

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM?: THE UNITED STATES INTERVENTIONS IN NICARAGUA,  
1909 TO 1933

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## ABSTRACT

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This thesis is an examination of the active policies of the United States in the early twentieth century and the effects of the interventions these policies influenced. This essay reveals that U.S. presence in Nicaragua from 1909 to 1933 acted as a catalyst for positive changes and developments in the political, economic and social sectors of Nicaraguan society. The interventions and military occupations from 1909 until 1933 are classified as failures by much of the existing scholarship because the U.S. failed to meet its objectives in accordance with the Tipitapa Agreement. However, the interventions positive by-products examined in this essay efficiently prove these interventions were not complete failures. Utilizing primary sources including conference proceedings, archived photographs, journals, personal papers, letters, newspaper articles as well as a multitude of secondary sources, this essay examines in detail the political, economic and social developments and advancements brought on by the 1909 to 1933 interventions in Nicaragua to add to the existing scholarship in this subject area.

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# CHAPTER I

## THE ACTIVE POLICIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT REGARDING LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS

Throughout history, the United States remained true to its active policies regarding international relations and foreign affairs. Since the early days of the American republic, the U.S. utilized several different approaches to U.S. foreign relations, ranging from complete isolationism to direct interventionism. The articulation of policies like the Monroe Doctrine, formulated under the James Monroe administration in 1823, the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, formulated under the Theodore Roosevelt administration in 1904, Dollar Diplomacy, formulated under the William Taft administration in 1909, and the Good Neighbor policy, formulated under the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration in 1933, forever changed the face of U.S. foreign relations. Under these policies, the United States entered into the era of American imperialism. For the scope of this thesis, imperialism is defined as the direct and active influence of the United States on the political, economic, military and cultural sectors of a foreign nation, in this case Nicaragua, through direct intervention.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is derived from the definition of "imperialism as embodied in concessions, protectorates and spheres of influence" in accordance with the work of John M. Mathews, "Roosevelt's Latin-American Policy," *The American Political Science Review* 29.5 (October 1935), 808.

In this chapter, I will present the policies of the U.S. government that directly affected U.S. relations with Latin American countries. More specifically, it will address the Monroe Doctrine, the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, Dollar Diplomacy, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty as well as the Good Neighbor Policy. This chapter will go on to address the effects of these policies on U.S. and Nicaraguan relations throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The intention of this chapter is to provide clarity on the purpose and effects of each of these policies, and to allow a proper understanding of the motives for the interventions in Nicaragua occurring from 1909 to 1933.

During the early twentieth century, the United States made distinctive political moves to become a major player in hemispheric politics. In accordance with this move, the country intervened in the political, economic, and military affairs of several Latin American countries, including Nicaragua. The United States intervened in Nicaragua on three separate occasions from 1909 until early 1933.

Many countries within Latin America attained their freedom from colonialism in the nineteenth century and the United States wished to protect these newly independent countries from the dominating influence of European powers. The Monroe Doctrine articulated a principle that the U.S. has strongly upheld since 1823. This policy drawn up by President James Monroe and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, stated the U.S. government felt it "should not stand idly by and

see any nation try to deprive any nations in North or South America of their independence."<sup>2</sup> Simply, the U.S. would not allow other countries to meddle in the affairs of the countries falling within the hemisphere.<sup>3</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States government entered a new era of U.S. foreign relations based on direct interventionism, ending its previous practice of isolationism. With this new era came a new perspective on the role of the U.S. as a world superpower, as well as a new perspective on American policy writing. Furthermore, this era influenced the articulation of future policies like the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and Dollar Diplomacy as the United States began to see Latin America as a prime region for U.S. business interests and economic expansion.<sup>4</sup>

Less than a century after the articulation of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States became one of the most active countries in foreign affairs. Within the first half of the twentieth century the U.S. participated in over half a dozen armed interventions in Latin America. This newfound role in international affairs followed the articulation of the policies of the Roosevelt administration. In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt expanded upon the Monroe Doctrine articulating his Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. The policy justified immediate interventionist

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<sup>2</sup> "The Monroe Doctrine," *Dallas Morning News (1857-1977)*, December 30, 1895, (hereafter cited as *DMN*).

<sup>3</sup> For an explanation of the hemisphere as proscribed in this policy see: Lawrence Martin, "The Geography of the Monroe Doctrine and the Limits of the Western Hemisphere," *Geographical Review*, 30.3 (July 1940), 527.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Marshall Brown, "The Monroe Doctrine and Latin-America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 111 (January 1924), 36.

actions on the part of the United States in Latin America. Roosevelt made it clear that any “brutal wrongdoing, or impotence... may require intervention” and that the “United States cannot ignore its duty” any longer.<sup>5</sup> President Roosevelt also asserted that, “it is incompatible with international equity for the United States to refuse to allow other powers to take the only means at their disposal of satisfying the claims of their creditors and yet refuse to take any such steps.”<sup>6</sup> According to Frederic Penfield, a historian whose focus is Latin American studies, the belief was that “if we [the United States] neglect this duty, other nations may insist on performing it—and then the Monroe Doctrine would draw the United States into serious strife.”<sup>7</sup>

The Roosevelt Corollary signaled to foreign countries that the U.S. intended to act as a hemispheric protectorate and active ally to Latin American governments in need.<sup>8</sup> After the Spanish-Cuban conflict of 1898, which the U.S. intervened in to expel the Spanish from the Caribbean region and to restore peace, “places of interest to the United States—Panama, Nicaragua, Haiti and the Dominican Republic—also became U.S. protectorates.”<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the U.S. government supplied that as a protectorate the country would intervene militarily to prevent any foreign interference in the affairs of its protectorates.

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<sup>5</sup> “Living down the Law to other Nations,” *DMN*, May 31, 1904.

<sup>6</sup> Mathews, 807.

<sup>7</sup> Frederic Penfield, “Practical Phases of Caribbean Domination,” *The North American Review* 178. 566, January 1904, 82.

<sup>8</sup> For further information about the intentions of this policy and its sphere of domain see: Serge Ricard, “The Roosevelt Corollary,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36.1 (March 2006), 18.

<sup>9</sup> Mark T. Gilderhus, “The Monroe Doctrine: Meanings and Implications,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36.1 (March 2006), 10. .

Following the Roosevelt Corollary, the United States began focusing on policies that increased foreign interests. The U.S. government realized early in the twentieth century that "North American and thus Latin-American diplomacy has a... common benefit" in increased trade.<sup>10</sup> The administration of President William H. Taft articulated Dollar Diplomacy in 1909 further altering the United States' approach to foreign relations. This policy, designed to increase U.S. business interests in foreign countries, capitulated Nicaragua as a perfect country for U.S. investment. The government encouraged investors to explore business ventures within the country and offered the incentive that investments in the country would cost little to nothing and yield great profits. American businessmen jumped at the opportunity to invest in the country under the impression that the U.S. would protect their investments. However, Nicaragua, with its unstable political and economic climate, proved a difficult investment for the U.S. government to secure.

According to Burdette Lewis, a scholar greatly versed in U.S. foreign relations, the Roosevelt Corollary and Dollar Diplomacy are, "so intimately connected... that both may properly be considered together" in fact, "whenever we have been called to act in regard to Latin America the Monroe Doctrine has been the basis of our policy."<sup>11</sup> The United States came to believe that "the peace and safety" of Latin American countries, like Nicaragua, could only "be preserved by a well-

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<sup>10</sup> "Dollar Diplomacy Needed." *New York Times (1857-1922)*; Dec 12, 1921, (hereafter cited as NYT).

<sup>11</sup> Burdette Gibson Lewis, "Our Trade Relations with Latin America." *Journal of Political Economy* 14.10, (December 1906), 602.

defined policy depending upon the principles of the Monroe Doctrine.”<sup>12</sup> However, the U.S. desires to fulfill the role assigned to it under the Monroe Doctrine led to multiple U.S. interventions in the region including in Haiti (1915-1934) and the Dominican Republic (1916-1924).<sup>13</sup>

Nicaraguan history is marred with repeated civil wars, political assassinations and government corruption. During the early twentieth century, the Nicaraguan elite and the business classes dominated the governmental affairs of the country. On the other hand, the majority of the citizenry, lying outside of these upper echelons of society, fell outside of the political arena. The country was underdeveloped politically, economically and socially. Politically speaking, the country was weak because of the repeated clashes and political feuds between the liberal and conservative parties. The country also ignored the political voice of a majority of its citizenry. Economically speaking, the country was dependent on the financial assistance of other countries with a high level of foreign debts. The country also had no national bank and lacked efficiency in customs gathering. Socially speaking, the country was reliant on a patriarchal system placing women into a position of minority.

Throughout the twentieth century, the political and economic instability of the country greatly affected the history of this country. In the first half of the

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 610.

<sup>13</sup> The causes and basic historical context information for the Haitian and Dominican Republic interventions are provided in the conclusion of this thesis.

century, the U.S. took an active role in Nicaraguan political and economic affairs. Following the articulation of Dollar Diplomacy, Nicaragua became a key location for U.S. business investments. As business interests grew in the country, the interest of the American government in the political and economic sectors of the country grew as well. Throughout the twentieth century, a positive correlation persisted between the U.S. economic and political interests in the country.

The immense popularity of building a second inter-oceanic canal in the country and its prime location in relation to the Panama Canal further increased American interest in the country as well. At this point, the importance of the Wilson administration must be outlined. President Wilson was highly interested in the situation in Nicaragua, as the United States feared the threat of canal competition because if any Nicaraguan president allowed another country to build a canal in Nicaragua, the Panama Canal would face serious competition. The Wilson administration worked to create the Bryan Chamorro Treaty in order to prevent "economic exploitation in Nicaragua."<sup>14</sup> President Wilson left it to the state department and William Jennings Bryan as much of the policies of Wilson's administration originated with both.<sup>15</sup> As a result this fear, the U.S. began seeking a means to prevent future canal competition.

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<sup>14</sup> Benjamin T. Harrison, "Woodrow Wilson and Nicaragua," *Caribbean Quarterly*, 51.1, (March 2005), 28.

<sup>15</sup> Selig Adler, "Bryan and Wilsonian Caribbean Penetration," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 20.2 (May 1940), 202.

As construction began on the Panama Canal, the U.S. focused more on "controlling events in Nicaragua."<sup>16</sup> In 1914, in response to the growing fear of canal competition, the United States began negotiations for canal rights in Nicaragua. The Bryan Chamorro treaty was originally drafted under the Taft administration in 1914. The U.S. Senate later ratified the treaty in 1916 and the Wilson administration adopted it the same year. This agreement silenced the fears of canal competition as it granted the U.S. the "perpetual right to cut a canal across that country" which was more than desirable to U.S. businessmen.<sup>17</sup> This treaty also secured "the leasing for a term of ninety-nine years of a naval station at Fonseca Bay on the Pacific" with the ability to renew if so desired prior to the expiration of the lease.<sup>18</sup> According to scholar George W. Baker Jr., this treaty "brought a fair degree of stability to Nicaragua through the use of the treaty funds."<sup>19</sup> The U.S. achieved direct and indirect control in the country through interventionist activities and the continuing presence of the U.S.M.C.

The importance of maintaining political stability in the nation increased when the U.S. realized the danger of allowing instability to arise in the region. The intermixing of increased business interests and investments in the country and the

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<sup>16</sup> Jan Knippers Black, *Sentinels of Empire: The United States and Latin American Militarism*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 123.

<sup>17</sup> "Nicaragua," *NYT* (1857-1922), June 16, 1914.

<sup>18</sup> Arthur R. Thompson, "Nicaraguan Treaty Viewed as a Stabilizer: Besides Its Moral Effect Upon Central America It Will Give the United States Coaling Stations at Strategic Points on Two Oceans," *NYT* (1851-2009) February 27, 1916.

<sup>19</sup> George W. Baker, Jr. "The Wilson Administration and Nicaragua, 1913-1921," *The Americas* 22.4 (April 1966), 376.

weak economic and political systems of the country cumulated into direct interventionist activities on the part of the U.S. The U.S. intervened in the country beginning in 1909, returning in 1912 and again in 1926, remaining in the country until the earlier part of 1933. The third chapter will further explore the reasons behind these interventions, as well as the history of American presence in Nicaragua.

The U.S. took an active role in international relations during the first half of the twentieth century. However, following the inauguration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt this approach to international relations changed, yet again. Franklin Delano Roosevelt entered office facing economic hardships and mixed, if not negative, emotions regarding international relations with the Latin American community because of the numerous armed interventions and marine occupations the United States participated in during the earlier part of the century. Roosevelt saw a need for improved foreign relations, as well as increased economic responsibility on the part of the U.S. government regarding military spending and budgeting.<sup>20</sup> In accordance with this realization, in his inaugural address on March 4, 1933, Roosevelt revealed that the U.S. was entering into a new era of foreign relations based on the ideals and premises of his Good Neighbor Policy. Roosevelt

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<sup>20</sup> For more information regarding the relationship between the United States and Nicaragua as influenced by the Roosevelt Corollary see:

Joseph S. Tulchin, "The Formulation of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Caribbean," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 533 (May 1994), 177-187.

This article was written with the intention of addressing the relationship between the United States and Nicaragua as well as Haiti and the Dominican Republic. It reveals the involvement of the United States in the three countries as well.

relations based on the ideals and premises of his Good Neighbor Policy. Roosevelt asserted that the U.S. would dedicate itself “to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself... respects the rights of others.”<sup>21</sup> In effect, this policy was pursued to “reduce hostility” between the United States and Latin American countries, like Nicaragua, and mandated a less combative and less direct approach to international relations and foreign affairs.<sup>22</sup>

The United States entered the international sphere as an isolationist country; however, overtime the role the U.S. played in international affairs changed dramatically. With the articulation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the U.S. entered into a new era, an era that resulted in direct interventionism influencing the articulation of future twentieth century policies including the Roosevelt Corollary and Dollar Diplomacy. As a result of these policies, the U.S. became one of the most active countries in international affairs intervening in over half a dozen countries throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The nations’ self-declared role of hemispheric protectorate resulted in a great deal of animosity between the U.S. and Latin American nations. This animosity further increased tensions in the hemisphere.

Throughout the early twentieth century, the United States’ desires to establish regional dominance in the hemisphere continued to grow. As the United

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<sup>21</sup> "Milestones 1921-1936: Good Neighbor Policy." *Office of the Historian*. N.p., n.d. Web. Dec. 2012. <<http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/GoodNeighbor>>.

<sup>22</sup> Harrison, 30.

States gained political influence in the region, economic expansion became increasingly important. As U.S. business interests and commercial interests in the countries increased, the United States' economic influence in the countries increased as well. The U.S. began to expand militarily building a stronger navy and preparing the marine forces to act as protectorates in the Latin American countries. In fact, the U.S. utilized the Marine Corps in each of the three interventions in Nicaragua to enforce U.S. influence and diplomacy in the nation.

In 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt changed the face of U.S. international relations again. Roosevelt pushed for U.S. foreign relations to refrain from an over-emphasis on military actions abroad and instead "emphasized cooperation and trade" in his 1933 inaugural address.<sup>23</sup> In effect, President Roosevelt called for a change in the U.S. interventionist activities throughout Latin America effectively ending the Marine occupation of Nicaragua in January of 1933. The United States "set up the Golden Rule as its goal for the relations between states. Justice and fair dealing no longer end at the National frontiers," the United States worked to establish a hemisphere of "co-prosperity....by compromise and cooperation."<sup>24</sup>

This chapter introduced the main U.S. policies that directly and indirectly affected U.S. and Latin American relations including the Monroe Doctrine, the

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<sup>23</sup> "Milestones 1921-1936: Good Neighbor Policy."

<sup>24</sup> Graham Stuart, "Implementing the Good Neighbor Policy," *World Affairs*, 105.3 (September 1942), 216.

Roosevelt Corollary, Dollar Diplomacy, the Bryan Chamorro Treaty and the Good Neighbor Policy. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader a framework of the policies that influenced the motives for U.S. interventionist activities in the country from 1909 to 1933.

## CHAPTER II

### AN EXAMINATION OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND A LITERATURE REVIEW OF CURRENT SCHOLARSHIP

Contemporaries of the 1920's provided the U.S. government with credibility and moral righteousness in matters regarding U.S. foreign relations in the Caribbean.<sup>25</sup> In fact, John W. Blassingame reported that during the 1920's, "twenty four of the forty-two periodicals which expressed an opinion endorsed the corollary."<sup>26</sup> However, as time progressed, and more resources became readily available for U.S. writers, scholars, and journalists, the scholarship took a sharp turn. Beginning in the mid-twentieth century, writers, scholars and journalist alike reexamined the United States and Latin American relations in the earlier part of the century.<sup>27</sup> Quickly the positive view turned negative painting the United States' actions as cruel and greedy, and the interventions as failures.

In this thesis, I examine one case of U.S. intervention in Latin America, the case of Nicaragua. It is my belief that the U.S. also successfully influenced Nicaragua

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<sup>25</sup> John W. Blassingame, "The Press and American Intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, 1904-1920" *Caribbean Studies* 9.2 (July 1969), 28, 37.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 28.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph O. Baylen, "Sandino: Patriot or Bandit." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 31.3 (1951): 394-419.; Carleton Beals, *Banana Gold*. New York: Arno, 1970.; Augusto C. Sandino, "Declarations to the New York World," *Latin American Studies*, January 28, 1930, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/sandino/sandino1-28-30.htm> (accessed October 19, 2012).; Lester D. Langley, *The Banana Wars: United States Intervention in the Caribbean, 1898 to 1934*. Wilmington DE: SR Books, 2002.; Lewis, 602-613.; Brian Loveman, *For La Patria: Politics and Armed Forces in Latin America*. Wilmington DE: SR Books, (1999), 141-160; 200-249, PDF eBook.

politically, economically and socially. The purpose of this thesis is to reexamine the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua to add complexity to the existing interpretation of U.S.-Latin American relations during the early twentieth century. It is my intention to prove that the U.S. interventions from 1909 to 1933 acted as a catalyst for significant positive changes in the political, economic and social sectors of Nicaragua.<sup>28</sup>

Furthermore, I develop an argument suggesting that the existing scholarship in this area is too simplistic regarding the effects and successes of U.S. activities in Nicaragua. Whereas much of the current scholarship focuses on the many failings of the U.S. interventions, it is my purpose in this paper to reveal the positive effects of the American Marine occupations and interventions in Nicaragua.<sup>29</sup> My thesis will contribute to the scholarly work available in political history and international relations.

### *Research Methodology*

Regarding my methodology, I will utilize many varying types of sources ranging from newspapers articles, to government documents, journals, poetry,

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<sup>28</sup> Outside of the scope of this paper would be advancements that occurred as positive or negative by-products of the U.S. presence in the country in the medical and religious spheres of Nicaraguan society. Studies of countries like Haiti have shown that positive effects have occurred in the medial sector of their society as a result of the U.S. interventions in the country from 1915-1934. For example see: Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, (2001). Furthermore, Michael J. Schroeder received a grant to work in the Rockefeller Archive Center's collection on the Rockefeller Foundation's philanthropic public health initiatives in Nicaragua. This data is to be added to his website in the future. Information regarding this can be found at <http://www.sandinorebellion.com/HomePages/rac-docs.html>.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

among many others. The main primary sources for my thesis will come from the *New York Times* and the *Dallas Morning News*. From these newspapers, I will use several articles ranging from 1823 until 1965. Within these newspapers, I will focus on the articles relating to the U.S. intervention in Nicaragua as well as the statistical and qualitative data often provided regarding the military, the active political parties as well as the citizens of the country. Even though the scholarship in the early years of the intervention painted a more favorable picture of the actions of the U.S., it is my belief that these articles, at times, are the closest I can come to oral histories regarding the U.S. role in the region.

Most importantly, I will be utilizing U.S. government monographs and the writings of Augusto Sandino. Sandino's "Declarations to the New York World," will allow me to see what reasons Sandino and his forces had for forming a guerilla group in Nicaragua. I will also utilize Sandino's "Open Letter to President Hoover," as a means of gaining a deeper understanding of U.S. relations with Sandino and his forces.<sup>30</sup> It is my belief that these sources will allow me to see the intervention from the U.S. and the Nicaraguan perspectives providing for a less biased interpretation of the intervention in the country to occur. As for the monographs of the U.S. government, I will be utilizing the works of George Thomas Weitzel because it is important to see how the U.S. corresponded with the Marines on land in Nicaragua

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<sup>30</sup> Sandino, "Declarations to the New York World,"; Augusto C. Sandino, "Open Letter to President Hoover," *Latin American Studies*, 6 March 1929 <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/sandino/sandino3-6-29.htm> (accessed October 19, 2012).

as well as the Nicaraguan government and peoples.<sup>31</sup> It will help to explain why the United States was able to so greatly affect and influence the country even after the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

To supplement the personal letters and monographs in my thesis, I will also be utilizing the writings of American journalist, Carleton Beals, who was not only present in Nicaragua during the intervention, but who also was able to personally interview and work alongside with the leader of the guerilla forces in the country, Augusto Sandino. His articles published in *The Nation* provide access to the voice of the common people as well as the voice of the so-called bandit the U.S. was facing in the country at that time. "Nicaraguan Farce" and "IN QUEST OF SANDINO Imperialism Still Rides" both bring to light the reasons behind the U.S. intervention as seen by the common people of Nicaraguan society.<sup>32</sup> In these articles, Beals reveals the effects the intervention had on the political activities of the common people in Nicaragua.

As for economic advancements, it is clear that the U.S. stepped in to clear up the economic issues Nicaragua was facing during the early twentieth century. Economic statistics reveal that the Nicaraguan government held a great deal of

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<sup>31</sup> George Thomas Weitzel, American Policy in Nicaragua; memorandum on the Convention between the United States and Nicaragua relative to an interoceanic Canal and a naval Station in the Gulf of Fonseca. 64th cong, 1st sess., Sen. doc. no. 334. Washington. 1916.

<sup>32</sup> Carleton Beals, "IN QUEST OF SANDINO Imperialism Still Rides" *Nation* 201, no.8 September 1965 (MasterFILE Premier Accession Number 13129166), 83-87.; Carleton Beals, "Nicaraguan Farce," *The Nation*, 123 (December 1926), 631-632.

foreign debt. The U.S. in 1909, entered Nicaragua with the desire to oust Zelaya and take over the political, economic and military actions of the country. In doing so, the U.S. secured control of customs houses and assisted in the creation of the Bank of Nicaragua in 1912, which would later become the Bank of Development as can be seen in the papers of the U.S. Department of State archives which I will utilize to reveal the economic plans and treaties the U.S. created for the Nicaraguan government.

In order to show the more active role of women in Nicaragua, I will utilize reports from various women's conferences and Pan-American conferences, including the reports of The Women's Auxiliary Committee of the United States from the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, more specifically the article "Remarks upon the Women of Nicaragua" which will reveal the increase focus on women's education that began to occur beginning in the 1920's.<sup>33</sup> I will also utilize reports from The First Conference of the Inter-American Commission of Women.<sup>34</sup> To follow up this article, I will be utilizing data collected from the reports of the Inter-American Commission of Women to the Eighth International Conference of

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<sup>33</sup> Josefa T De Aguerri. "Remarks upon the Women of Nicaragua." *Women's Auxiliary Committee of the United States of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress*. Proc. of Bulletin of the Women's Auxiliary Committee of the United States of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress in Cooperation with the International Committee, Washington. Vol. 1 (1921), 18-20.

<sup>34</sup> Flora De Oliveria Lima, *The First Conference of the Inter-American Commission of Women, 1930*. Washington, DC: Pan American Union, (1930): 1-9.

American States, on the Political and Civil Rights of Women.<sup>35</sup> I will also be utilizing "Minutes of the Fourth Session" (December 16, 1933).<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, I will be utilizing the work of Michael J. Schroeder.<sup>37</sup> His work allowed me access to the archival photographs, which I use to connect the advancement of the role of women in Nicaragua as soldiers in chapter four of this thesis. Additionally, I utilize the work of Erin S. Finzer to supplement my inability to gather personal diaries and letters of women in Nicaragua.<sup>38</sup> His work reveals a bibliography of poetry, letters, diary entries, and newspaper articles including those of *El Gráfico*, all of which can be used as evidence to support the argument of advancements in the position of women in Nicaraguan society addressed in chapter four of this thesis. His work along with the work of historian Martin Erickson, allowed me to provide evidence for my argument regarding the role of women in Sandino's army, like Blanca Arauz and Emilia, as well as the role of women in the literary realm of Nicaragua, like Sobalvarro, following the U.S. intervention, which

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<sup>35</sup> Inter-American Commission of Women. *Report of the Inter American Commission of Women to the Eighth International Conference of American States, on the Political and Civil Rights of Women*. Rep. Lima, Peru: Inter-American Commission of Women, 1938.

<sup>36</sup> Jose Gonzalez Campos. "Minutes of the Fourth Session (December 16, 1933)" *Minutes and Antecedents of the Third Committee, Civil and Political Rights of Women at the Seventh International Conference of American States, Montevideo 5-15 December 1933*. Rep. Montevideo, Uruguay: Pan American Union, 1933, 10-13.

<sup>37</sup> Michael J. Schroeder, "SandinoRebellion.com - Home Page." *SandinoRebellion.com - Home Page*. Web. (accessed January 29, 2013). Schroeder utilized the archives and libraries in Nicaragua to create an online database containing letters, documents, and photographs from Nicaragua relating to the rebellion led against the U.S. Marine occupations of the country led by August C. Sandino. His website provides a bibliography of his work, accessible through the following link: <http://sandinorebellion.com/HomePages/biblio.html>.

<sup>38</sup> Erin S. Finzer, "AMONG SANDINO'S GIRLFRIENDS: Carmen Sobalvarro and the Gendered Poetics of a Nationalist Romance" *Latin American Research Review* 47.1 (2012), 137-160.

supplements the conference proceeding reports from the various women's conferences analyzed.<sup>39</sup>

### *Literature Review of Current Scholarship*

Much of the current-day scholarship reporting on the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua and U.S. interests in the country focuses on greed and the American desire to be a hegemonic leader in the hemisphere.<sup>40</sup> However, it is my belief that the United States had verifiable and legitimate reasons for intervening in the country at the request of Nicaraguan political leaders. The importance of the Roosevelt Corollary is undeniable in regards to the effects it had on U.S. foreign relations in Nicaragua. With the support of the work of Francis Loomis and the works of James Richardson, I argue that the Roosevelt Corollary was the main cause for the multiple U.S. interventions in Nicaragua beginning in 1909.<sup>41</sup>

According to Loomis, the United States' "attitude toward Latin-American republics is one of helpfulness and kindly interests."<sup>42</sup> Given that this article was written in 1903, it focuses on the positive role of the U.S. interventionist activities in Nicaragua. However, as scholarship on this matter progressed the authors and

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<sup>39</sup> Martin F Erickson. "Central America: The Literary Scene, 1943." *Hispania* 27.2 (1944), 148-154.

<sup>40</sup> For example see:

Baylen, 394-419.; Carleton Beals, *Banana Gold*. New York: Arno, 1970.; Augusto C. Sandino, "Declarations to the New York World,"; Langley, *The Banana Wars: United States Intervention in the Caribbean, 1898 to 1934*; Lewis, 602-613.

<sup>41</sup> Francis Loomis, "The Position of the United States on the American Continent-Some Phases of the Monroe Doctrine." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, (July 22, 1903), 1-19.; James Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897, Volume VII*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897).

<sup>42</sup> Loomis, 18.

authors and scholars began to negate this argument and counter it with evidence of the greedy motives behind and the harmful effects of the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua. As Richardson divulges in his work, the Monroe Doctrine was a powerful policy calling the U.S. into action as hemispheric protectorate. According to President Cleveland, "the language of President Monroe [in regards to his Monroe Doctrine] is directed to the attainments of objects" that necessitate direct intervention and participation on the part of the U.S. in Latin American countries.<sup>43</sup> Cleveland went on to say that "every nation shall have its rights protected and its claims enforced" even if it must be protected by the strong arm of the United States.<sup>44</sup> Following the articulation of the Roosevelt Corollary in 1904, the purpose of the Monroe Doctrine expanded. In accordance with the Roosevelt Corollary, the United States could not allow any other nation to force Nicaragua into a position of absolute dependency or allow the country to fall victim to dangerous and regressive political instability.

Much of the existing scholarship agrees that the economic and political reasons behind the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua ranged from those involving the Panama Canal, to the trade market, to the American business interests in the country as seen in the works of American journalist, Carleton Beals, American

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<sup>43</sup> Richardson, 657.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

political journalist, Eric Helleiner, and American historian, Louis Pérez Jr.<sup>45</sup> These authors present a more negative portrayal of the U.S. motives going into the Marine occupations that began in 1909.

Observers at the time believed that the United States chose to intervene in Nicaraguan affairs due to the economic importance of the ports in this country, the close proximity of Nicaragua to the Panama Canal, as well as the possibility of a second inter-oceanic canal taking base in Nicaragua. Beals, Helleiner, and Pérez focused their articles on revealing that although American motives in this country were presented in the press as positive and necessary, they were secretly motivated by American greed and the desire for absolute hegemony in the hemisphere. Beals' articles in *The Nation* published chronologically in 1926 and 1928, reveal the "world-wide condemnation of American military invasion" that occurred as a result of U.S. interventions in this region.<sup>46</sup> However, I intend to add to the existing scholarship that these invasions directly and indirectly influenced political, economic, and social advancements in the country. Also, this condemnation of American activities resulted in the articulation of the Good Neighbor Policy and the withdrawal of U.S. customs agents and Marines from the circum-Caribbean as well

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<sup>45</sup> Beals, "IN QUEST OF SANDINO Imperialism Still Rides, 83-87.; Beals, "Nicaraguan Farce," 631-632.; Eric Helleiner, "Dollarization Diplomacy: U.S. Policy towards Latin American Coming Full Circle?," *Review of International Political Economy* 10.3 (2003), 406-29.; Louis A. Pérez Jr., "Intervention, Hegemony and Dependency: The United States in the Circum-Caribbean 1898-1980," *Pacific Historical Review* 51, no. 2 (May 1982), 165-194.

<sup>46</sup> Beals, "IN QUEST OF SANDINO Imperialism Still Rides."

as bringing an end to the use of National Guard Constabularies in Latin American countries.<sup>47</sup>

Another reason cited for the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua, is the placement of the United States as a core country and Nicaragua as a periphery country. To clarify more in depth, core countries are those who are more established politically, economically and socially, whereas periphery countries tend to be third-world countries lacking stability and progress in their political, economic and social sectors. I will utilize many sources, including important studies by Jacques Delacroix and Charles Ragin, and articles by David Kowalewski and Frederic Penfield, to reinforce this as a cause for the U.S. interventions.<sup>48</sup> It is my intention to show that the U.S. as a core country, in accordance with the Roosevelt Corollary, was called to intervene in Nicaragua.

As observed in the work of Jacques Delacroix and Charles Ragin, trying to modernize periphery countries can often have a "detrimental impact on the economic development of poor countries."<sup>49</sup> However, in the instance of the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua, the move to modernize the country enhanced the economic stability of the country. Delacroix and Ragin go on to say that there is a

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<sup>47</sup> I will utilize information drawn from the following sources as well as a new approach to disprove the negative portrayal of U.S. business interests in the region. Andrew Crawley. *Somoza and Roosevelt: Good Neighbour Diplomacy in Nicaragua, 1933-1945*. New York: Oxford UP, 2007. Print. Oxford Historical Monographs.

<sup>48</sup> Jacques Delacroix and Charles Ragin, "Modernizing Institutions, Mobilization, and Third World Development: A Cross-National Study," *American Journal of Sociology* 84.1 (1978); David Kowalewski, "Core Intervention and Periphery Revolution." *American Journal of Sociology* 97. 1 (July 1991).; Penfield, 75-85.

<sup>49</sup> Delacroix and Ragin, 123.

“positive relationship between revolution and intervention” and that this “relationship is conditional on changing structural processes of the world system.”<sup>50</sup> Essentially, their article provides that Nicaragua demanded U.S. assistance in order to properly extinguish the revolution taking place within the country.

In his article, David Kowalewski touches on the idea of the domination of periphery states by core states and how this domination begins as market coercion. He states that “market coercion over the periphery is gradually replaced by more formal, bilateral, and direct control” often ending in direct intervention in peripheral societies “with or without the consent of the political authorities of the target nation.”<sup>51</sup> In agreement with Kowaleski, Frederic Penfield also points to international commerce as the cause of “American naval domination of the Caribbean Sea” examining not only U.S. business interests and foreign business interests, but also the effects the business interest have on the societies within these Caribbean countries. These articles support the premise to my argument that the U.S. intervened in Nicaragua in accordance with its role as a core country.

The United States took part in three military interventions and occupations in Nicaragua from 1909 to 1933, which further intensified the negative portrayal of the U.S. as the meddlesome *Big Brother*. Although the United States met many of its goals throughout its Marine occupations of the country, the failings of the U.S. formed national police force overshadowed the many positive effects that the

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<sup>50</sup> Kowalewski, 70.

<sup>51</sup> Kowalewski, 72 & 90.

occupations had on the country. The power and training provided to the National Guard by the U.S. Marines allowed this force to later become a vehicle for the takeover of the Nicaraguan government and the implementation of an authoritative dictatorship.

Many scholars focus on the negative effects brought about by the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua and on the failings within the political arena citing the failure of the National Guard, the rise of Augusto César Sandino's guerrilla forces and the rise of the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza as revealed in the works of Joseph O. Baylen, Brian Loveman and Lester Langley.<sup>52</sup>

Scholarship on the subject of the political effects of the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua come to the same conclusion regarding the National Guard, Sandino's guerrilla forces, and the rise of the Somoza dictatorship, being that all can be traced back to the presence of the U.S. Marines in Nicaragua. In his article, Joseph Baylen writes that the U.S. presence in Nicaragua was the fuel behind the formation of Sandino's guerilla forces. In fact, he pointed out that the U.S. realized in the early 1930's that "the possibility of conciliating Sandino will be greater if no marines remain in Nicaragua" as the presence of the Marines was the main reason for the formation of Sandino's forces.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Baylen, 394-419.; Loveman, *For La Patria: Politics and Armed Forces in Latin America.*; Langley, *The Banana Wars: United States Intervention in the Caribbean, 1898 to 1934.*

<sup>53</sup> Baylen, 417.

Although I agree with the previously discussed existing scholarship regarding this matter, it is important to reveal the positive effects that Sandino and his forces had on the political and social sectors of Nicaraguan society. In chapter four, I will address the political and social advancements brought about by Sandino and his guerrilla forces. In their works, Brian Loveman and Lester Langley focus on the fact that the armed forces established, trained, and equipped by the United States Marines later became the vehicle through which Anastasio Somoza took power and established a dictatorship in the country. It is my intention to show that this dictatorship, although a regression in the political progress of the nation, acted as a necessary and positive stabilizing force for the Nicaraguan economy in desperate need of rehabilitation.

I do accept the criticism of existing scholarship regarding the failings of the U.S. Marines and the international policies in effect from 1909 to 1933; however, I want to supplement these negative views with evidence of the intentional and unintentional positive by-products of the U.S. interventions. In chapter three, I will be examining the history of the Nicaraguan political and economic sectors as well as the historical context of the U.S. interventions from 1909 to 1933. Furthermore, in chapter four, I will examine the effects of the U.S. interventions on the political, economic and social sectors of Nicaragua revealing the growth, development and advancement of these as a result of American activities in the country.

### CHAPTER III

#### NICARAGUAN HISTORY AND THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN AND NICARAGUAN RELATIONS

In the following chapter, I will examine the political and economic history of Nicaragua throughout the first half of the twentieth century as well as introduce the framework of the social sector. Furthermore, I will examine the three U.S. interventions from 1909 to 1933 and reveal the actions of the U.S. Marines and U.S. diplomats in this country. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a historical reference and foundation for the additions to the existing scholarship presented in chapter four.

From 1909 to 1933, the United States intervened in Nicaragua on three occasions, each time attempting to establish stability and to restore governmental authority. The U.S. intervened in 1909 to address the issue of the unfavorable anti-American president, José Santos Zelaya and the growing unrest within the mining industry. The U.S. returned in 1912 to assist Adolfo Díaz's weakening regime maintain power and stability within the country offering him complete recognition and support in the matter of conservative uprisings. The U.S. and its Marine forces believing the country to be in stable hands withdrew from the country in the fall of

1925. However, the withdrawal of American forces proved brief as the Marines returned less than a year later, in 1926.

In 1926, the Americans returned to Nicaragua to bring an end to the civil war between the liberal and the conservative parties in the country. President Díaz, operating under a liberal regime, failed to establish authority in an overwhelmingly conservative country. The U.S. stepped in to help him maintain power and authority in the country. In 1926, the United States reentered Nicaragua with certain goals in mind. The goals of the Tipitapa Agreement were clear. The U.S. wanted to disarm the liberal and conservative forces; to hold a fair election; to promote a reorganization of the Supreme Court; to ensure the stability of the government and the protection of the people through the establishment of a National Guard Constabulary well-trained by U.S. Marines; to stamp out the rebel forces in the region; to form a system of indirect and direct U.S. control in the political system; and to establish a peaceful democracy.<sup>54</sup>

This section will further explore the failings of this U.S. intervention in order to provide a foundation upon which the positive by-products of the comprehensive interventions from 1909 to 1933 can be properly examined. The questions I address are why did the U.S. take such an extreme interest in the country and what influences did the presence and actions of Marines, American businessmen and governmental officials have on the country throughout the early twentieth century?

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<sup>54</sup> "Tipitapa Agreement," *Latin American Studies*, May 19, 1927, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/sandino/tipitapa.html>, (accessed November 19, 2010).

As the United States gained power and influence throughout the latter portion of the nineteenth century, it became interested in expanding its financial investments into Latin American countries. This interest in expansion increased interactions among U.S. businessmen and economic sectors of many Latin American countries, including Nicaragua. Increased interest in financial investments was not the only reason the U.S. took such an active role in Nicaraguan affairs. The United States also needed to ensure stability and control in the country in order to protect its economic and trade investments in the Panama Canal. This area of research does contain gaps, as this thesis does not include nearly enough scholars who have written about the Nicaraguan economic system.<sup>55</sup>

### *The History of the Nicaraguan Economy*

In order to grasp the level of economic instability in the country it is important to address the economic struggles Nicaragua experienced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nicaragua achieved independence from Spain in 1821 after over two centuries of Spanish rule. Following its independence, the country struggled to establish a sufficient economic system for generations. However, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, coffee became the game changer for the Nicaraguan economy, as it became the nation's leading export by 1890. As a result of the success of their coffee industry, the country experienced a period of drastic economic growth. Their banana exports also contributed to the

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<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, this section lacks data on the prices of the loans examined.

successful growth of their economy. On a local level, the country was divided between cattle ranches, subsistence farms and coffee farms. The elite members of each of these sectors became greatly involved in the political arena as they realized the importance of having laws favoring their business practices. If they wanted to continue the success of their industries the political arena was the place to do so.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the economy came to be seen as a *banana republic*, or a country with an “economy controlled by foreign interests and a small domestic elite oriented toward the production of a single agricultural export.”<sup>56</sup> Focusing on a single agricultural export product at times assisted the country’s weak economy. However, at times, their economy fell victim to the price fluctuations of coffee in the world markets increasing the economic instability in the country once again. The early twentieth century, marred with years of continued instability, resulted in the Nicaraguan economy suffering “successive inflations of paper currency,” an issue in definite need of redress to restore stability.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, the country’s indebted nature further added to the instability of the Nicaraguan economy as the country held a great deal of debt from foreign loans.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Tim Merrill. *Nicaragua: A Country Study*. Washington: Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, 1993. *Country Studies*. U.S. Department of the Army. (accessed November 2012-January 2013). <<http://countrystudies.us/nicaragua/>>.

<sup>57</sup> “HELPING NICARAGUA: More United States Money for Rehabilitating the Smaller Republic’s Finances,” *NYT (1923- Current file)* October 26, 1913.

<sup>58</sup> For further information regarding more specific percentages of bonds and debt amounts see: Kris James Mitchener and Marc Weidenmier, “Empire, Public Goods, and the Roosevelt Corollary,” *The Journal of Economic History* 65.3 (September 2005), 667-668. [ Page 667 contains a chart, while page 668 explores the quantitative data more directly. This article provides strong quantitative evidence about the effects of the Roosevelt Corollary.]

Throughout the earlier years of the twentieth century, Nicaragua was indebted to many countries, including the United States, England and France. The history of Nicaraguan debt is quite interesting. As a member of the Central American federation, in 1825, the country took on a debt amounting in \$7,000,000. The country defaulted payment on this loan until 1877 when they began "borrowing anew" to settle the debt.<sup>59</sup> On March 20, 1902, the country negotiated a loan in New York in the amount of \$3,000,000 in gold with the "import and export duties collected at the Port of Bluefields...pledged as security for the loan."<sup>60</sup> In 1904, Zelaya continued to expand upon the countries debt loaning \$1,000,000 issued at 75% with New Orleans bankers and a 6% loan amounting in \$6,000,000 issued at 80% in Paris.<sup>61</sup> In November of 1909, the country arranged for a \$6,250,000 loan through the Ethelburga Syndicate at 6%.<sup>62</sup>

According to the *New York Times*, in 1909, Nicaragua's foreign debt reached the astounding amount of \$4,500,000 in addition to the \$6,250,000 loan the country took out in November of that year. However, it should be noted that unlike the majority of her fellow Central American countries Nicaragua maintained payments of its interest rates. At the same time, the country's habit of continued loaning

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<sup>59</sup> Frederick Palmer, "Central American Finance. Bond Issues So Great in Some Cases Interest Exceeds Total Revenue," *NYT (1857-1922)* March 14, 1909.

<sup>60</sup> "Nicaraguan Loan Negotiated Here?," *NYT (1857-1922)* March 20, 1902.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> "NICARAGUA AT EASE NOW WITH CREDITORS: Settlement, Worked Out After the United States Intervened in Uprising, Is Accepted. BONDHOLDERS NOT EXACTING. Make Some Concessions in View of Increased Security Offered—Peace Seems Assured," *NYT (1923- Current file)* November 2, 1912.

proves that the country "paid up by compromises temporarily in order to borrow more money."<sup>63</sup>

During the early half of the twentieth century, U.S. investors were prominent actors in the Nicaraguan economy. In fact, throughout the twentieth century, U.S. investors became heavily involved in the mining, banking, and building industries of Latin American countries, like Nicaragua. In the case of Nicaragua, the presence of American investors and businessmen increased the economic stability of the nation. However, at times they did so at the expense of the economic independence of the Nicaraguan government. Just the same, the investments in the country continued to grow throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. The political instability of the country began to directly affect the economic sector to the detriment of American business investments and profits. As a result, the investors, under the belief that they could trust in the promises and guarantees offered under Dollar Diplomacy, called for protection of their interests.

In the twentieth century, Nicaragua became a focal point for U.S. foreign investments following the articulation of Dollar Diplomacy. This policy, promoted by President Taft and his Attorney General Philander C. Knox, established free market trades in underdeveloped countries secured through the implementation of democracies. The success of the policy was contingent on increased investment in the region. President Taft and Attorney General Knox relied upon the American

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<sup>63</sup> Palmer. "Central American Finance. Bond Issues So Great in Some Cases Interest Exceeds Total Revenue."

businessmen and elite to invest in Nicaragua. According to the Minister of Posts of the Republic of Nicaragua, there was a "great chance for Americans... to make fortunes in just a few years."<sup>64</sup> The reassurance of the Nicaraguan Minister of Posts statement in combination with the guarantees of Dollar Diplomacy made Nicaragua appear a safe investment for American mining, banking and building interests.

The mining and agricultural industries in Nicaragua experienced high volumes of American investment throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century. Companies like, the United Fruit Company, Atlantic Fruit Company, Cuyamel Fruit Company, La Luz y Los Angeles Mining Company, Bragman's Bluff Lumber Company and the Astoria Importing and Exporting Company were leading companies in these sectors of the Nicaraguan economy.<sup>65</sup> The mining industry experienced much corruption at the hands of American business owners from companies, like the La Luz y Los Angeles Mining Company. In fact, the corruption in U.S. investments in mining partially influenced the U.S. intervention of 1909. Nicaragua's first gold rushes occurred in the mid-nineteenth century; however, the United States and foreign countries did not take interest in the mining industry until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> "Bonanzas in Nicaragua; Minister Bermudez tells how to make 1,000 Per Cent in Eight Months," *NYT* August 22, 1909.

<sup>65</sup> Anna I. Powell, "Relations between the United States and Nicaragua, 1898-1916," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 8.1 (February 1928), 44.

<sup>66</sup> For further information on the mining history of Nicaragua see: Michael Gismondi and Jeremy Mouat, "Merchants, Mining and Concessions on Nicaragua's Mosquito Coast: Reassessing the American Presence, 1893-1912," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34.4 (November 2002), 848-850.

When American businessmen entered into the Nicaraguan mining sector of the economy corruption ensued. Newspapers began reporting that mining workers “were being exploited for the benefit of ... their American owner” laboring “fifteen hours a day” with minimal food and housing.<sup>67</sup> In an attempt to fight the corruption of the American business owners in the country, the Nicaraguan working class began to organize labor unions throughout the country. This corruption lasted throughout most of the first half of the twentieth century to the dismay of the Nicaraguan people, including liberal nationalist, Augusto C. Sandino.

Mining was not the only area that the Americans invested in; U.S. banking investments also increased during the early years of Adolfo Díaz’s first term of presidency from 1911-1917. The U.S. attempted to rescue the banking industry in Nicaragua by bringing investments to the country. Companies like Brown Brothers and Company and J. and W. Seligman and Company became active members of the Nicaraguan banking and custom house communities. The Brown Brothers Company and J. & W. Seligman and Company were invested in the banking sector through the Bank of Nicaragua and through their negotiations of loans addressed in chapter four of this thesis. These two companies acted as the “representatives of American banking houses...which controlled the customs receipts.”<sup>68</sup> Essentially, these two companies assisted the customs houses in collection and accounting of monetary

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<sup>67</sup> Donald C. Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 137.

<sup>68</sup> Baker, 340.

funds. Although the investments of U.S. businessmen increased the stability of the banking sector of the Nicaraguan economy, it also increased the economic dependency of Nicaragua on the U.S.<sup>69</sup>

Throughout the early part of the twentieth century, U.S. investments and economic control in Nicaragua became almost imperialistic. In fact, U.S. businessmen, within and outside of Nicaragua, worked to increase U.S. business owners' profit margins. Often the U.S. businessmen did so by undermining the local business owners and bourgeoisie by maintaining control over their finances and ensuring that their economy was reliant on U.S. imports. The "key to Nicaragua's dependence was traced to its agro-export economy and industrial platform geared to exports" making it more reliant on imports to maintain its internal market.<sup>70</sup> According to the existing scholarship, economic dependency was exactly what the U.S. government desired as it increased the ability of the U.S. to play the role of regional protectorate. To a degree this assumption and deduction was true, the United States needed to ensure economic stability for Dollar Diplomacy to expand successfully. By the first of half of 1910, the U.S. realized that "the success of dollar diplomacy rested... on the willingness of private investors, convinced that their

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<sup>69</sup> The issue of American banking interests (role of certain companies, economic advisors/representatives, activities within the economic sector) in Nicaragua is further addressed in chapter four on page 72.

<sup>70</sup> Hodges, 212.

loans would be secured by the American supervision of isthmian politics, to invest in the tropics.”<sup>71</sup>

The end of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries brought with them a desire to expand American economic prowess, which led to a desire to build an inter-oceanic canal in the Latin Americas. While speaking at the thirteenth scientific session of the American Academy of Political and Social Science held in November of 1895, Professor L. M. Keasby of Bryn Mawr College stated that “the canal across the isthmus must be built” as “our land hunger, embodied in the Monroe Doctrine” deems the building of a canal inevitable in Latin America.<sup>72</sup>

U.S. interest in the country continued to grow with the completion of the construction of the Panama Canal in 1914. The inter-oceanic canal connected the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans making access to trading faster, easier and cheaper. Nicaragua’s geographic relationship to the location of the Panama Canal further increased U.S. interests in the country. The United States deeply invested in the success of the Panama Canal, realized any instability arising within Nicaragua’s political or economic climates could potentially put the canal at risk of economic instability as well.

In summation, following the articulation of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and Dollar Diplomacy, U.S. interests in Nicaraguan affairs in the

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<sup>71</sup> Langley, 62.

<sup>72</sup> “CANAL AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE: Prof. Keasby Predicts that the United States Will Control in Nicaragua as Against Great Britain,” *NYT (1851-2000)* November 14, 1895.

economic and political sectors steadily increased. As a result, the desire of Nicaraguan dependence and increased U.S. power in Nicaragua forced the U.S. government to take a more active role in the country. This active role led to recurring American interventionist actions in Nicaragua beginning in 1909 and continuing until early 1933.

*Nicaraguan Political History and the History of the U.S. Interventions from 1909-1933*

In 1909, the United States intervened in Nicaragua to address the issue of the non-cooperative presidency of President José Santos Zelaya. At this time, Philander C. Knox acted as the U.S. Attorney General. Acting as U.S. Attorney General, Knox, was a man greatly invested in the economic stability of the country.

President Zelaya attempting to antagonize American government officials began negotiating the building of a canal in the country with European investors. This alone increased American anxieties as a competing canal put the safety of American investments in the Panama Canal at risk. In addition to compromising the safety of the canal, Zelaya executed two Americans for their participation in a rebellion, an action most Americans deemed unwarranted. He also moved to pass a proposal that required American mining and banana companies to pay higher taxes. Zelaya's multiple offense left the American government and society outraged.

Knox felt the repeatedly offensive actions of the liberal Nicaraguan President, José Santos Zelaya could no longer be ignored. Attorney General Philander C. Knox spoke out against the regime referring to Zelaya as "a bandit," while making it

publicly known that he refused "to have anything to do with" Zelaya or his regime from this point forward.<sup>73</sup> Following the public statement of Knox, the U.S. severed ties with the Nicaraguan president in 1909.

The United States government, after severing ties with the Nicaraguan government, determined the actions of President Zelaya called for immediate intervention in the country. As a result, in early 1909, the U.S. sent 400 Marines and stationed them along the Caribbean coast attempting to show the Nicaraguan president the full extent the U.S. would go to in order to end the dispute. Zelaya quickly realized that opposition was futile and began planning his resignation. Upon his resignation, in December of 1909, Zelaya chose Dr. José Madriz to replace himself as president of Nicaragua. Madriz though considered in the American press as more "honorable and sincere" than Zelaya could do nothing more than "augment a condition of revolution" there was no way for him to prevent what was to come.<sup>74</sup> The growing pressures of the conservative party and U.S. businessmen made it impossible for Madriz to gain authority in the country leading to his resignation in August of 1910.

Following the resignation of Madriz, the Nicaraguan government was once more in need of a president. In 1910, Pedro J. Chamorro, the nephew of future president General Emiliano Chamorro Vargas, called upon the U.S. to "occupy the

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<sup>73</sup> Langley, 59.

<sup>74</sup> "Nicaragua Seen in Throes of War: United States warships and Marines watch the drama being played by fiery natives. In the home of revolt. Belief is general that American intervention is only a matter of time," *NYT*, February 14, 1910.

country provisionally and insure [sic] a fair Presidential election."<sup>75</sup> In response, the U.S. offered its support to conservative General Juan José Estrada, the decided leader of a "coalition conservative-liberal regime," which came to power following Madriz' resignation.<sup>76</sup> Less than a year later, unable to squash the internal pressures of fellow General and Minister of War, Luis Mena, Estrada resigned leaving his vice president Adolfo Díaz to become the 54<sup>th</sup> president of Nicaragua, a position he retained until 1917, captured again in 1926, and remained in until 1929.

The U.S. pleased to have Adolfo Díaz in office, as he was friendly towards the U.S. government and towards U.S. business interests, believed that Nicaragua would achieve stability once again. Díaz worked closely with the United States to increase the amount of foreign investments in Nicaragua restoring peaceful relations between the U.S. and the Nicaraguan government. However, Díaz did not attain the same respect or form as strong of a relationship with the Nicaraguan people. Although the United States offered Díaz authority as president, the same could not be said of the Nicaraguan society.

Díaz lacked the ability to maintain stability in the country as the Nicaraguans denied him authority and respect. General Luis Mena, acting as Minister of War, found Díaz an unsuitable president. Mena unsatisfied with the direction of the Nicaraguan government, "persuaded a Constituent Assembly to name him successor

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<sup>75</sup> "TROOPS OF MADRIZ ROUTED ON COAST; Capt. Gilmer Reports a Decisive Victory by Estrada at Bluefields. AMERICAN MARINES LANDED The Dubuque Returns to Colon for Coal and Provisions -- The Vicksburg Ordered to Corinto," *NYT*, June 2, 1910.

<sup>76</sup> Merrill, *Nicaragua: A Country Study*.

to Díaz when Díaz's term expired in 1913;" however, the U.S. refused to acknowledge this decision which resulted in a full-scale rebellion under the leadership of the enraged Mena against the Díaz regime in 1912.<sup>77</sup>

In 1912, the United States returned once more to Nicaragua to shore up the inept regime of Adolfo Díaz as Mena's rebellion received the aid of a large liberal force led by Benajmín Zelaydón. The U.S. Marines returned to the region to squash this rebellion and to ensure the election of 1912 was fair and just. The validity of the election was important to establish the legitimacy of Díaz's presidency. Although the election appeared to the Americans "to have no likelihood of trouble," the Marines remained in Nicaragua and assisted the country in the electoral process.<sup>78</sup>

Following the election of Díaz in 1912, the Marines remained in Nicaragua until 1925 to maintain the stability and authority of the Díaz regime. With the aid of the U.S.M.C., Díaz and the conservative party remained in power until 1925. In 1925, the Americans withdrew from the country under the assumption that stability was restored.

In order to grasp the detriment of the political party clashes in the country, it is important to understand the foundations and histories of the Nicaraguan political parties, as the feuds between these parties resulted in two of the three U.S. interventions. Nicaragua is dominated by a two-party system consisting of the

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> "Nicaragua Settling Down.: No Truth Feared Over the Elections - American Warships Leave.," *NYT*, October 27, 1912.

liberal and conservative parties. This next section addresses the opposing viewpoints and the history of discord between the liberal and conservative parties that resulted in the civil war between the two parties that exploded in 1926. In the early twentieth century, the Nicaraguan political system was bipartisan consisting of liberal and conservative factions. The upper echelons of society dominated the political arena as it excluded the minority populations, even though the minorities made up a majority of the population. The two parties dominating Nicaraguan politics represented factions within the elite classes.

The Liberal Party came into existence following Nicaragua's ascent into independence in the 1830's. The Liberals focused on free trade and a restriction of religious oppression and religious power within the state. One of the key features of this party is that it has historically been more open to foreign interference and intervention, a main source for the political rivalry between this party and their Conservative counterparts. This party came to power in August of 1893 under President José Santos Zelaya and remained in power until his resignation in 1909.<sup>79</sup> Certain sects within this party supported the coalition government that followed the 1926 revolt against the Díaz regime. However, with the rise to power of Anastasio Somoza Garcia this party lost a great deal of power and influence in the country.

The Conservative Party also came into existence following the country's rise to independence in the 1830's. In the twentieth century, this party focused on

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<sup>79</sup> "Liberals Triumph in Nicaragua." *NYT* (1857-1922) August 18, 1893.

increasing the religious connections between the government and the Catholic Church, whom the party full-heartedly supported. This party also focused on landowners interests as the party was closely tied to the rural sects of the elite population. This party rose to power following the resignation of Zelaya in 1909 and remained in power until 1925 with the assistance and support of the United States under the leadership of Adolfo Díaz from 1911-1917, Emiliano Chamorro Vargas from 1917-1921, Diego Manuel Chamorro from 1921-1924 and Carlos Solórzano from 1925-1926. However, the Liberal Party did not participate in the 1916 election that resulted in the victory of Emiliano Chamorro. During the final leg of Díaz's first term of presidency, he appointed General Emiliano Chamorro as Minister to the United States. Chamorro used this position to begin negotiations for a canal treaty with the US. During the presidency of Emiliano Chamorro, the U.S. received approval from the Nicaraguan government to pass the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, which squashed American fears of canal competition in the region. Even with the participation of the Liberal Party in the 1920 election, voter fraud and governmental malpractice ensured the victory of conservative candidate Diego Manuel Chamorro, the Uncle of former President Emiliano Chamorro. It was not until the 1924 election that a seemingly fair and open election occurred within the country. This election resulted in the appointment of conservative, Carlos Solórzano to the presidency with liberal Juan Bautista Sacasa acting as his vice president.

In 1925, within hours of his inauguration, President Solórzano requested that the U.S. maintain the Marine occupation of the country in fear that instability would ensue upon their departure. On August 3, 1925, despite the requests of President Solórzano and his regime to remain in the country, the Marines once again withdrew under the assumption that the country was stable enough to be self-sufficient. However, the Marines returned in 1926 to once again address the ongoing quarrel between the liberal and conservative forces. The seemingly stable regime of conservative leader Carlos Solórzano was forced out of power by a conservative group led by General Emiliano Chamorro (former president elected to office in 1916) who once again returned to the presidency in January 1926.

The failure of the United States in its 1909 and 1912 interventions led to a rethinking in U.S. policy regarding Nicaragua. In 1926, the U.S. tried an innovative approach which stressed addressing the issue through a non-military intervention utilizing diplomatic measures like formal visits from U.S. diplomats, including Secretary of State Colonel Henry L. Stimson. In 1926, President William Taft sent Colonel Stimson, soon to be Governor-General of the Philippines, to find a diplomatic resolution for the conflict. However, when these diplomatic measures failed to produce the desired results, the U.S. beginning in 1929 resorted to a military strategy that evolved into a long and costly war.

Stimson planned to implement a new style of intervention and by May of 1927, Stimson completed the articulation of the Peace of Tipitapa. Colonel Stimson

made the goals of the agreement clear. The United States was to provide the "people of Nicaragua...a free, fair and impartial election" to be held in 1928; to support the election with a "non-partisan national constabulary" trained by the Marine Corps; to achieve disarmament of liberal and conservative forces; to suggest the "Supreme Court be reconstituted by the elimination of the illegal judges placed in court under Sr. Chamorro (General Emiliano Chamorro Vargas)" and the instatement of properly elected officials; and to "ensure that the Liberal voters will be amply protected in their rights;" to reinstate "the members of Congress illegally expelled by Sr. Chamorro."<sup>80</sup> However, the Peace of Tipitapa had mixed results some of its provisions failed while others succeeded. Essentially, the point of the agreement was to provide the country with political stability and a non-partisan trained military force for protection in cases where the political stability of the country is put at risk.

The failure of this intervention is undeniable, as the country failed to meet a majority of the goals outlined in the Tipitapa Agreement. However, it is my belief that the intentions of the Tipitapa Agreement acted as predecessors for the positive advancements and developments brought about as positive by-products of the U.S. interventions from 1909 until 1933.

The reception of the treaty was a key component to the overall success of Stimson's plan. He needed to guarantee positive reception by the Constitutional

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<sup>80</sup> "Tipitapa Agreement."

army generals and the Nicaraguan government. Stimson counted on the fact that the generals understood that an armed intervention by the United States would mean defeat. These early fears misled Stimson into believing he could easily obtain the approval of the Constitutional army generals and the government. In fact, Stimson believed that within days he would "be sailing for home" believing that he reached a definite "end of the insurrection (sic);" however, he soon learned this would not be the case.<sup>81</sup>

Although a majority of "the military chiefs of the Constitutional Army... agreed to accept the terms of the declaration," liberal general Augusto Sandino "rejected the terms."<sup>82</sup> In fact, Sandino angered and surprised with the actions of his fellow Constitutionalist Army generals decided to make a stand, "and... departed with a small band of men" with hopes of building an anti-American rebel force.<sup>83</sup>

The disarmament measures were also a key factor in the success of the Tipitapa Agreement. Following Sandino's rejection of the agreement, guaranteeing disarmament became more difficult. Stimson successfully obtained the arms of General Moncada and eleven of his fellow liberal generals and their forces. However, he failed to disarm Sandino and his newly formed rebel forces "who left Moncada" and the Constitutional Army.<sup>84</sup> Only a few months after Moncada and the other

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> "Nicaraguan Revolt Declared at an End: Stinson Reports to the State Department That the Liberal Army Has Accepted Terms. ONLY ONE CHIEF DISSIDENT Dispatch Says Moncada and Eleven General Agree to Surrender Arms to the Marines," *NYT*, May 14, 1927.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

generals signed the Tipitapa agreement, Sandino's movement was well underway. By September of 1927, Sandino published his Articles of Incorporation of the Defending Army of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua. In the fall of 1927, Sandino launched his rebel movement against the United States Marines calling upon the ideals of anti-imperialism and independence. Sandino's made his demands clear in a letter to Admiral David Foot Sellers, the commander of naval forces in January of 1928. He wanted the Marines to withdraw, Díaz replaced by a neutral candidate, to keep General Moncada out of office and to ensure the supervision of the election of 1928 through the Latin American republics representatives.<sup>85</sup> By January 20, 1928, the American government labeled Sandino and his forces as guerrillas.<sup>86</sup>

The next step in the Tipitapa Agreement was the legitimacy of the election of 1928. Stimson misplaced his faith in the legitimacy and success of this election. Although the U.S. ensured the election and José Moncada of the Liberal Party won the decisive victory, he soon began working "to convert the institution into a political force of the Liberals."<sup>87</sup> He stamped out the conservative groups and used his office to give the Liberals power over the conservative faction in the country, thereby re-politicizing the presidency. In doing so, Moncada failed to maintain a stable democratic system. The Nicaraguan people incited by the election and the

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<sup>85</sup> As quoted in. Baylen, 407.

<sup>86</sup> Baylen, 407.

<sup>87</sup> James Mahoney, *The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Central America*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 232.

corruption that followed cried for justice. This cry for justice following Moncada's election further encouraged Sandino's rebellion against the U.S. and his government. After the 1928 election, Sandino realized the Nicaraguan people could not rely upon their own political leaders and that it was up to the Nicaraguan people to protect their own rights.

As for the reorganization of the Supreme Court, the United States successfully fulfilled this promise under the cooperative presidency of Adolfo Díaz. Six liberal political leaders formed six new liberal districts within the conservative regions of the country. However, the effectiveness of this goal in the long-term was insufficient to call the Tipitapa operation a success as Anastasio Somoza, after coming to power in 1934, negated the function of the Supreme Court by enforcing a strict repressive government style.

The formation of a National Guard constabulary to be known as El Guardia Nacional was an important determinant in the success of Stimson's May 1927 agreement. It was meant to provide the Nicaraguans with their own military force. A constabulary is a type of military organization designed to provide a non-partisan defense group. Furthermore, it is a type of military organization trained like a military that acts separate from the national army, in this case, the Nicaraguan Constitutional Army. The U.S. believed that in order to ensure success "the old Nicaraguan Constabulary" formed under the Carlos José Solórzano regime in 1925

"would need to be removed and a new one set in place."<sup>88</sup> With this new force Nicaragua "would have a trained armed constabulary, which would include municipal and rural police and be the only armed organization of the country."<sup>89</sup>

In order to properly train this constabulary, the U.S. Marines occupying the country formed a military academy for eligible Nicaraguans. Although the Guard was originally controlled and led by American Marines, the Guard itself was comprised of Nicaraguan citizens. During the early years of the Guard, the constabulary was "officered by United States Marine Corps officers and enlisted men."<sup>90</sup> However, towards the end of their occupation the United States Marine Corps began training the "new units of the National Guard... to take over areas now held by marines."<sup>91</sup> Having completed the formation of the Guard, the Marines attempted to prepare the forces to support themselves and protect the citizenry of Nicaragua upon the withdrawal of the U.S. Marines and officials from the country.

In 1929, the United States realized that sending small numbers of troops focused on training a guard was not sufficient enough to reestablish order in the crumbling country. Although Stimson originally charged the Marines with training and equipping the forces of the Guard, he soon added to their plate maintaining military control over the region they were assigned as well. In fact, soon after its

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<sup>88</sup> Neill Macaulay, *The Sandino Affair*, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), 34.

<sup>89</sup> "Proposed Treaty Terms: Diaz Outlines Extent of Protection United States Would Assume." *NYT*, February 24, 1927.

<sup>90</sup> "Agreement is Drawn for Nicaragua Guard: Native Force, Officered by Americans, Takes Over More Police Duties." *NYT*, November 22, 1927.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

arrival, the U.S.M.C. undertook the job of stamping "out by force, if necessary, banditry in the country" meaning simply to find and defeat the rebel forces causing instability in the region by whatever means necessary.<sup>92</sup> The National Guard was called upon by Stimson to assist the U.S.M.C in its battle against the rebel forces and banditry.

This second job of the Marines became even more important after Sandino's rejection of the peace agreement and his formulation of a rebel force. Although the U.S. Marines quickly defeated some of the minor rebel forces, their tactics were no match for the "much more serious threat that was developing in the northern mountains."<sup>93</sup> The U.S. Marines "would soon have to contend with Sandino and his armed guerrilla forces."<sup>94</sup> Although highly trained and well-equipped, the U.S. Marines were not prepared for the battle they were about to face against Augusto Sandino and his Defending Army of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua.

Augusto Sandino's message to the people was opposition to the imperialist U.S. that corrupted the Nicaraguan people. Augusto Sandino grew up in times of radical nationalism and extensive violent social revolutions. His youth influenced the ideals he utilized in his movement against the U.S. Marines in Nicaragua. Finding his base in the people, Sandino labeled the U.S. as the intrusive enemy and the bringers of misfortune and injustice. He focused on the corruption of the U.S.

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<sup>92</sup> "Nicaraguan Revolt Declared at an End: Stimson Reports to the State Department That the Liberal Army Has Accepted Terms. ONLY ONE CHIEF DISSIDENT Dispatch Says Moncada and Eleven General Agree to Surrender Arms to the Marines." *NYT*, May 14, 1927.

<sup>93</sup> Macaulay, 47.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

businessmen in the mining and banking industries in Nicaragua. He pointed out the harsh struggles the Nicaraguans experienced at the hands of their American employers. He sought out those whom fell victim to U.S. imperialism, the mining workers, the field workers and the peasantry who were starving for justice, while suffering from poverty at the feet of the wealthy and successful U.S investors and businessmen. He brought Nicaraguans from many different backgrounds together uniting them under one common belief: the Americans were corrupt imperialists diminishing the sovereignty of Nicaragua.

Needless to say, Sandino successfully fired up a strong base within the common peoples. Nicaraguans "flocked to his cause because they saw in his Army of National Sovereignty a vindication of their own opposition to imperialism."<sup>95</sup> Sandinismo grew as a result of the country's weakening economy, labor inequality and injustices as well as the political instability. <sup>96</sup> It took hold throughout the country and even spread to foreign lands. Sandino maintained his ties to and with the people of Nicaragua throughout his movement allowing his forces to maintain a constant supply of fresh rebel forces. Throughout Central and Latin America, Sandino came to be known as a Nicaraguan national hero of the people.

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<sup>95</sup> Hodges, 135.

<sup>96</sup> Baylen, 411.



Figure 1: *Augusto C. Sandino, Defender of the Sovereignty of Central America.*<sup>97</sup>

Sandino successfully villainized the U.S. as he repeatedly stressed the roles the two forces played in this battle. The Americans were the greedy, self-indulgent imperialists, while his army consisted of “patriots like himself.”<sup>98</sup> He exclaimed that the U.S. owed Nicaragua for the peace they lost “when the Wall Street bankers introduced the corrupting vice of the dollar in Nicaragua.”<sup>99</sup> Sandino made his stand “in opposition to the policies” implemented by the U.S. through his propaganda.<sup>100</sup> He “unmasked the Yankee policy” in Nicaragua once reigning with “an appearance of legality” revealing the corruption of the Americans in the region.<sup>101</sup> Images like the one below can be found throughout his anti-American propaganda as he repeatedly brought to light the brutalities and wrongdoings of the American Marines in the country.

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<sup>97</sup> Reprinted from Michael J. Schroeder, <http://www.sandinorebellion.com/PhotoPgs/1USNA1/PGS/photos2.html> (accessed January 29, 2013).

<sup>98</sup> Hodges, 136.

<sup>99</sup> Sandino, “Open Letter to President Hoover.”

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.



Figure 2: *Photo USNA1-4.11. Lt. Orville Pennington with head of Silvino Herrera, August 1930.*<sup>102</sup>

The United States failed to counter Sandino's effective propaganda campaign. Sandino's propaganda was effective not only in Nicaragua and Central America, but also within certain sects of the American society as well. Americans like journalist, Carleton Beals, idolized Sandino, caring little that he was a foreigner and performed his acts of defiance against their own countrymen. Beals created a positive image of Sandino in his writings for *The Nation* and in his book, *Banana Gold*. Beals was the only American journalist that Sandino would allow to interview him. Through his works, he ennobled Sandino as the nationalist Nicaraguan. Beals made Sandino out to be an "outstanding popular hero" in his "David-Goliath exploits" against the imperialist nation of the United States.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Reprinted from Michael J. Schroeder, <http://www.sandinorebellion.com/PhotoPgs/1USNA1/PGS/photos2.html> (accessed January 29, 2013).

<sup>103</sup> Beals, "In Quest of Sandino: Imperialism Still Rides."

Beals was not the only American to offer aid and support to Sandino and his Army of National Sovereignty. Sandino was also able to receive arms shipments from the U.S. In fact, U.S. dealers supplied Sandino "with better ammunition than the Marines" were supplied with. Marine Lieutenant George J. O'Shea reported that Sandino's forces were "well armed with plenty of ammunition and dynamite," which surprised the American forces into the realization that Sandino was receiving arms from the U.S.<sup>104</sup>

Sandino and his Army of National Sovereignty tested and tried the U.S. Marine Corps. The Marines trained in frontline pitch battle military tactics easily defeated Sandino in earlier battles, like the Battle of Ocoatl in the fall of 1927. The U.S. "aided by bombing planes," the first organized dive-bombing in U.S. military history, destroyed Sandino's forces as they attempted to utilize modern warfare tactics.<sup>105</sup> Sandino "left 300 dead and 100 wounded on the field" learning quickly that a modern frontline war with the U.S. would lead to his eminent failure.<sup>106</sup>

Sandino realized he needed to change his style of attack in order to be successful against the U.S.M.C. In his letter, *Declarations to the World Press*, written March 18, 1929, he announced that he "decided to assume a defensive posture" and

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<sup>104</sup> "KILL OR WOUND 67 IN NICARAGUA FIGHT; Marines and Constabulary Numbering 40 Are Attacked by 400 in Guerrilla Bands. 4 OF CONSTABULARY SLAIN Bandits Armed With Machine Guns and Dynamite Bombs -- Patrol Sought Missing Fliers," *NYT*, October 19, 1927.

<sup>105</sup> "Sandino Ambushes Marines in Nicaragua; Rebels are Repulsed with Heavy Casualties." *NYT*, July 27, 1927.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

to attack only when his forces have the advantage.<sup>107</sup> He continued to state that his forces “will give new lessons to the assassins of freedom” most certainly referring to the “new type of incendiary bomb” his forces prepared.<sup>108</sup> By 1930, Sandino was gathering “authority over all significant guerrilla bands operating in Nicaragua” making him a more than formidable opponent for the U.S.<sup>109</sup> Sandino then returned with a strategy based on hit and run tactics, ambushes and short-term occupations of localities within safe regions. The Sandinistas regrouped and came back stronger than ever after Battle of Ocoatl fighting with a “tactical disposition far above anything displayed by them in” any battle prior leading the U.S. to believe they were “receiving training instructions from sources other than Nicaraguans because of the up-to-datedness of the tactics.”<sup>110</sup>

Even as the rebel forces began utilizing guerrilla tactics the U.S. Marines continued to utilize strategies based in premise on modern warfare tactics. The Marines approach proved ineffective against Sandino’s newly trained and well-equipped forces. In an attempt to hinder the training and arming of Sandino’s forces, the Marines set up in the cities and attempted to cut off the supply lines to Sandino by closing the main trails; however, this would prove ineffective because Sandino’s forces much more familiar with the terrain and with the home field advantage found new trails. The Marines frustrations grew as they failed to locate

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<sup>107</sup> Sandino. “DECLARATIONS TO THE WORLD PRESS OF THE SUPREME COMMAND OF THE ARMY IN DEFENSE OF THE NATIOANL SOVEREIGNTY OF NICARAGUA.”

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Macaulay, 166.

<sup>110</sup> Macaulay, 89.

Sandino and his forces with "an air reconnaissance" as a result of "his swift shifting" in the "cover of the woodlands."<sup>111</sup> In direct accordance with guerrilla warfare tactics, Sandino struck quickly and withdrew dumbfounding the Marines fighting in unfamiliar territory.

Sandino believed his forces were "to serve as a restraint and as a punishment of the Americans' "unbridled crimes."<sup>112</sup> His men fought for many varying localized reasons, but all fought with an unwavering loyalty that proved vital to Sandino's success in battle. The Americans realized in previous interventions that "the Nicaraguan natives have in them the making of good soldiers" even though in earlier times this was considered a positive attribute of the Nicaraguans this realization would come to haunt them in their 1926 intervention.<sup>113</sup>

The U.S. realized that "an American military victory in Nicaragua was impossible without a large-scale commitment of American forces," something they could not commit to.<sup>114</sup> In 1927, the U.S. Senate made it clear; it opposed "the use of armed forces in" the region and would not support an increase in arms or troops.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> "MARINE PLANES FAIL TO LOCATE SANDING; Matagalpa Region of Nicaragua Is Quiet as Americans Scour It for Insurgent. HE IS REPORTED FLEEING Navy Department Heads, Informed of Rebel's Flight, Assure Senate Committee Peace Is Near. Senators Are Told of Flight. Fair Election Thought Likely." *NYT*, February 12, 1928.

<sup>112</sup> Sandino, "Declarations to the New York World."

<sup>113</sup> "Americans in the Fight: Eight of Them Giving Valuable Aid to Estrada." *NYT*, January 2, 1910.

<sup>114</sup> Macaulay, 185.

<sup>115</sup> "Sacasa Asked to Confer: Nicaraguan President Would Hold Parley Under Our Auspices. OFFERS SEATS IN CABINET Also to Buy Foes' Arms and Reorganize National Guard as Police Force. HOT EXCHANGE IN SENATE Borah Version of Kellogg's Talk to Committee Differs From the Secretary's," *NYT*, January 16, 1927.

The implementation of the Marines became futile as success was not possible; they did not have sufficient forces or training in guerrilla counter-tactics.

Stimson realized, in 1928, that withdrawal was necessary; U.S. diplomats stated that the "Marines will be withdrawn from Nicaragua very soon after the inauguration of President-elect Moncada."<sup>116</sup> Stimson; however, because of the gravity of the Sandino situation was not able to secure such a withdrawal until 1933. He was caught off guard by Sandino's forces and completely unaware of the extent to which an untrained, poorly educated Nicaraguan rebel force could challenge the well-trained and equipped U.S. Marine Corps. In 1930, the growing unrest of the American people who were greatly influenced by the repeated failures of the intervention and the blatantly anti-American propaganda coming out of the country became undeniable.

The Hoover Administration, in response to American public opinion and in fear of the growing economic instability and hardship in America, decided to extricate itself from the country. On December 10, 1931, President Hoover announced to the U.S. Congress that his administration decided to withdraw their troops beginning in June and to have all troops out of the country following the 1932 Nicaraguan election. The Marines remained in the country to ensure a safe and

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<sup>116</sup> "Marines to Leave Nicaragua Soon: Sufficient Force to Prevent Coup d'Etat Will Remain After Moncada's Inauguration. TALK OF ACTION ON CANAL Native Officials, Following Hoover's Visit, Indicate He Is Greatly Interested in Project. Expect Withdrawal Soon.," *NYT*. November 29, 1928.

secure election and to act as "moral support" to the National Guard, as it was still a young and weak institution.<sup>117</sup>

Withdrawal was not a task the military commanders took lightly it was a slow and anxiety-filled process. After the first group of Marines returned home, the second groups began to prepare themselves to withdraw as well. Among the second group of soldiers to withdraw were the Marines working with the National Guard. Upon their departure, the control of the Guard would be "passed from American officers to Nicaraguan officers."<sup>118</sup> The Marines understood that ensuring the stability and success of the Guard proved much easier during their occupation than it would after their departure from the country.

Although this was not the first time the American forces entered a foreign country to establish a constabulary, it was the last. Nicaragua was far too unstable for a constabulary to be a safe means of providing safety and security to the people. Even during the Marines occupation of Nicaragua, the Guard stepped outside of its proscribed role as a policing unit. The Guard acted as an agent of the government hunting down Sandino supporters and rebels in the cities and countryside in an attempt to extinguish Sandino themselves.

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<sup>117</sup> "Recall of Marines in Nicaragua Urged; Marines Who Were Killed in Nicaraguan Ambush," *NYT*, January 3, 1931.

<sup>118</sup> "Washington Ends Task in Nicaragua: State Department Views With Satisfaction Progress Made by Sister Republic. OUR PLEDGES FULFILLED Three Elections Supervised and an Impartial Police Force Raised and Trained. ADAMS PRAISES MARINES Secretary Cites Excellent Record In Project Requiring Courage, Discretion and Hard Work," *NYT*, January 2, 1933.

One of the main goals of Stimson and the Americans was to establish a system of indirect control through advisors in Nicaragua. In fact, President Moncada and president-elect Jose Bautista Sacasa, elected in 1932, formed an agreement regarding the National Guard. They worked to figure out who would take over which position upon the Marines departure. The Marines and the two officials worked to create a list compiled equally with liberal and conservative options. The Marines then assisted in the training of the fifty-five men who were to take control upon their departure. Throughout the final months of the Marines' occupation, the fifty-five men gained the experience and training necessary to succeed in their positions, acting as apprentices to the U.S. Marines.

Upon their departure, the U.S. Marines insisted that Moncada place Somoza in charge of the National Guard, believing him to be a loyal and trustworthy leader for the group. From the early years of their work with the Guard, the United States Marines favored liberal Anastasio Somoza Garcia. He was a strong supporter of the Marines in their creation of the constabulary. As he fought alongside the Corps, many of the Marines became quite fond of his determination and loyalty to the constabulary and its mission. President Moncada was very receptive of the U.S. Marines' advice and quickly commissioned Somoza's position of leadership within the Guard. From the moment Somoza "was commissioned major general and

designated Chief of the National Guard," the U.S. and President Moncada offered their warm support.<sup>119</sup>

In 1933, Somoza, the now acting Chief Director of the National Guard, was also the Foreign Minister in the Moncada regime. He had ties not only to the Guard, but to the government as well. His ties to the government led to a transformation within the Guard that negated the core values of the constabulary. His ambitious nature, that the departing Marines commended him for, would be the downfall of the entire system.

Under Somoza's leadership from 1933 to 1937, the National Guard became the antithesis of its stated goals. In fact, for Somoza the unit became more like his own private death squad as he utilized the guard and his position as Chief Director to organize the assassination of Sandino. It must be understood that "without support from Nicaragua's political leaders... the National Guard could never have played a major role in Nicaraguan politics" which is why Somoza's governmental position was such a detrimental conflict of interest.<sup>120</sup>

Another goal listed in the Tipitapa Agreement was the establishment of a democratic system. Although free and open, the elections of 1928, 1930 and 1932 did not guarantee a democratic political system. The government under Moncada established a politicized system that favored the liberal faction in the country and Sacasa's government fell to Somoza. Beginning in early 1936, Somoza publicly

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<sup>119</sup> Macaulay, 236.

<sup>120</sup> Hodges, 133.

challenged and confronted President Sacasa using the Guard to place his close associates in local government offices following the forced removal of the active officials. After months of intimidation tactics and increased military conflict and confrontation, Sacasa resigned from office on June 6, 1936 opening the presidency up to the power-hungry hands of Anastasio Somoza.<sup>121</sup> With Sandino out of the way, after his assassination by Somoza and the Guard in 1934, nothing was standing in the way of the ambitious chief director.

Following the resignation of Sacasa, Somoza, with the support of a faction of the Conservative Party, established the Liberal National Party (Partido Liberal Nacionalista—PLN) which supported his campaign for presidency. In December of the same year, Somoza was elected president and by January of 1937, the chief director of the military was the acting president as well.<sup>122</sup>

The American goal of establishing a government friendly to the U.S. in terms of U.S. business interests, U.S. property, like the canal, and U.S. citizens proved successful. Through presidents Moncada and Sacasa, the United States forged symbiotic relationships and although Anastasio Somoza was a dictator he proved to be a friendly leader as well. Somoza trusted the U.S. and remained friendly with American businessmen as well as the U.S. government, but through his repressive dictatorship the U.S. did not reach their goal of establishing a friendly democracy. However, the United States vied for an open relationship between the Nicaraguan

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<sup>121</sup> Merrill. *Nicaragua: A Country Study*.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

government and themselves because of the need to ensure control and access to Nicaraguan politics in order to protect U.S. assets and interests in the region. Somoza gave them all that and more. Assuming absolute control over the Guard and utilizing it as a political army enforcing his will upon the people, Somoza's rise to power and dictatorship destroyed the National Guard as the U.S. created it. Somoza replaced Sacasa and became one of the most repressive dictators in the region.

The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, with its strict proscription for intervention, led the U.S. to participate in three separate interventions in Nicaragua between 1909 and 1933. Throughout these prolonged interventions, the U.S. failed to achieve its objectives and extensively damaged U.S. prestige in Latin America and at home. From 1909 to 1925, the U.S. focused strictly on military intervention strategies, but became frustrated with the lack of success and the mounting costs. Therefore in the 1926 intervention, the U.S. stressed diplomatic initiatives and institutional means like the Tipitapa agreement and the National Guard to achieve its goals in the country, as well as military strategies.

In its 1926 intervention, the U.S. focused on both non-military and military strategies; however, in the end both failed. In the early years of 1926-1928, the United States focused on diplomatic means such as Stimson's Tipitapa Agreement. However, these means failed, and the U.S. realized by 1928 that non-military intervention was insufficient and decided to return the focus to military strategies.

As a result, from 1929 to 1933, the United States took part in one of its most costly wars in the region.

At home and abroad, the United States faced strong opposition to their interventionist activities in Nicaragua. Although President Díaz asked the U.S. to intervene in the country, the Americans were the objects of a harsh and effective propaganda campaign, most often sparked by the outspoken rebel general, Augusto César Sandino. According to *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, "never in modern international history has there been heard such a strenuous and unanimous booing as that being received by the United States because of her intervention in Nicaragua."<sup>123</sup>

By the end of their occupation in 1933, the U.S. failed to meet the majority of its goals, the Tipitapa Agreement failed to be effective; the disarmament failed to be efficient; the 1928 election failed to establish stability; the National Guard constabulary failed to uphold its founding principles and failed to remain non-partisan; the Marines failed to efficiently stamp out the rebel forces of Augusto Sandino; the direct and indirect control system failed to appropriately advise the Nicaraguan elite; and the democratic system failed as it fell into the hands of a repressive dictator.

The U.S. intended only to address political and economic instability throughout its interventions from 1909 to 1933. However, the lasting effects of the

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<sup>123</sup> As quoted in Macaulay, 31.

presence of the Marines and other Americans were felt all throughout the country, including the social sector. The interventions brought about changes in the social standards and gender norms in place prior to U.S. interaction in the country. Prior to the interventions and American presence, Nicaragua's social climate involved a strict adherence to patriarchy and the principles and guidelines established by patriarchal norms further addressed in chapter four.

This chapter examined the historical context of the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua from 1909 until 1933 by fully examining the history of Nicaragua with an emphasis on the political and economic sectors of the country. This chapter set the foundation of chapter four allowing for a thorough examination of the positive by-products and influences of the U.S. interventions. The U.S. entered the country to address the issues of political and economic instability; however, through its efforts in the country the United States was able to influence and positively advance the political, economic and social sectors of Nicaragua.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE POSITIVE BY-PRODUCTS OF AMERICA'S FAILINGS AND THE EFFECTS OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE COUNTRY

Although I agree with the current scholarship regarding the failings of the United States' interventions in Nicaragua from 1909 to 1933, I believe that it is important to examine the successes of the interventions as well. The U.S. successfully influenced Nicaragua politically, economically and socially. This chapter will reexamine the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua to add complexity to the existing interpretation of U.S. foreign relations during the early twentieth century. It is my contention to prove that the scholarship in this area takes on far too simple of an interpretation of the effects and successes of the U.S. activities in Nicaragua.

When the Americans left Nicaragua in late 1933, they did so at the expense of many of their goals in the country. The Nicaraguan interventions from 1909 to 1933 in summation can be seen in the many ways aforementioned as failures; however, the positive by-products of these interventions can be seen as nothing less than successes in regards to the advancements and developments they brought to the country politically, economically and socially.

In addition, in this chapter, I will examine the political changes that occurred as a result of the U.S. interventions and how these changes led to the advancement of the political climate in Nicaragua on both a short and long-term basis. The U.S.

successfully assisted the electoral system, as the elections of 1928, 1930 and 1932 were free and open elections. These elections brought the voice of the common people into the political arena. Furthermore in this chapter, I will also explain the importance of the formation of Sandino's guerillas as well as the formulation of the Grupo Patriótico as well as the reasons for and objectives of each of the groups. This chapter will prove that the United States positively influenced the Nicaraguan political system as the formation of Sandino's forces influenced the rise of a powerful new political party in the latter part of the twentieth century, the Sandinistas.

Additionally, this chapter will examine the economic changes brought about by the U.S. marine occupations. Prior to the intervention, the country suffered from a great deal of debt and was at risk of immediate economic consequences if their payments to foreign banks and countries fell any further behind. Upon taking over the customs houses and economic offices of the government, the United States established an economic plan that allowed the Nicaraguan government to begin repayment of their many debts. In doing so, they assisted the country from becoming increasingly dependent on foreign aid. As the country fell into the hands of the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and the U.S. began to withdraw its men from the customs houses and taxation offices, the country continued to make progress regarding the repayment of their debts.

The final section of this chapter will bring about the undeniable social advancements that occurred as a result of this intervention. Throughout the U.S. occupations and as a direct result of American presence in the country, a new found independence and self-expression began to arise within Nicaraguan women as the 1920's American ideals of the flapper social class began to invade the country. Throughout this era, women began establishing their independence and most importantly their place within the public sphere as will be shown in an examination of the role of women in Sandino's forces and the lives of several Nicaraguan women. While also focusing on the advancements women began to make throughout the country by forming women's groups, attending conferences for the advancement of women in the region, as well as the foundation of a woman's university. This chapter calls upon the works of Michael J. Schroeder and Erin S. Finzer to back up assertions regarding women in Sandino's forces. I join these two scholars in their examinations of these topics to draw the connection to the U.S. interventions.<sup>124</sup> In effect, this chapter examines the changes that occurred in regards to the patriarchal social system through the social standards and normative behaviors that came about as positive by-products of the interventions.

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<sup>124</sup> Finzer, 137-160.

Michael J. Schroeder, "SandinoRebellion.com - Home Page." *SandinoRebellion.com - Home Page*. Web. (accessed January 29, 2013).

*The Intentional and Unintentional Positive By-Products of the U.S. Interventions on the  
Nicaraguan Political Sector*

Politically speaking, the U.S. Marine occupations of Nicaragua from 1909 to 1933 were not completely unsuccessful. In fact, even though the 1928 election failed to promote stability in the country, the U.S. Marines and American diplomats in the country worked diligently to fight any election fraud. The records indicate that only the Liberal and Conservative parties had candidates in this electoral race; however, other parties and groups attempted to participate in the election as well. In order to ensure a just election the United States formed, in cooperation with Liberal and Conservative Nicaraguans and the Nicaraguan government, The National Board of Elections. The Board consisted of Brigadier General Frank R. McCoy, Dr. Ramon Castillo, the Conservative political member, and Dr. Manuel Cordero Reyes, the Liberal political member.

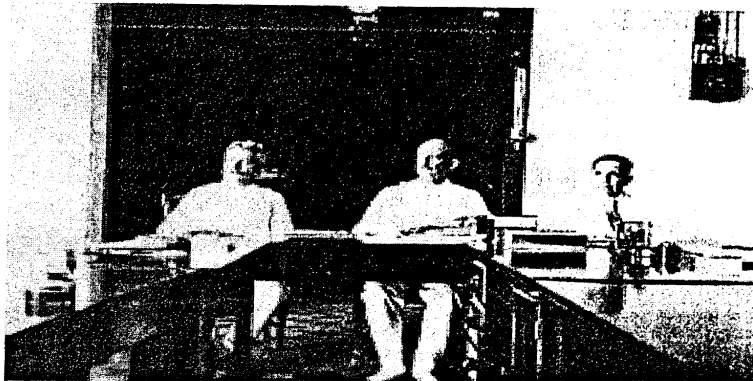


Figure 3: *Photo USNA2-5.9. The National Board of Elections, Managua, Nicaragua.*<sup>125</sup>

The United States General Frank R. McCoy, acting as leading member of the National Electoral Board, investigated the legitimacy of the campaign led by Dr. Luis Corea, the representative of the Liberal-Republican party newly revived in Nicaragua. He also investigated the legitimacy of the Nationalist Party founded by Toribio Tüerin. After intensive research and investigation, many parties and their candidates “dropped from consideration” including the Liberal Republican party, which failed to “poll the 10 per cent. of the total votes necessary to preserve a party’s identity” in a previous election in 1926.<sup>126</sup>

The elections of 1928, 1930 and 1932 brought into the political arena the voice of the common people. Prior to the 1932 election, the Grupo Patriótico formed as a progressive political group in the country. Upon their founding, this group

<sup>125</sup> Reprinted from Michael J. Schroeder, (Left to right, Dr. Ramon Castillo C., Conservative political member; Brig. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, USA, President; Dr. Manuel Cordero Reyes, Liberal political member.) <http://www.sandinorebellion.com/PhotoPgs/1USNA1/PGS/photos2.html> (accessed January 29, 2013).

<sup>126</sup> Harold N. Denny. “NICARAGUA’S ELECTION A TEST OF OUR POLICY: EMILIANO CHAMORRO,” *NYT (1923- Current file)*, October 28, 1928.

worked to resolve the issues between the Nicaraguan government and Sandino. On June 30, 1932, the group sponsored an agreement which "pledged both the Conservatives and Liberals to seek a political settlement with Sandino by 'pacific and conciliatory' means."<sup>127</sup> The Grupo Patriótico succeeded on October 3, 1932 in securing the consent of both parties' candidates Sacasa and Chamorro to a "concrete plan of cooperation based on the 'pacification' Nicaragua and the proportional representation of minority parties in the government after the election."<sup>128</sup>

The U.S. provided political stability throughout its occupations of the country and even upon departure the nation maintained stability. Even after the government of Sacasa fell to the power of Somoza and his Guard, stability was maintained. Although Somoza upon taking control of the nation and establishing a dictatorship in fact negated the U.S. goal for a democratic government, throughout his reign from 1936 until his assassination in 1956, he maintained effective control over the nation. Despite the fact that Somoza maintained a repressive dictatorship, he became "loved and admired by a vast section of the population of Nicaragua" coming to be known to many by the endearing name *Tacho*, "a touching diminutive of his first name."<sup>129</sup>

Although Sandino's forces proved a tough opponent during the intervention, the formation and successes of this force are incredibly important in the

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<sup>127</sup> As quoted in Baylen, "Sandino: Patriot or Bandit?," 415.

<sup>128</sup> Baylen, 416.

<sup>129</sup> "STAR WAS LUCKY, SOMOZA INSISTED: Dictator of Nicaragua Has Won the Affection of Many Despite His Practices." *NYT (1923-Current file)*, September, 23 1956, 38.

advancement of the Nicaraguan political arena. The United States brought about an entirely new political party that rose again in the latter part of the twentieth century, the Sandinistas. The Sandinistas became a pivotal part of Nicaraguan political history. In fact, the Sandinista revolution that occurred in the 1970's, "drew thousands of women into public life, encouraged females to work outside the home, spawned a national women's movement, and enshrined gender equality in the national constitution."<sup>130</sup> Furthermore, the formation of Sandino's forces acted as a catalyst for the "consolidation of more modern state forms."<sup>131</sup>

*The Intentional and Unintentional Positive By-Products of the U.S.*

*Interventions on the Nicaraguan Economic Sector*

As for economic advancements, it is clear that the U.S. stepped in to clear up the economic issues Nicaragua was facing during the early twentieth century. Economic statistics reveal that the Nicaraguan government held a great deal of foreign debt as revealed in chapter three. The U.S. entered Nicaragua in 1909 to oust Zelaya and take over the political, economic and military actions of the country. They secured control of customs houses and assisted in the creation of the Bank of Nicaragua, which later became the Bank of Development, as noted in the papers of the U.S. Department of State archives.

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<sup>130</sup> Merrill. *Nicaragua: A Country Study*.

<sup>131</sup> Michael J. Schroeder, "Horse Thieves to Rebels to Dogs: Political Gang Violence and the State in the Western Segovias, Nicaragua, in the Time of Sandino, 1926-1934," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28.2 (May 1996), 387. Furthermore, this article addresses the inspiration behind the formation of Sandino's forces and the effects of the formation of the forces in greater detail.

Companies like Brown Brothers and Company and J. and W. Seligman and Company became active members of the Nicaraguan banking and custom house communities. The Brown Brothers Company and J. & W. Seligman and Company were invested in the banking sector through the Bank of Nicaragua and through their negotiations of loans. These two companies acted as the “representatives of American banking houses...which controlled the customs receipts.”<sup>132</sup> These two companies assisted the customs houses in collection and accounting of monetary funds. These New York bankers created the first national bank, known as the Bank of Nicaragua, in order to allow them to more astutely address the issues of the country’s debts. In 1911, the two bankers worked to fund the bank with a loan consisting of \$1,250,000, which allowed the men to “organize the national bank and prepare for handling the larger loan to be made after the treaty is ratified.”<sup>133</sup> The brothers assisted the country in repaying its debt to England as they handled the negotiations.<sup>134</sup> Additionally, records indicate that the \$3,000,000 payment from the United States in accordance with the Bryan-Chamorro treaty allowed the government to “liquidate the greater part of the local debt and claims.”<sup>135</sup>

Nicaraguan economics in the early twentieth century can be characterized by two words, indebted and inflated. American businessmen, investors, and officials

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<sup>132</sup> Baker, 340.

<sup>133</sup> “ENGLISH AID PLAN FOR NICARAGUA LOAN: Holders of the 1909 Bond Issue Ratify the Agreement with New York Bankers. LORD AVERBURY THE SPONSOR. Decision is Another Step Toward American Control of Nicaraguan Finances Proposed Treaty.,” *NYT (1923 Current file)*, June 21, 1912.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

made many improvements to the economic sector of Nicaraguan society. According to the *New York Times*:

The financial position of Nicaragua has been fundamentally improved. Efficient collection of customs during the last two years by Col. Clifford D. Ham...has without a change in rates of duty, more than doubled the receipts.<sup>136</sup>

Nicaragua's financial position improved greatly by 1920, and for the first time in Nicaraguan history, the country was able to take out loans from within the country. On April 11, 1928, the Nicaraguan government took out a loan amounting to \$25,000, a sum much lower than loans in previous decades, to be used in the general election of 1928. The country also obtained an extension to complete repayment of a \$1,000,000 loan used to pay off the Liberal and Conservative armies with a mere \$75,000 left to be repaid.<sup>137</sup> These statistics prove that the country made huge improvements from the deficits of the nineteenth century and the extremely large foreign loans taken out during the early twentieth century.

Additionally, industrialization resulted in stability and growth in the country during the American occupations. As discovered in the economic history section of chapter three, the economic system in place prior to the arrival of American

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<sup>136</sup> "HELPING NICARAGUA: More United States Money for Rehabilitating the Smaller Republic's Finances."

<sup>137</sup> Harold N. Denny "NICARAGUA BORROWS 425,000 FOR ELECTIONS: This and Deferred Payment of Another Loan Extends American Control of Finances," *NYT (1923- Current file)*, April 12, 1928.

businessmen and investors was based mostly on the sugar industry, subsistence farming and mining. However, by the late 1920's, the country began focusing more closely on their import and export ratios.

By 1928, the country was exporting \$13,000,000 worth of goods, while only importing \$10,000,000, with a profit margin of \$3,000,000. The total debt in the country by 1928, decreased to the amount of \$6,000,000 while investments increased totaling over \$15,000,000.<sup>138</sup> These improvements can easily be tied to the arrival of the Brown Brothers and J. & W. Seligman during the first intervention as a result of the Dollar Diplomacy. U.S. businessmen wanted a more stable economy in Nicaragua to ensure their investments and the Brown Brothers and J. & W. Seligman saw the opportunity to profit from the establishment of the national bank assisting the government in the repayments of past loans and keeping current on newer loans.

The industrialism that the American business interests introduced to the country "brought in new ideas, new educational currents, economic forces and an international public opinion and international arrangements for institutions of

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<sup>138</sup> Harold N. Denny. "AMERICAN HOLDINGS IN NICARAGUA SMALL: Wall Street's Direct Interest Is Only \$185,000 of Our Total \$12,000,000 Investment. \$10,000,000 ON EAST COAST. New Orleans Brothers, Once Peddlers, Have \$8,000,000 in Fruit and Other Ventures. No Exploitation Found. Holdings Put at \$8,000,000. Indians Get \$1 a Day. Wall Street Entered in 1911. Repaying Heaviest Debt. How Bank Makes Loans. Nicaragua Bought Control. Bank and Railway Secure Loan. Nicaraguan Trade Prospers. SAYS SITUATION IS QUIET. Admiral Sellers, at Balboa, Tells of Nicaragua Conditions. SANDINO REPORTED ACTIVE. Marines Push Forces to Matagalpa to Head Off Rebel General.," *NYT (1923- Current file)* February 6, 1928.

continuity and order aimed at meeting the social questions demanding solution."<sup>139</sup>

With these came the idea of the *modern woman*, a topic addressed later in the chapter.

*The History of Nicaraguan Social Standards and the Intentional and Unintentional Positive By-Products of the U.S. Interventions on the Nicaraguan Social Sector*

At this point in history, the first political group organized by and for women in Nicaragua was founded, the Women's Club. This group gained strength following the 1928 election. This Women's Club promoted the idea that "woman will be made responsible for her own acts, be her own master, leaving her free to direct her influence towards those activities which man hitherto has appeared to consider his own realm by divine right."<sup>140</sup>

Reports from various women's conferences and Pan-American conferences, including The Women's Auxiliary Committee of the United States from the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, show the increased focus on women's education that occurred beginning in the 1920's.<sup>141</sup> In fact, following the new education currents that entered the country, Presidents Zavala and Cardenas both founded and supported a woman's university, Granada College. This university focused on broadening the scope of women's education by employing American teachers "thus

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<sup>139</sup> Adolf A. Berle Jr. "Latin America Moves Slowly Toward Stability: Under a sometimes turbulent surface, long-term economic and political forces are working a change. Latin American Moves Toward Stability." *NYT (1923- Current file)*, October 16, 1955.

<sup>140</sup> De Aguerri, 19.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

opening a new field in women's education, making it possible for them [the women of Nicaragua] to obtain the degree of Bachelor of Science and Letters."<sup>142</sup> This report also relays that two women, Mrs. Teresa de Rivera and Mrs. Cristina Z. de Montealegre, following in the footsteps of Carmen Sobalvarro (an activist poet addressed later in this chapter) began writing politically based articles for the Misses Concepcion Palacio.

Reports from The First Conference of the Inter-American Commission of Women reveal the active role of the Nicaraguan female representative, Sra. Juanita Molina de Fromén. This report focuses on Fromén's role in the promotion of a treaty to guarantee Nicaraguan women equal nationality rights. Additional reports indicate that the Government of Nicaragua began considering an amendment to the Constitution that would allow for the issue of women's nationality rights to be further addressed.<sup>143</sup> Furthermore, data collected from the reports of the Inter-American Commission of Women to the Eighth International Conference of American States, on the Political and Civil Rights of Women reveals that Nicaragua ratified the Convention on the Nationality of Women on February 3, 1937. Although women in Nicaragua continued to face issues regarding equal rights, I would like to remind readers that during this timeframe, women in America were continuing to fight for equality as well.

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> *Nationality of Women: Report of the Secretary-General On the Information Obtained In Execution of the Resolutions of the Assembly and the Council by the Council and the Members of the League*. Rep. no. C.342.M.158.1934.V. Geneva, Switzerland: League of Nations Publications, 1934. Annex, 5.

During this time period, Nicaragua began to send an increased number of representatives to conferences and meetings regarding women's rights. The Inter-American Commission of Women's conference reports from the Seventh Conference of American Republics shows the attendance of a female representative from Nicaragua. The reports of the "Minutes of the Fourth Session" (December 16, 1933) reveal the influence of the Roosevelt administration on the role of women in politics. The transcriptions state that "there is no doubt that similar manifestations of women's beneficial influence can be noticed in other countries of the Western Hemisphere."<sup>144</sup>

Sandino and his forces brought advancements to the ideals of the *modern woman* in Nicaragua. Sandino, although known mostly for his role as a Nicaraguan hero and leader of the Army in Defense of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua, was also one of the first within Nicaraguan society to support a break from traditional gender roles. Although much of his forces consisted of the working class man, his forces also consisted of women including Blanca Aráuz, María Lidia, and Carmen Sobalvarro. The role of these three women in his rebel army alone exhibit one of the most important positive by-products of the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua from 1909 to 1933.

It is clear that the history of Nicaragua was and still is to some degree dominated by the ideals of patriarchy. Patriarchal ideals are based on the idea of the

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<sup>144</sup> Campos, 10.

male and female sexual dichotomy, which assigns certain attributes or characteristics to each respective gender. Essentially Nicaraguan society was controlled by the idea that “gender divides humans into two categories: male and female,” and these categories set the precedence for what role one was expected to play within their society.<sup>145</sup> Historically speaking, the gender binary formed by the sexual dichotomy presents male groups as the successful, dominant and aggressive hegemon in society occupying the public sphere.

Patriarchal ideals influenced the everyday lives of men and women in Nicaragua as patriarchy designed a facet of normative behavior that controlled the actions of both. Hegemony refers to the “cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life.”<sup>146</sup> In the case of Nicaraguan society, men claimed the leading position in both the public and private spheres. Women, on the other hand, were left to be subservient and docile, acting almost as servants to the men of the country.

In marriages, women were expected to play a submissive role; they were the caregivers providing the emotional framework of the family, while men were seen as the head of the household. From a young age, men were taught to embrace the ideals of machismo (masculinity) through sexual advances. As a result, Nicaraguan women were often seen as the property of their male counterparts whose ideal role

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<sup>145</sup> Anne Cranny-Francis, Wendy Waring, Pam Stavropoulos, and Joan Kirkby, *Gender Studies: Terms and Debate*, New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, (2003), 1.

<sup>146</sup> R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, Berkeley: University of California, (1995), 77.

is that of mother holding the belief that their place was within the home raising children while having minimal rights.<sup>147</sup> Politically speaking, women were amongst the classes expected to remain outside of the political arena. Women were not guaranteed the right to vote or hold public office by any of the regimes that ruled the country throughout the early twentieth century.

In an essence, Nicaraguan women were the *othered* and subservient class in society. In a report from the Women's Auxiliary Committee of the United States of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, the liberty of Nicaraguan women was declared lacking. Her "action as a social factor is almost *nihil*" as men in the country believed themselves to "be the only authority in matters of art, science, letters, industry, commerce, and above all, in politics."<sup>148</sup> This report indicates that there were no women's organizations in the country prior to 1916. Furthermore, prior to 1921, only a mere three women produced literary pieces in the country. It is clear that women were the silenced class in Nicaragua for centuries; however, the women of Nicaragua gained a voice during the American interventions making progress not only socially, but politically as well. The Nicaraguan women began following in the footsteps of the American women who entered the country as educators throughout the U.S. interventions.

Gender in Nicaragua holds a long history of discrimination for the women of the country as aforementioned. However, a break from patriarchal tradition ignited

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<sup>147</sup> Information gathered from the work of: Merrill. *Nicaragua: A Country Study*.

<sup>148</sup> De Aguerri, 19.

in the women of this nation following the arrival of the American forces and the formation of the rebel army led by Augusto Sandino. In fact, Sandino's armed forces acted as the main vehicle for the advancement of the role of women in Nicaraguan society. Through his forces, women stepped outside of the private sphere of the home and into the most public sphere of politics and wartime. The stories of Blanca Aráuz, María Lidia, Emilia, and Carmen Sobalvarro are amongst the most fascinating positive by-products of the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua. Each of these women offers their own unique contributions to the race for the glass ceiling in Nicaragua.

Blanca Aráuz was most notably known for her marriage to the Nicaraguan hero, Augusto Sandino. As his wife she interjected herself into the public sphere as a member of Sandino's forces frequently working within the rebel camps as well as across *enemy* lines. During the rebellion, Aráuz worked as Sandino's personal and private secretary. Her most notable contributions to the movement lied in her ability to collect intelligence, while acting as a spy across enemy lines, and her ability to transcribe messages, as she was a skilled telegrapher.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Finzer, 138.



Figure 4. *Augusto Calderón Sandino and Blanca Aráuz, day of their wedding, May 19, 1927.*<sup>150</sup>

Archival photos reveal that Sandino's army also employed women in its membership ranks as soldiers.<sup>151</sup> Both María Lidia and a woman by the name of Emilia served as soldiers within Sandino's army. Their roles as soldiers show an evident break in the gender barrier within the country. Although not much is known of these women, the simple fact that they are known members of his forces shows a break from popular patriarchal tradition. In fact, photographs from this time period show these women as armed members of the forces.

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<sup>150</sup>Reprinted from Michael J. Schroeder, <http://www.sandinorebellion.com/PhotoPgs/1USNA1/PGS/photos2.html> (accessed January 29, 2013).

<sup>151</sup> Archival photographs from the research of Michael J. Schroeder, <http://www.sandinorebellion.com/PhotoPgs/1USNA1/PGS/photos2.html> (accessed January 29, 2013).

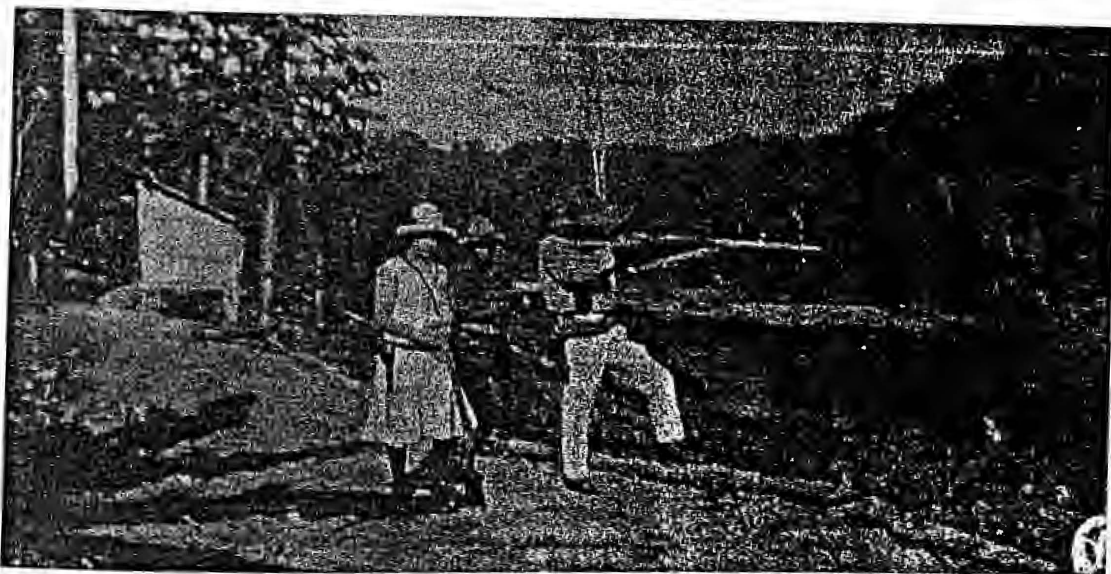


Figure 5. *Photo USNA1-2.3. Sandinistas along the banks of the Río Coco, ca. 1928*<sup>152</sup>

Sandino's movement utilized a great deal of propaganda throughout the fighting. Carmen Sobalvarro played a very different role in the Sandinista movement as a poet. Born in 1908, Sobalvarro grew up experiencing the backlash of the American interventions in the country. As a young woman, she heard much of the anti-American propaganda that the rebel forces broadcasted across the nation. Anti-American propaganda inspired this poet as she began to intermix with the rebel forces of Augusto Sandino. As one of Sandino's many lovers, Sobalvarro learned a great deal about the movement and took to pen and paper to spread the word of the rebel forces' motives and goals.

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<sup>152</sup> Reprinted from Michael J. Schroeder, <http://www.sandinorebellion.com/PhotoPgs/1USNA1/PGS/photos2.html> (accessed January 29, 2013).

Sobalvarro was a valuable asset to the Sandino movement as a political activist poet. Beginning as early as 1929, Sobalvarro wrote for Comité Central Republicano de Tegucigalpa. Her work influenced future writers and poets, especially those involved in the later Sandinista movement in the 1970's and 1980's. Her influence on future writers and poets proves most astutely the worth of this break in the Nicaraguan gender norms. Erin Finzer stated that Sobalvarro "combined traditional and modern stereotypes of womanhood, thus providing Central Americans with a palatable model of women in politics".<sup>153</sup> Although unintentional, the advancements and influences of Sandino and his forces on the lives and role of women in Nicaragua are a positive by-product of the U.S. intervention.

Women outside of the Sandino movement also became active as writers, activists and leaders throughout the country. Josefa Toledo de Aguerri, known as Nicaragua's first feminist, acted as editor for two women's magazines in the country. She also successfully advocated for girls' secular education. In fact, she received "greetings" for her role as an educator for fifty years in September of 1945 from the International League for Peace and Freedom in the United States.<sup>154</sup> According to the *New York Times*, she "influenced and advanced the cause of education in [their]

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<sup>153</sup> Finzer, 138.

<sup>154</sup> "Nicaragua Honors Educators," *NYT (1923- Current file)*, September 12, 1945.

countries" like no other woman.<sup>155</sup> In honor of her service she received the award, Woman of the Americas- 1950.<sup>156</sup> Aguerri also lobbied for the suffragist movement in Nicaragua. Additionally, she acted as a member and leader in several women's organizations, nationally and internationally.

Other women came forward during this time period as writers. María Teresa Sánchez and María de la Selva were both writers; however, unlike Sobalvarro, they did not write for the movement. These women produced "exceptionally original and experimental texts".<sup>157</sup> These women produced many works for a wide variety of sources. María Teresa Sánchez working alongside her husband, Pablo Steiner, published a monthly magazine *Nuevos Horizontes* as well as stories, poems, journal essays and books.<sup>158</sup>

The ideal of the *modern woman* came into Nicaragua during the 1920's and 1930's. Much like her North American counterparts, Nicaragua experienced a break from traditional ideals of patriarchy. The most notable changes occurred in the roles and expected behaviors pertaining to women. Carmen Sobalvarro poses as a great example of this break from tradition as she is often used as a "case study on the cultural anxieties surrounding changing gender roles upon the arrival of the

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<sup>155</sup> "'WOMAN OF THE AMERICAS' Senora de Aguerri Receives the Fifth Annual Award Here." *NYT* (1851-2009), May 8, 1950.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Finzer, 138.

<sup>158</sup> Erickson, 152.

“modern” woman and a growing women’s movement in Nicaragua” that began to really take root in the 1920’s.<sup>159</sup>

Women became active in roles outside of the household; as rebel soldiers, like Emilia, Blanca Aráuz, and María Lidia and writers, like Carmen Sobalvarro. The country began to change for the better as women entered into the public sphere influencing the future of the women’s movement. A foundation for the women’s movement launched in the 1970’s under the label of the Sandinista movement. This movement brought about a whole new era for the working class and women. Although the United States did not enter the country with the intention of positively affecting the growth of women’s equality, it was an unintended positive by-product of the interventions.

This chapter revealed the changes in the political, economic and social sectors of Nicaragua. These changes occurred as a result of the three U.S. interventions in Nicaragua from 1909 to 1933. The political advancements brought about by the U.S. interventions allowed the country to establish stability and control in the governmental sector. This political stability influenced the economic sector by allowing the government and the banking industry to work alongside one another in an attempt to repay debts, increase profits and establish a more secure economic system in the country. At the same time, the country underwent a change in its’

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<sup>159</sup> Finzer, 138.

social dynamic as women began to enter the public sphere leaving their long established home in the private sphere. Although the interventions failed in obtaining many of their primary objectives, the intentional and unintentional positive by-products and influences of these interventions are undeniable.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS

Throughout history, America's active policies regarding international relations have effectively dictated American foreign affairs. In the early twentieth century, American policy makers articulated many policies that greatly altered the role the United States played within its hemisphere. It is clear that policies like the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, Dollar Diplomacy, the Bryan Chamorro Treaty and the Good Neighbor Policy directly affected how the U.S. interacted with its fellow hemispheric and regional neighbors.

During the days of the Roosevelt Corollary and Dollar Diplomacy, the United States became one of the most active countries in the world, acting as a hemispheric protectorate. If the U.S. felt one of its protectorates was at risk of high levels political or economic instability that could put American business interests and investments at risk, the U.S. intervened militarily, politically and economically. From 1909 to 1933, the U.S. deemed the stability and safety of Nicaragua required U.S. intervention and Marine occupation. Although this policy of interventionism has been coined as American imperialism, this thesis directly addressed the concept of American imperialism in Nicaragua from 1909 to suggest that American imperialism directly and indirectly produced positive by-products in Nicaragua. In

fact, this thesis suggests that, in the case of Nicaragua, American imperialism, as defined under the context of direct and active influence and control over the political, economic, military, and cultural sectors of a foreign nation, cannot be defined as a failing of the United States.

The U.S. intervened in Nicaragua on three separate occasions beginning in 1909. From 1909 to 1925, the U.S. focused on military tactics in its intervention, but became frustrated with the lack of success and the mounting costs of the Marine's occupation. In its 1926 intervention, the U.S. intended to stress diplomatic initiatives and institutional means through the Tipitapa agreement and the National Guard to achieve their goals. In 1933, the U.S. withdrew from Nicaragua, following the passing of the Good Neighbor Policy. According to this policy and President Hoover's Congressional Address, withdrawal was necessary due to the lack of efficient progress and the financial constraints of the economic depression the United States was experiencing at the time. The three interventions received a great deal of scrutiny as the U.S. failed to achieve a majority of the objectives outlined in the Tipitapa Agreement throughout its occupation of the country.

Contemporaries of the 1920's, painted a picture of U.S. actions in Latin America as heroic, and provided the U.S. government with credibility and moral righteousness. However, as time progressed and more resources became readily available for U.S. writers, scholars, and journalists the scholarship took a sharp turn. Beginning in the mid-twentieth century, the United States' actions in Latin America

came to be seen as cruel and selfish. This thesis focuses on the positive effects of the American Marine occupations and interventions in Nicaragua by revealing the political, economic, and social advancements and developments within Nicaragua that occurred as a result of the Americans presence in the country. This thesis will contribute not only to the scholarly work available in history, but also to the works available regarding U.S. foreign relations in Nicaragua.

The scholarship in this area takes on far too simple of an interpretation of the U.S. activities in Nicaragua. Although the U.S. failed to accomplish a majority of its goals in Nicaragua, the interventions cannot and should not be deemed failures. These interventions successful acted as catalysts for political, economic and social changes in Nicaragua. The U.S. brought political stability to the country during its occupations backing up the governments in power and by supporting the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. The electoral system in the country allowed for free and open elections with the help of the formation of the Grupo Patriótico. Economically speaking, the U.S. helped the country reduce its debt amounts, establish a less inflated currency, and create a national bank with the help of American investors and representatives like the Brown Brothers and Company and J. & W. Seligman and Company. While socially, the liberal nature of the United States cast its influence on the women of Nicaragua spreading the idea of a *modern woman*. Nicaraguan women began to participate in more women's conferences world-wide. The U.S. intervention of 1926 acted as a catalyst to the formation of a guerrilla force

that allowed for the advancement of women. For the first time in Nicaraguan history we can prove with photo and journal documentation the role of women as soldiers, telegraphers, spies, literary writers and political writers. Following the presence of the United States in Nicaragua, the women of Nicaragua stepped outside of their private sphere and into the public sphere.

I have argued that the United States was successful in its interventionist activities from 1909 to 1933. Instead of examining the goals of the interventions and taking the failings of these goals at face value, this paper examined the effects of U.S. imperialism in the country, in order to properly assess the outcomes and consequences of the interventions. Although the objectives of the interventions were not met by the United States, the presence of American imperialism inspired and influenced advancements and developments within Nicaragua whose importance I feel cannot be ignored or refuted.

It is my belief that the research presented in this thesis was inhibited by the lack of availability and access to sources within Nicaragua. If future scholars were to gain further access to the journals, diaries and writings of the men and women involved in and affected by these interventions further evidence of positive by-products may be observed. Moreover, it is my belief that these findings are a mere glance at the historical significance of the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua.

This thesis reexamined the U.S. interventions in Nicaragua to add complexity to the existing interpretation of U.S.-Latin American relations during the early

twentieth century. It suggests that the U.S. interventions from 1909 to 1933 acted as catalysts for significant positive changes in the political, economic and social sectors of Nicaragua.<sup>160</sup> It is my hope that in the future, scholars will be able to apply this methodology to the other cases of U.S. intervention in Latin America to see if similar effects occur.<sup>161</sup> Nicaragua was not the only case of U.S. intervention in Latin America during the early twentieth century; the U.S. also intervened in the Dominican Republic and Haiti. The United States intervened in these countries as a result of the Roosevelt Corollary and the classification of these countries as U.S. protectorates.<sup>162</sup>

The U.S. intervened in the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924, acting under the principles of the Roosevelt Corollary and Dollar Diplomacy, to end the rising political and economic instability in the country. The *New York Times* published articles regarding the reasons for the U.S. invasion of the Dominican. Economically speaking, the Dominican Republic began "seeking loans... and thus

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<sup>160</sup> Again, outside of the scope of this paper would be advancements that occurred as positive or negative by-products of the U.S. presence in the country in the medical and religious sectors of Nicaraguan society. Studies of countries like Haiti have shown that positive effects have occurred in the medial sector of their society as a result of the U.S. interventions in the country from 1915-1934. For example see: Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, (2001). Furthermore, Michael J. Schroeder received a grant to work in the Rockefeller Archive Center's collection on the Rockefeller Foundation's philanthropic public health initiatives in Nicaragua. This data is to be added to his website in the future. Information regarding this can be found at <http://www.sandinorebellion.com/HomePages/rac-docs.html>.

<sup>161</sup> Research has been done on the U.S. interventions in Haiti that show positive by-products of the U.S. presence in the country: Lauren Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History*. New York: Metropolitan, (2012).; Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, (2001).; Hans Schmidt, *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934*. New Jersey, (1971).; Peter S. Taylor, "What Can We Learn from the U.S. Occupation of Haiti? ..." *The Globe and Mail* (2010).

<sup>162</sup> Brown, 36.

piling up a debt" which increased the possibility for "international complications through an attempt [on the part of foreign bankers] to collect it [the debt owed] by force in the future."<sup>163</sup> Under the terms of the Treaty of 1907, the Dominican was required "to pay the interest on its foreign debts;" however, it became clear beginning in 1915 that the country was failing to act in "accordance with the terms of that agreement" which only further increased the economic instability in the country.<sup>164</sup> The country was in a state of economic struggle because of the intense political instability of the country and the tensions that resided between the government in power and the elite businessmen in the country. According to scholars, the United States failed to meet a majority of its goals as their diplomatic and military efforts would prove futile and inefficient.<sup>165</sup>

The United States intervened in Haiti from 1915 to 1934, "after a Haitian mob broke into the French embassy and hacked President Guillaume Sam to

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<sup>163</sup> "Washington to Run Dominican Finance: Seeks to Arrange to Collect Internal Revenue as Well as the Customs. LIKE COMPACT WITH HAITI Convention to ward Against a Complication Through Foreign Creditors' Claims," *NYT (1851-2008)* August 22, 1916.

<sup>164</sup> "Put Santo Doming Under Martial Law. American Naval Commander Issues Proclamation and Will Act as the Governor. MARINES TO KEEP ORDER. Plan is to Check Revolutions and Arrange for Prompt Payment of Foreign Liabilities." *NYT(1851-2008)* December 1, 1916.

<sup>165</sup> For example see:

Suzy Castor and Lynn Garafola. "The American Occupation of Haiti (1915-34) and the Dominican Republic (1916-24)" *The Massachusetts Review*, 15.1/2 (Winter-Spring 1974), 253-275.; Bruce J. Calder, *The impact of intervention: the Dominican Republic during the U.S. occupation of 1916-1924.* Princeton, New Jersey: M. Wiener Publishers, 2006.; Robert D. Crassweller, *Trujillo; the Life and times of a Caribbean Dictator.* (New York: Macmillan, 1966).; Abraham F. Lowenthal, "The United States and the Dominican Republic to 1965: Background to Intervention" *Caribbean Studies* 10.2 (July 1970), 30-55.; Raymond H. Pulley, "The United States and the Trujillo Dictatorship, 1933-1940" *Caribbean Studies*, 5.3 (October 1965), 22-31.; Eric Roorda, *The Dictator Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy and the Trujillo Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930-1945.* (Durham: Duke UP, 1998):1-30.; Tulchin, 177-187.

pieces.”<sup>166</sup> Haiti experienced political instability as “four ephemeral governments succeeded one another from May 4, 1913 to July 27, 1915.”<sup>167</sup> According to scholars, the Haitian situation in the early twentieth century “was characterized by a consistent decline in agricultural production, a decrease in foreign trade, the financial and administrative muddle, an inability of the various governments to maintain themselves in power.”<sup>168</sup> In accordance with the Roosevelt Corollary the United States intervened in Haiti. The U.S. also took over the customs houses in Haiti and attempted to control the economic system.<sup>169</sup> The U.S. failed in the Haitian intervention objectives, as well.<sup>170</sup>

Moreover, it is my belief that if the methodology utilized in this thesis were applied to the U.S. interventions in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, similar findings may be assessed in these countries as well. In the future, I hope scholars can apply this methodology to cases of U.S. intervention outside of Latin America as well, for example in Afghanistan or Iraq. It is my belief that additional studies on the effects and by-products of the aforementioned U.S. foreign policies and occupations

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<sup>166</sup>Lowenthal, 27.

<sup>167</sup> Castor and Garafola, 254.

<sup>168</sup> Castor and Garafola, 263.

For further historical context and background see also:

“Dominican Republic-United States,” *The American Journal of International Law*, 36.4 (October 1942), 209-213.; Breda Gayle Plummer, “The Afro-American Response to the Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934,” *Phylon* 43.2 (1982).; Frank Moya Pons, “Import-Substitution Industrialization Policies in the Dominican Republic, 1925-61” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 70.4 (November 1990), 539-577.; Tulchin, 177-187.

<sup>169</sup> “Washington to Run Dominican Finance: Seeks to Arrange to Collect Internal Revenue as Well as the Customs. LIKE COMPACT WITH HAITI Convention to ward Against a Complication Through Foreign Creditors’ Claims.”

<sup>170</sup> For further information about the objectives of the U.S. in the Haitian intervention see: Tulchin, 177-187.; Castor and Garafola, 253-275.

will allow a new type of scholarship to develop.<sup>171</sup> This research could also pave the way for the development of new theorems, approaches, and diagnoses of foreign policy practice and application. Additionally, this research could advance the foreign policy studies and practices of the United States not only in Latin American, but world-wide.

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<sup>171</sup> These policies include the Monroe Doctrine, the Roosevelt Corollary, Dollar Diplomacy, the Bryan Chamorro Treaty and the Good Neighbor Policy.

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