these lands from the Dutch. Afterward, the British encouraged settlers to come to what they called Cape Colony.

In the 1830s, disgusted with British rule, the Boers fled northward on the Great Trek to the region between the Orange and Vaal (VAHL) Rivers and to the region north of the Vaal River. In these areas, the Boers formed two independent republics—the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (later called the South African Republic). The Boers, who believed white superiority was ordained by God, put many of the indigenous (native to a region) peoples in these areas on reservations.

The Boers had frequently battled the indigenous Zulu people. In the early nineteenth century, the

Opposing Viewpoints

Who Benefited from the New Imperialism?

Europeans justified colonization of Africa and Asia in many ways. Native peoples viewed the takeover of their lands differently. Rudyard Kipling and Edward Morel were British journalists who held opposing viewpoints about imperialism.

―Take up the White Man’s burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives’ needs;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child. . . .
Take up the White Man’s burden—
And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly;) toward the light: —
‘Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?’

—Rudyard Kipling, 1899
*The White Man’s Burden*

―It is [the Africans] who carry the ‘Black man’s burden. . . .’ In hewing out for himself a fixed abode in Africa, the white man has massacred the African in heaps. . . .
Zulu, under a talented ruler named Shaka, had carved out their own empire. After Shaka’s death, the Zulu remained powerful. Finally, in the late 1800s, the British became involved in conflicts with the Zulu, and the Zulu were defeated.

In the 1880s, British policy in South Africa was largely set by Cecil Rhodes. Rhodes had founded diamond and gold companies that had made him a fortune. He gained control of a territory north of the Transvaal, which he named Rhodesia after himself.

Rhodes was a great champion of British expansion. He said once, “I think what [God] would like me to do is to paint as much of Africa British red as possible.” One of Rhodes’s goals was to create a series of British colonies “from the Cape to Cairo”—all linked by a railroad.

Rhodes’s ambitions eventually led to his downfall in 1896. The British government forced him to resign as prime minister of Cape Colony after discovering that he planned to overthrow the Boer government of the South African Republic without his government’s approval. The British action was too late to avoid a war between the British and the Boers, however.

This war, called the Boer War, dragged on from 1899 to 1902. Fierce guerrilla resistance by the Boers angered the British. They responded by burning crops and herding more than 150,000 Boer women and children into detention camps, where lack of food caused 26,000 deaths. Eventually, the vastly larger British army won.

In 1910, the British created an independent Union of South Africa, which combined the old Cape Colony and the Boer republics. The Union of South Africa would be a self-governing nation within the British Empire. To appease the Boers, the British agreed that only whites would vote.

Reading Check

1. What was the impact of imperialism on the colonized territories in Africa, according to Morel?
2. Quote lines in Rudyard Kipling’s poem that reflect his view of colonized peoples. What values did Kipling assume his readers shared with him?

Colonial Rule in Africa

By 1914, Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal had divided up Africa. Only Liberia, which had been created as a homeland for freed United States slaves, and Ethiopia remained free states. Native peoples who dared to resist were simply devastated by the superior military force of the Europeans.

As was true in Southeast Asia, most European governments ruled their new territories in Africa with the least effort and expense possible. Indirect rule meant relying on existing political elites and institutions. The British especially followed this approach. At first, in some areas, the British simply asked a local ruler to accept British authority and to fly the British flag over official buildings.

The concept of indirect rule was introduced in the Islamic state of Sokoto, in northern Nigeria, in 1900. This system of indirect rule in Sokoto had one good feature: it did not disrupt local customs and institutions. However, it did have some unfortunate consequences.

The system was basically a fraud because British administrators made all major decisions. The native authorities served chiefly to enforce those decisions. Another problem was that indirect rule kept the old African elite in power. Such a policy provided few opportunities for ambitious and talented young Africans from outside the old elite. In this way British indirect rule sowed the seeds for class and tribal tensions, which erupted after independence came in the twentieth century.
Most other European nations governed their African possessions through a form of direct rule. This was true in the French colonies. At the top was a French official, usually known as a governor-general. He was appointed from Paris and governed with the aid of a bureaucracy in the capital city of the colony.

The French ideal was to assimilate African subjects into French culture rather than preserve native traditions. Africans were eligible to run for office and even serve in the French National Assembly in Paris. A few were appointed to high positions in the colonial administration.

**Reading Check** Comparing How did the French system of colonial rule differ from that of Great Britain?

**Rise of African Nationalism**

As in Southeast Asia, a new class of leaders emerged in Africa by the beginning of the twentieth century. Educated in colonial schools or in Western nations, they were the first generation of Africans to know a great deal about the West.

On the one hand, the members of this new class admired Western culture and sometimes disliked the ways of their own countries. They were eager to introduce Western ideas and institutions into their own societies.

On the other hand, many came to resent the foreigners and their arrogant contempt for African peoples. These intellectuals recognized the gap between theory and practice in colonial policy. Westerners had exalted democracy, equality, and political freedom but did not apply these values in the colonies.

There were few democratic institutions. Native peoples could have only low-paying jobs in the colonial bureaucracy. To many Africans, colonialism had meant the loss of their farmlands or employment on plantations or in factories run by foreigners.

Middle-class Africans did not suffer as much as poor African peasant plantation workers. However, members of the middle class also had complaints. They usually qualified only for menial jobs in the government or business. Even then, their salaries were lower than those of Europeans in similar jobs.

Europeans expressed their superiority over Africans in other ways. Segregated clubs, schools, and churches were set up as more European officials brought their wives and began to raise families. Europeans also had a habit of addressing Africans by their first names or calling an adult male “boy.”

Such conditions led many members of the new urban educated class to feel great confusion toward their colonial masters and the civilization the colonists represented. The educated Africans were willing to admit the superiority of many aspects of Western culture. However, these intellectuals fiercely hated colonial rule and were determined to assert their own nationality and cultural destiny. Out of this mixture of hopes and resentments emerged the first stirrings of modern nationalism in Africa.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, resentment turned to action. Across Africa, native peoples began to organize political parties and movements seeking the end of foreign rule.

**Reading Check** Evaluating Why were many African intellectuals frustrated by colonial policy?
Evaluating a Web Site

Why Learn This Skill?

Your little sister has developed a strange rash on her back, so you decide to check the Internet to see whether or not it might be chicken pox and how the rash should be treated. When you look for a Web site, however, you find dozens, and they are all giving different advice. How do you determine which site is giving the most accurate and up-to-date information?

The Internet has become a valuable research tool. It is convenient to use and contains plentiful information. Unfortunately, some Web site information is not necessarily correct or reliable. When using the Internet as a research tool, the user must distinguish between quality information and inaccurate or incomplete information.

Learning the Skill

To evaluate a Web site, ask yourself the following questions:

• Where does the site originate? If it is a university, a well-known organization or agency, or a respected publication, then the information is likely to be trustworthy.
• Are the facts on the site documented? Where did this information originally come from? Is the author clearly identified?
• Are the links to other parts of the site appropriate? Do they take you to information that helps you learn more about the subject?
• Is more than one source used for background information within the site? If so, does the site contain a bibliography?
• When was the last time the site was updated?
• Does the site explore the topic in-depth?
• Does the site contain links to other useful and up-to-date resources? Although many legitimate sites have products to sell, some sites are more interested in sales than in providing accurate information.
• Is the information easy to access? Is it properly labeled?
• Is the design appealing?

Practicing the Skill

Visit the Web site about Mohandas Gandhi at http://www.mkgandhi.org featured on this page. Then, answer the following questions.

1. Who is the author or sponsor of the Web site?
2. What information does the home page link you to? Are the links appropriate to the topic?
3. What sources were used for the information contained on the site? When was it last updated?
4. Does the site explore the topic in-depth? Why or why not?
5. Are there links to other useful sources and are they up-to-date?
6. Is the design of the site appealing? Why or why not? When was Gandhi born? How easy or difficult was it to locate this information?

Applying the Skill

Comparing Web Sites Locate two other Web sites that provide information about Mohandas Gandhi. Evaluate each one for accuracy and usefulness, and then compare them to the site featured above (http://www.mkgandhi.org).
In October 1869, James Gordon Bennett, son of the publisher of the New York Herald, met with reporter Henry M. Stanley in the Grand Hotel in Paris. “Go and find him wherever you may hear that he is and get what news you can of him,” Bennett told Stanley. “And perhaps the old man may be in want; take enough with you to help him should he require it. Of course, you will act according to your own plans, and do what you think best—but find Livingstone!”

The man Stanley was supposed to find was known and admired both for his achievements as an explorer and for his dedicated efforts to end the slave trade. Since going out to Africa in 1840 as a 27-year-old medical missionary, David Livingstone had covered thousands of miles of territory previously unexplored by Europeans. Sometimes he traveled by canoe or on the back of an ox, but mostly he went on foot. In the early years he traveled with his wife, Mary, and their young children.

Though he suffered from malaria and had lost the use of his left arm after being attacked by a wounded lion, Livingstone remained determined. He made detailed notes and reports, which he sent to London whenever he could. The information he sent was used to revise the maps of Africa.

All the exploration that Livingstone did in the mid-1850s had one goal: to find a navigable river that would open the center of Africa to legitimate European commerce and to Christianity. In so doing, Livingstone hoped to drive out the slave trade, an evil that he called “this open sore of the world.”

In the spring of 1852, Livingstone sent his family back to England. Then, starting from Cape Town, South Africa, he trekked north to the Upper Zambezi and then west to Luanda on the Atlantic coast (in present-day Angola). After a brief rest, he headed to Quelimane on the east coast (now in Mozambique). The trip of some 4,300 miles (6,919 km) finally ended in May 1856. Livingstone traveled with a small party of 25 or so
Africans. In contrast to other European expedition leaders, the missionary regarded the men not as his servants but as his friends. His loyalty to them was returned manyfold.

The expedition traveled light, although Livingstone always carried his navigational instruments, a Bible, a nautical almanac, and his journal. He also carried a magic lantern (an early slide projector) and slides, so he could tell Bible stories to any who would listen. On the second half of the journey, from the interior to the mouth of the Zambezi River, Livingstone became the first European to see the spectacular waterfall the Africans called “Mosi-oa-tunya” (the smoke that thunders).

Livingstone named it Victoria Falls, after the British queen.

When the missionary got back to Britain in late 1856, he found that word of his explorations and discoveries had preceded him. He was now famous. The following year Livingstone turned his journals into a book—Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa—which quickly became a best-seller. In his book and at every public opportunity he could find, he raised the issue of the slave trade. He condemned those who tolerated it and profited by it.

When he sailed back to Africa in the spring of 1858, Dr. Livingstone was the newly appointed British Con-
sul for the East Coast of Africa. With substantial government backing and far more equipment and personnel than he had previously enjoyed, he continued to explore the Zambezi and its tributaries. His wife sailed with him but then fell ill and went to rest in Cape Town.

Despite its advantages, this expedition was plagued with problems. There was quarreling among Livingstone’s six European assistants, and the fuel-eating boat he had been given was more trouble than it was worth.

Worst of all was the discovery that on his previous trip down the Zambezi he had bypassed a bend in the river that held big problems. When the party headed upriver from the east coast of Africa, they came around that bend only to be stopped by the Quebrabasa Rapids. Try as he might—and Livingstone insisted on trying, until everyone in his expedition was exhausted—this was an obstacle no boat could get past.

Even though his efforts were adding daily to European knowledge of the African interior and would be of benefit to all who came after him, Livingstone was frustrated at not finding the navigable river that would surely bring an end to the slave trade.

Then, tragedy struck. In early 1862, Mary Livingstone was well enough to join her husband, but a few months later she fell ill again. In April, she died. Grief stricken, Livingstone threw himself into his work, but his increased efforts did not pay off. In July 1863, the expedition was ordered to return home.

Livingstone stayed in Britain only long enough to write a second book, *The Zambezi and Its Tributaries*, and to drum up support for his next expedition. On his third and final trip to Africa, the great explorer disappeared.

Henry Stanley left to carry out his employer’s orders soon after the Paris meeting. He took a roundabout route to Africa to cover other stories for the *Herald*, including the opening of the Suez Canal in Egypt. James Bennett hoped that by delaying Stanley’s arrival in Africa, the reporter would come back with definite news of Livingstone—that he was dead or alive and not just missing. (“If he is dead,” Bennett had said, “bring back every possible proof of his death.”)

By the time Stanley finally reached Africa in late January 1871, Livingstone had been struggling with near-starvation, chronic dysentery, sore-covered feet, and hostile groups. Of the 60 men he had started with, only a small handful remained, including Chuma, a freed slave, and
Susi, a Yao servant. Both of them had been with him for years. Desperately sick and without medicine, Livingstone had been repeatedly nursed back to relatively good health by Arab slave traders. The passionate anti-slavery activist owed his life to the very people he wished to banish from Africa.

In July 1871, ill and discouraged, Livingstone headed to Ujiji, on the east bank of Lake Tanganyika. He expected to find several months’ worth of supplies, medicine, and mail waiting for him there. In late October, “reduced to a skeleton,” as he put it, he hobbled into the village—only to learn that all his supplies and precious medicines had been plundered by the headman of the place. Extremely depressed, he felt he couldn’t do anything but wait for a miracle.

Several weeks later, the miracle arrived under a waving Stars and Stripes. Henry Stanley could hardly contain his emotion as he approached the pale white man. “I would have run to him, only I was a coward in the presence of such a mob,” Stanley later wrote, “[I] would have embraced him, only he being an Englishman, I did not know how he would receive me; so I did what cowardice and false pride suggested was the best thing—walked deliberately to him, took off my hat, and said: ‘Dr. Livingstone, I presume?’ ‘Yes,’ said he, with a kind smile, lifting his cap slightly.”

Stanley remained with Livingstone for five months and explored Lake Tanganyika with him. That trip proved that Burton was wrong about the Ruzizi, the river he thought led from the lake to become the Nile. Livingstone was now determined to prove his own theory, which was that the Nile originated with the headwaters of a river called the Lualaba. (As it turns out, the Lualaba is actually part of the Congo River system. Speke was right all along: The Nile’s source is Lake Victoria.)

Unable to persuade the older man to return to Britain, Stanley left in March 1872. Reaching the coast in May, his news of finding Livingstone reached Europe and America in August. At about that time, Livingstone received the fresh supplies and men that Stanley had promised to send back to him. He promptly set off toward Lakes Tanganyika and Bangweulu.

The old explorer’s will was great, but his long-suffering body was no longer up to the demands of the trip. By April 22, 1873, he was being carried in a litter. On the night of April 30, in the village of Chitambo, Susi helped him to bed, last speaking with him at midnight. The next morning, his companions found Livingstone kneeling by the bed, his head in his hands in prayer—dead.

Resolving that Livingstone should be returned to Britain, they buried his heart under a large tree near the hut where he died. Then they filled the body with salt, smeared it with brandy, and left it to dry for two weeks before beginning the long journey to the coast. Eight months and a thousand miles (1,609 km) later, they delivered Livingstone’s body to the British Consul in Zanzibar. April 18, 1874, was declared a national day of mourning and all of London came to a halt as Dr. Livingstone was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Livingstone made two significant crossings of the African continent—from the interior west to Luanda in 1853–1854, and then east to Quelimane in 1855–1856. On his expedition in 1866 to find the source of the Nile, illness and other difficulties hampered his progress. Henry Stanley found him at Ujiji on November 10, 1871.

The all-too familiar sight of captives in chains drove Livingstone to denounce the collaboration of European authorities in the widespread traffic in slaves.

Henry Morton Stanley developed a great interest in exploring Africa after he found Livingstone.

1. What were two of Dr. Livingstone’s reasons for exploring Africa?
2. What waterfall did Livingstone encounter on his trip from the interior to the mouth of the Zambezi River?
3. What were the main obstacles that Livingstone faced?
Guide to Reading

Main Ideas
• British rule brought stability to India but destroyed native industries and degraded Indians.
• Mohandas Gandhi advocated non-violent resistance to gain Indian independence from Great Britain.

Key Terms
sepoy, viceroy

Identify
Queen Victoria, Indian National Congress, Mohandas Gandhi

Places to Locate
Kanpur, Mumbai

Preview Questions
1. What was the goal of the Indian National Congress?
2. Why was India called the “Jewel in the Crown” of the Empress of India?

Reading Strategy
Cause and Effect Using a chart like the one below, identify some causes and effects of British influence on India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British textiles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotton crops</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>railroad, telegraph, telephone services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voices from the Past

Thomas Macaulay, who was charged with the task of introducing an educational system into India, decided that it would use the English language:

“...What, then shall the language of education be? [Some] maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing?... It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in short textbooks used at preparatory schools in England.”

—A New History of India, Stanley Wolpert, 1977

Macaulay’s attitude reflects the sense of superiority that the British brought with them to India.

The Sepoy Mutiny

Over the course of the eighteenth century, British power in India had increased while the power of the Mogul rulers had declined (see Chapter 15). A trading company, the British East India Company, was given power by the British government to become actively involved in India’s political and military affairs.

To rule India, the British East India Company had its own soldiers and forts. It also hired Indian soldiers, known as sepoy, to protect the company’s interests in the region.

In 1857, a growing Indian distrust of the British led to a revolt. The revolt was known to the British as the Great Rebellion or the Sepoy Mutiny. Indians call it the First War of Independence.
As a result of the uprising, the British Parliament transferred the powers of the East India Company directly to the British government. In 1876, the title of Empress of India was bestowed on Queen Victoria. The people of India were now her colonial subjects, and India became her “Jewel in the Crown.”

The major immediate cause of the revolt was the spread of a rumor that the British were issuing their Indian troops new bullets that were greased with cow and pig fat. The cow was sacred to Hindus; the pig was taboo to Muslims. A group of sepoys at an army post near Delhi refused to load their rifles with the new bullets. When the British arrested them, the sepoys went on a rampage and killed 50 European men, women, and children.

From this beginning, the revolt quickly spread. Within a year, however, Indian troops loyal to the British, along with fresh British troops, had crushed the rebellion. Although Indian troops fought bravely and outnumbered the British by 240,000 to 40,000, they were not well organized. Rivalries between Hindus and Muslims kept Indians from working together.

Atrocities were terrible on both sides. At Kanpur (Cawnpore), Indians armed with swords and knives massacred two hundred defenseless women and children in a building known as the House of the Ladies. When the British recaptured Kanpur, they took their revenge before executing the Indians.

As a result of the uprising, the British Parliament transferred the powers of the East India Company directly to the British government. In 1876, the title of Empress of India was bestowed on Queen Victoria. The people of India were now her colonial subjects, and India became her “Jewel in the Crown.”

**Reading Check**

Describing What were two effects of the Great Rebellion? The British government ruled India directly through a British official known as a viceroy (a governor who ruled as a representative of a monarch), who was assisted by a British civil service staff. This staff of about 3,500 officials ruled almost 300 million people, the largest colonial population in the world. British rule involved both benefits and costs for Indians.
**Benefits of British Rule**  
British rule in India had several benefits for subjects. It brought order and stability to a society that had been badly divided by civil war. It also led to a fairly honest and efficient government.

Through the efforts of the British administrator and historian Lord Thomas Macaulay, a new school system was set up. Its goal was to train Indian children to serve in the government and army. The new system served only elite, upper-class Indians, however. Ninety percent of the population remained illiterate.

Railroads, the telegraph, and a postal service were introduced to India shortly after they appeared in Great Britain. The first rail network, from Calcutta to Delhi, was begun in 1839 and opened in 1853. By 1900, 25,000 miles (40,225 km) of railroads crisscrossed India. *(See page 997 to read excerpts from Dada-bhai Naroji’s The Impact of British Rule in India in the Primary Sources Library.)*

**Costs of British Rule**  
The Indian people, however, paid a high price for the peace and stability brought by British rule. Perhaps the greatest cost was economic. British entrepreneurs and a small number of Indians reaped financial benefits from British rule, but it brought hardship to millions of others in both the cities and the countryside. British manufactured goods destroyed local industries. The introduction of British textiles put thousands of women out of work and severely damaged the Indian textile industry.

In rural areas, the British sent the zamindars to collect taxes. The British believed that using these local officials would make it easier to collect taxes from the peasants. However, the zamindars in India took advantage of their new authority. They increased taxes and forced the less fortunate peasants to become tenants or lose their land entirely. Peasant unrest grew.

The British also encouraged many farmers to switch from growing food to growing cotton. As a result, food supplies could not keep up with the growing population. Between 1800 and 1900, thirty million Indians died of starvation.

Finally, British rule was degrading, even for the newly educated upper classes, who benefited the
most from it. The best jobs and the best housing were reserved for Britons. Although many British colonial officials sincerely tried to improve the lot of the people in India, British arrogance cut deeply into the pride of many Indians.

Despite their education, the Indians were never considered equals of the British. Lord Kitchener, one of Britain’s military commanders in India, said, “It is this consciousness of the inherent superiority of the European which has won for us India. However well educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may prove himself, I believe that no rank we can bestow on him would cause him to be considered an equal of the British officer.”

The British also showed disrespect for India’s cultural heritage. The Taj Mahal, for example, a tomb for the beloved wife of an Indian ruler, became a favorite site for English weddings and parties. Many party-goers even brought hammers to chip off pieces as souvenirs. British racial attitudes led to the rise of an Indian nationalist movement.

**An Indian Nationalist Movement**

The first Indian nationalists were upper class and English-educated. Many of them were from urban areas, such as Mumbai (then called Bombay), Chennai (Madras), and Calcutta. Some were trained in British law and were members of the civil service.

At first, many preferred reform to revolution, but the slow pace of reform convinced many Indian nationalists that relying on British goodwill was futile. In 1885, a small group of Indians met in Mumbai to form the Indian National Congress (INC). The INC did not demand immediate independence but did call for a share in the governing process.

The INC had difficulties because of religious differences. The goal of the INC was to seek independence for all Indians, regardless of class or religious background. However, many of its leaders were Hindu and reflected Hindu concerns. Eventually, Muslims began to call for the creation of a separate Muslim League to represent the interests of the millions of Muslims in Indian society.

In 1915, the return of a young Hindu from South Africa brought new life to India’s struggle for

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**Reading Check**

**Examining** How was British rule degrading to Indians?

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Many British officials had a high standard of living and were expected to have a large number of servants. One woman wrote in 1882: “It is one of the social duties of Indian life that you must keep three servants to do the work of one.” A well-to-do family had at least 25 servants. Even bachelors had at least a dozen. Indians served as cooks, maids, butlers, gardeners, tailors, and nursemaids for the children. All household servants wore uniforms—usually white with bands on their turbans—and went barefoot in the house.
independence. **Mohandas Gandhi** was born in 1869 in Gujarat, in western India. He studied in London and became a lawyer. In 1893, he went to South Africa to work in a law firm serving Indian workers there. He soon became aware of the racial exploitation of Indians living in South Africa.

On his return home to India, Gandhi became active in the independence movement. Using his experience in South Africa, he set up a movement based on nonviolent resistance. Its aim was to force the British to improve the lot of the poor and grant independence to India. Ultimately, Gandhi’s movement would lead to Indian independence.

**Summarizing** What were the two goals of Mohandas Gandhi?

### Colonial Indian Culture

The love-hate tension in India that arose from British domination led to a cultural, as well as a political, awakening. The cultural revival began in the early nineteenth century with the creation of a British college in Calcutta. A local publishing house was opened. It issued textbooks on a variety of subjects, including the sciences, Sanskrit, and Western literature. The publisher also printed grammars and dictionaries in the various Indian languages.

This revival soon spread to other regions of India, leading to a search for modern literary expression and a new national identity. Indian novelists and poets began writing historical romances and epics. Some wrote in English, but most were uncomfortable with a borrowed colonial language. They preferred to use their own regional tongues.

The most illustrious Indian author was Rabindranath Tagore. A great writer and poet, Tagore was also a social reformer, spiritual leader, educator, philosopher, singer, painter, and international spokesperson for the moral concerns of his age. He liked to invite the great thinkers of the time to his country estate. There he set up a school that became an international university.

Tagore’s life mission was to promote pride in a national Indian consciousness in the face of British domination. He wrote a widely read novel in which he portrayed the love-hate relationship of India toward its colonial mentor. The novel depicted a country that admired and imitated the British model while also agonizing over how it could establish a modern identity separate from that of Great Britain.

Tagore, however, was more than an Indian nationalist. His life’s work was one long prayer for human dignity, world peace, and the mutual understanding and union of East and West. As he once said, “It is my conviction that my countrymen will truly gain their India by fighting against the education that teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity.”

**Comparing** How did the nationalist movement parallel cultural developments in India?

### SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

**Checking for Understanding**

1. Define sepoy, viceroy.
2. Identify Queen Victoria, Indian National Congress, Mohandas Gandhi.
3. Locate Kanpur, Mumbai.
4. Explain why the Muslim League was created. What were the advantages of its formation? What were the disadvantages?
5. List the economic costs to the Indian people that resulted from India being ruled by the British. What benefits to the Indian population, if any, resulted from British rule?

**Critical Thinking**

6. Predict Consequences Many British lived in India for decades. Do you think living in India would have changed British attitudes toward Indians? Explain.

7. Organizing Information Draw a graph like the example below to show the percentage of India’s population that died of starvation in the 1800s.

**Analyzing Visuals**

8. Interpret the messages conveyed by the two images on page 669. Describe your reactions to the paintings. Why might your reactions be the same as or different from reactions of English teenagers viewing these paintings in the late 1800s?

**Writing About History**

9. Descriptive Writing Imagine you are a member of India’s upper-class. You have just attended a reception at the home of a British official. Describe in writing your impressions of the home, making a comparison to your own residence.
Chapter 21: The Height of Imperialism

Section 4: Nation Building in Latin America

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas
- Latin American countries served as a source of raw materials for Europe and the United States.
- Because land remained the basis of wealth and power, landed elites dominated Latin American countries.

Key Terms
creole, peninsulare, mestizo, Monroe Doctrine, caudillo

People to Identify
José de San Martín, Simón Bolívar, Antonio López de Santa Anna, Benito Juárez

Places to Locate
Puerto Rico, Panama Canal, Haiti, Nicaragua

Preview Question
1. How did the American Revolution inspire political changes in Latin America?

Reading Strategy
Compare and Contrast
Create a Venn diagram comparing and contrasting colonial rule in Africa and in Latin America.

Preview of Events
1800 1805 1810 1815 1820 1825 1830
1810 Mexico experiences its first revolt
1821 Mexico declares independence
1825 Most of Latin America becomes independent

Voices from the Past

On August 15, 1818, Simón Bolívar issued a proclamation to the people of New Granada (present-day Colombia):

Granadans! America’s day is come; no human power can stay the course of nature guided by the hand of Providence. Join your efforts to those of your brothers: Venezuela marches with me to free you, as in past years you marched with me to free Venezuela. Already our advance guard fills whole provinces of your territory with the luster of its arms; and the same advance guard, powerfully aided, will hurl the destroyed of New Granada into the seas. The sun will not have completed the course of its present round through the heavens without beholding in all your territory the proud altars of liberty.

—World Civilizations, Philip J. Adler, 1996

Bolívar was one of the leaders in liberating South America from Spanish and Portuguese control.

Nationalist Revolts

By the end of the eighteenth century, the new political ideals stemming from the successful revolution in North America were beginning to influence Latin America. European control would soon be in peril.
authority of the Spaniards and Portuguese in their colonial empires was severely weakened. Between 1807 and 1825, a series of revolts enabled most of Latin America to become independent.

Before the main independence movements began, an unusual revolution took place in the French colony of Saint Domingue, on the island of Hispaniola. Led by François-Dominique Toussaint-Louverture (TOO•SAN LOO•vur•TYUR), more than a hundred thousand slaves rose in revolt and seized control of all of Hispaniola. On January 1, 1804, the western part of Hispaniola, now called Haiti, announced its freedom and became the first independent state in Latin America.

**Reading Check** Describing How did Napoleon’s wars affect Latin America?

**Revolt in Mexico** Beginning in 1810, Mexico, too, experienced a revolt. The first real hero of Mexican independence was Miguel Hidalgo, a parish priest in a small village about a hundred miles (160 km) from Mexico City.

Hidalgo, who had studied the French Revolution, roused the local Indians and mestizos (people of European and Indian descent) to free themselves from the Spanish: “My children, this day comes to us as a new dispensation. Are you ready to receive it? Will you be free? Will you make the effort to recover from the hated Spaniards the lands stolen from your forefathers 300 years ago?”

On September 16, 1810, a crowd of Indians and mestizos, armed with clubs, machetes, and a few guns, formed a mob army to attack the Spaniards. Hidalgo was an inexperienced military leader, however, and his forces were soon crushed. A military court sentenced Hidalgo to death, but his memory lived on. In fact, September 16, the first day of the uprising, is Mexico’s Independence Day.

The participation of Indians and mestizos in Mexico’s revolt against Spanish control frightened both creoles and peninsulares there. Afraid of the masses, they cooperated in defeating the popular revolutionary forces. Conservative elites—both creoles and peninsulares—then decided to overthrow Spanish rule as a way of...
preserving their own power. They selected a creole military leader, Agustín de Iturbide (EE•TUR•BEE•thay), as their leader.

In 1821, Mexico declared its independence from Spain. Iturbide named himself emperor in 1822 but was deposed in 1823. Mexico then became a republic.

**Revolts in South America** José de San Martín of Argentina and Simón Bolívar of Venezuela, both members of the creole elite, were hailed as the “Liberators of South America.” These men led revolutions throughout the continent. San Martín believed that the Spaniards must be removed from all of South America if any South American nation was to be free.

By 1810, the forces of San Martín had liberated Argentina from Spanish authority. Bolívar began the struggle for independence in Venezuela in 1810 and then went on to lead revolts in New Granada (Colombia) and Ecuador.

In January 1817, San Martín led his forces over the Andes to attack the Spanish in Chile. The journey was an amazing feat. Two-thirds of the pack mules and horses died during the trip. Soldiers suffered from lack of oxygen and severe cold while crossing mountain passes that were more than two miles (3.218 km) above sea level.

The arrival of San Martín’s forces in Chile completely surprised the Spaniards. Spanish forces were badly defeated at the Battle of Chacabuco on February 12, 1817. In 1821, San Martín moved on to Lima, Peru, the center of Spanish authority.

Convinced that he could not complete the liberation of Peru alone, San Martín welcomed the arrival of Bolívar and his forces. The “Liberator of Venezuela” took on the task of crushing the last significant Spanish army at Ayacucho on December 9, 1824.

By the end of 1824, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile had all become free states. Earlier, in 1822, the prince regent of Brazil had declared Brazil’s independence from Portugal. The Central American states had become independent in 1823. In 1838 and 1839, they divided into five republics: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua.

In the early 1820s, only one major threat remained to the newly won independence of the Latin American states. Members of the Concert of Europe favored the use of troops to restore Spanish control in Latin America. The British, who wished to trade with Latin America, disagreed. They proposed joint action with the United States against any European moves in Latin America.

Distrustful of British motives, United States president James Monroe acted alone in 1823. In the Monroe Doctrine, he guaranteed the independence of the new Latin American nations and warned against any European intervention in the Americas.

More important to Latin American independence than American words, however, was Britain’s navy. Other European powers feared British naval power, which stood between Latin America and any European invasion force.

**Reading Check** Evaluating How did the French Revolution affect Mexico?

**Difficulties of Nation Building**

The new Latin American nations faced a number of serious problems between 1830 and 1870. The wars for independence had resulted in a staggering loss of people, property, and livestock. Unsure of their precise boundaries, the new nations went to war with one another to settle border disputes. Poor roads, a lack of railroads, thick jungles, and mountains made communication, transportation, and national unity difficult. During the course of the nineteenth century, the new Latin American nations would become economically dependent on Western nations once again.
The United States’s intervention in Latin America in the early 1900s led to the building of the Panama Canal (opened in 1914). The United States controlled the canal throughout most of the twentieth century.

1. **Interpreting Maps** The Panama Canal provides a shorter route between which two oceans?

2. **Interpreting Maps** What is the difference in miles between the two routes from New York City to San Francisco?

3. **Applying Geography Skills** Nicaragua was an alternate site for the canal. Determine why Panama was selected.

**Rule of the Caudillos** Most of the new nations of Latin America began with republican governments, but they had had no experience in ruling themselves. Soon after independence, strong leaders known as caudillos came into power.

Caudillos ruled chiefly by military force and were usually supported by the landed elites. Many kept the new national states together. Some were also modernizers who built roads and canals, ports, and schools. Others were destructive.

**Antonio López de Santa Anna**, for example, ruled Mexico from 1829 to 1855. He misused state funds, halted reforms, and created chaos. In 1835, American settlers in the Mexican state of Texas revolted against Santa Anna’s rule.

Texas gained its independence in 1836 and United States statehood in 1845. War between Mexico and the United States soon followed (1846–1848). Mexico was defeated and lost almost one-half of its territory to the United States in the Mexican War.

Fortunately for Mexico, Santa Anna’s disastrous rule was followed by a period of reform from 1855 to 1876. This era was dominated by **Benito Juárez**, a Mexican national hero. The son of Native American peasants, President Juárez brought liberal reforms to Mexico, including separation of church and state, land distribution to the poor, and an educational system for all of Mexico.

Other caudillos, such as Juan Manual de Rosas in Argentina, were supported by the masses, became extremely popular, and brought about radical change. Unfortunately, the caudillo’s authority depended on his personal power. When he died or lost power, civil wars for control of the country often erupted.
**A New Imperialism**  
Political independence brought economic independence, but old patterns were quickly reestablished. Instead of Spain and Portugal, Great Britain now dominated the Latin American economy. British merchants moved into Latin America in large numbers, and British investors poured in funds. Old trade patterns soon reemerged.

Latin America continued to serve as a source of raw materials and foodstuffs for the industrial nations of Europe and the United States. Exports included wheat, tobacco, wool, sugar, coffee, and hides. At the same time, finished consumer goods, especially textiles, were imported.

The emphasis on exporting raw materials and importing finished products ensured the ongoing domination of the Latin American economy by foreigners. Latin American countries remained economic colonies of Western nations, even though they were no longer political colonies.

**Persistent Inequality**  
A fundamental, underlying problem for all of the new Latin American nations was the domination of society by the landed elites. Large estates remained a way of life in Latin America. By 1848, for example, the Sánchez Navarro family in Mexico possessed 17 estates made up of 16 million acres (6,480,000 ha). Estates were often so large that they could not be farmed efficiently.

Land remained the basis of wealth, social prestige, and political power throughout the nineteenth century. Landed elites ran governments, controlled courts, and kept a system of inexpensive labor. These landowners made enormous profits by growing single, specialized crops, such as coffee, for export. The
masses, with no land to grow basic food crops, experienced dire poverty.

**Reading Check** Describing What were some of the difficulties faced by the new Latin American republics?

**Political Change in Latin America**

**TURNING POINT** One hundred years of direct United States involvement in the Panama Canal ended on December 31, 1999, when the canal reverted to Panamanian control.

After 1870, Latin American governments, led by large landowners, wrote constitutions similar to those of the United States and European democracies. The ruling elites were careful to keep their power by limiting voting rights, however.

**The United States in Latin America** By 1900, the United States, which had emerged as a world power, had begun to interfere in the affairs of its southern neighbors. As a result of the Spanish-American War (1898), Cuba became a United States protectorate, and Puerto Rico was annexed to the United States.

In 1903, the United States supported a rebellion that enabled Panama to separate itself from Colombia and establish a new nation. In return, the United States was granted control of a strip of land 10 miles (16.09 km) wide running from coast to coast in Panama. There, the United States built the Panama Canal, which was opened in 1914.

American investments in Latin America soon followed, as did American resolve to protect those investments. Beginning in 1898, American military forces were sent to Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic to protect American interests.

Some expeditions remained for many years. United States Marines were in Haiti from 1915 to 1934, and Nicaragua was occupied from 1909 to 1933. Increasing numbers of Latin Americans began to resent this interference from the “big bully” to the north.

**Revolution in Mexico** In some countries, large landowners supported dictators who looked out for the interests of the ruling elite. Porfirio Díaz, who ruled Mexico between 1877 and 1911, created a conservative, centralized government with the support of the army, foreign capitalists, large landowners, and the Catholic Church. All these groups benefited from their alliance. However, forces for change in Mexico led to a revolution.

During Díaz’s dictatorial reign, the wages of workers had declined. Ninety-five percent of the rural population owned no land, whereas about a thousand families owned almost all of Mexico. When a liberal landowner, Francisco Madero, forced Díaz from power in 1911, he opened the door to a wider revolution.

Madero’s ineffectiveness created a demand for agrarian reform. This new call for reform was led by Emiliano Zapata. Zapata aroused the masses of landless peasants and began to seize the estates of wealthy landholders.

Between 1910 and 1920, the Mexican Revolution caused great damage to the Mexican economy. Finally, a new constitution enacted in 1917 set up a government led by a president, created land-reform policies, established limits on foreign investors, and set an agenda to help the workers. The revolution also led to an outpouring of patriotism. Intellectuals and artists sought to capture what was unique about Mexico, with special emphasis on its past.

**Reading Check** Describing What was the United States’s role as a colonial power?
Economic Change in Latin America

After 1870, Latin America began an age of prosperity based to a large extent on the export of a few basic items. These included wheat and beef from Argentina, coffee from Brazil, coffee and bananas from Central America, and sugar and silver from Peru. These foodstuffs and raw materials were largely exchanged for finished goods—textiles, machines, and luxury items—from Europe and the United States. After 1900, Latin Americans also increased their own industrialization, especially by building textile, food-processing, and construction material factories.

One result of the prosperity that came from increased exports was growth in the middle sectors (divisions) of Latin American society—lawyers, merchants, shopkeepers, businesspeople, schoolteachers, professors, bureaucrats, and military officers. These middle sectors accounted for only 5 to 10 percent of the population, hardly enough in numbers to make up a true middle class. Nevertheless, after 1900, the middle sectors of society continued to expand.

Regardless of the country in which they lived, middle-class Latin Americans shared some common characteristics. They lived in the cities; sought education and decent incomes; and saw the United States as a model, especially in regard to industrialization. The middle sectors in Latin America sought liberal reform, not revolution. Once they had the right to vote, they generally sided with the landholding elites.

Checking for Understanding

1. Define creole, peninsulare, mestizo, Monroe Doctrine, caudillo.
2. Identify José de San Martín, Simón Bolívar, Antonio López de Santa Anna, Benito Juárez.
3. Locate Puerto Rico, Panama Canal, Haiti, Nicaragua.
5. List the powers and privileges of the landed elites.

Critical Thinking

6. Examine Why did eliminating European domination from Latin America not bring about significant economic and social change?
7. Organizing Information Fill in the chart below to identify which country exported each product listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coffee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bananas and coffee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beef and wheat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar and silver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analyzing Visuals

8. Describe the painting on page 672. What action is taking place? How would you describe the emotions of the people in the scene? How has the painter tried to convey the importance of the event?

Writing About History

9. Expository Writing Why did Latin American countries remain economic colonies of Western nations when they were no longer political colonies? Write a brief essay explaining why this happened.
### The Age Of Imperialism

The imperialist powers of the nineteenth century conquered weaker countries and carved up the lands they seized. Their actions had a lasting effect on the world, especially the conquered peoples of Asia and Africa. The chart below organizes selected events that occurred during the age of imperialism according to four themes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Imperialistic nations set up colonies and protectorates.</td>
<td>• Ferdinand de Lesseps completes the Suez Canal in 1869.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Christian missionaries preach in Africa and Asia.</td>
<td>• King Leopold II of Belgium colonizes the Congo Basin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Cecil Rhodes makes a fortune in South Africa.</td>
<td>• The United States gains new territory after the Spanish-American War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The Panama Canal opens in 1914.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The United States creates the Monroe Doctrine in 1823.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• In May 1857, the Sepoys rebel against British commanders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Afrikaners fight the British in the Boer War from 1899 to 1902.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The British East India Company controls India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Afrikaners set up independent republics.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Using Key Terms

1. The establishment of overseas colonies is called **colonialism**.
2. A **protectorate** is a political unit that depends on another state for its protection, such as Cambodia in its relationship with France in the 1880s.
3. The method of colonial government in which local rulers maintain their authority is called **indirect rule**.
4. When foreigners govern the colony instead of locals it is called **direct rule**.
5. Puerto Rico was **possessed** by the United States.
6. The people who are native to a country are also known as **nationals**.
7. Indian soldiers in the service of the British East India Company were called **sepoys**.
8. The **resistance** of India was assisted by a large British civil service staff.
9. To prevent foreign interference in Latin America, the president of the United States issued the **Monroe Doctrine**.
10. The **Afrikaner** elite led the fight for independence in South Africa.

### Reviewing Key Facts

11. **Economics** Why did European states wish to establish colonies?
12. **Geography** What African state was founded as refuge for former slaves?
13. **History** By 1914, what European countries had divided up Africa?
14. **Culture** What were the effects of British rule in India?
15. **Government** Describe the zamindar system, which was used by the British in India.
16. **History** What were the goals of Mohandas Gandhi?
17. **History** Why was the Haitian revolution unique?
18. **History** What arrangement did the United States make with Panama?
19. **Geography** What country in Southeast Asia remained independent? Why?

### Critical Thinking

20. **Analyzing** Explain the circumstances surrounding the building of the Panama Canal. How did the United States benefit?
21. **Making Comparisons** Discuss the various concerns of people under colonial rule. Did social class affect how they viewed colonial power? How were the concerns of different social classes similar? How were they different?
Self-Check Quiz
Visit the Glencoe World History Web site at wh.glencoe.com and click on Chapter 21–Self-Check Quiz to prepare for the Chapter Test.

Writing About History
22. Persuasive Writing Pretend you are a British colonist who has been living abroad for a year. Decide whether you are for or against colonialism and write a letter to your family convincing them of your views. Use examples from the text or your own research.

Analyzing Sources
Read the following quote by Miguel Hidalgo:

“My children, this day comes to us as a new dispensation. Are you ready to receive it? Will you be free? Will you make the effort to recover from the hated Spanish the lands stolen from your forefathers 300 years ago?”

23. Describe the tone of this quote. What emotions is Hidalgo trying to arouse? Is Hidalgo correct when he claims that the Spanish stole the land?

24. Do you think Native Americans in North America are justified in feeling that their lands were stolen? Why or why not?

Applying Technology Skills
25. Using the Internet Use the Internet to research Emilio Aguinaldo and the Philippine quest for independence. Create a map showing the various battle sites.

Making Decisions
26. You are a local ruler in your country. You deeply resent the colonial power that has asked you to rule in their interest. Do you continue to rule or do you resign? What are the consequences of your decision?

27. Originally the Panama Canal was a French project. When the French ran into difficulties, they attempted to sell their project to the United States. As a United States senator, decide whether or not the United States should take over the project. Give reasons for your decision.

28. Simón Bolívar is considered to be the George Washington of South America. Do further research on Bolivar in your school library. If necessary, review information you have previously learned about George Washington. Decide whether or not you think the comparison between Bolivar and Washington is fair. Explain your decision.

Analyzing Maps and Charts
Use your text and the map above to answer the following questions.

29. Approximately how long is the Suez Canal?
30. Why is control of the Suez Canal so important?
31. What alternative transportation exists across the land masses surrounding the Suez Canal?
32. What route was used for trade and transportation in this area prior to the building of the Suez Canal?

Analyzing Sources
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Standardized Test Practice
Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

Which of the following was a consequence of British colonial rule in India?
A the defeat of the Mogul dynasty
B the popularity of the joint-stock company
C the exploitation of resources
D the Berlin Conference of 1884

Test-Taking Tip: If you do not immediately know the right answer to a question, look at each answer choice carefully. Try to recall the context in which these events were discussed in class. Remembering this context may help you eliminate incorrect answer choices.